

**BORDER AND TERRITORIALITY:
A POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION**

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

GAURAV KUMAR



**Political Geography Division
Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi- 110067
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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Border and Territoriality: A Politico-Geographical Investigation**” submitted by me for the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

Gaurav K8.
Gaurav Kumar

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

[Signature]
Prof. Swaran Singh
(Chairperson)

[Signature]
Mr. Krishnendra Meena
(Supervisor)

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The entire responsibility for the mistakes in this work is mine and I am alone responsible for it.

Gaurav K.
Gaurav Kumar

JNU, New Delhi

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Acknowledgement	i
List of Abbreviation	iii
List of Tables and Figures	iv
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Borders	21
Chapter 3 Territoriality	51
Chapter 4 Interface between Border and Territoriality	77
Chapter 5 Conclusion	92
Bibliography	101

List of Abbreviations

NPR	Nuclear Perennial Region
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
IMF	International Monetary fund
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Organisation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelem
CAS	Central Asian States
UNCLOS	United Nation Convention on the Law of the Seas

List of Tables and Figures

Table 3.1	Relationship between Resource Distribution and Foraging Strategy
Figure 2.1	Libyan Uprising and Revolutionary Borders
Figure 2.2	Antarctica Treaty and Sovereignty Claims
Figure 2.3	Shrinkage of Aral Sea at Kazak-Uzbek Border
Figure 3.1	Cold War Exaggerations
Figure 3.2	Economic Regionalisation of World by Western Powers
Figure 3.3	Relation between Resource Predictability, Resource Density and Territoriality
Figure 3.4	Mediation between Subject and Object
Figure 3.5	Mediation between Abstract and Concrete Territoriality
Figure 4.1	The Fall of Berlin Wall
Figure 4.2	The Hard Borders between North and South Korea
Figure 4.3	The US Military Footprints on the World
Figure 4.4	US-Mexico Borders
Figure 4.5	US-Canada Borders
Figure 5.1	The Cyclic Model of Alienation, Territoriality and Borders

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Political geography discipline unravels the relationship between space and power politics. Father of political geography Friedrich Ratzel propounded the concept of Lebensraum (living space) which in turn revolutionised the discipline. This concept situated state as an organism which tends to expand and shrink according to its need of living space. Disciple of Ratzellian School was in a process of developing a form of territoriality when they compared state with an organism. This historical spurt in knowledge soon became cloudy when this sense of territoriality or conception of living space turned into dangerous intellectual manipulation and eventually ended up in imperialistic politics which reached its climax in Nazi Germany (Glassner and DeBlij, 1980) Border and territoriality go along simultaneously. Both of these phenomena act and react on each other. It is the conception and experience of territoriality which gives significance to the borders. Without a developed sense of territoriality borders cannot exist. This can most profoundly be seen in the nomads who mostly do not adhere to any political boundaries in their movements. On the other hand boundary making can accentuate a sense of territoriality in humans for e.g. supra regional boundary of European Union is affecting the human territoriality in these regions, where national boundaries are becoming blurred. Human minds at one scale are becoming de-territorialised and on the other scale of experience, it is re-territorialising.

In their introduction to an important collection of essays on War, Citizenship, Territory, Deborah Cowen and Emily Gilbert introduce the concept of territory thus:

“Territory” is a term that is often used interchangeably with land or space, but it connotes something precise. Territory is land or space that has had something done to it-it has been acted upon. Territory is land that has been identified and claimed by a person or people. It is bounded space for which there is compulsion to defend and secure- to claim a particular kind of sovereignty- against infringements by others who are perceived to not belong”.(Cowen and Gilbert, 2008:16)

In the view of Kevin Cox, territory and territoriality “are the core concepts of political geography” and:

“Territory is to be understood through its relationship to those activities we define as territorial: the exercise of territoriality, in other words.. this means that in addition to territory having association of area and boundary it also has ones of defence: territories are spaces which people defend by excluding some activities and by including those which will enhance more precisely what it is in the territory that they want to defend”(Cox 2002:2-3)

Territorium(Latin) is commonly assumed to be linked to terra (earth) but it may also have arisen from terrere, meaning to frighten or terrify which also gave territor(frightener), territorium thus meant “ a place from which people are warned off”. According to the seventeenth century Dutch jurist Grotius:

“The origin of the word “territory” as given by SiculusFlaccus from” terrifying the enemy” (terrendishostibus) seems not less probable than that of Varro from the word for ploughing(terendo), or of Frontius from the word for land (terra), or of Pomponius the jurist from “ the right of terrifying” (terendiiure), which is enjoyed by the magistrates” (Grotius, 1964: 667).

In all these quotes, territory and territoriality is very well defined, but what has been missed and which can be understood while reading between the lines is phenomena of bordering and construction of boundaries. When question pertaining to personalisation of space and defence of the territory arises, borders are the simultaneous process supporting the phenomena of human territoriality.

“Human spatial boundaries are defined by social activities and range from the precise to the fuzzy depending on the nature of the social activities in question. For example, political boundaries drawn to delimit the “Territory” of a state mark the precise limits of the state’s claim to jurisdiction or “sovereignty”. The boundaries of governmental units within a state serve to demarcate areas of legal responsibility for public-service delivery and revenue collection.....More frequently however, social and cultural boundaries are dynamic and fluid, responding to the pattern of social solidarity and mobilization.....Human spatial boundaries are defined when, in the process of social interaction, groups form geographically and differentiate themselves from one another.....Ambiguity of boundary is particularly evident when a social group, such as an ethnic group, deeply stratified by caste or class or when large-scale social

change challenges the maintenance of existing political and social boundaries” (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts, 2001: 52).

An interesting question arises why humans are territorial in nature and practice territoriality at various scales. Can it be explained as an inherit and primitive animalistic behaviour in humans or is it the silent language in humans what Hall (1959) terms “extension” of their organism. There is second boundary outside this physical one, the organism’s territory. Proxemics is the way the organisms use the space. The concept of proxemics can be said to be a refined form of the term territoriality. Hall (1966) believed that the use of space by animals and humans more or less corresponds and therefore more we study and know animals more will we understand unconscious practices of man. He further exclaimed if there was ever a forgotten basic fact, it is that man is first, last and always an animal, biological organism.

This initial background helps us to examine that aspect of territoriality that most interests political geographers: political territoriality, particularly as expressed in state. Due to ever-changing power equations and territorial perception boundaries were fluctuating ever since antiquity. One of the earliest systematic studies of boundaries is to be found in Semple’s (1911) famous work, *Influences of geographic environment* in her chapter on ‘Geographic Boundaries’. Her thesis was that nature abhors fixed boundary lines and that consequently boundaries rarely attain and establish equilibrium, were subject to constant fluctuation.

The idea of state sovereignty is a recent phenomenon. It emerged in late medieval Europe in the face of the collapse of the well-established principle of hierarchical subordination (Ruggie, 1993). Scholars also attribute this era to be of “new subjectivity” Westphalia Peace Accord popularised the concept of sovereignty with fixed territory and from then it has become the central geographical assumption of international relation theory. This concept is heavily criticised by political geographers. John Agnew (1994) in his seminal paper “The Territorial Trap: the Geographical Assumption of International Relation Theory” has further strengthened the argument. He establishes the fact that borders are in flux and not static. And so is a human practice of territoriality that is dynamic and not a static phenomenon. In the

era of globalization and modernity it is interesting to appreciate the fact that political identities of people are sectorial, ethnic, and regional in character, conception of international human rights and coming up of subsidiary bodies like NGO's, MNC's are acting as a threat to the monopoly of sovereignty exercised by the territorial states.

Further political developments like Treaty of Versailles, World Wars and its aftermath, end of cold war, had seen increase in boundary studies. Substantial part of literature in political geography is centred on boundaries and its associated regions. After the World War period functional approach for boundary studies were pleaded for, where socio-cultural realities were taken into account in relation to borders. Too many positivistic and apolitical empirical assumptions took toll on the approach as the ever increasing globalisation and episode of dissolution of cold war gave rise to new questions and puzzles which prior paradigm was not equipped to solve. Critical approach took over giving way to critical geopolitics in political geography. Most current political geographical papers that wish to understand the relationship between territory, sovereignty and identity, which use the lens of borders to do so are anti-deterministic, anti-essentialist and not focussed on the line per se (Houtum, 2005).

Many studies in political geography have dealt with frontiers and boundaries. Both of these terms are used synonymously at many places. But are both the terms correctly applied? There is a substantial difference in function which these two geographical phenomena perform. Being precise, frontiers are the politico-geographical areas lying beyond the integrated region of the political units, and into which expansion could take place. On the other hand boundaries, on the map and on the ground, mark the limit of the state jurisdiction and sovereignty. Along boundary line states make physical contact with neighbours. Boundaries have frequently been source of friction between states, and the areas through which they lie are often profoundly affected by the presence. Kristof (1959) drew some important difference between frontiers and boundaries. The frontier is outer-oriented, the boundary, on the contrary, is inner-oriented. The frontier is a manifestation of centrifugal forces. On the other hand, the range and vigour of centripetal forces is indicated by the boundary. The frontier is an integrating factor. The boundary in contrary is a separating factor.

Human territoriality finds its existence and scope in boundary studies when the question of why bordering sets in. What is precisely the *raison d'être* of borders. Political geography discipline has been unable to theorise territoriality as the reason for formality faceted processes explaining space politics and bordering in particular. This concept of territoriality further has to be investigated in relation to bordering of spaces. The concept of territoriality also has some fundamental philosophical question to be answered. Bordering is believed to be manifested as the consequence of “othering of consciousness” from the whole or unitary consciousness. To be more precise in argument, can different philosophical realm, that is monistic and dualistic philosophy act differently on the phenomenon of human territoriality and bordering. In Indian philosophia some animals are worshipped and some of them are abhorred. Cow for instance is revered as it is considered to be non-territorial and generous and on the other hand animal like dog are looked down upon as it is territorial in nature and projects insecurity in its actions. Cow represents generosity and dog represents territoriality (Pattanaik, 2009). Can it be said that Indian humanity in its basic philosophia and outlook were and still are non-territorial in some extent?

“Territoriality is not simple the circumscription of things in space. It is not equal to a region, or area or territory in the old sense. It is circumscription with the intent to influence, affect, or control” (Sack, 1983).

Development of territoriality in humans is fundamentally the product of ecological conditions prevailing at certain areas. Certain geography tends to sculpture territorial and highly emotive populace and certain other are geographed as non-territorial in their outlook and world view. Regions which are infertile and rugged are bound to have populace living far apart and would experience high mobility in order to collect and utilize resources for survival. On the other hand rich fertile plains and river valleys would facilitate historically an immobile and sedentary populace. It is possible that in the latter case the populace will develop a geo-historical attachment what Wright (1947) terms as “geopiety” to denote the sense of thoughtful piety aroused by human awareness of the natural world and geographical space and thus closely connected to “Topophilia”.

In the era of high networking and connectivity backed by globalization, sovereignty has graduated and countries are exporting their borders to far off places. State

boundaries are considered as the container of the society and today due to higher international mobility, higher economic integration and global environmental problems the state containers are leaking, accentuating interesting boundaries which are not static but fluid in character. It is not unthinkable that USA is bordering the spaces far off its territory. Present spatial dynamics of homogenisation of space or reterritorialisation in Europe, expressed in the form of European Union and on the other extreme, spaces are in the process of heterogeneity or deterritorialization in many parts in the world for example in African Countries. Territoriality exercised by any state, at its borders decides its further interaction with its neighbours and also reveals its nature of core area from where state ideas are been formulated.

For maintaining borders two essential things are important that is “mental image” of the geography and “checkpoints” at the borders (Migdal, 2004). These mental maps can accentuate the sense of territoriality in human masses and can also come in effect due to the consequence of territoriality inbuilt in the populace of an area. These checkpoints practiced at the borders can be “actual” such as visa checks and can be “virtual” in nature that is feeling of inclusion and exclusion on the basis of dress, accent, race, colour etc. European Union nations are practicing a soft and liberal form of territoriality at its borders. Euro-regions have come up in these regions. There is free flow of information and people to people contact is appreciable. On the other hand South Asian states practice a starkly different kind of territoriality at its borders.

There are two type of geography, one which is objective in nature (concrete territory) and is outside the mind and the second which is inside the mind (abstract territory) that is “imaginative geography” (Raffestine, 1984). The discordance between these two spaces (internal and external) decides the condition of human territoriality in a particular region.

Wright (1947) had spoken on the place of imagination in geography, wherein he had emphasized that although man had explored every area of the earth (objective space), there still lay a territory that remained almost completely unexplored- “terrae-incognitae”- the territory to be found in the mind of the men, the private world specific to particular individual. Wright proposed a new branch of geography, which he named “geosophy”, to be devoted to the examination of geographical ideas both

true and false, of all manners of people- that are the field of study considered with “subjective conceptions”.Both these geographies act and react on each other. For example United States borders are restricted and contained by Canada, Mexico from one side and from the ocean waters on the other; this explains the physical rootedness of USA and depict the geographical reality. But imaginative geography compels it to export its borders to the Indian oceans, gulf, pacific and to what not in the garb of security establishments, economic cartels etc. multi-lateral forums are also acting on the mental image (abstract territoriality) where geographies are re-territorialised and de-territorialised.

On this backdrop, a thorough politico-geographical investigation should be taken up to revisit the concept of boundary and territoriality. The vague and mystic interface between territoriality and boundary should be reconceptualised.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Boundary study is the most fundamental to political geography discipline. The term boundary, border, frontier and borderland mean many things to many people. Oxford English Dictionary consider the term boundary to describe all categories of limits or divides- border to be a linear, static dividing line, and frontier to be a dynamic, fluid zone. There has been shift of focus in boundary studies, earlier the focus was in depth analysis of nature, location, history but now it is more to its function. Political boundaries form the areal expression of the limits of jurisdiction and the power of the system to which they belong (Mingi 1963). There have been several studies on boundaries ranging from work on 'boundary of equilibrium' to economics of location. The nature of frontier differs greatly from the nature of boundaries. Frontiers are characterised by rudimentary socio-political relations; relation marked by rebelliousness, lawlessness, and absence of law. At this stage populace lack sense of territoriality towards these fluid areas. The presence of boundaries is a sign of political maturity where community has reached to orderliness (Kristof, 1959). Frontier today has given way to well define boundaries everywhere in the form of integrated nation-states.

Boundaries are the product of historical and geographical milieu. The first initiation of boundary like phenomenon can be observed in tribal organisations, though they were largely kinship based, but they were in habit to exercise control over a definite zone of territory. Boundary concept and practices in Asia were blurring, in the case of China, it did not had international boundary and considered themselves to be surrounded by the barbarians as the Romans thought. Until the formation of "great wall of china" (constructed in a linear fashion to exclude the northern steppe area's and to defend their hydraulic society from Mongolian adventures), they missed this discourse. Roman Empire also lacked a proper conception and formulation of boundaries to its peripheries. It was the outsiders who considered river Rhine and Euphrates to be its outer limits. India too lacked a sense of territoriality in a sense that they were always unsuccessful to arrive at a scientific boundary to its North West frontier. Medieval Europe was feudal in character and the power and sovereignty structure was established vertically in a set hierarchical subordination. Often there

were bloodsheds and violence as the local vassals was in a habit to change their allegiance. Then the concept of natural boundaries gained prominence. The thrust on natural boundaries came up in the age of reason and nationalism de-structuring and breaking the old restrains. The attempt was taken by the French scholars. A German reaction to the concept of natural frontiers was the concept of boundaries based on folk or nationality. Nation states came up with set territorial boundary and the advent of new subjectivity gained momentum (Jones 1959).

Further boundary concept evolved into imperialistic endeavours where concepts like “organismic state”, heartland theory, rim land etc. were used to produce and reproduce the regions and states. Contractual concept of boundaries also is an important fact to be appreciated where two countries agrees on a line and stick to it, as individual agrees on property lines. During the de-colonisation period the colonial power unfortunately accentuated the practice and concept of geometrical boundaries. These non-representational boundaries took toll on geographical realities and culture associated with it (Jones, 1959).

There are stages of boundary development. As nation core expand to occupy the territory, it becomes necessary to describe the location of the boundary as careful as possible. The process of delimiting and demarcation plays an important role so to arrive at an ideal boundary. Commonly it is considered that boundary should give unity and completeness to the area delineated. Boundaries should not isolate rather should aid communication and exchange with neighbours. Ideas and goods should find easy access across boundaries in order to encourage culture and material efficiency and advancement. Boundaries should have capability to protect from outside attack. Boundaries should be made after mutual consent (Norris & Haring, 1980)

Boundary studies are now constructing an interdisciplinary approach to the frontier studies where whole set of different processes are understood and clubbed together as borderland matrix. This matrix appreciates different kinds of boundaries which are economic, demographic, cultural, political, and geographic in nature (Parker, 2006). These boundaries placed differently in borderland matrix interact with each other at various scales where one affects the other.

Losch (1940) quoting Ratzel as his political geographic authority found it useful to compare his described economic regions with political regions in terms of their similarities and dissimilarities (Mingi, 1963). His greatest contribution was his insight into the link between the borders and the flow of commodity and its consequent spatial distribution pattern.

Human geography, one of the most prominent social science disciplines focussed on border analysis. Initially the approach was naturalistic and deterministic which largely is responsible for imperialistic geopolitics and national socialist ideologies. After the Second World War it was replaced by positivist drive for objective facts, scientific rigour and value-free studies of borders. Scholars like Hartshorne (1959) pleaded for the functional approach in border study which takes into account socio-cultural realities. Pertaining to state idea, centrifugal forces and centripetal forces are also taken into account. Border studies should be open to other disciplines. Disciplines like social psychology, social anthropology, social biology, and economics can play a crucial role in unravelling the essence of territoriality and bordering among species and humans.

The study of boundaries in political geography has, by default, been concerned with international boundaries, the lines that separate state territories. Other boundaries which are administrative and municipal are largely neglected as it does not represent the spatiality of sovereignty of the state. But these boundaries to a large extent affect the life of the people. Through municipal rates and taxes, administrative and policing functions, registration etc. it is the local level where boundaries are better perceived by the people. With the breaking down of territorial sovereignty there has to be studies at all level of boundary hierarchies whether it is international or domestic in nature. Administrative boundaries historically played a significant role, with the collapse of Soviet Russia; administrative regions became separate countries (Newman, 2001). Present five Central Asian countries were the administrative boundaries in Soviet Russia. These boundaries were carved out around 1925. They neglect geographic and cultural realities of the region and are creating a lot of environmental and emigrational problems.

The Israel-Palestine conflict again exemplifies the way in which notion of boundaries have changed over time and provides a good example of the need to understand the

multi-dimensionality of borders and boundaries, taking into account both the territorial and identity dimension. Though there have been many attempts to draw a representational territorial boundary between these two countries taking into account the resource viability. Conflict and peace discourses restricted themselves to the approach which says a good territorial separation can lead to the perpetual peace. But these discourses do not take into account the identity requirements of both Israelis and Palestinians (Newman, 2001, 2003)

Critical geography in general and critical geopolitics in particular is challenging the taken for granted concepts and are focusing on tactical and small interventions in the meta-narratives of traditional geopolitics. Reality and nature of borders and boundaries are also questioned and interventions are been made. To make border studies more dynamic and inter-disciplinary it is focusing on the inter-connected themes of “place”, “performance” and “perspective”. Initially political geographers should interrogate the material condition of the borders. When the borders are materialised it performs various functions, per formability of borders means “stylised repetition of acts”. These acts has to be better understood and unravelled, these acts can suggest the way territoriality is been practiced at the borders. Recent work suggests how borders studies can be enriched by focusing on the performative aspect by states and non-state actors. To understand perspective theme, question of “who borders” should be taken into account. It is not only the state machinery and government who enact and perform at borders, other actors like non-state actors, academic discourses, cartographic historicity, GIS also facilitates bordering of spaces. What is the hidden perspective of bordering has to be unravelled. With these three “P”s the other “P” that is “power” of the state has to be taken into account where state power manipulates the spaces (Johnson & Jones, 2011). Political geography should analyse events being critical and politically attuned, when state power is graduating and is diversifying.

With the coming up of the era of globalization and new spatial order after dissolution of cold war revealed in turn the deficiencies of empiricism and apolitical and objective assumptions of empiricism. This led to the rise of much sort critical approaches many of them were influenced by post structuralism and post modernism. These strands of post structuralism and post modernism analyse the social

construction of borders in terms of discourses and agency (practises) (Houtum and Scott, 2005).

Early lines of research still today are studies that take a functionalist view of borders. Here the degree of interaction across boundaries and its capacity to act as a facilitator or impediment to further interaction are focused upon. Moreover as the state container has begun to leak due to increased integration, global security problems and coming up of various regional and multilateral forums; political-geographical theorisation of the role and nature of borders has diversified rapidly. With increasing pressures on states territorial integrity various geopolitical certainties have been called into action. The “constructionist” strand of border research, challenging the traditional state centred view of the geopolitical world, has dealt with issues such as how state and boundaries are involved in the construction of national identities, how political communities are constituted, and what new political spaces may emerge in international borderlands (Hakli, 2008)

The neoliberal rhetoric of borderless world was postulated and advertised when globalisation was taking over, this advertisement further gained strength with the collapse of Soviet Union and with the formation of European Union. But with the consequence of 9/11 attack on twin towers of United States the conception of borderless world is been questioned. Nations are becoming more protectionists and hardening their borders. This incident accentuated works on security studies and reminded of the emotive role of borders to the human community (Paasi, 2011). Further it has been observed that due to the globalisation effect, at one scale there is territorialisation of regions which are developed and are part of neo-liberal economy and at the other scale; regions that are underdeveloped are territorialising themselves in reaction to the other. New geopolitical scales have emerged as important arenas alongside the traditional nation state scale.

The propaganda of borderless world can be problematized at various scales first of all this discourse in itself is full of contradiction and biases. Secondly de-territorialisation is just rearrangement of identity, border and order. Thirdly there is no de-territorialisation without re-territorialisation, both are the process of on-going territorialisation (Tuathail, 2007)

In contrast to the much postulated concept of borderless world in the 1990s the trend in the last decade shows that sovereignty is practised far away from the country's territory which in itself is the process of bordering. The liberal notion of borderless world of unending networks, circulation has been falsified after the terrorist attack of 9/11. There are still border skirmishes taking place in the countries of Africa, reasserting it more staunchly and firmly than before. Emergence of the new state of South Sudan is the best example to quote.

Questions about the appropriate spatial scales of border studies have also featured prominently in recent years (Johnson and Jones, 2011). It is always quoted in political geography discipline that there are borders within borders. These borders are attached to the different level of scales and functions in accordance to these very scales. These scales are not only the administrative one but also independent of it.

Bordering reflects politics in many ways. It is not only the politics of delimitation, classification but also the politics of representation and identity that come into play. Border can be theorised reasonably only as part of the wider production and reproduction of territoriality/ territory, state power and agency (Paasi, 2011). Critical geopolitics is engaged in carrying out tactical and small interventions in the grand theories of traditional deterministic geopolitics and highlights the fact that borders and boundaries are produced and reproduced by the practises of formal, practical and popular geopolitics.

Geography of an apparent border has stood up with exporting of borders to far areas (Amoore, 2011). United States of America has been able to extend its borders by technology, economic prowess and military basis. Countries like Australia has established immigration check-up terminals in Indonesia from where it receives huge illegal immigration. Russia has extended its territorial claims to the deep down the Arctic bed. United Kingdom's territoriality extends far down to the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic. These gestures have strengthened its authority and resulted into a new form of bordering.

Borders are increasingly characterised by movement rather than stasis. This in turn explores how borders are moving and the potential of geographers to contribute to the understanding of their new location and politics (Mountz, 2011).

One of the key merits of the past few decades is certainly the widening of ontology and epistemology of border study. The fundamental question and enquiry has shifted to 'why' of border from 'where' and 'what' of borders. This facet in political geography is under researched and partially worked upon. There is a profound research gap here. Is the desire for construction of socio-spatial identity – not the form, the configuration, as this is always contextual but the construction per se – necessary or avoidable for humankind? There should be shift to psycho-analytical turn of human geography in general and political geography in particular, including a fundamental theorization of fear and desire (Houtum, 2005).

Bordering is basically the desire to distance oneself from the other in order to uphold the self during feeling of fear and anxiety. This is where the concept of territoriality finds its existence and scope. From this growing body of empirical and theoretical work, we can extract some ideas that may be helpful in understanding human political behaviour. Many scholars believe that man is a territorial animal. Some consider emotion of territoriality to be intrinsic to biology and others think it to be socially constructed, that is, some are more territorial and tend to manifest it in the form of more firm and stiff boundary and some are less territorial and may prefer an open-end boundary.

Human territoriality is a vast, yet often neglected, facet of human behaviour. It is an attempt to affect, influence, or control actions and interaction by trying to enforce control over a geographic space. Territoriality can help to make a spatial perspective of more direct use to the analysis of property, political sovereignty and the territorial structure of organization (Sack, 1983).

Territory is an 'area' or a 'piece of land' whereas territoriality is the territory 'worked upon' and 'humanised'. Human territoriality has not significantly emphasised ecological variables in its study. Ecological assessments lead us to a much deeper question, that is, how territoriality evolved. It is considered that resource predictability and its availability led to the building up of human territoriality. Territories are rarely rigidly bounded and exclusive; they generally overlap and sometimes overlap completely. Territory is not fixed it gets larger when resource is scarce and shrinks when food is plentiful. Territoriality in human is at least impart an adaptive response to environmental factors and, as such is to be expected when critical resources are

distributed so that exclusive use and defence of a resource produces a net benefit in resource capture (Hydson and Smith, 1978).

Territoriality can be described as pattern of behaviour whereby human divide and differentiate the living space in more or less well defined territory and the outer limit of it considered inviolable. With passage of time it will attain certain personality and characteristics (Iconography). There can be many processes that affect the animals and man's use of space but the most important process that draws attention are "dominance-subordination behaviour" and "territoriality". Both dominance-subordination behaviour and territoriality limit aggression as when everyone possess an individual territory, the reason for the one man to dominate another will disappear. The clearest dominance orders are found in closed communities with restricted movement and limited space. When the order becomes stabilised to the point where each person knows his place (both socially and spatially), dissention ends (Sommer, 1971). Territoriality, it is evident is affected by these processes discussed above. A fundamental question arises can German aggression, European migration, western tendencies of bordering and Indian non-expansionist behaviour in the past be explained through these two fundamental processes.

There are works which suggests that, people imbued with egalitarian principles, seems to require more space, both physical and social than the populace those are predisposed to a stratified order (Lowenthal, 1971). This is not to say that societies like America socialise on egalitarian lines rather they also live and interact on hierarchical principles.

Ratzel-Kjellen-Houshofer school of geopoliticians was in the process of defining a form of territoriality when they compared the state with social organism. Now the fundamental relational question between sovereignty and territoriality arises whether sovereignty is territorial in nature. According to one set of scholars politics is about rule and, the distinctive feature of the modern system of rule is that it has differentiated its subject collectivity into territorially defined, fixed and mutually exclusive enclaves of legitimate dominions. Territoriality is easy to communicate because it requires only one marker or sign- the boundary. As such it appears unique in the human history. The other set of view believes that effective sovereignty is not

necessarily predicated on and defined by the strict and fixed territorial boundary of individual states.

In medieval times sovereignty and authority was personalised and parcellised within and across territorial formations. But today these personalised and parcellised authority had brought into one public realm (Ruggie, 1993). The concept of graduated sovereignty in the era of globalisation also has to be appreciated. Even though state controls its territory but it gives way to certain corporate entities to establish in some domains. It is of utmost interest in territoriality and boundary study that how territorially is manifested at the boundaries. One country may indulge in building democratic ethos and liberal practices at borders. The other may project boundary to be a steel frame and practice psychological warfare. This in turn would largely decide the future course of interaction and relation between the countries. Today expanding territoriality offshore and mounting territorial claims has given much reason to evaluate the question of 'morality' and 'immorality' of borders. Heightened territorial fantasy leads to suppression, exploitation, and subjugation of the being.

In context of border processes internationalising (rather Europeanising) discourses can promote and "opening" of cross border interaction spaces, heightened nationalising elements can often provoke "closure" and slash or ambivalence to cross border interaction (Houtum and Scott, 2005). These border processes are closely associated with the stages of territorialisation where at one stage a community seems less territorial and at the other stage of history they are intensely territorial in nature. The example of European Union can strengthen this argument, where presently European nation states seem less territorial in nature in respect to its nationality but a little back in history this very region witnessed most deadly wars and conflicts, so to assert its territoriality.

A thorough review of literature reveals the importance of the concepts pertaining to territoriality and bordering in political geography discipline. Various facets of border/boundary studies are well captured in political geographical literature. From morphological approach, functional to the constructivist approach border/boundary literature has been enriched. It seems there is minuscule work on the concept of territoriality and its association to the process of bordering. Some good theoretical

works have been taken up but it lacks clarity and lucidity. The challenge at this juncture is to revisit and investigate the minute nuances of the phenomena in question.

Research Puzzle, Rationale and Scope of Study

Under the backdrop of such a complex interaction between the concept of territoriality and boundary manifestation it is pertinent to throw light on the existing linkages between the two. The research puzzle that crops up from the vast and exhaustive review of literature is that territoriality is considered as the most important force moulding human spatial organization. Does this assertion and attempt to enforce control over geographical area results to different types of boundary manifestations in terms of its classification, communication, control and reifying power. The study would try to unravel the minute nuances of the concepts like; personal space, animal territoriality, human territoriality, political territoriality, non-territoriality, frontier, border, borderland, boundary, terra-incognitae, environmental psychology and sovereignty.

Spatial processes like proxemics, that is the way human use spaces, domination-subordination behaviour, territoriality, de-territorialisation, re-territorialisation, migration, spatial socialisation will be investigated, with its effect on each other. In the era of networking and globalisation, geography has become dynamic and fluid rather than static. These developments are acting on the subjective spaces of the human mind and in turn they are been alienated from the local (physical space) rootedness. In these circumstances borders are likely to evolve into a complex matrix, impossible to be recognised.

The significance of this study is self-evident since the interface between border and human territoriality is less worked upon in academia in general and political geography in particular. There lies an evident research gap in this area. The question of “why bordering” has to be understood properly. Man and land interface is most fundamental to political geography and therefore the question of “why territoriality” in context of ecological assessment has to be understood. Therefore, above processes and complexes are much needed to be investigated.

HYPOTHESES

- 1) Territoriality was the product of resource predictability and its availability in space and time and subsequently territoriality exercised by any state at its borders decides its future interaction with the neighbour.
- 2) Bordering is the consequence of territoriality and hence borders move with changing territoriality.

DATABASE AND METHODOLOGY

Following the environmental psychology approach the study would unravel the archaeology of territoriality and bordering processes. Using qualitative techniques which in this case combines both inductive and deductive approaches the premises and conclusions of the study would be established. As it is theoretical study therefore secondary sources has been relied upon. An extensive survey of literature would be taken up using international journals like *Annals of American Geographers*, *Progress in Human Geography*, *Political Geography*, *American Anthropologist*, *Society for American Archaeology*, *International Organisation*, *GeoJournal*, *Human Ecology*, *Geography and Geopolitics*. A comparative analysis would be used wherever needed to substantiate the argument.

TENTATIVE CHAPTERS

A proposition of the tentative chapters to understand the structure and framework of the study is insightful. Chapter one deals with the introductory part of the study substantiating the review of literature, rationale and scope of the study, research puzzle and hypotheses. Following the introductory note, chapter two deals with evolving theoretical perspectives on borders wherein the historical evolution and changing perspective of border studies have been captured. The Third chapter concerns with territoriality and its conceptual evolution over time and space. This chapter would also distinguish between the concepts of territory, territoriality and personal space and eventually would highlight the importance of territoriality in the discipline of political geography. The boundary-territoriality interface would be dealt in the fourth chapter wherein the question of why boundary is been answered in relation to human territoriality. Fundamental question pertaining to abstract and concrete territoriality is also been discussed. The last chapter would summarise the conclusions of the study and suggests research gaps in political geography discipline. The chapter also draw various implications for the further endeavours.

CHAPTER 2

BORDERS

Boundaries, the lines that enclose state territories, have constituted a major theme in the study of political geography. Boundary is an effect of territoriality. The process of boundary formation is accompanied by the feeling of territoriality for a place or territory. Historicity suggests that boundaries are never static and permanent rather it changes and adapts to the changing situation and circumstances. Boundaries are in fact largely explained in the terms of political realities existing at particular time and space. A political reality associates itself with concepts such as power and sovereignty. It has been considered that power shifts and is never expressed at the same place always. A boundary is the most palpable political geographical phenomena and hence is most worked upon and taken up for the study by the political geographers (Glassner and Deblij 1980). Initially boundary study focused on the study of its history and location. This was too descriptive in nature. The approach transformed, acknowledging the importance of the function of the boundaries and the significance of circulation in the frontier region. It was acknowledged that boundaries are not just lines on the map and are rooted physically but it also facilitates functions (economic, socio-political, cultural etc.) which are very important for the viability of the boundaries.

In the early 1960's the field of border studies was pre-dominantly focused on the study of the demarcation of the boundaries, the lines, now the field of boundaries and border studies has arguably shifted from boundary studies to border studies. The attention has moved away from the study of territorial line to the border, now the phenomenon is considered as a verb signifying an unstoppable process of B/ordering.

To understand the concept further it is pertinent to highlight the fact that there are several boundaries other than the political one. Borderland witnesses several boundary functions and circulations which accentuates political boundaries, geographical boundaries, demographic boundaries, cultural boundaries, and economic boundaries (Parker, 2006). The demographic boundary between Indo-Bangladesh extends beyond the geographical boundary, similarly the situation could be much

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more complex when political boundary does not respect the geographical boundary of the area, this often give rise to border disputes like in the case of India and Pakistan. European Union economic boundaries extend and encompass all other boundaries in Europe. There has been growing realisation that there is significant differences and similarity between the socio-political communities that a boundary divides. Cultural landscape approach is also applied to understand the processes better.

One of the earliest systematic studies of boundaries is to be found in Semple's (1911) famous work, 'Influences of Geographical Environment' in her chapter on "Geographical Boundaries". In that she postulated that "nature abhors fixed boundary lines". Boundaries are never in equilibrium and are always fluctuating and the frontier, that is, the uninhabited area between two civilisation forms the best scientific boundaries which are prior partitioned and protected. The dynamic view of boundaries are not as artificial lines but as variable zones, and are always in pressure from the cultural and physical environment, was in close accordance with Ratzel's "Organismic Theory of state". She developed the very idea advocated by Ratzel (Mingi, 1963).

During the classical era of border studies, "Where" of borders was focused upon. In the late 19th and early 20th century the study involved questions such as, where is the border located, how did it come about, evolve, change over time, became the topic of (military) disputes and what are the consequences of its (change in) location.

"Scholars believed anti-structural borders as bad borders. These do not correspond to the physical condition of the earth surface nor to the distributional patterns of the socio-cultural areas. They do not have a true frontier where the state borders can act both as a bridge and a filter, protecting the state organisation at the same time that it allows inter-state interaction trade to flourish. Typical of such borders are those established after wars by victorious powers. These bad borders, having violated the natural laws of border-formation would be the source of instability and conflict in future". (Houtum, 2005: 6).

The classical era started with Friedrich Ratzel and his view of the borders of nation states. If Ratzel is compelled to be considered as the father of modern political geography, then the scope and ambit of border studies shrinks. This misconception is heavily criticised by John Agnew (1994) who called it as "territorial trap of the state".

Needless to say there were existence of borders and political boundaries before the advent of nation states and each had some stories attached to it. There are memoirs and monographs written on the validity and significance of these boundaries. In the meantime the discipline and approach of political geography in general and border study in particular has evolved and developed. Now the focus is given on the question pertaining to “How” of borders. Though the study pertaining to “How” of borders are majorly taken up by the other disciplines not pertaining to political geography but still political geography is catching up in the academic race. One of the key merits of past few decades is the widening of epistemology and ontology of borders (Houtum, 2005).

Much of the boundary work has been written in the period of first and Second World War and its aftermath. These studies were largely utilitarian in character. The researches were busy in analysing ‘goodness’ and ‘badness’ of a boundary for the military purposes. The post war bordering initiatives and manoeuvres led to unprecedented growth in border related studies. The restructuring of post-colonial world of Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa saw emergence of new boundaries and dissolution of the other. During the dissolution cold war also boundary studies gained significance. The delineation and formation of boundaries for the new post war countries required in-depth and multifaceted study of processes and phenomenon of the region; this also enhanced the scope of border studies.

In past few decades discipline of geopolitics and political geography has turned its focus from boundaries as the political limits of the states, to borders as the socio-territorial constructs. The interest for the studies of border, in the meaning of the construction and the representation of difference, could be considered as the offspring of the post-modern turn in the social sciences. Questions such as, how borders are made in terms of symbol, signs, identifications, representations, performance and stories. There are two important things, “Mental Map” and “Check Points” which is considered important for the borders to function and to maintain its viability (Migdal, 2004). Mental Map is basically the shared history and geographical experiences of a community, accentuating the feeling of oneness. Narratives and stories play a dominant role in its formation. Partition of India had left many stories which are fictional as well as non-fictional, these past’s narrations impinge on our minds and strengthen the mental map making Indo- Pakistan border harder. Check points can be

actual as well as virtual. Actual check-points are in the form of passport and visa check points and virtual is the otherness induced by the language ascent, dressing, and food of a particular community.

This epistemological awakening has changed scope of whole discipline of border studies. Post-modern turn is accompanied by post-structuralist contributions made by Derrida, Foucault etc. where they have decoded and deconstructed the day to day attempts of bordering where X tries to border or territorialise Y (Houtum, 2005). State acts as a bordering agent for the citizenry. By various policies and local laws people of the respective area may feel exclusion and inclusion.

The border study cannot be separated from identity and territorial questions. Unlike early morphological border studies, there is now much more engagement between students of nationalism and territoriality and those who study borders. Nationalism always involves a struggle for land, or an assertion about right to land. In the premordialist tradition of nationalism, the concept home land has a central focus. The geographic outcome of national conflicts is frequently coming up of new borders, new borderlands and new relations between bordering neighbours. A starting point for border studies therefore should be analysis of identity formation and change, with territorial dimension as the central theme. Rather following the premordialist tradition of equating national identity to a specific piece of land based on an historical claim, we see borders as the social construction of recent origin and therefore place the study of borders into the world system tradition of political geography.

Post-colonial boundary formation in the so called dark continent of Africa by the European colonisers was the most pathetic and deplorable attempt on their part. These were geometric boundaries (non-representational) carved out on African landscape. These borders did not respect the geographical realities of the region. The divided cultural areas of Africa through these boundaries present continent wide problem. Many national politicians would regard attempts to unit culture areas as pandering to tribalism and as being diametrically opposed to their central task of nation building. Simple new- line solutions are not always possible as people are often inter-mingled and scattered geographically. And if a central government arrive at the decision to evolve a new line or boundary then they are in fear of negating there sovereignty and will project their weakness (Griffith, 1986). The recent balkanisation of Sudan into

two countries can reveal the realities persisting in these areas. North Sudan is ethnically different than the South Sudan. There were continuous incidents of ethnic violence in Sudan for a decade or so. Geometrical boundaries make resource viability of this region complex. While demarcating boundaries in Africa, natural ecosystems were not taken care off and spaces were arbitrarily divided. Consequently resource politics in this region has gained currency ranging from hydro-politics to mineral politics.

The two term frontier and boundaries are often used interchangeably in the non-geographical literature. In political geography they are quite different and carry distinct connotation. Boundaries are the line demarcating the outer limits of territory under the sovereign jurisdiction of a nation-state. Frontiers on the other hand are zones of varying width, separating the ecumenes (fully developed and politically and economically integrated parts) of a given pair of states. Frontiers may consist of uninhabited or sparsely populated areas of marginal utility at the current level of technology, so that the states from the either side of the frontier, may not feel the need to define the precise areal limits of their political jurisdiction. There are many factors which facilitates changeover from frontier zones to boundary lines but the main factors which led to this geographical development are: a) changing nature of sovereignty: from tribal to territorial. b) economic utility of resources hitherto unused, c) need for exact demarcation for administration, law, defence and trade etc., d) rise of modern European nation state, e) involvement of territory in hierarchy of feudal authority, f) declining stronghold of Pope in Europe (Dixit, 1987). Etymologically, “frontier” implied the region that lay “in front”, that is ahead of ecumene on its margin.

Till the close of Middle Ages, limits to state jurisdiction were vague. There were border zones but no boundary lines. The frontier was the zone where state put hold to its authority; it had no recognition in public law. The need for fixed boundaries arose only after the modern styled states of Europe developed to replace Holy Roman Empire. Another factor hampering the rise of precisely defined linear boundaries was the hierarchical character of feudal authority. The concept of sovereignty also transformed. Whereas the modern concept of sovereignty is territorial, the feudal concept of sovereignty was personal in nature. It must be pointed out that the cotemporary concept of sovereignty was not alien to the ancient Indian, Chinese and

Roman civilisations. Chinese though did not had a clear conception of a definite and clear boundary but the formation of 'Great Wall of China' indicates that they learnt that whatever cannot be included should be excluded. In the case of Roman Empire, Augustus laid the "Frontier system". He organised the Roman army as a standing force, and stationed it in frontier zones (Jones, 1959).

In India coming up of 16 Mahajanapadas (Kuru, Panchal, Sursena, Vajji, Mall, Magadh etc.) signifies development of territorial anchorage. Kautilya's Arthashastra, a manual of Indian statecraft believed to belong to the fourth century B.C., recommended strong boundary defences, with fortification on sites naturally suited for the purpose. Rise of strong state around Patliputra presently named as Patna in Bihar under Chandragupta Maurya was established under the guidance of Kautilya who focused on territorial aggrandizement (Thapar, 1984). It is considered that India lacked the understanding of geopolitics as it never laid the scientific boundary to its North West frontier, through which several incursions took place through Kyber and Golan Passes. In the medieval age King Akbar established the first scientific boundary in the North Western part of India through Kabul and Kandhar (Chandra, 2005).

Boundaries are very much related to the idea of nationality. Ideas about boundaries vary in space and time, and reflect differences in national goals and objectives. The French (who possess somewhat geographically well-defined territory) were pleading in favour of natural laws to be the basis of national boundaries, but the Germans, who were not fortunate in this respect, when faced with the task of creating a unified Germany, pleaded in favour of the concept of boundary based on folk and nationality. Many German philosophers like Fichte believed that common language and culture constituted a natural law, higher than that of rivers and mountains (Dixit, 1987). The principle of self-determination on the basis of linguistic nationality, established at Paris in 1919, became the guiding principle for fixing boundaries not only for the post-First-World War Europe but worldwide.

In the medieval times concept of sovereignty was different than the modern concept of sovereignty. Modern sovereignty is seen in relation with defined territorial limits. In medieval times kings sovereignty lied with people who were obliged to serve the

of taxation is closely associated with the relevance of boundary. In medieval times taxation was ill-defined. The system of taxation was limited to certain group of people such as clergy and merchants therefore due to lack of taxation on land, precise boundaries were needed. At certain instances when a convict was subjected to be heard, local barons had the power to hear the case in that process they decided the jurisdiction of the area. The result of such disputes, has in some instances, shaped the courses of the political boundary for centuries. There are number of instances where boundary questions came up between France and Germany in order to settle legal question, the right to hear a case (Pounds, 1963).

The rulers of medieval Europe did not have a clear picture of the territory they ruled. So to know the exact area they ruled they often had to consult the local people residing in the area.

“A feature of political geography of feudalism was its “patchwork political map”. Discontinuous holdings were common, and were tolerable because of the decentralised nature of feudal rule and war fare” (Jones and Stephens, 1959).

The important development of subsequent century is the unstoppable attempt to convert boundary zones and frontiers to smoothen and straighten boundaries so that the problem of overlapping sovereignty comes to an end. The shift of boundary concept from medieval to modern is bound with the rise of Nation-States. People in the medieval age were known for changing alliances and loyalty. Rise of nation-states was preceded by the rise of national consciousness and advent of scientific revolution, propelled by the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo. This accentuated the end of Dark Age in Europe and advent of Renaissance. Collectivism was replaced by individualism. As the Nation-State emerged, the old concept of boundary was changed.

John Agnew (2005) in his work pertaining to history of states and its territories appreciated the work done by Bobbitt and Teschke. The intrinsic relationship between war and prevalent constitution imposed subsequently was highlighted in his work. It is evident that the country coming out victorious after the war puts its ideology and institution for the acceptance by the world. It is believed that the Westphalia peace

accord was the product of 20 years long war and it was France and England who were to be followed by rest of the Europe. From 1914 to 1990 there was a parallel tussle between three power streams which were to decide future functioning of borders and representation of state territoriality. There was a constant war between: Communism, Fascism and Parliamentarianism. In the Second World War there was a sheer defeat of fascisms and hence its ethos and practices were thrown away and the other two tussled with each other till 1990. With the writing of end of history by Francis Fukuyama indicates which one ideology and territorial representation would stay after the cold war. Further this constitutionalism decided internal institutionalisation of the territories of the state and further laws on which the states of the world will interact (Agnew, 2005).

The fascist Germany under Hitler believed state to be an organism and need “lebensraum” for its survival. This fascist trend projected borders to be fluid where the stronger states sucked the weaker states into its territory. The Germans adopted crude environmental determinist approach and were largely influenced by the works of Darwin and Spencer. It can be profoundly acknowledged that borders of these states functioned as the aggrandizers. But then this very state narrative ended with the end of Second World War. There was a simultaneous territorial representation and institutionalisation been contested between the Communist block and the Liberal Democratic block. Communist block led by Soviet Russia was autarkic and closed in nature and consequently evolved their borders as an “iron curtain” which was impregnable. The communist borders were devoid of flows and outside networks. It is considered that these borders were expansionist in nature. On the other side of the world were the states with liberal democracy led by United States of America. Their economy was liberal and so was its governance and institutions. In this part of the world the borders were much more flexible and fluid; there were free movements of goods and high networking and flows. Both of this differing ideology showed different kind of territoriality at borders. With the end of cold war the western style of ethos and norms were in vogue. The developing countries are religiously following the parliamentary form of representations.

Still there are countries that are in intermediary stage in border practices. On the one hand European Union has de-territorialised itself and is borderless. On the other hand there are countries that are still searching their existence through a representational

boundary. Many of the African countries are carving out new borders and territories; the recent example is bifurcation of the country Sudan into two. Here the borders are very sensitive and hard. Similarly in South Asia borders are hard and are far away from the European standards of border functionality.

Bordering is basically constant re-territorialisation of human differences in changing time and scale. It has been around one and a half decade when the seminal work of Agnew (1994) “Territorial Trap” was published from then border studies have evolved and has become much more dynamic and logical. Now borders are not just perceived as a physical entity but also socio-psychological in construct. In subsequent decades there has been increase in paper publications, conferences, symposium so to better comprehend the multi-faceted processes involving bordering and its functionality (Newman, 2010). Territory and border go along simultaneously. There is a fundamental need to border the territory to which a populace is attached. To put this argument differently the process of bordering is inherited in the process of territorialisation. Contemporary political geographical studies have diversified and do not restrict their sense of ‘territory’ to just its physicality. Territory now is considered as a complex social-psychological construct. Borders are now the product of increasing networking and trans-national flows. These borders are not just restricted to the physical boundary but are fluid in character existing in flows and networks at various scale and level. With the terrorist attacks of 9/11 the physicality of borders were re-imagined as an important factor to sustain and secure the national territory. Nations made themselves protective in their policies and outlook. This development globally challenges the very notion of the decline of borders.

Globalisation and localisation are the two simultaneous processes challenging the great Westphalia dam and is compelling it to crack and leak. Globalisation with Trans State Entities like European Union and World Trade Organisation is changing the vary character of Westphalia states, which believed in absolute sovereignty. Because of these institutions the paradigm of ‘absolute sovereignty ‘is now is known by the terms such as “graduated sovereignty”, “looped sovereignty”. It is evident that flexibility of sovereignty actually means that the sense of territoriality is also graduating with simultaneous decline in intense attachment with the borders. On the other scale, phenomena of localisation are accentuating sub-statehood entities to assert on central governments institutions and borders. They are coming up with their

independent plans and policies with adjacent countries and with global institutions like World Bank, U.N, IMF, Asian Development Banks etc. (Scott, 1998). The state of Gujarat in India had evolved joint policies with other sovereign countries of the world. There has been new trend in Indian foreign policy, where certain states like West-Bengal and Tamilnadu are asserting themselves in the country's foreign policy, which is considered as threat for Indian democracy and sovereignty. Various state-hood movements within the countries are giving birth to new form of borders. Naga movement in India is just not restricted in the country itself but spreads in the adjoining country of Myanmar. These insurgents believe in the concept of "Greater Nagalim". These movements are not only observed in this part of the world only but spread to other continents. There are state-hood movements in Spain (Cantolian), England (Irish), Germany (southern part of Germany), and China (Xanxiang). These movement spread to the other countries peripheries and affects the borderlanders.

Borders are taking twin threat of supernationalism from above, and ethnonationalism and regionalism from below. On the level of the focus on the anthropology of international borders certain changes are very important to highlight here since 1989. With the fall of Berlin war, the most important barrier between the two competing world systems left the liberal democratic view to rule. Many sovereign states in Eastern Europe and Asia came up. Again with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, ethnonationalism was at its heights, civil war broke out, eventually giving way to several borders within Balkans. Formation of European Union is also a profound development to appreciate the concept of borderless world (Donnan and Wilson, 2001). Now borders are increasingly questioned with increase in ecological threats such as global warming, desertification, pollution etc.

"The worldwide explosion in negative environmental externalities does not respect international boundaries; currencies, long seen as the badges of state sovereignty, are increasingly denationalised; many people hold citizenship in multiple states; borders are increasingly porous to flows of migrants and refugees without state regulation; knowledge and innovation networks no longer honour national boundaries, it is extremely difficult to establish state origin for a large number of commodities in world trade as transnational corporation coordinate their activities across multiple location in different countries; ; perhaps the most important political innovation of recent times, the *Al Qaeda* terrorist network, work across state boundaries while exploiting lack of territorial sovereignty exercised by some of its host states" (Agnew, 2005: 438)

In case of European Union, though they have succeeded in shedding their physical border operations and functionalities, but new forms of bordering are being witnessed within the society, Islam phobia, refugee's problems, and protectionist measures for the immigrants are some examples. Radicalisation of Muslim youths and the Neo-Nazi movement in Germany by local people are constructing a new psychological border which could act detrimental to the very existence of grand institution of the Union. Recent case pertaining to Roma refugees, who were treated inhumanly by the French government and simultaneously other states defining them as illegal migrants, are incidents to be questioned while situating European culture of freedom and democracy in centre. Possibly rapid globalisation has led to the increase in radicalisation of the society. It has been observed that due to age of globalisation there are uninterrupted flows of African and Asian migrants to the European countries. Due to high competition and simultaneous discrimination in Europe, society has been radicalised. The recent Economic crisis compels the political geography scholars to question the economic viability of the borderless world. It has to be taken into consideration that de-territorialisation is always accompanied by re-territorialisation at a different scale.

Geographical maps also play an important part in the functioning and working of borders. These borders are created and re-created by the politicisation of map. A cartographer and map maker in his language decides what to include in map and what to discard. The historical geography of an area is very important to acknowledge as this decides what should be included in the map or not. If the map is of Israel-Palestine, then it has to be seen that in which language the cities are been named, whether it is in Hebrew or in Palestinian language. The 'wall' which divides Israel and Palestine is termed as 'security wall' by the Israelites and on the other side of the wall is termed as 'separation barrier' by the Palestinians (Schnell, 2001). In relation to India and Pakistan, again maps are been used to influence the power circles and the populace of Indian sub-continent. The issue is pertaining to the inclusion of Siachin in India or in Pakistan. Initially Pakistani cartographers showed Siachin as their part. India at that time didn't take notice. The map till around 1980's was circulated in the international community. Suddenly there was encroachment from the Pakistani side to capture this area, but eventually due to slope advantage accruing to India the bid

failed. Today effective possession of this area lies with India but due to carelessness India is not in the good books of the international community. The map politics have extended from the battlefield to the classroom.

Importance of ‘critical cartography’ has to be acknowledged to better understand virtual spaces in political geography and its implication on social psychology. In earlier periods ‘politics of projection’ was in fashion and countries intentionally picked a particular projection method favouring biased visualisation of maps. In colonial days continent Europe was shown very big in size than the Asian and African continents by choosing certain type of projection and scale. This in turn made colonisers much more assertive in their endeavours and gave them confidence. Critical cartography unravels the hidden relationship between power, politics and map making. Maps act as a tool for the political class, where biased borders are being created so to better inherit it into the masses psyche and to affect their ‘abstract territoriality’. Colonial maps were nothing but expression of subjectivity expressed by the powerful. Critical cartography does not believe in negation of maps but it does tactical interventions to arrive at objectivity.

Borders are not just a mechanism to divide rather it is considered in personal psychology as the fundamental pre-requisite needed for a better interaction between the two. If borders are not well defined and evolved then there are chances that the territory will overlap which would produce stress and conflicts. For instance before the advent of territorial state (concrete space) in Europe in medieval times territories were not well defined and the allegiance and alliances overlapped. This produced situation of anarchy and turmoil with regular battles. But after the coming of modern state, numbers of battles have decreased substantially (Ruggie, 1993). Countries whose borders are not well defined and demarcated are vulnerable in the sense that it can often result to border skirmishes and security phobia. In India the state of Jammu and Kashmir, because of historically unsettled borders along the ‘line of control’ faces extreme problems where borderlanders are affected the most. It has been experienced and tested that the countries having unquestionable, well established boundaries, devoid of any disputes progresses better in regional as well as economic cooperation’s.

“Recent work in political geography about boundary and barriers...stresses how they do much more than divide. By introducing points of division, boundaries provide opportunities for crossings, in turn, beget borderlands that take on their own distinct characteristics; hybrid entities that give the entire system its dynamism and experiences that force one to question the naturalness of bounded territories and grounded identities. In short, division makes connection possible, or as Deleuze and Guattari...put it, one cannot have smoothness without a countervailing tendency toward striation. The world is not comprised of eternal or static territories, but of on-going re-territorialisation” (Loughlin and Sidaway, 2001).

Borders are the zone where businesses take place. It is point where accumulation, smuggling, social circulation takes place. These are the zones where imports and exports of goods find its existence. Due to illegal smuggling and immigration along the border zones incidences of HIV, AIDS have increased.

The geopolitical model also influences the border studies. Mackinder's (1919) 'heartland' concept inspired Hitler to march to the eastern front, to capture the heartland. Spykman (1942) in his 'Rim land' theory acknowledged the importance of countries bordering the heartland. Another very famous geopolitical model formed by stalwart S.B Cohane (1964) postulated that the region around European steppes is the gate way to the heartland. This type of geopolitical model influences the way political powers perceive their geopolitical interests and find reasons to expand their borders. A.T Mahan (1890) monumental work on 'sea power' inspired countries to expand their borders and bases to far off sights in the oceans. America was largely influenced by the Spykman's Rimland theory and started constructing its bases in the Rimland countries so to contain communist Russia.

Geographical artefacts like Caprivi Strip, Wakhan corridor in Afghanistan, exclave and enclave like Kaliningrad, Lesotho, Swaziland, Azerbaijan in Europe, Africa and central Asia respectively are interesting geographical artefacts which can be included in border studies. These geographical artefacts are the social constructions which are result of bargain and agreement.

Border studies had traversed from the old inquiries to the new one. During the cold war and just after border research focused on sharpest lines which were highly militarised. These zones were mostly in East Asia, between Israel-Palestine, South-African fences with Zimbabwe. Border studies focused on these area initially but now

the focus is shifting towards new fences which are been made in the present world order. For instance US-Mexican border, where new issues are coming up and which needs a thorough attention. Research requires scrutiny of zones pertaining to maritime boundary issues developing between European Union and Africa, Arabia and Horn of Africa. New issues like GlobalApartheid' at EU's external borders is in news. European scholars express these phenomena as "gating of EU" space. European Union though boasts itself to be the epitome of liberty and democracy and compares itself to the American standards, from the vantage point of immigrants, seeking economic appraisal and rehabilitation, discrimination is rampant. The external borders of EU have stringent checkpoints where biometric analysis is used to segregate the one who are considered as others. Though EU internal boundaries are fading away but the external boundaries are becoming much more sharp and impregnable to the outside world. (Sideway, 2001).

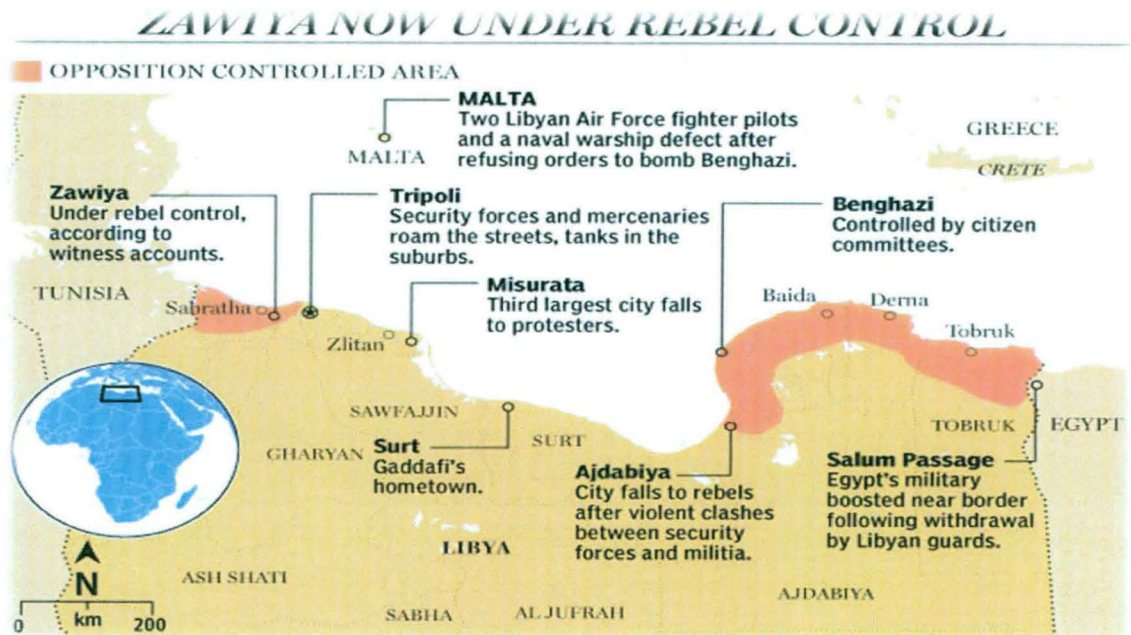
Other trends in border studies are now in favour of inclusion of various methods so to give colours to this field of study. Methods like ethnography, photography, archival analysis, local histories are included. Mixed method is been developed so to get a better picture of the area or the borderland in question. For several decades there is academic anxiety that whether to carry on with 'Case Study' approach to study borders or to situate these border peculiarities in broader and structured politico-geographical theory and discourses (Sideway, 2001). Nowadays 'Case Study' method is considered to be below standard in academic pursuits. It is considered to be very descriptive lacking explanation and insight. Further it is commonly thought that what is the utility of 'case study', when it cannot arrive at certain generalisations. Due to the intrusion of cultural studies and other social sciences in the border studies the field is been re-energised. More multi- disciplinary border studies will become more will it turn towards situating itself in the wider politico- theoretical framework. Border study in this dynamic world of flows and networking has to be related to changing spectrum of sovereignty. Social bordering has now gained enough attention in the academia, this is an interesting field of study where day to day human constructions are being analysed. This type of bordering can come from symbols and signs and government statistics. A temple in the middle of a village or in that case a church or masjid can infuse the feeling of otherness to some people who do not belong to that community. A skeleton symbol with red background can alert you not to enter into that vicinity.

Religious rituals can accentuate the process of 'Othering' and consequent bordering. Nuances in dressing can also lead to this process. Tradition of 'Hijab' and 'Burkha' worn by Muslim women, the turban worn by Sikh community, saffron attire worn by Hindu men, all differences creates a type of boundedness. Statistics has played havoc in the societies. Census which was introduced by the Britishers in India was a strategy to divide the Indian masses based on religion and cast. Still today statistical numbers are been played upon by the politicians to garner support of a particular community in the election eventually creating a social separation within the community.

A new trend is setting in the border studies where scholars are involved in studying a peculiar kind of border called as "Revolutionary Borders" which are made by the urban communities of the country. Karl Marx stated that formation of the cities is the right condition for the revolutions. Urbanisation is increasing at a rapid rate today and so are discomfort, stress and radicalisation of populace against the apathy of the government. Social activist groups, civil societies and youth are contributing in these uprising. From Paris Commune, Red Shirts uprising in Bangkok and Anna movement in India, revolutionary boundaries are been shaped within the states. These protesters by using certain symbols and barricades evolve these boundaries. These temporary protesters after some agreement take over social services and security of the populace. Majority of these non-government revolutionary boundaries are static in its operations. Whether it was in Paris where socialist, anarchist and radicals in 1871 barricaded Paris for at least two months or in Bangkok the occupation was static in nature. Marx and other revolutionaries at that time favoured mobile type of insurrection. Recent episodes of "Arab Spring" suggest the same kind of development where protesters in Libya carved out their sphere of influence in the country itself. Rapid urbanisation has increased urban activist to a large number. Urban Geography has to be better understood so to unravel these bordering tendencies. A cities raw material act as the resource for the urban community to wage a persistent fight. The material richness of urban geography makes it possible for poor peasants and workers to hold territory and make them balanced against highly equipped state soldiers. Borders are been defined as the limit of the sovereign, having a legal jurisdiction. On the other hand these temporary 'revolutionary borders shaped by non-state element cannot qualify their borders to be borders in the states perspective. But then these protests are popular in nature and garners mass support in the meantime. If the state

has less power and freedom to stop the protestors then it helps these protestors in formation of a revolutionary boundary for the time being (Marcus, 2012).

Figure 2.1: Libyan Uprising and Revolutionary Borders.



Source:-<http://news.nationalpost.com>

[Revolutionary boundaries coming up on the northern flanks of the country by the rebels during Libyan uprising]

In Indian state of Nagaland witnesses these type of “revolutionary borders”. These borders are shaped by Naga insurgents and they also run ‘parallel government’ to cater the needs of the people. The so called ‘Maoist Corridor’ in India witnesses shifting revolutionary boundaries. This corridor extends from Nepal to Southern state of India. It seems that a delicate balance between state machinery and the Maoists exists. In the neighbouring state of India, LTTE for several decades maintained a

revolutionary border within the Srilankan state. Similarly Balouch rebels in Pakistan are in constant insurrection against the government. But there are very few stories where these revolutionary borders attained legal recognition and acceptance by the international community in today's world order. The exception is 'Taliban' in Afghanistan, there is probability that USA would come with an agreement with these militias. The legitimate government of Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance lacks strength and stability to give an effective border to this region of the world.

A trend has evolved in border studies where conflict between state and its provinces within is been focused. There is a perpetual struggle between the state and the communities who desire separation of territory from the state. This is primarily a territorial demand. In this backdrop Indian statehood movements can be appreciated. In India statehood movement is the product of the political cleavages accentuated and shaped during the India's freedom struggle. Britishers without respecting the regional vividness and geographical realities merged several distinct Indian regions into big provinces and presidencies. The three presidencies encompassed big states. For example states of Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa were parts of Bengal presidencies. In South India, Madras presidency comprised Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and some part of Karnataka. The third major regional unit was Bombay presidency which comprised state of Maharashtra and Gujarat (Brass, 1994). These regions were unnatural geographically as well as historically. These regions were ruled under one authority though their socio-cultural settings were different. After independence these groupings became unviable.

Andhra Pradesh was the first culturally distinct region which demanded separation. It was in the mid of 1950's when the state came into existence. After which there was unprecedented movements leading to the formation of new states. In the year 2000 three new states came into existence in the Republic of India, Uttrakhand, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh. A new state also constructs new borders. What are the implication of these new borders on the economy and productivity in general and social-psychology in particular should be the inquiry area for the political geographers. It has been observed that the creation of the new state to a certain extent has given a psychological relief to the populace. Coming up of new borders has many challenges to be worked upon. Carving out new state and eventually a border is not just a

parliamentary decision but borders are to be worked upon so that human psychology adjusts to that very fact.

These intra- national borders are much more important than the international borders, as these borders affect the citizen directly than the external borders of the nation. It has been noticed that when person enters into his home state his level of stress and anxiety reduces. When an individual venture out in somebodys other territory, fear and anxiety is natural. This phenomenon can be explained under the “theory of associationalism”. The recent spurt in demand of territory by the provinces is nothing but the people’s psychology where they stop associating themselves with the apparatus of the state and its very idea. And this lack of association to some extent is related to the advent of capitalism backed by globalisation at a rampant rate. There are regions in state lagging behind, in this era of globalisation connected regions of the state is prospering and the unconnected hinterland are lacking basic minimum necessities. The case Maharashtra in India is very interesting, Western Maharashtra is industrially developed; service sector is flourishing and has acquired a strong political clout. This area is endowed with metro cities like Mumbai, Nasik and Pune. On the other end of spectrum, Eastern Maharashtra that is Vidharbha is experiencing stark poverty, unemployment, hunger, very low availability of irrigation water, absence of health services. In this backdrop it is natural that the backward regions will demand a new state. Many statehood movements are going on in India like in, Western Orissa, Gorkhaland movement, Telangana movements, Bundelkhand and many more.

When people stop associating themselves with the state machinery and apparatus and feels hopelessness and exhaustion they tend to overcome that condition by demanding territory for themselves. This territory becomes their tool for solving the grudges and grievances. In other words demand of territory acts as a mean to an end. What is that end nobody knows? Is it some kind of fulfilment or just a false consciousness on which people express themselves?

Recently it has been observed and surveyed that the national leaders try to legitimize and strengthen national identity through the construction of uncomplicated national boundaries. This is done by them by creating uncomplicated national histories. Norms of modern nation-state lies on two premises firstly it should be politico-territorial in nature and secondly there has to be a unique and distinct cultural-

historical character of state territory. Why such imagined communities come about and how? The leaders try to create a sense of peoplehood among the masses. A construction of territorial ideology takes place. It depends upon the leaders that how they create the national histories and meta-narratives of their nation-state. What histories are to be included and what are to be excluded. Nations have created their own histories. In the pursuit of creating and narrating an uncomplicated history, to better arrive at concluding limits, many of the histories and messiness were left behind. People who were not part of the story were considered as the outsiders (Murphy, 2012). For instance in Indian case a theory has been postulated that two major stocks of Indian populace Aryans and Dravidians are different in their orientation and outlook. Further it has been historicised that the northern Indian stock were Aryans who were invaders and came from outside. If this idea is circulated across the country then this could act detrimental to the notion of the Indian nation state. This type of discourse at a subconscious level could lead to divergence in common consciousness which is considered to be fundamental to the existence of the nation-state. For a stable nation-state a “collective consciousness” is very important and is tried by the leaders and nations to infuse it into the populace. This attempt is unnatural and is the core of the problem.

In the modern period of nation-states it becomes pertinent to shed light on the formation of these nation-states. These modern states came into formation in phases. There were many distinct reasons behind the formation of these nations –states in different phases. There are pre-age of nationalism states assumed its statehood with the advent of era of nationalism like Spain and Japan. There are states which came after unification of provinces like Germany and Italy, the states which formed after the disintegration of territorially contiguous empire, for instance Bulgaria and Uzbekistan. Majority of the states became modern nation-state after they freed themselves from the clutches of colonisers and imperialists. In 1970’s many African states came into formation, eventually coming of numerous nation-states created new borders and frontiers in this subcontinent. Many states emerged after the collapse of several colonial powers, for example Venezuela, Chile (Murphy, 2012). Intervention by the external power also leads to the state formation. It has been experienced in history at several times; Thailand could be a better example. Relationship between a failed state and subsequent border developments is very pertinent in the borders

studies. Disintegration of Yugoslavia is an important case where borders changed so instantly. It has been analysed that a failed state could split into many new units. In today's scenario Pakistan is often termed as a failed state by the international community. There are many regions in Pakistan which are witnessing disturbances at a huge scale. It has been noticed that a failed state is prone to the exploits of the capitalism where unprecedented growth of black economy throws the poor on the mercy of the global mafia. Populace near the borderland is the most vulnerable. They are the one who are tortured, murdered, displaced as they are away from the core area of their clan. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia there were several incidents of civil wars and bloodbaths. Primarily those were killed and displaced who were in the frontiers.

Spaces around borderland are most vulnerable than the populace residing in the core area (Dixit 1987). In context of India the parts of north-east and North West frontier comprising the Kashmir valley are most susceptible to violence and insecurity. These borderland people not only is victimised by the security personals but also experience wrath from the other side of the border. Kashmir is the apt example, which is along the 'line of control'. Insurgency is very frequent here. The locals residing here are in constant fear and agony. They are bound for routine checking's, house search, document inquiry etc. This zone is under "Arms Forces Special Power Act" which gives extra power to the army men in comparison to the Indian citizen of that region. Time and again in counter insurgency measures innocent citizens are killed. The same is true with the north-eastern states of India. This region is also insurgency affected and faces lot more problems. Incidents of smuggling, drug-trafficking is rampant in this very region. There is problem of illegal migration in this region. Huge numbers of Myanmar refugees enter into this region. The "Manorama rape" case in which Indian army was accused, is still alive in our memory. This region witnesses refugees from three sides including Bangladesh, Nepal and Myanmar. Borderland region are bound to have these problems. Some scholars suggest that it is ingrained in the very nature of the frontier life. Issue of identification also pops up in this region.

The same problem can be appreciated in the central Asian region. These five central Asian states were just provinces of Soviet Union. These provinces were carved out around 1920's and from then it functioned as a republic in the Soviet Union. During the disintegration and dissolution of USSR these provinces took the shape of

independent countries (CAS). Borders which came up were irrational which did not respected geographical realities. The soviet logic of constructing these regions was solely administrative and nothing to do with viability. Geographically the borders are so complex that travelling by road is very tricky and exhaustive. Passengers never know when they have crossed the borders of their country (Kolossof, 1999). Borders between Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirgizstan are economically unviable and needs to be worked upon. There is a common joke prevalent in this region about the Uzbek capital Tashkent that if wife and husband are sleeping at night on the same bed, husband would be sleeping in Uzbekistan and wife would by default sleep in Kazakhstan. This border uncertainty is helping terrorist elements to flourish, due to the ill-defined border regimes at the tri-junction of these three countries. The Furgana valley is at close proximity to the region where borders of these three countries meet, this valley has become hot spot for the illegal activities. Therefore it becomes very pertinent for the states or cultures dominating the core areas to manage these borderlands in an intelligent way. Various human rights institutions questions the state the way they treat there frontier and peripheral area.

In geography of religion, boundary studies also become vital. There is a concept of sacred and profane space in geography of religion. The whole crusades of tenth and eleventh century took place to capture and overwhelm the sacred space of Jerusalem. Still in modern times it draws attention as it is considered as a symbolic space which energises the very idea of religion. There are certain spaces which by default creates its own boundary. In India there is a firm belief that certain spaces are sacred and some are profane. This belief is not just limited to 'place' but also to directions. Certain cities like Rishikesh, Hariduar, Banaras, Madhurai, Vaisnodevi, Tirupati Balaji, Sirdi and many more are considered as sacred spaces. Muslims considers Mecca and Medina as sacred space. These spaces also act as a symbol which enhances community solidarity. But the greater dilemma of this modern century was best put by Durkheim. He put fourth two most important sociological dilemmas for this modern age. Firstly there is increasing individualism and simultaneously there is the problem of social integration. Secondly the barrier between sacred and profane spaces is vanishing. Both of these two phenomena have a greater impact on overall working of the society and the issue of borders in particular. Extreme and pathological individuals are increasing in number and at contrary in the modern times

it is the responsibility of the state to control and execute the policies and bring about justice. Social integration due to escalation in individualism is at stake. The very state idea at its territorial narratives is at stake. Another development is decline in the concept of sacred and profane spaces. Now the question arises how important are these spaces in social integration of the community and for the viability of the communities' border. Again a question props up, will the humanity be de-territorialised and fragmented in very nature and what would be its effect on the nation states (Kenneth, 1991).

The political geography should also incorporate researches depicting the relationship between religion and geography. Geography of religion appreciates the phenomena of exclusivity versus non-exclusivity, ethnic versus universal, physical condition and religion, ecology of religion. It becomes most vital at the point when it claims certain humans to be insiders and others to be outsiders and facilitates bordering. In India formation of Pakistan as a new nation-state was on the basis of religion. Most importantly political geographers should also focus on the link and association between the religion and the structure and orientation of the state. Nature of religion can divulge the nature of its boundary, physically as well as psychological. It is possible that people belonging to same religion is divided into many discreet states. And to their advantage they can make their borders flexible. Contrarily in case of India and Pakistan religion is considered very important for its assertions and identity. In this case religion instigates a sense of strong othering which is manifested at the borders of these very countries. Geography of religion can also help in unravelling the way states with varied religion practices territoriality at the borders. In some states, state apparatus is deeply connected with religion. And at the other level of spectrum some states have transcended into a much more sophisticated realm of functioning.

It has been observed that simple ethnic group tries to relate their rituals to the territory. Religion plays a dominant role in organisation of space and subsequently separation of spaces. When religion becomes complex in its nature the division of spaces increases. It has been observed that eastern religion is much more accommodative in their nature and essence. In a single territory several religions can coexist. On the other hand there are certain religions that acquire exclusive territory for their existence. This can be attributed to Christianity were Holy Scriptures are restrictive in nature. If religion teaches us peaceful coexistence rather competition the

psychology of exclusivity towards a territory would not arise. A unique balance in eastern religion is to be appreciated. On the other hand eastern religion such as Hinduism, Confucianism, and Taoism are not restrictive in nature and transcends duality and therefore they certainly do not require different niche for different religion and hence fragmentation of land is avoided (Sharik and Mefford, 2009). It would seem mere speculation to relate the fact that eastern hemisphere has geographically large states and western hemisphere has small spatial organisations in the form of small states. Is there any relationship between nature of religion and spatial organisation? Can it be said that religion influences the kind of territoriality a community practices and lives. There are incidents where religion is intertwined with the demand of territory and a niche for themselves. Recent example could be the division of Sudan into two on the ethnic as well as religious lines. Southern Sudan is Christian dominated and northern Sudan is Muslim dominated. This cleavage resulted into separation of the territory.

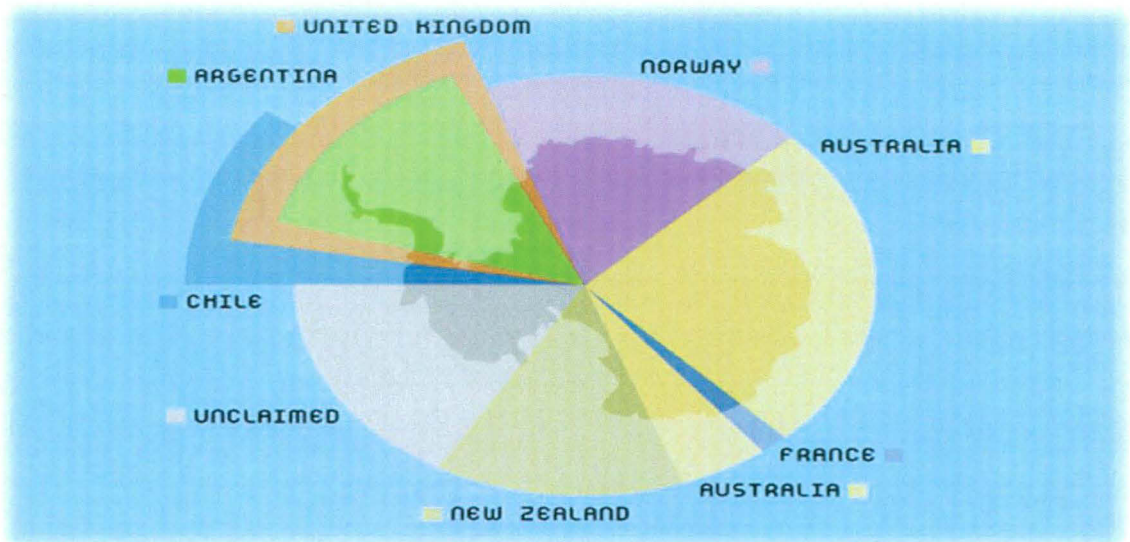
Every religion has a set border which compels it to project and express that border in physicality. These borders inherit the logic of exclusiveness and non-exclusiveness. But a very important question arises at this juncture are borders and boundary necessary? Are they essential parts of human existence? The process can be well understood when the chapter on the interface between territoriality and border will be discussed. Can it be assumed that the Borderless world of European Union is result of their religion becoming liberal and simpler?

Spykman for the first time introduced the fact that boundaries are the meeting place of two power structures. They are actually territorial power structures. This was departure from the view that boundaries are just representation of the legal jurisdiction. This was preferably a geopolitical concept. Spykman denied the myth that borders are the impassable barriers, with the advent of three dimensional security apparatus. He also came out with a geopolitical model in his Rimland theory. His main contribution in the border studies is that he highlighted the importance of new states with boundaries having equivalent power potentiality. But the question arises that how power potentiality is to be measured. With the end of Second World War two books written by Peattie and Jones on "problem of Boundary making". He

claimed that boundaries with less functionality and serviceability much better than the vice-versa. That is weaker the boundary more it is good. He in his study supported creation of buffer state and enhance regionalism in the buffer zones between the two friction frontiers. This was an interesting approach to counter the conflict and skirmishes in the frontier zones of two power blocks. For example Alsace between France and Germany acts as a linking region (Mingi, 1963).

The harder is the boundary; more is their possibility of conflicts. Historicity of the boundary is also very important, more the border has functioned more hard is it to be dissolved. For instance a soft boundary of European Union attracts less of a conflict than the hard borders of India and Pakistan, North Korea and South Korea. This approach should not only be restricted two internal boundaries but also maritime boundaries. In recent years as the sense of sovereignty has taken its toll on land now it is been extending to the seas and oceans. According to United Nation Convention on the Law Seas (UNCLOS), countries now have their sovereignty rights extending until Exclusive Economic Zones. There are issues emerging relating to maritime resource exploitation and harnessing. There are certain countries that have not ratified these clauses and one of those countries is United States of America. The recent maritime conflict between littorals of South China Sea shows the urgency of international community to takes step in this direction. Sovereignty issues pertaining to continental shelf has come up between Russia and Denmark. Now the sovereignty claims have reached to the sea bed and continental shelf. Phenomena of bordering are coming up. Which country would be insider and outsider would be guesses for the future. In maritime bordering and its endeavours and demarcation importance of science and technology is of utmost importance. The politics of claims are on the cards where “knowledge asymmetries” are giving rise to new forms of politics. Countries which are scientifically and technologically superior have better chance to claim for the land and resources. For instance claims on Antarctica are also driven by the knowledge asymmetries in the world over among the groups of nation states. Countries who have lagged behind research and development lacks courage to claim a territory as they lack knowledge of that particular environment.

Figure 2.2: Antarctic Treaty and Sovereignty Claims.



Source:-<http://www.discoverantarctica.com>

[The figure depicting various sovereignty claims by countries under 'Antarctica Treaty'. This picture also represents expansion of territoriality and borders of these countries. Due to contested territoriality 'overlapping of boundaries, can be observed between UK, Argentina and Chile]

There are important maritime issues which are again creating conflict between the coastal states and shipping rights. There is a provision of freedom of "innocent passage" for the ships bound to trade, but sometimes these ships enter into the territorial waters of the coastal states. Coastal states can protect their environment if shipping's are indulging in pollution of the marine life. We know that whole world is interdependent on each other and there is need of transportation, majorly these transports take place via sea and in this process sometimes it crosses the sovereign boundary of the coastal nations, which creates conflict. Political geographers should appreciate the importance of the sovereignty shifts which results in new borders whether it is on land, sea or outer space. Bordering trends are now shifting to the outer space to cosmos. There are satellites missions and scientific endeavours to the outer spaces which could be the initial level of sovereignty fixation. It is joked often that

even the moon would be bordered soon. Land locked states experiences geographical disadvantage as they cannot claim for the oceans resource. Sovereignty with inherent process of bordering is expanding to a realm which has to be studied and explored. What is the limit of this sovereignty expansion, nobody knows?

The importance of case study in the boundary studies is very significant. Nature of boundary varies from space and time. Most important part of border study is to understand the phenomena taking place in environment where border disputes occur. Border disputes are time immemorial in character and are natural process (Mingi, 1963). There were boundary dispute between the tribes, serfs, kings. India has boundary disputes with China and Pakistan. African countries witnesses' boundary disputes continuously. Formation of new boundary and its effect on the cultural milieu is also important aspect to be analysed. Various new borders came into existence after the first and the Second World War. Countries those were defeated in the Second World War were divided into two blocks, one controlled by capitalistic block and the other controlled by the communist bloc. After division of the states into distinct sphere of influence, it was observed that after dissolution of cold war with simultaneous "Fall of Berlin wall" it was noticed that the countries divided into two parts varied starkly in their spatial organisation. Western Germany resulted into a better economic space than the Eastern Germany. Eastern Germany under communist regime lacked economic progress and people lived there in pure destitution. Formation of border also influences the psychological bent and consciousness of the populace. With the dissolution of the cold war accompanied by disintegration of USSR several new states sprung up around Russia. The newness has to be adapted and borders have to be well functioned so to reach a better spatial and cultural organisation. Internal boundaries within the country also affect the way people create their image. The formation of Bangladesh in 1971 and carving out of new boundary gave the country a new path to arrange and manage their society and economy. There are several boundaries in the failed states and has a distinct kind of effect on the spatial organisation. For instance Somalia is the best case where the country is divided into several sphere of influence and borders.

Historicity and evolution of borders also is very important in border analysis (Mingi, 1963). The 49th parallel between Canada and USA was an antecedence boundary and took a lot of time in the past to be recognised by the local populace. The border

problem between Ireland and England is ingrained in historical developments. The present shape of Germany has evolved slowly through time, which started initially with the unification of Prussia. The present territorial shape of Italy is actually culmination of numerous provinces which took many years to culminate. In Indian context concentration of Muslim population in particular region of India and eventually those culminating into two separate countries have historical explanations. Establishment of new country of East Timor from Indonesian archipelago also has historical reasoning attached to it. Indonesian archipelago majorly had Muslim inhabitants on the other hand area around East Timor was of Christian majority. There was an uprising against the authority of Jakarta and with the support of western powers this new country came into prominence.

There is one more aspect in boundary studies relating to demarcation and delimitation of the boundaries (Mingi, 1963). With the advent of closed world unit as proclaimed by Mackinder as early as 1904 significance of border demarcation and delimitation came into the forefront of states foreign policy. With the dawn of emotionally charged nationalism followed with first and Second World War there was substantial increase in the incident of border and boundary formulations by the sovereigns and the professionals. There have been continuous problem in the demarcation and delimitation of Argentina and Chile as these two countries are separated by the tall Andes and hence it became a tedious task to arrive at a linear and undisputed boundary. Israel-Palestine boundary issue is also bone of contention for the populace residing there. This very issue has affected adversely the Arab world in particular and world in general. Indo -China McMahon line which was formulated under the exigencies of Britishers is also contested by both these countries. It becomes very difficult for the experts to reach out for the perfect boundary in these tall and rugged Himalayas. More prominently when hills or mountain divides two countries, the highest crest of the mountain or lowest part of the mountains that is river valley is taken as the dividing feature. But in this case it has become very hard to arrive at a conclusion. The Surveyors at Indo-China borders sometimes acknowledge the highest crest and starts the bordering procedures but as and when they are about to finish the demarcation, again the surveyor's team come across a much higher crest than the earlier acknowledged. Same happens in the case of river valley. River is considered as a standard natural dividing feature separating two countries. It creates

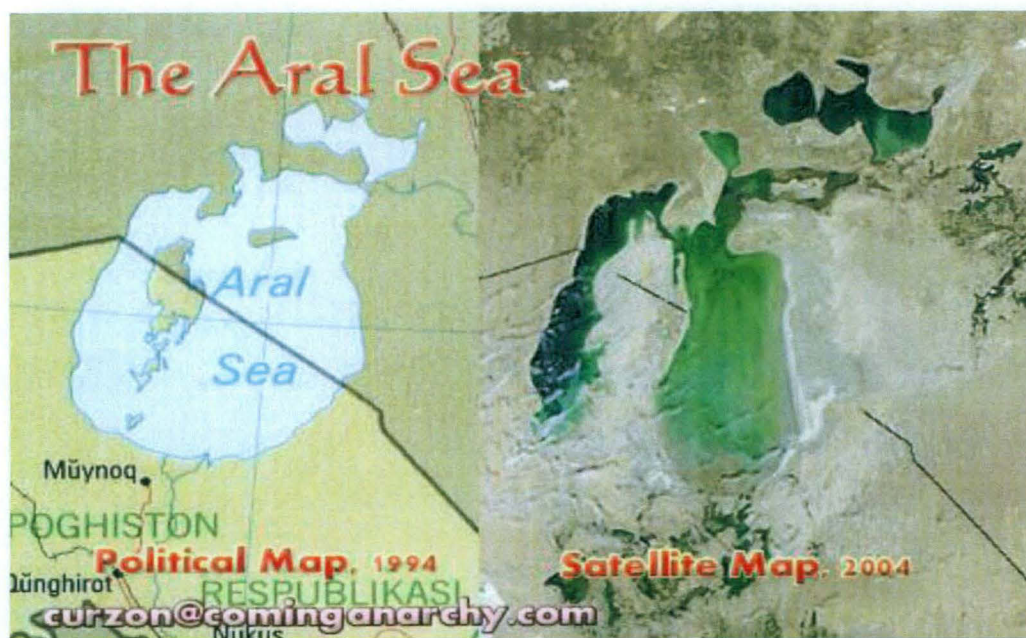
problem when the course of the river is erratic in nature and changes its course often. “Thalweg principle” is applied so to arrive at the exact linear boundary in the river itself. Thalweg in geography and fluvial geomorphology signifies the deepest continuous inline within a valley or watercourse system.

Study of exclaves and tiny state is also of great importance in boundary studies (Mingi, 1963). The exclaves witness and experience high intensity of circulation and there is high pressure from outside as it is been surrounded by an alien country. These exclaves are also geopolitically very significant for the home country. Kaliningrad the exclave of Russia is geopolitically very significant as it provides exit to the Baltic Sea and also extends its borders touching Lithuania and Poland. The case of Andorra is very interesting; this is a tiny country which shares its borders with France and Spain. Now the question arises how it is possible for Andorra to avoid historical influence from the both the sides. The answer is due to its ‘isolation’ from both the cultural realms. Andorra is situated in the rugged isolated mountains. France and Spain played upon this tiny country until when Andorra realised in its foreign policy how to balance both. These exclaves and tiny states not only enriches concerned state geopolitically but also the countries to which it shares its boundaries.

There has been simultaneous work on Tran’s boundary resources and border functionality. It is a fact that a natural resource does not respect any political boundaries. There are many resources (flora and fauna) which cut across these political boundaries. Resurrection in border studies is also credited to increasing conflict pertaining with transboundary resources. Water resource today has become very vital with the diminishing of the reserves. Israel-Palestine war hovered around water resources and boundary demarcations, the war became ugly when Israel captured parts of Palestine, to protect its resource availability which was Tran’s boundary in nature. Again boundary issue came into prominence when the flow of Indus waters were questioned by the Pakistani authorities as India was its upper riparian state. The problem was settled in 1960 with Indus Water Treaty. India has border issues with China and reservations on the Bhramaputra dam project. The transboundary issues are not only limited to international arena but are also a concern within the nation-states.

In Central Asia as discussed earlier due to haphazard and irrational boundary formulations natural resources are at stakes. The main rivers draining this area are on verge of shrinking and vanishing. Aral Sea in decade or two has shrunk more than 60%. Natural resources are threatened by the sovereignty regimes which are making the borders hostile and detrimental to the very existence of the natural resources (Lovich, 1981). Bordering the natural resources by default leads to over exploitation across the borders which are in the long run detrimental to both the parties. In the case of river systems there has to be an understanding between the upper riparian and the lower riparian state.

Figure 2.3: Shrinkage of Aral Sea at Kazak-Uzbek borders.



Source: - <http://Cominganarchy.com>

[Aral Sea is situated on the International boundary of Kazakstan and Uzbekistan. Due to discordance between the two countries water resources of the area is on the verge of extinction]

Natural resources and border interface has to be better understood. India and Pakistan had several wars but the Indus treaty was always upheld. International community has to learn to escape asserting sovereignty regimes on the natural ecosystem which are transboundary in nature. Today greater thrust is put on marine political boundaries where still sovereignty regimes are naïve in its existence. Marine organisms are migratory in nature and countries therefore have to better regulate their marine boundaries.

The discourse of borderless world does not sound true as sovereignty is expressing itself in different ways. At one scale there is de-territorialisation and at the other scale there is re-territorialisation. Bordering does not stop at any level of space and scale, it just transforms itself. Today though it is often said that world is witnessing economic globalisation but with financial and monetary exclusions taking place in varied spaces.

CHAPTER 3

TERRITORIALITY

The study of political geography is inter-disciplinary in nature and so is the subject of territoriality. This field of political geography is based primarily on research in ethology (the study of animal behaviour) and psychology. From this growing body of empirical and theoretical work, we can extract some ideas that may be helpful in understanding human political behaviour. Extreme care has to be observed as political parties and states do not behave as the animals and individual humans.

One promising area of research is how we spread ourselves in space. This extension of an individual is studied under the concept of 'personal space'. Personal space – an envelope of territory we carry about with us as an extension of ourselves. Whether animals or humans, these envelopes are carried by both wherever they go. The shape and size of this envelope or personal space varies from culture to culture. There is an obvious observation in humans that they can tolerate more proximity of the other being in front of them than behind or beside. Thus our 'portable territory' is not symmetrical around our body. This subject was first emphasized by Edward T Hall (1959, 1966) in 'The Silent Language' and later more fully developed in 'The Hidden Dimensions'. In the second book Hall introduced the term "Proxemics" for the study of the way people perceived their space and used it differently in accordance with the culture. Geographers as well as psychologists are trying to unravel the proxemics of different cultures and how conceptions of space and territoriality in cultures differ. The urban geographers like E. Christaller (1933) have worked on the behaviour of urban residents towards their space, hierarchies and its effects. Sommer's (1969) has profoundly highlighted the significance of rank and hierarchy in human territorial organisation. While the minimum acceptable space around an individual is chiefly determined by his culture and the reaction of an individual to an aggression and invasion depends upon his territorialisation. Certain animals and individuals withdraw themselves when proximity increases and they better favour flight to a new place than

to stand against the alien other. The same behaviour can be seen at nation-state level as well as at global world systems and forums (Glassner and Deblij, 1980).

In the field of human territoriality there are two approaches scholars have taken to further understand the phenomena. One set of scholars believe that human behaviour in relation to territory is “instinctive” and other set of scholars believe that human territorial behaviour is structured by the cultural superstructure. Again a fundamental dialectics between agency and structure, that is who affects whom is considered a fundamental problem to be resolved. Whether the territorial phenomena are ‘psychosomatic’ or ‘somatopsychic’ that is whether the mind (inside) affects the body (outside) or is it vice versa. Human territoriality is a phenomenon which evolves simultaneously as the territories of brain evolve. Psychologist and neurologists confirms the three different territorial centres in the brain, one is brain stem, which is primitive in nature and relates to defence of the territory, the other is limbic system which relates to origin of emotions and the last is neocortex, relates to conceptualization and integration of territoriality. There are two cultures which affect the tendency of territoriality in humans the one is environmental-social and the other is biological components. The evolution of human territoriality can be rapid as well as gradual (Malmberg, 1988). It has been observed that few populaces are less territorially aware and other in contrast observe high level of territoriality. A fundamental question arises, is it possible, a group of population earlier were extremely territorial and later they became territorially less aware.

The concept of human territoriality has come from the biologist and social critic who think it to be the offshoot of animal behaviour. Territoriality in human is the part of an aggressive instinct that is shared with other territorial animals. There are plenty of studies on animals in order to reveal their tendencies to use their immediate space. At some level of research, it has been found that some animals are less territorial than the other. The scholar who has put human territoriality as a well-established part of social-science theory is David Sack (1986) in his book “Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History” considers human tendencies to practice territoriality as the “spatial strategy”. Territoriality in humans is the basis of power more than a type of compulsive instinct. But terming human territoriality as the spatial strategy and not

biological instinct makes the phenomena entirely under human inspiration and motivation. This outlook support possibilism and can contribute to human arrogance and ill endeavours. The study of human territoriality depicts and highlight how man uses his space. Territoriality in humans is related to the control of area and space.

“Territory is an area occupied more or less exclusively by an individual or by group by means of repulsion through overt defence or some form of communications...”(Hydson and Smith, 1978).

“Territoriality in humans is best understood as a spatial strategy to affect, influence, or control resources and people, by controlling area; and, as a strategy, territoriality can be turned on and off. In geographical terms it is a form of spatial behaviour. The issue then is to find out under what conditions and why territoriality is or is not employed” (Sack, 1986).

For a better understanding of human territoriality, two fields have to be better explored and studied, historical geography and social geography (Sack, 1986). The sense of territoriality develops historically in accordance to the social geography of that particular area in time and space. It would not be wrong to situate the study of human territoriality in the historical-social paradigm. Territoriality in the social realm indicate who is dominating whom and why, what the social relation between the elements and the components of the society. The boundary of the territory and the means by which they are communicated are likely to be altered. Initially the boundary can be expressed by erecting fences but after some time lapse a ditch can indicate the validity of the changed boundary. Land holding possessed by the humans can alter so do the size of nation-state. Most of the territories are fixed geographically but some move, for example the personal space and the social distance which a person carries with him. An air-craft carrier or in that case any naval ship maintains a prescribed distance from the other foreign vessels on the high seas. They can be equated with the ‘moving territories’.

The significance of territoriality has to be better unravelled to understand the very philosophy of bordering and concept of inclusion and exclusion. The formal definition of territoriality not only tells what it is but also suggests what it can do. Territoriality

brings into focus three important interconnected relationships in the definition. The definition discloses the three significant logic of territoriality. Firstly according to the definition territoriality should involve a form of “classification” by area. Classification is the natural consequence of territoriality in humans, they try to classify the area which is theirs and by default exclusion of area which is not under classification takes place. For instance, when someone says that certain things in the room is his and is out of limit for the other or that you may not touch anything outside this room, this means the person is practicing territoriality. Classification carries with it a process of assigning things to the people, who to become outsider and insider. At a broader scale, the world map is divided into several classified nation states. The second expression of territoriality is “communication”. Initially when an area is classified and becomes exclusive then it is necessary to communicate it through border and boundaries. This can be done through certain symbols, advertisement, directional symbols etc. If the exclusiveness of an area is not communicated to the outsiders and the insiders of the area simultaneously, it can create a state of confusion and instability. Communication of bordering is rather a complex process where physical as well as aphysical strategies are adopted to establish the viability of the borders. The last vital element of territoriality is the act of “enforcement”. It is to control the borders by certain security mechanisms. There are provisions for punishments, if there are illegal entrants in the classified areas which owes its authority to somebody else. Provision like checking of passport and visas, developments of army posts and security establishments at the borders are some measures and strategies through which territoriality is been exhibited (Sack, 1986).

The relation between territoriality and geography has not been directly dealt within the academia, whatever is been studied under geography which pertains to human behaviour (cultural, social) and interactions with the environment is explained as “spatial” in character. This is called as the spatial study where it includes location, shape and orientation of an area. In human geography spatial studies focuses primarily on spatial organisation and its vivid dimension including the area setting, its shape, orientation, its relation with the behaviour of the humans. All this phenomena of study encapsulates the very existence of territoriality in the background. The field of geography studies the spaces whether urban or rural, its orientation, shape, location etc. in the urban area the planning of roads, highways, park, hospitals are territorial in

nature. These infrastructures and establishments are not just description of a space but also highlight its interaction with the human kind. Territoriality is socially constructed and is the projection of social relation embedded in the society. Territoriality forms the backcloth of human spatial relation and the conception of space. The process of territoriality as a social-psychological fact is present at every scale of space and time, it is the duty of political geographers to unbundle the realities.

Territoriality is a form of power. Different societies use this power differently. Historicity has to be acknowledged to better understand the use of spaces by the societies having their distinct social organisation and conception of space. Territorialising particular space can sometimes suggest superiority of a particular group. Control of space and its utilization has differed considerably through time and space. Historical geographical approach is very important to understand the changing territorial practices. In ancient India, location of the land and its control decided the social relations. In India from antiquity to present location and direction of the living space decided the cast hierarchy and structure. To the north of the village with good elevation, upper-caste Brahmins used to live, to the extreme south the lower casts resided and outcastes were subjected to live outside the village area. Upper caste people used to live near the source of water so that they does not have to travel long and the dwellings of lower caste people were largely situated on the rugged and barren grounds. If the social geography of India is appreciated then unique facets can come to the light. In North India where the land is fertile due to the presence of river valleys and plains the population of upper caste population is much more in comparison to the South India dominated by less fertile plateau region. The central Indian plateau region and North Eastern Hill region are heavily forested and are dominated by tribal people. More interestingly the then territorial relations existed in ancient India can still be witnesses in the modern human territoriality. The distribution of scheduled caste population in large number in the North Indian River valley is attributed to their occupation as an agricultural labourer. They were populated to the immediate flood plains where agriculture was practiced (Ahmed, 2008). There are many countries in transitional phase of economy and society where ancient and medieval social relations still exist in the present territorial configurations. The essence of Indian caste system was based on land and its degree of fertility,

therefore lower the soil fertility weaker the caste system. In mountainous regions caste system is weakest contrary to the plains where it is strictly practiced.

“ Both dominance-subordination behaviours and territoriality limit aggression, because an individual either refrains from going where he is likely to be involved in disputes or, based on his knowledge of who is above and below him engages in ritualised dominance- subordination behaviour rather than in actual combat. The implication is that when everyone possesses an individual territory, the reason for one man to dominate another will disappear. Unlike most forms of social organisation which tend to weaken or disappear in captivity, dominance relationship in captivity are often strengthened or even created where none existed previously.....two highly dominant individuals, no stable order can be found, so aggression is limited by strict adherence to territorial rights.....the clearest dominance orders are found in closed communities with restricted movements and limited space.” (Sommer, 1969).

In Indian subcontinent in particular dominance-subordination behaviour was very common in practice and each community had its territory and boundary in which they functioned. Geographically Indian subcontinent was closed from all the sides and therefore trans-continental mobility was restricted and hence it was very necessary to evolve a hierarchical system where every distinct community was assigned a territory and eventually dominance-subordination behaviour came up in the system.

Human territoriality can also be analysed in the context of gender and geography. This field of geography suggest the implication of geography and environment on the status of the women (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts 2001). This discipline tries to evolve a picture depicting “gendered geography” in the space. In context of India a clear picture divulges out, women status deteriorates where the importance of land increases and improves where the importance of land is nominal. If a broad regionalisation is done then India can be divided into three broad geographic categories that is mountain, plains and plateaus. The best condition and social status of women is experienced in mountainous states of India and the worst social condition and status of women in India is observed in northern Indian plains. And the region dominated by plateaus that is south Indian states, the status of women are more or less good (Ahmed, 2008). Past gender relation and its territoriality still is persistent in the Indian milieu. Some of the scholars believe that the relation between the land and

status of women is very much intricate and possibly due to the feudal character of the northern India plains women were used as a tool to broaden their power base and acquire more land by giving brides to landlords and kings which in turn increased their power relations.

History of Indian territoriality is very old. Historically Indian regions can be divided into three parts in accordance to the development of its territoriality, a) area of total isolation, b) area of relative isolation and, c) lastly nuclear perennial region. Nuclear perennial region constitute fertile river valleys and flood plains. Area of total isolation includes high mountains and extremely rugged terrains. Area of relative isolation includes hills and plateaus. To understand Indian territoriality these three geographical niche has to be better explored and understood. The nuclear perennial region, where major cultures and power centres existed was in continuous flux as there were continuous incursion and migration through this region. Incursion and migration took place in 'Z-shaped pattern' in India. The NPR region begins with the natural route or passage provided by Khyber and Bolan pass in Hindu Kush mountains followed by Ganges Valley, then going south via River Son and River Narmada and lastly following River Godavari and River Krishna reaching in the end to the Tamil Nadu and Kerala plains. Major power centres evolved around this NPR region due to the availability of resources. North Indian plains, Malwa plateau, Andhra plains, Tamil and Kerala plains were the major region where territorialisation took place. These NPR regions acted as the core for further development of the cultural regions. Initial sense of human territoriality emanated from these very core areas (Spate, 1954).

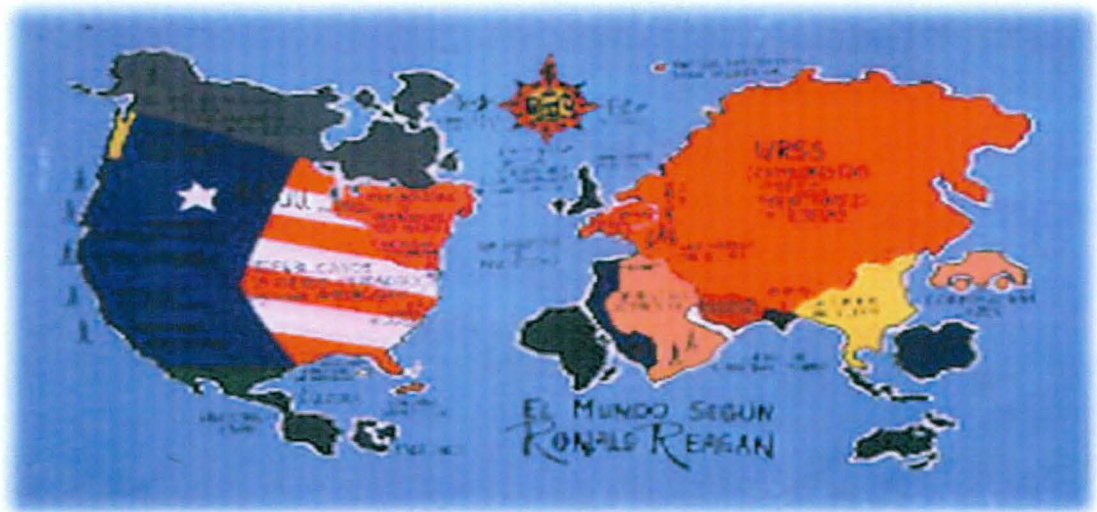
Physical features contributed substantially in the geographical processes of 'circulation' and 'diffusion'. The Vindhya scarp land is considered to be the main reason for accentuating distinct north and south Indian cultures that is Aryan and Dravidian culture respectively. Regions which came under areas of relative isolation like Gujarat, Orissa, and Bengal developed an extreme kind of human territorialisation which is responsible for their unique cultural and social outlook. Similarly there are variations in the form of Christianity practiced in northern European countries and the southern European countries. Geographical constraints of Cantabrian range, Alps and Carpathian have managed to give this uniqueness of the cultures. Southern European countries follow and practice more orthodox and

conservative Christianity than the northern European counterparts. Can it be postulated that the restricted and close geography of Portugal, Spain and Italy has contributed in developing a different kind of territoriality and conception of space in the region. Can the condition of space and simultaneous evolution of human territoriality accordingly influence the sporting and leisure pattern of populace? For instance footballing style of Spain and Italy is distinct than the style followed by France and England. The responses of countries differs in international forums and meetings, some countries are much assertive than the others. It is often said that western diplomats become uncomfortable by the Arabs unperturbed and constant eye to eye contact during the summit or informal meets.

Territoriality and history stand along and influences each other. Why certain sections of population (blacks) in United States of America are more or less territorially bound. Majority of the black (Negros) are restricted in few southern states of America. Similarly how come Indian population are territorialised in countries such as Suriname, French Guainía and Fiji. History can enlighten us of the particular reasons for their spread. These migrations (Indians, Negros) were accentuated by colonisers from their colonies and through the slave trade to work as indentured labourers in the plantation agriculture

Human territoriality also has a close link with the discipline of “Imaginative Geography”. Mental maps are very important to establish a territorial nation- state. This mental map can influence the rationale of state-idea. Jew’s imaginative geography compelled them to settle in the vicinity of Jerusalem in the form of Israel. These imaginative geographies or call it mental map can be constructed and reconstructed throughout progress of history. These mental maps can take the shape of “propaganda maps” which were used by Germans in the Second World War.

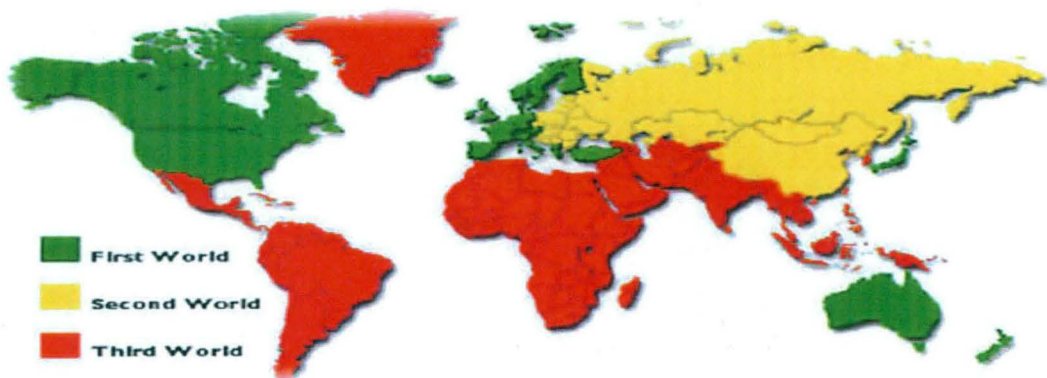
Figure 3.1: Cold War Exaggerations



Source: - <http://www.stannford.com>

[The map divulges cold war exaggerations depicting hegemons of cold war era]

Figure 3.1: Economic Regionalisation of the World by the Western Powers.



Source:-<http://blogspot.com>

[The world regionalised into economic blocks by the western powers. The map divulge a biased economic propaganda]

In case of animal territoriality it has been observed that many vertebrates exhibit certain level of territoriality whether it is fishes, cats, some birds and monkeys. The Siberian crane's sense of territoriality is well proved when in every winter it travels to Bharatpur in India, crossing Himalayas from long distance Siberia. Research on animal territoriality began in seventeenth century but around 1920's it gained a firm footing in the academia. Robert Andrey (1966) first brought the subject forcefully to public attention in his book, 'The Territorial Imperative'. Further he postulated such type of inferences that a political geographers can hardly ignore.

“A territory is an area of space, whether of water or earth or air, which an animal or group of animals defends as an exclusive preserve. The word is also used to describe the inward compulsion in animate beings to possess and defend such a space. Man is as much a territorial animal as a mockingbird singing in the clear California night..... The territorial nature of man is genetic and ineradicable.” (Andrey, 1966)

Researches pertaining to animal territoriality are meagre and lack qualitative depth. Though there have been studies where it has been observed that animals do hold territories and they make out their territory in various ways, commonly by glandular secretion and urination. These territories are not rigidly bound and exclusive in nature, the territories demarcated and territorialised by the animals overlap majority of the times. It has been observed that certain species with the incursion of the alien species act aggressively and are ready to fight and hold their territory to the last like gorillas. But certain species during the combat prefers to flight and are more mobile in nature. A monkey comes in this category. These territories are not unchangeable rather it changes often according to the resource base. If the territory has scarce resources then the species will tend to have a dispersed living and they will be scattered in space. Contrarily if the space is full of resources then the animals will tend to cluster and will shrink. To maintain the viability of that very territory homeostatic readjustment of the population is always in process. These natural phenomena is not only restricted to the animals but it also share similarity with the human kind.

If we come to the conclusion that the concept of territoriality as the pattern of behaviour whereby the living space is dissected and fragmented into exclusive territories and the occupants of that territory think it to be inviolable by the alien species than this discourse would be useful and would be acknowledged by the political geographers. This fragmented exclusive territory will after some time will attain certain unique characteristics of its own what Gottmann (1973) called it "iconography". Section of political geographers took this very idea which was too persuasive at that juncture in their discourses and theory. The Ratzel-Kjellen-Haushofer school of geopoliticians was in the form of defining territoriality when they conceptualised state as an organic being. Not only these scholars but Hartshorne and Jones also urged state to be viewed as an entity whose characteristics could be linked to the individuals residing in that piece of the area. The problem with the whole argument is that if an individual behaviour is superimposed on the behaviour of the state then it would lead to over-generalisation (Glassner and Deblij, 1980). But the idea of these political geographers were not to over-generalise but to prove that man in its very essence is territorial in nature and is part of animal kingdoms with some exceptions. Humans also dissect and fragment their "lebensraum" (living space) according to their need.

The concept of personal space, dominance behaviour and animal territoriality if analysed in combination then some understanding of human territoriality can be unravelled. Much human behaviour can be defined and decoded with the theory of territoriality. What an individual or group does in a small territory can be extrapolated to a larger context at the level of the nation-state. It is an obvious phenomena that individual project certain kind of territoriality in the small and confined places. Whether it is at home, office, factory, territoriality is common. The use and sculpturing of these small and confined places also vary from country to country. The way individual decorate their home's interior depicts their conceptualisation of the space and their behaviour. Some individual are in habit to design their houses in the form of fortress, they fence their house in such a way that it looks not less than a prison. More often American desires for a big and spacious houses and to attain that they are ready to live in the suburbs. Frankly speaking the trend of 'suburbanisation' in urban areas trickled from America to the rest of the world. Many on the contrary wishes to live in apartments rather to buy big houses, many prefers living in the rented

houses than to buy one of those. Seating arrangements in the dining table also projects a form of territoriality. It has been noticed that who sits where in international conference also matters a lot in terms territorial manifestations.

The seating symbolizes the relationship between the participant countries and the host country. Recent examples are the allied-soviet negotiations over the status of Berlin in the early 1950's and the U.S-North Vietnamese peace talks in Paris 20 years later. In both cases even the shape of the negotiating table was an issue. In the latter case U.S initially started the agreement with a rectangular shape table which was vehemently objected by the Vietnamese. Latter the issue was resolved by installing a square shaped table where no one was seated unequally and everyone could see everyone without turning their neck. Nowadays in international conferences to resolve this type of problem the seating arrangements are given alphabetically and rotation principle is adopted (Glassner and Deblij, 1980).

In society dominant people tend to have larger space than the poor. Whether they are beurocrates or political leaders, more power is equated with more space. Can it be stated that more powerful an individual more space (abstract or concrete) he will possess or would like to acquire? Another fundamental question arises that what constitutes power? Increase in human territoriality is also influenced by duration of stay in particular area or place. It has been observed that if a populace have lived in a particular area for quite a long duration than they start projecting a strong sense of territoriality and it has been seen often that certain elements are quick to form a neighbourhood gang. A kind of phenomena takes place in these static areas that is 'boosterism'. Contrarily populace who are mobile and often tend to migrate are less assertive about their region and inherit a weak sense of territoriality (Glassner, Deblij, 1980). A very lucid example can be of nomads and pastoralists; they have a loose sense of the territoriality. In the case of South Asian Sub-Continent this phenomena can be comprehended better. The regions in the sub-continent which were enclosed by the geography and have experienced time immemorial isolation from the other parts of the region have developed their distinct culture much different from the other regions. Indian states classified under 'areas of relative isolation' and 'areas of total isolation' like Orissa, Bengal, Rajasthan, North-Eastern states, Ladak, Bhutan etc. have inheritance of immense regionalism and extreme territoriality. It has been observed that people of these particular regions when migrate to any other region, due

to official transfers or due to marriages tend to organise their spaces in accordance to their homeland (abstract territoriality). This social segregation is very visible in the metropolitan cities of this sub-continent. Due to continuous incursions taking place in Nuclear Perennial region the population residing in these areas always were pushed back and forth and therefore strong regional consciousness was not developed in these very regions. The states classified in these regions largely come under unhindered plains and fertile river valleys, where high level of mobility can be experienced. Again a fundamental question has to be posed at this juncture; whether there is any relationship between mobility (movement) of an individual and his territoriality.

This background helps us to examine that aspect of territoriality that most interest the political geographers, where political territoriality is expressed in the form of state. There has been transformation from the feudal society of Europe which was based on personal allegiance and the concept of 'regnum' or personal sovereignty to that of 'dominion', or national sovereignty. In the feudal Europe the populace often changed their alliances and there were frequent conflict and battles but after the coming up of modernity the personal allegiance of populace shifted from individual sovereign to an intangible but territorial political entity, the state. The rise of nationalism which came about after the scientific revolution and renaissance was the strongest and most reckoning political force of the time. This nationalism was territorially based. The Spaniard if in any part of the world is with some other Spaniard will feel a kinship attachment with the countrymen but his belongingness would still be attached to a piece of earth surface back there in Europe. In the modern world the ideal political ties are with place, not descent.

Still there are nations which are still in medieval phase of history or are in transitional phase who are attached to the old legacy of kinship. Sometimes certain populace yearn for an unfounded territory which was lost by them and which sounds to them as their dream land yet to achieve, then tries to gain it by their mere extinct. What happened in the Jew's homeland case and how it fructified is an apt example to substantiate the argument. There are many instances of 'homeless nationalism', but none can be compared by this one which inspired countless generations of people to dream of dying in their homeland. This very thought led people to walk from Russian Poland to Turkish Palestine and rebuild their abode in this tough terrain (Glassner and Deblj, 1980). In the case of India this type of territorial attachments can be observed,

Hindu people from south India pay visit to the holy cities like Banaras and Hardwar as they think these spaces to be sacred and cradle of the Hindu religion. In ancient India it is believed that old aged people used to migrate to the holy city of Banaras so that they can take their last breath there. There are Christians all around the world, believing Rome to be the sacred place and give their visit often. For Muslims, Mecca and Medina are sacred territories which always prevail in the minds of this community where ever they traverse. The important question at this juncture is that is this territorial instinct genetic and imperative in nature or has it been acquired and modified by learning through cultural evolution? In academia there is a wider debate on this very issue.

“Only when human society began to increase significantly in scale and complexity did territoriality reassert itself as a powerful behavioural and organisational phenomenon. But this was a cultural and symbolic territoriality, not the primitive territoriality of the primates and the other animals.....Thus, although “cultural” territoriality fundamentally begins with the origin of the cultural primate, man, it achieves a central prominence in society only with the emergence of the state. And it probably attains its fullest flowering as an organisational basis for society in the formally structured, rigidly compartmentalised, and fiercely defended nation state of the present day” (Soja, 1971).

There is a huge debate that human territoriality is instinctive in nature or whether it evolves with the socialisation process. It has been questioned time and again that if territoriality in human was imperative then why a state is busy in infusing a sense of statehood by different means. The national anthem sung daily in the schools, radio and television forming an image of a nation, flag hoisting and waving in the open, celebration of certain festivals and functions on a regular basis are certain indication which proves that these psychological feelings are induced by the state to their very people.

Human territoriality as an area of study is a decade or so old, but then animal territoriality has been worked upon by the scholars for a quiet a long time. To know human territoriality better an “ecological reassessment” is very vital, as the condition of the resource and its availability provides and facilitates the preliminary stage of evolution of human territoriality. Ecological variable is the major factor determining

territoriality. An ecological model of human territoriality suggest, more the availability and predictability of the critical resources in an area more chances are there to develop human territoriality. Complexity in animal territoriality parallels the way human territorialised the space. It has been seen the nomads and hunter-gatherers has a loose spatial organisation and are more or less non territorial, this spatial organisation could be the product of the resources condition prevailing in that area. It is not that human tend to be territorial, it depends upon the density and predictability of the resource. Are the homo-sapiens innately territorial in their very nature? It has been acknowledged that resources defence and utilization within the adaptive framework decides the extent of the spatial organisation of the space. The question arises what constitutes territoriality, is it defensibility of the area or whether it is the exclusive use of a particular area. It has been experienced that where the resource is widely dispersed or the population density is very low exclusive use of an area can take place but where there is concentrated critical resource and its predictability is high, defensibility of the area is apt for defining the human territoriality (Hydson and Smith, 1978). In the latter case human territoriality takes its form. In the context of South Asian subcontinent the regions having predictable and abundant resource and were isolated from rest of the regions by any reason (geographical or historical) developed a strong territoriality for their home states. Isolation of a region is a priori condition supporting human territoriality.

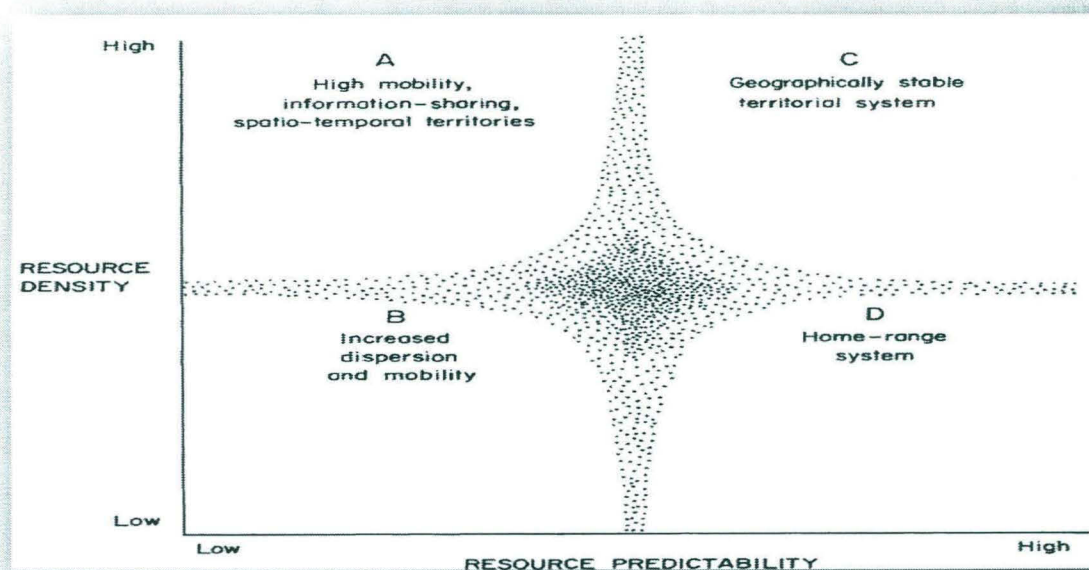
Table 3.1:

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION AND FORAGING STRATEGY

Resource Distribution	Economic Defendability	Resource Utilization	Degree of Nomadism
Unpredictable and Dense	Low	Information-Sharing	High
Unpredictable and Scarce	Low	Dispersion	Very-High
Predictable and Dense	High	Territoriality	Low
Predictable and Scarce	Fairly Low	Home Range	Low-Medium

Source: - After Hydson and Smith (1978)

Figure 3.3: Relation between Resource predictability, Resource Density and Territoriality



Source: - After Hydson and Smith (1978)

Animal territoriality is not absolute rather it has the elements of 'variability' it could be structural or can be functional in nature. In structural categories there is distinction made between whether the territory is exclusive or overlapping, defended or non-defended, geographically stable or somewhat mobile or seasonal or permanent. Functionality of a territory is defined the way species utilize their territory, whether it is feeding territories, mating territories or all-purpose territories. There is another misconception about the animal territoriality that the act of territoriality is innate in all the species but in contrary it has been seen that territorial behaviour come and go seasonally among the species, at one season they exhibit territoriality but at the next stage or season they are non-territorial. It has been surveyed and studied that a nomadic community which were mobile, when in their territories artificial resources were induced or planted they transformed into a territorial community. It is possible that a non-territorial species can be transformed into a territorial species and were ready to defend their territory and showed aggression while doing so. Therefore variability, functional diversity and flexibility should be given due consideration while comprehending the processes related to territoriality (Hydson and Smith, 1978). These problems are not to suggest that a general theory on territoriality is untenable rather it can further strengthen the theory making it more complete. This territorial behaviour can also be superimposed on human beings. It has been observed that initially European populace were territorial but now are becoming less and less territorial, transcending their very borders. If this development is explained under ecological perspective then can it be assumed that initially the critical resources were less and concentrated at certain pockets and due to the survival tendencies extreme territoriality was the need of the hour. And also during the medieval times isolation of the territories from each other persisted. But as and when Europe became self-sufficient and the resources were evenly distributed and its regions were empowered and the long period of isolation broke down a tendency towards non-territoriality gave precedence.

“A territorial strategy evolved is the one that maximizes the increment of fitness due to extraction of energy from the defended area, as compared with the loss of fitness due to the effort and perils of defence.....the benefits of territoriality are simply those that result from exclusive access to the critical resource....a territorial system should have greater benefit than the non-territorial alternative available to the individual or group...unpredictability of resources result in lowered benefits of territorial defence (in terms of resource controlled) ,and, below a certain threshold territoriality would be uneconomical or even unviable....resources that are predictable in their spatio-temporal distribution have greater economic defendability than unpredictable resources. A habitat where critical resources are predictable will be most efficiently exploited by the territorial system...density of resources within a patch combined with high degree of unpredictability reduces the economic advantage of territoriality...it must me noted that if a resource is so abundant that its availability or rate of capture is not in any way limiting to a population, then there is no benefit to be gained by its defence and territoriality is not expected to occur” (Hydson and Smith, 1978).

Human territoriality or spatial organisation is the product of resource defence strategy which in turn provides subsistence to the humans. It can be said that human territorialisation is nothing but human’s adjustment with the environment. It is a spatial strategy adopted by the humans.

Sack (1983) has highlighted “ten tendencies of territoriality” first three that is Classification, Communication and Enforcement has already been discussed previously, other tendencies are “Reifying” of power through means of territoriality. Power and influence are not tangible as natural features are therefore territorialisation is the way the power is understood and which makes power tangible. Territoriality “displaces” attention from the relationship between the controller and the controlled to the territory. When it said that it is the rule of the land then it is meant that legally you are obliged to follow the dictate hence the core issue of exploitation fades away in the oblivion. By classifying in part as area not in kind and type the relationship in that area becomes “impersonal”. The same impersonality can be associated to the jailor of the jail, is responsible for that very area devoid of any personalisation with the prisoners. Today city and metropolitan life shows the same impersonality among the residents. There is an inter-relationship between the process of territoriality and encompassing of activities therein. It becomes very complicated to unpack all the reason for controlling the activities territorially. When territorialisation takes place it becomes “neutral” and creation of place take place or space cleared and maintained

for the things to exist. Societies make this place-clearing function explicit and permanent by invoking private property rights of the land.

Territoriality acts as the “container” or mould for the events for the spatial properties of event. Any legal or societal development would be defined and explained while keeping the background of territory to it. If the territory does not have anything to contain it would technically represent itself “empty”. This emptiness does not entail that it does not have grass river etc. it rather means that the space is devoid of social and economic artefacts. In fact territoriality helps in presenting an idea of socially empty space. Territoriality may “engender more territoriality” more relationships to contain and mould. When there are more events than the territories than the events which spreads out would make its own territory. Therefore a new event has to be created for the new territories (Sack, 1980).

The study of human territoriality is often equated with the subject pertaining to animal territoriality. The other issue is relating to the cultural reason associated to the functioning of human territoriality, both of these issues are often contested and questioned. Biological rationale of territoriality is also questioned by scholars. Scholars have been successful in making the distinction between the primitive kind of territoriality and the modern form of human territoriality. Initially humans were attached to the very concept of “sacred space” where the particular group of community saw their identities attached to that very place and witnessed god to be present in that territory. This kind of territorial imperative can also be seen in tribes living in isolated pockets of this modern world. They still carry that genre of territoriality. Now in the modern world the territoriality has transformed into “secular space” where the space acts neutral where there is open competition among the populace of that particular region (Schnell, 2001). Still in many parts of the world in general and Asian countries in particular are primitive in their territoriality. Cities in India like Banaras, Hardwar, Madurai etc. still have substantial Brahmin population occupying that space which they consider ‘sacred’ in its very essence. Still in South Asian villages the communities are organised around a particular sacred space, it could be a temple, mosque or Gurudwara. This is just not restricted to the villages; the urban territoriality also depicts this type of spatial Organisation where segmented nature of population can be visualised around sacred spaces. Therefore the existence of the neutral space in modern times has to be questioned.

The national ideology of a state or the very philosophy of a particular community plays a dominant role in deciding what kind of human territoriality they will project and practice. The ideology Israel followed was of “Zionism”, this was purely a movement to attain and acquire the territory what they claimed as holy and sacred. Initially Jew communities were aggressive on the issue of their territorial rights. But now with the changing political scenario and economic globalisation, the rigid territoriality of Israel has subsided and given way to more harmonious and peaceful exchanges with its neighbours (Schnell, 2001). After 1980’s extreme (high) territoriality has transformed into a condition where nation-state are spreading out and acknowledging their existence outside their own territory. In other words nation-states are expanding their territoriality and in turn loosening up their borders to the outside world.

Two important observations should be made at this juncture, it has been observed that environmental threat had spilled out of the rigid territorial bounds of the state and is compelling the states to be non-territorial at this very issue. The threats are so grave that the states are compelled to cooperate and shed their territorial inhibitions. The impacts of economic globalisation are far reaching on the territorial imperatives. It has made territories so interdependent that the territories have become flexible and are now found in the flows. Due to the interdependence and rise of democratisation in the world system one state is not in condition to wage war against the other state. Wars and battles have reduced and so is human territoriality has softened. Can it be claimed that less incidents of war and battles violating other’s territory has reduced in the modern times because man has become less territorial than the past? As the critical resources are reducing there is urgency for the states to cooperate, as majority of the resources are Tran’s boundary in nature. Ecosystem approach has been initialised so to better manage the natural regions cutting across two different political boundaries. It has been experienced that many transboundary resources have compelled the particular states to cooperate and there territories to merge in certain case, but then there are incidents where transboundary resources had led to the conflicts and wars in modern age. Israel fought several wars with its neighbour on the issue of transboundary water resource. United States and Canada has a regional cooperation

mechanism to manage water of 'great lakes'. Mekong Regional cooperation and various other sub-regional grouping are breaching the strong autarchic territories.

As stated earlier the philosophical practices of a community or populace of a country influence human territoriality. While comparing Indic and western philosophy interesting facts can be unravelled. These philosophies in a way construct the psychological character of the masses living in particular area. It is quite possible that certain philosophy transforms the individual psychology into a territorial being. The other philosophy could make a man non-territorial in nature. Some social-psychologist suggests that territoriality in humans' creeps in when an entity is ingrained or surrounded by fear, insecurity and certain kind of complex. Western philosophy is dualistic in nature and develops a concept in its religion that of 'guilt'. Further it categorises and differentiates the world between the humans, god, angels (concept of trinity). Indian philosophy considers that the very nature of western philosophy is based on the concept of "Dvait", where there is differentiation between the nature and the living entities. Western philosophy was devoid of the philosophy which talked about "Advait" revealing unity present in the universe. Indian philosophy and dharma tried to transcend the very concept of 'guilt' and 'sin' from its very essence. Lord Krishna in Indian religion championed the cause of living a 'guilt' free life. Further it is believed that an individual who is psychologically guilt free and is secure mentally would not territorialise any entity whether it's a piece of land or the other living being. It is considered that Indian masses were not territorial in nature and had loose conception of external boundaries distinguishing their living space, as the very philosophy of its land taught them to transcend the physical as well as mental boundaries (Akk, 2012). Because of these peculiarities the first attempt of demarcating scientific boundary of India at its North West frontier was initiated by the great Mughal king Akbar (Chandra, 2005). Early rulers of India are often criticised by the scholars for their lack of geopolitical understanding and low level of territoriality among the masses.

It is often questioned that why Indian religion did not expanded and tried to spread out as the other religions and cultures did? Why Indians are the last one to claim territories unlike the westerners? With increasing population and shortage of resources why Indians didn't occupied Australia and other spaces in the world while

the westerners did? These questions are very difficult to be answered, but through the clear understanding of the concept of human territoriality these puzzles can be solved and answered. While trying to answer the first question various scholars are of the view that Indian religion or Hindu religion in itself is not a religion. To qualify as a religion three aspects are very important a) it should have a founder, b) it should have a holy book, and c) it should have a set structure and system. If on these criteria's Hindu religion is tested then it would certainly fail as there is absence of particular founder, there are many text in Hinduism which are considered holy and also it does not have a homogenous system across space, the gods who are revered in South India are different than the gods revered in north or in that matter in west or east. All other religion can qualify on these standards. Hence the Indic religion of which Hinduism constitute the major portion is more than a religion, it is a 'way of life' or can be acknowledged as "Hindu Dharma" which talks about "choicelessness". Hindu philosophy teaches the populace not to choose, as and when you choose or put faith on certain ideology you tend to discriminate the other and negate totality. Choice requires bordering but choicelessness is infinite and transcends borders. The philosophy of "choicelessness" has also influenced the mental construct of the Indian masses making them non-territorial and inculcating in them "borderlessness"; this is not to say that Indians are still carrying the same psychology. When you don't choose then the being happens to be in unity with the nature which constructs a psychology which does not try to fragment the space and construct boundary around themselves. To put it simply a philosophical discourse teaching the populace to transcend very existence of thy self would discourage the being to become territorial and mundane. It is often quoted that ' religion expands', as it is based on guilt and insecurity of the masses while a spiritual individual does not try to acquire and be recognised. Western philosophy in its very essence propagated territoriality and dualism. The crusades in the medieval times are the right example to cite here (Akk, 2012). The huge colonisation process of the west was paralleled by spread of religion by the missionaries. It has been observed that the west fought indiscriminately among them to gain power and territories. During the medieval ages and with the advent of industrial revolution followed by the era of imperialism their human territoriality was at its zenith.

“Consciousness means choicelessness, and to be choiceless is to be free from all desires, is to be free from all projections, is to be free from all imagination, is to be free from all future.....choicelessness brings you to the whole. Choice is always of the part, necessarily so. And then one person go from one choice to another, becomes a driftwood from this bank to another bank, from that bank to this bank. This is how you have been moving down the ages from so many lives” ([Http//BudhhaSanga.com](http://BudhhaSanga.com), Osho Quotes).

“The inward desire for security expresses itself outwardly through exclusion and violence, and as long as its process is not fully understood there can be no love”([Http//BudhhaSanga.com](http://BudhhaSanga.com), Krishnamurti Quotes).

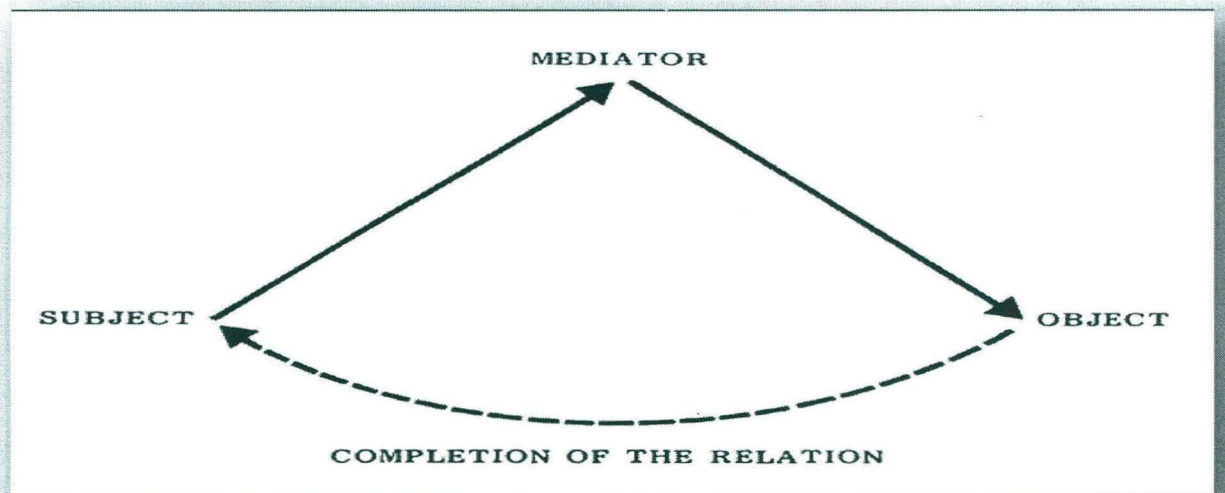
While appreciating the ecological rationale it is an evident fact that people migrate from uncomfortable areas (resource scarce) to the comfortable areas (resources rich). The land beyond Indus that is India was resource rich region and was very fertile in its agriculture having perennial rivers and diverse flora and fauna. Whoever migrated to this region of the world settled here itself. To put it more clearly where ever there is abundance of resource with high predictability; territoriality would lessen up as feeling of competition would subside (Hydson and Smith, 1978). So the very question that why Indians was reluctant to expand and acquire territories can be understood by the very human psychology prevalent among masses at that juncture of history where humans found themselves to be complete and desire to territorialise was absent.

Another concept regarding space has to be acknowledged and understood that when the word ‘territory’ is used in academia, it not only means the physical and static territory rather territories can be in flows or call it as in abstraction (Claude, 1984). In fact there are two notion of territory one is narrow and the other is broad. The narrow conception only includes the concrete territory while the latter include the abstract space also. Both of these territories mediate upon each other. Just like when we define geography of a particular area, we mean geography of physical rootedness but simultaneously there is also “imaginative geographies” affecting the populace of that area. Both the static as well as non-static (geographies in flows or in abstract) affect each other.

“Territoriality involves two kinds of territories: the concrete and the abstract. According to the kinds of mediators we used to relate the self to “exteriority” and/or “alterity”, the relationship will be consonant or dissonant: concordant when all the mediators are in the realm of either the traditional or the modern, dissonant when they come from both....the study of human territoriality is the study of human Behaviour.....the limits of my territoriality is the limits of my mediators.”(Claude, 1984)

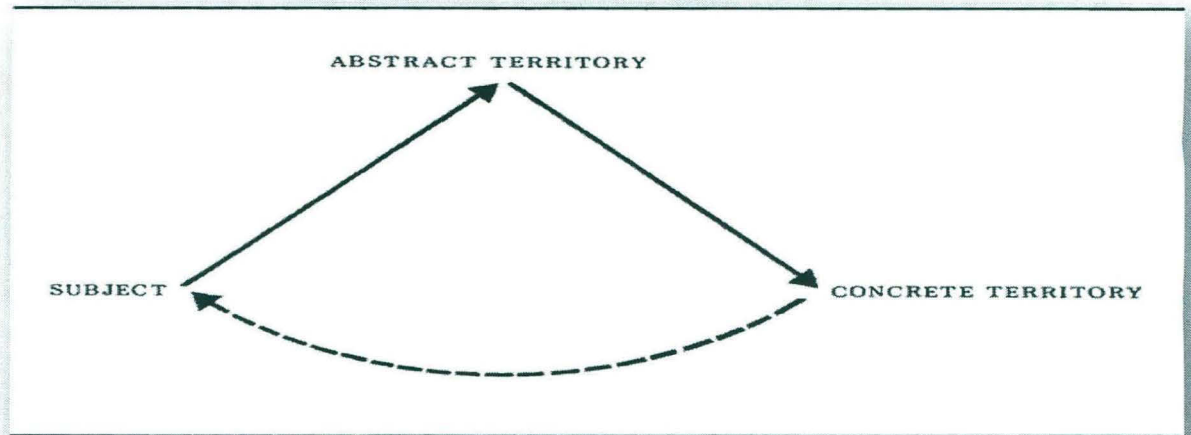
Coming up of multi-lateral forums have changed the dynamics of space as it is perceived and visualised. Multi-lateral forums like BRICS, IBSA has strengthened the regionalisation process and today India feels much closer to Brazil or South Africa than its geographical neighbour like Myanmar and Pakistan. The new spatial organisations are though not geographically contiguous but are guided through the idea of multi-lateralism which puts geographically discontinuous countries into the regional matrix. A new type of territoriality (abstract territoriality) is coming into play in the global environment negating the very physical rootedness of the region. The era of de-territorialisation is on the board, the spaces are now reconfigured according to the power centres of the world.

Figure 3.4: Mediation between Subject and Object



Source: - After Claude Raffestine (1984)

Figure 3.5: Mediation between Abstract Territoriality and Concrete Territoriality.



Source: - After Claude Raffestine (1984)

Here in these two above diagrams the whole concept of concrete and abstract territory with both acting as mediator is explained in a simple manner. In the first diagram, subject act as the mediator and influence the object and again that object acts as the mediator and influences the subject. It is a cyclic process where both of these are affected by the other. The second diagram makes the point much clearer in respect to political geographers dealing with territory and territoriality. The individual subject influences the concrete territory by the mediation of abstract territory and eventually the subject is left influenced by the concrete territory.

There are two levels of organisations, one is “spatial organisation” which represents the significant or concrete territory and the other is “social organisation” which is the signified or abstract form of territoriality. The gap between these organizations is the root cause of the all territorial problems. There has to be harmony and consonant between the spatial organisation (concrete territoriality) and the social organisation (abstract or symbolic territoriality). There are huge problems in the urban territorially. Discordance exists between the two territories. The abstract territory of the humans are conditioned by the traditional ethos and living and there social organisation

follows traditional ethics, but the intrusion of modernity and simultaneously the spatial organisation of the urban areas are non-interactive and makes the urban community socially deprived and unhappy leading to stress and violence. The high rise flat systems and restricted territories within the urban violate individual freedom. Similarly modern rural landscape is also witnessing dissonant between the significant and the signified territory. introduction of the modernity in the rural landscape has accentuated mechanisation of the agriculture and farm which has reduced the agricultural labourers and farmers to a very minuscule number in the country side leading to discordance between the spatial organisation (concrete territoriality) to be traditional and social organization (abstract territoriality) to be modern. Due to this disjuncture and disharmony between the two spaces, violence and conflict can arise in the global world order (Claude, 1984).

The same effect can be experienced in the less developed countries with the advent of neo-imperialism. Due to these phenomena the spatial organisations are changing rapidly according to the modern west but problem arises when it interacts or is mediated by the traditional social organisations. Dissonance takes place between the two territorialities creating further problems. Due to this discordance many peasant, tribal, proletariat revolts are taking place in the country sides. Not only this in the urban areas crimes are also increasing leaps and bounds. In India “naxalism” is increasing day by day at an alarming rate due to this discordance between the abstract territoriality and concrete territoriality. These type of insurrection by the people are been witnessed in many poor and transitional economies of the world. The case of people’s movement in Africa and Arabia recently is the apt example to substantiate the argument.

CHAPTER 4

INTERFACE BETWEEN BORDER AND TERRITORIALITY

Borders are the product of territoriality. In a simplistic sense, when an individual or group of people want to assert, claim and control a particular place they become territorial and they communicate it with the formation of a border. Without a boundary, territoriality cannot be practiced. It has been noticed in the ancient times that straight, linear and integrated boundaries were absent rather the system of frontiers existed between the two inhabited civilisations. These frontiers were the open and unclaimed spaces between the two distinct civilizational cores. In the medieval ages also the feeling of loyalty was not towards the physical territory rather masses were loyal to the kings and vassals and often changed their allegiance from one feudatory to the other. Therefore the exact boundary what people followed was overlapping and was ever changing (Ruggie, 1993). Though at micro level territoriality persisted but that was not sufficient to establish a concrete and integrated statehood in that period of history.

“For X to affect, influence, or control Y presupposes the transmission of energy between X and Y, where X represents a person, group or class doing the influencing or controlling, and Y represents a person, group, class, or resources being influenced or controlled. The interaction must follow the principle of action by contact which is based on the law of conservation of energy” (Sack, 1973:56)

As the above quote suggests the importance of ‘law of conservation of energy’ which means energy is neither been created nor been destroyed it is transformed into one form to another. The breaking up of feudal system in Europe, where territoriality represented itself in the form of an act where certain group was territorialising the other group, transmission of energy was directed and exchanged between the humans who were hierarchically structured in the society, and then there was a departure from the old form of territoriality to another form of territoriality directed toward the physical and concrete territory. The identities were transformed and were attached to

the territories. Nationalities were created and cherished. The reasons behind the transformation of feudal-medieval world to the conscious modern age has to be better understood, so to understand the changing territoriality perception among the masses. A fundamental question has to be posited at this juncture to further understand the impact of 'renaissance' on the individual perception of territoriality. How human territoriality shifted its course from abstract territoriality to the concrete territoriality? Also what should interest a political geographer is the question, pertaining to the difference in territoriality practiced by a hierarchical society and an egalitarian society.

It has been observed that the populace imbued with egalitarian principles need more space socially as well as physically and societies which are stratified and hierarchical are satisfied and are ignorant of the need of the physical territory and tend to succumb in that very stratification (Lowenthal, 1971). This concept could help in comprehending the territorial behaviour of the Europeans. In the feudal Europe the need for living space for an individual was minimal but as and when 'scientific revolution' accentuated, it resulted into what is termed as 'Renaissance' or rebirth of the masses, the very idea of "egalitarianism" tiptoed in the European masses. The scientific revolution was followed by the happenings of 'French Revolution' teaching the ethos of equality and liberty to the European populace in particular and international communities in general. These developments in turn affected the way human perceived their territories. The human territories expanded with the breaking up of stratified system. Egalitarianism was the passion of the society. The incidents of colonialization and imperialism were the product of this changed territoriality among the egalitarian individuals. After loosening their bonds from the medieval territories the masses ventured out to acquire more spaces and territories for their survival. Imperialism and colonialism was the effect of changed human territoriality after the subsequent developments in Europe, starting with 'renaissance' to 'industrial revolution'.

With the advent of 'egalitarianism' in society certain portion of population opted to flight out of the European milieu. The tendency of flight and migration among the humans are similar to the flights observed by the animal kingdom during the time of

threat and aggression by the alien species. The ‘Treaty of Versailles’ after the second world war alienated Germany in totality, the western powers with America imposed their spatial organisation on German populace, which contradicted the social organisation (abstract territoriality) of the German people. This in turn facilitated the base for the German aggression and expansion. But again what bothers the researchers is the question that, why German in first instance was involved in the First World War and what were the rationales behind the German aggression? It is a well-established fact in academia that Germany until beginning of the First World War became the industrial power house of Europe, competing United Kingdom, France and Dutch. Due to the British hegemony Germany was restricted against its willingness to expand itself and acquire territories overseas. Devoid of colonies Germans became helpless and frustrated which lead to expansion in Europe itself.

“ the scientific discoveries and the social change of the renaissance caused that stratified order to crumble, leaving in its wake a sense of desolation at the overthrow of established values.....relation between master and servant, father and son, teacher and pupil were now the things of the past.... Discipline submerges virtually all individuality and private ambition, as a consequence, these groups have exhibited the world’s highest rates of natural increase.....freedom in commons brings ruin to all” (Lowenthal, 1971:315).

According to the law of ‘conservation of energy’ the breaking up of stratified and hierarchical society of Europe resulted into release of huge amount of energy, which had to be territorialised somewhere and this was needed to be done quickly, as society was susceptible to transform itself into anarchy. Consequently the energy released and territorialised itself to the concrete territory and the very idea of nation-state with fixed and linear boundary gained acceptance and recognition in the global communities. The unprecedented European migration and acquiring territories overseas was just the transmission of the left over energy of the system.

Weber (1930) in his classic work has highlighted the impact of change in individual environment, simultaneously changing his ethics, which consequently propels the

mode of economy into the next level. The alteration in individual ethics can alter the way he organises his space. In Europe coming up of individuality replacing the medieval collectivism was the central reason for the capitalist growth and its spread. The alteration in individual ethos (Abstract territory) leads to a significant alteration in the spatial organisation (concrete territory). If capitalism is understood as the product of individual innovation, equality and endeavours then the fact has to be acknowledged that where ever in the world the system of capitalism has been implemented the population of that area starts living in the world of networks and tend to be more mobile.

One aspect has to be understood that human territoriality is not universal in character and changes itself in accordance to time and space. If at particular geography humans tend to practice and project certain kind of spatial organisation, then it is not necessary that particular spatial organisation would create harmony with the social organisation (abstract territoriality) of that particular human. When there is dissonance between the territoriality within the mind and the territoriality outside, violence, stress, anger, demoralisation and incidents of frequent migration from that very region is a common phenomenon (Raffestine, 1984). In the same context it has been experienced that in the present century there has been a huge discordance between these two human organisations that is spatial and social. To make the arguments simpler, the capitalist spatial organisation (concrete territoriality) is the product of west which came into existence with the changing social organisation (abstract territoriality) of the people there. If that mode of production will be imposed on the other countries and people who are having there distinct human territoriality (abstract as well as concrete), then it can result into mass alienation and in turn would lead to 'overlapping of boundaries' in the societies which would in turn result into instability and conflict in the meta-system of that very structure. The similar phenomena is happening in the less developed countries of the world which are still in the primitive stage of economic organisation but are burdened and forced with global capitalist system, creating its own counter revolution in that very country in the form of labour insurrection, Maoist movements, farmer suicides and indiscriminate people migration.

Many of the scholars of political geography believe that as and when human territoriality shifts and expands the very border changes and shifts itself

simultaneously. Friedrich Ratzel (1897) taking his clue from Ritter's concept of organic cultures, developed an organismic theory of the state which viewed sovereign political entities as living organism fixed in space that, like other organisms in nature, were involved in a constant struggle for a larger living space, which Ratzel termed as "lebensraum". The argument of Ratzel is coterminous with the above discussions made about the 'individual ethics', let us assume here that state is an individual, and there is transformation in human (state) perception of territoriality.

"State is an organism attached to the land. States (like other organism) must either grow or decay and die since they (by their nature) can never standstill and motionless. Strong states must have room to grow in order to survive, and that the extension of state borders at the expense of its neighbours was an indication of its internal strength and growing needs as a result of its growing population" (Dixit, 1987:5)

This very quote propounds that states are like living individuals which requires territory for the survival of its population. Expansion of the self is the inevitable phenomena transcending the old demarcated boundaries of the states. Ratzel believes this expansion to be a biological fact and instinctive in nature. But then some scholars contradict this view point and claims that extension of the human territoriality is rather the product of socio-environmental condition prevailing at particular area. It has been noticed that at some particular time certain community of people tend to change their immediate borders and some are confined in their territory and projects and practice non-territoriality. State ideology and philosophy imparted to the masses at a particular time also condition territorial behaviour of the humans. Indian communities did not show any expansionist and exteriority tendencies.

History also suggest that if an integrated area territorialised by the humans are divided and is been separated by erecting a border by the outside intervention or force does not last long and is wiped away by the stroke of human territorial expressions. There are borders and boundaries been erected which were not being accepted by the natives of that region, as and when the external pressure subsides the territory reunites.

During the cold war many countries were divided creating a new border for example Vietnam was divided into North and South Vietnam creating a new borders, Korea was been divided in North and South too. Vietnam today is one country and wiped out its borders through territorial expressions and on the other side Korea still carries that border which was created by the external powers (US and USSR). There are regions in the world where new borders are been created within their own countries. Splitting of Sudan into two countries is a recent example. Common consciousness is been dissected.

Figure 4.1: The Fall of Berlin Wall



Source: - <http://travelswonder.com>

[The picture divulge the eagerness of German population to break the ‘Berlin Wall’ to reunite with their brethren on the other side]

Figure 4.2: Hard Borders between North and South Korea



Source:-<http://www.guardian.co.uk>

[The barbed wires on North and South Korean border represents hard boundary. Though the both sides of the borders ethnic stocks are the same but still they practice different nature of human territoriality]

Some countries continue with the same old territorial organisation and some countries abandon that within no time. Political geographers should rise to the occasion and investigate the political-territorial phenomena through the lenses of human territoriality discourse.

Ratzel (1896) further postulated “The Laws of Spatial Growth of States”. In which he claimed that size of states grow, a) with its culture, b) with other manifestations of the growth of the peoples, c) annexation of smaller members into the aggregate. At the same time the relationship of the population to the land becomes continuously closer, d) the boundary is the peripheral organ of the state, the bearer of growth as well as its fortification and takes part in all of the transformations of the organism of the state, e) the state strives towards the development of politically valuable position, f) the first stimulus to the growth of the state come to them from outside, g) the general tendency towards territorial annexation and amalgamation is transmitted from state to state. All

these laws highlight intricate relationship between- human, territories, and border. As mentioned above borders take part in all the transformation of the state which actually displays the causal relationship between human territoriality and boundaries representing them. These laws make the argument crystal clear that people and their culture are prominent factor deciding human territorial behaviour. Ratzel (1897) postulates the stages of growth of state, experiencing young, mature and old stage. This thought actually suggest changing human territoriality, when people aggrandize territory, develop its functionality, borders it, implements restrictions around the borders and eventually due to some outside intervention and centrifugal forces, it disintegrates. The disintegration of the state also suggests sinking of human territoriality for the particular area.

When a group or community has aggrandized the territory and has transformed into a full-fledged state, it needs a border to give existence and protection to that territory. Now the next challenge for the establishment (power structure) is to maintain that boundary so that territory can sustain its viability without any conflict. Different communities have applied varied approaches to regulate their borders. It also depends upon the nature of territoriality practiced that how the borders will function. Prominent political geographer Richard Hartshorne (1959) was part of the historical debate involving the subject matter of geography in which he highlighted the importance of ‘centrifugal’ and ‘centripetal forces’ in understanding the way states organise themselves and maintains their borders. Centrifugal forces are the forces which do not allow population of a region to converge and creates divergence. It can be the physical asymmetries in the landscape which does not allow free movement and intermingling of the populace eventually gives way to regionalism. Extreme regionalism can also act as a centrifugal force, opposing the state idea.

In India Vindhyan scarpland acted as a diverging force between the north and the south India. In antiquity rivers also acted as the separating factor as it restricted the dispersal and circulation of the population. But on the other hand rivers in India acted as a converging point for the masses of India. Festivals like ‘mahakubh’ and ‘kubh, were and still are celebrated on the banks of Ganges for which people from all over the sub-continent travelled to attend. A centripetal force helps the population of a particular territory to converge and also helps in making the borders intact. In case of

India early literatures like Vedas, Puranas and Upanishads have acted as a centripetal force binding Indian Territory and eventually confirming its borders. There are many places in religious literature where descriptions are about various locations of Indian subcontinent extending from Jammu&Kashmir to Kanyakumari. Daily chores of construction been done by the states also induces centripetality among the masses. Media, newspapers, Radio, national symbols such as flag, signs, constitution all contribute in the process of convergence of populace of a bounded territory. Developing an idea of 'threat perception' from the foreign land and systematically circulating it can also act as a bounding force for a particular country. There is a constant struggle between these two contradicting forces.

There is also an important role of 'geopolitical imagination' in accentuating socio-fugal and socio-petal forces in a society which in turn affects the abstract territoriality of the community through which they organise their concrete territoriality. Sanjay Chaturvedi (2000) has examined these phenomena in a very lucid manner putting the arguments of secular nationalists and Hindu nationalists one against the other highlighting Indian territoriality imagination.

"A Hindu is he who feels attached to the lands that extends from Sindhu to Sindhu as the land of his forefathers- as his Fatherland; who inherits the blood of the great race whose first and discernible source could be traced from the Himalayan altitudes of the Vedic *Saptasindhus* [the land of seven rivers] and which enabling all that was assimilated has grown into and come to be known as the Hindu people" (Sarvarkar 1969: 100).

This quote highlights the geopolitical imagination of Hindu nationalists who in their very territorial imagination excludes the other religions and ethnicity. The very philosophy of Hindu nationalist represents their territorial claim originating from the imagination of "*Akhand Bharat*", which includes the territories of Afghanistan and Myanmar. On the other scale of spectrum 'secular nationalists' discovers India's unity lying in culture and not religion. The 'secular nationalist' tries to construct a geopolitical imagination which is much more inclusive in nature.

“In secular imagination, the territorial notion of India, emphasized for twenty five hundred years since the time of the Mahabharata, is of land stretching from the Himalayas in the north to Kanyakumari (Cape Comrin) in the south, from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. India is not only the birth place of several religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism), but during the course of its history it has also received, accommodated and absorbed ‘outsiders’ (Parsees, Jews, and ‘Syrians Christian). What make Indian civilisation unique therefore, are the virtues of syncretism, pluralism and tolerance reflected in the cultural expressions: *Sarva Dharma Sambhava* (equal respect for all religion)” (Chaturvedi, 2000: 213)

Main objective of putting these quotes here is to appreciate the importance of the geopolitical imaginations in influencing human territoriality. The defining principle of national identity for both however is ‘territory’. This phenomenon not only is restricted to this part of the world but spreads all over without any exception. Every country evolves their own geopolitical imaginations which in turn infuse territoriality into the community and eventually idea of boundary also becomes firm over a time with repetitive actions on the peripheries.

Indian territoriality is very much related to the sacred and holy spaces of Hindus. The boundaries ‘secular nationalists’ have demonstrated and imagined is in consonance with the sacred spaces and holy places mentioned by ‘Hindu nationalists’. The pilgrimage sites (Vaishnodevi in Jammu & Kashmir, Badrinath and Kedarnath in Utrakhhand, Dwarka in Gujarat, Kanyakumari on the southern tip of the sub-continent and Puri in Orissa) appreciated by the ‘Hindu nationalist’ is coterminous with the boundaries the ‘secular nationalists’ have demonstrated (Chaturvedi, 2000). These sacred spaces cover the length and breadth of India giving it a concrete boundary to exercise its territoriality.

“Since the territorial principle is drawn from a belief in ancient heritage, encapsulated in the notion of ‘Sacred geography’, and it also figures in both imaginations [secularists and nationalists] it has acquired political hegemony over

time. It is the only thing in common between the two competing nationalist imaginations.....Territory not being such an inalienable part of their national identity, these territorial divorces were not desecrations in India, they become desecration of the sacred geography. (Varshney, 1993: 238)

How do these texts and geopolitical imaginations affect the overall perception of humans about their nation and country? There is an intricate relationship between 'Texts', 'Performance' and 'Tradition'. Certain text includes issues and interpretations relating to the territorial realities of the country and the territorial imaginations of these sacred (can be political too) texts are 'performed' in a routine and repetitive style by the social community, making the essence of the text as a 'Tradition'. These territorial and bordering traditions when is practiced for several of centuries, the process ends in making itself as a 'social fact'. A social fact means that the essence of the text becomes the part and parcel of communities' life.

Interface between border and territoriality can best be explained by the developments in global world where super power countries are extending their territories with simultaneous extension of their borders. Sovereignty is neither inherently territorial nor is exclusively organised on a state by state basis. The myth of 'Westphalia Model' of state sovereignty has been questioned and been problematized. In this globalised world of networks and flows 'effective sovereignty' is not necessary so neatly territorialised (Agnew, 2005). In recent decades concept of 'graduated sovereignty', 'looped sovereignty' and 'divisive sovereignty', has gained fashion in the academic discourses.

Figure 4.3: The US Military Footprint on the World



Source: -<http://handswideopen.worldpress.com>

[These footprints are nothing but representation of the ‘extended territoriality and borders’ of USA]

Recent intervention by United States of America in the name of protecting human rights in Kosovo, Bosnia, Somalia and Libya with the backing of United Nations shows the extended geographical reach of the great powers. US ‘handed back’ sovereignty to the Iraqis on 28 June 2004; this does not suggest that Iraqis were independent rather the effective sovereignty still was with US authorities. And to protect this part of the world, US stationed its navy around Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea as if US was protecting its borders (Agnew, 2005). The way Indian troops are protecting their bases in Afghanistan reflects extension of India’s territoriality and borders. China through ‘Strings of Pearl Policy’ meant to encircle India through developing its establishment around the Indian-subcontinent is in process of expanding its borders and its territorial reach. By adopting these types of geo-

strategies, a country actually expresses its exteriority and in turn expands its territoriality, which needs immediate bordering. For United Kingdom its borders extends up to Falkland Island in the south Atlantic. To put it simply, as and when some part (portion of land) become insider to an individual, group or nation, the process of bordering starts instantly. Without bordering of that particular portion of land, territorialisation will not come into existence and in reality.

This phenomenon is not only restricted to the superpowers only, there are regional hegemony like Australia who intervenes in the conflicts and instabilities occurring in the Pacific island countries. Syria has a great influence on its tiny neighbour country of Lebanon and sometimes takes over its effective sovereignty. In the present era of globalisation the biggest challenge is ‘territorialisation of sovereignty’ as it is in a constant process of de-territorialisation (Agnew, 2005). Human territoriality is not unchanging rather it is determined on the condition prevailing at particular time. Initiation of human claim on Seas and Oceans is the new development in this century. After territorialising land on earth and bordering it into various discrete political units now the humans (nations) are extending their sovereignty to the waters. Introduction of “United Nation Convention on Law of Seas” has acted as a materialising force to these claims. Oceans and seas are now in the process of bordering and various international organisation and committees are facilitating it. Human territorial claim has not stopped at this but also include rights they seek for the ‘cyber space’. The process of territorialisation and bordering is an unending human endeavour.

The effect of globalisation on human territoriality is multi-dimensional which cannot be comprehended easily. Whether it is making humans much more territorial or the opposite has to be studied. How globalisation is influencing ‘spatial organisation’ and the ‘social organisation’ is the major question to be dealt with. There is a stark difference between the urban and rural territoriality and the effect of globalisation on these two distinct spatial organisations is multi-faceted. Certain scholars believe that urban dwellers become less territorial and losses attachment to the concrete territory and there is enhancement of ‘Abstract territoriality’. In the urban environment there is

a constant fragmentation of the self which in turn affect the way human organises his immediate space.

What type of territoriality would be practiced by countries at its borders is dependent upon what type of relationship a country shares with the other. In European Union borders are being de-territorialised within the nations. There are cross border regionalisation coming up in these areas of Europe. United States of America and Canada has harmonious relation at its borders. But then, borders between India and Pakistan, USA and Mexico, Iran and Iraq are heating-up and act as a security challenge for each other. The anguish seen at the borders can be because of many reasons, historical wars, difference in ethnicity, religion, national ideology, economic organisations etc. Certain 'symbols' projected at the borders can reveal what type of territoriality is practiced at the borders.

Figure 4.4: US-Mexico Border



Source: - <http://www.liveworkdream.com>

[The symbol is at US-Mexico border. This border is considered vulnerable as there are frequent incidents of illegal smuggling and migration from the Mexican side]

Figure 4.5: US-Canada Border



Source:-<http://jwshack.blogspot.com>

[The symbol is at Canada-US border. There are friendly relations of USA with Canada and problems of smuggling, trafficking, and illegal migrations are absent here]

These signs and symbols shows different types of territoriality practiced at the borders. The first picture (4.4) is a symbol depicting a territoriality of a country that is defensive and wants to keep the outsiders at distance from its borders. The sign also reveals inhibition and insecurity of one country towards the other. The second picture (4.5) contains a symbol with 'welcome' written on it, reveals a soft form of territoriality practiced by one country toward the other on its borders. One fact is very interesting and has to be acknowledged here; USA shares its borders with Mexico as well as Canada but performs its borders in a different way on the two fronts. Therefore the interface between border and territoriality is very interesting area to research upon for political geographers. This would not only enhance our understanding on borders but also would unearth the way borders are performed and practiced.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

“I am convinced that the progress of our exploration of the outer space is attached to the progress of our exploration of inner spaces – the mind”

- OmaTheAkk

In political geography discipline greater focus has been attributed to the study of borders/boundaries. Initially descriptive works on borders were taken up, but as time passed more studies were done on the functionalities of borders. In recent decade's border study had largely been influenced by the “cultural turn” in the social sciences and now is rather focusing on the concept of “Social Bordering”. The spurt in this area of study commenced with the dawn of nation states in Europe and gained momentum during the war periods and its aftermath. Nation states and their borders were the main components which were focused upon. Boundary study as a systematic field has missed a very important aspect of the political geography discipline pertaining to ‘spatial organisation’. The process of ‘spatial organisation’ is synonymous to the phenomenon of ‘human territoriality’. Border studies always stood incomplete by not appreciating the significance of territoriality in border dynamics. Human territoriality explains how human act, influence, control and border spaces. Bordering is an effect of territorialisation; they act and react on each other. Though there have been independent studies taken up on human territoriality and boundaries separately, but it never was thought important by political geographers to evolve an interface between border and human territoriality. Territoriality as an area of research is appreciated in the fields such as Anthropology, social-psychology, zoology; ethnology etc., therefore there is a scope to make this endeavour inter-disciplinary in

nature. Keeping border-territoriality interface in centre, all these dimensions of human territoriality should be reworked upon. There have been attempts by certain scholars to unravel this interface, but it is limited to arrive at a generalised theory.

Border studies traversed from the paradigm of “what”, “where” and “how” to the most fundamental question of “why” borders. This shift is significant because it has pulled the field of “territoriality” required to unbundle the process of “bordering”. It’s been a corroborated fact now that borders are the product of territoriality in humans. There is an intricate relationship between the two, both affecting each other simultaneously. The field of human territoriality is also not left without a debate. Certain scholars believe human territoriality is an instinctive and biological phenomenon but others reject this notion and consider territoriality as the “spatial strategy”, a form of territorial strategy used by the humans to gain power and control. Both the views are contested. Anyways the crux of the matter is that borders are the effect of territoriality. The simplest way territoriality is communicated is through borders.

Human territoriality and the process of bordering vary from culture to culture. Influence of national ideology and philosophy on human territoriality is immense. Certain philosophy inculcates non-territoriality in the humans, other can do the opposite. It has often been asked that why Indians did not ventured out and captured far of lands like Australia, Africa and Latin America? Why they lacked the very instinct of bordering their territories for a longer period of history? The answer often put fourth is that Indians lacked the very notion of territoriality (they were non-territorial in their basic nature) what west possessed. Roots of Indic philosophy represent the concept of “choicelessness” and “advait” (Monism) which transcends the very existence of boundary/borders. Western philosophy and ideology is largely influenced and structured by the idea of “dvait” (Dualism) which by default inherits and give way to “choices”, where ever there is choice the scope of bordering survives. National ideologies like “Nazism”, “Communism” and “Zionism” could instigate nation’s territoriality and its space conceptions.

To explain it simply these philosophies and national ideologies are abstract form of territoriality which in turn influences the way human organises his concrete form of

territoriality. Territorialities are of two types: concrete territoriality (outside the mind) and abstract territoriality (inside the mind). These two territories act and react upon each other. Problem arises when two of this territoriality is not in consonance. Human aggression, stress and violence and desire to spread are the results of discordance between these two territorialities. These two territorialities can also be called as social organisation (abstract territoriality) and spatial organisation (concrete territoriality) respectively. If in a particular area, abstract territoriality (social organisation) of the populace is imbued with traditional ethos and structure but the concrete territoriality (spatial organisation) of that area has been sculptured in a modern way then it is but natural that discordance will arise. Various insurrections and people movements against their government witnessed all over the world in the present century are nothing but the product of this dissonance. A capitalist spatial organisation if is superimposed on a primitive society having traditional social organisation would prove detrimental to that very space. Similarly, social organisation of certain community is imbued with modernity then discordance would arise if they are subjected to live at a place where spatial organisation is traditional in nature.

In South Asian sub-continent the conception of territoriality was missing not only because of its philosophical underpinnings but also because its society remained stratified and hierarchical for a quiet a long time and therefore the idea of “territorial sovereignty” took a long time to enter into the Indic psyche. Here sovereignty was attached to the people controlled by the authority. Sovereignty was associated with the people rather to the concrete territory. Through the “law of conservation of energy” the Indic phenomena could be understood better. Here in Indian subcontinent whole energy was imposed and structured within the caste stratification and hence the conception of ‘territorial sovereignty’ (concrete territoriality) was absent in this part of the world for quite a long time. It was during the reign of Mughal king Akbar in 16th century the first attempt to demarcate scientific boundary to its north west frontiers was initiated. In Europe with the advent of “renaissance” the old feudal structure based on hierarchies started breaking up which initiated the feeling of nationalism which was territorial in nature. Frontiers were changed into linear and straightened boundaries, based on mutual consent and recognition. It should be noted that ‘territo-nationalism’ began with the collapse of hierarchical feudal society of Europe. This implies that till the society is structured hierarchically in a social system

it would need less space to live and also the sense of concrete territoriality would be absent in that community. It is often believed and advocated that communities imbued with egalitarian principles need more space to live and function. The question initially posed about the Indian populace reluctance to invade and acquire spaces outside the sub-continent was also to do with highly stratified society present at that period of history. Europe began early in the process of acquiring and territorialising spaces outside its milieu. At some level still stratification is predominant in India and still individuals are attached with primordial identities and traditions. Now the question arises when the stratification in the society would break completely where would that energy be transferred and territorialised, would it lead to a state of anarchy? The same type of stratification and hierarchy is prevalent at the global level represented in the form international institutions like WTO, United Nations, and IMF.

Importance of “Subordination-Dominance behaviour” and “territoriality” is very significant in understanding the whole course of human history. A closed space where individual mobility is limited ‘subordination-dominance behaviour’ among humans is very natural as it reduces the chance of conflict and anarchy within the society. If every individual are given certain territories (it can be in the form of identities in the social hierarchy) then why some individual would prefer combat, rather the individual would be preoccupied with the ranks above and below him. This principle of human territoriality can also be superimposed on global institutions and transnational actors. The probability is much more in closed regional organisation like SCO, NAFTA, and NATO that ‘subordination-dominance’ behaviour will evolve and if each country is assigned its territory in the organisation, stability would obviously evolve. But if the same closed regional organisation experiences intrusion from the other powerful country the whole system would become unstable. In open regional organisation the chances of set territoriality to evolve for each particular country is near to impossible. It has been observed often that a powerful country object the inclusion of the other powerful country in that particular regional organisation in which that particular country dominate. Political geographers should involve themselves in unbundling the territorial phenomenon present in the regional and multi-lateral forums.

Territoriality has an ecological dimension attached to it. Territoriality is the product of predictability and availability of resource in time and space. It has been noticed that where resource is scarce and unpredictable humans tend to disperse and expand themselves in a large area. Pastoralists and nomads come in this category. It is but obvious that due to the scarcity of the resources they are mobile and often migrate from one place to the other, creating them a non-territorial human folks. On the other hand abundance of critical resource in particular area shrinks the population and makes them territorial and static in nature. Human history progressed on these ecological parameters. Human territoriality developed in the places where the land was fertile and resources were abundant in nature. Infertile and rugged geographies witnessed pastoralism and nomadism. Scarcity of resources could compel the populace to wage battles and wars on the sedentary population. In South Asia, “Nuclear Perennial Regions” which were fertile river valleys and plains saw the initial territorialisation by the humans. Through this region (NPR) multiple power centres popped up creating distinct cultures of India. All over the world the regions which were barren, rugged and infertile took a lot of time to evolve human territoriality. For instance Central Asian republics still are in the process of territorialising their space, allotted to them after the dissolution of USSR. The People living in this part of the world experience discordance between the spatial organisation and their social organisation, and still are trying to evolve borders in their spatial minds which exist in a concrete form outside. After the territorialisation process the next challenge is how to maintain the boundaries. There are ‘centrifugal’ as well as ‘centripetal’ forces operating simultaneously in a social milieu. A centrifugal force does not let the population of an area converge and has the ability to dissect the collective consciousness of masses like extreme regionalism, negative literatures, outside intervention, chronic poverty in particular community of the society, discrimination conducted by the state etc. A centripetal force tries to converge the population of an area and brings about the collective consciousness through mass media, radio, waving of flag, and recitation of national songs regularly. To maintain the borders, significance of centripetal forces is immense. Classical literature and myths also plays a positive role in binding the masses. These two forces are always in conflict giving a region its uniqueness. Political geographers should try to unravel these two forces operating in certain area and its implication on the construction of the “Geobody”.

What type of territoriality is practiced at the borders by a country decides its future relations with its neighbours. Before analysing the border practices of a country its territoriality has to be better understood and comprehended. There is a direct link between nature of territoriality and border functionalities. Human territoriality of Europe was different initially which was projected in its hard borders and frequent wars and battles. But now the same European milieu witnesses a fluid and open borders with changed territoriality. It seems that a community is circled in the spatio-mechanism where at the beginning they practice territoriality and at the latter stage they become non-territorial. This spatio-mechanism can circle oppositely. And also one should enquire the phenomenon which has brought that form of human territoriality to better visualise the border practices. There are hard border practices between countries like India and Pakistan, USA and Mexico, North Korea and South Korea and many others. On contrary some countries are friendly at their borders like Canada and USA, India and Nepal etc. Overlapping borders create problem for the establishments. To have better relations with the neighbouring countries, borders have to be properly demarcated and mutually agreed upon. It has been observed that countries are exporting its borders far of places. This phenomenon depicts the countries primate needs to expand its territoriality. United Kingdom territoriality and its borders reach up to Falkland Islands. In the same way USA has exported its borders all around the world through establishment of its military bases. This phenomenon is not only restricted to superpower countries but to also regional hegemony like China, India and Australia.

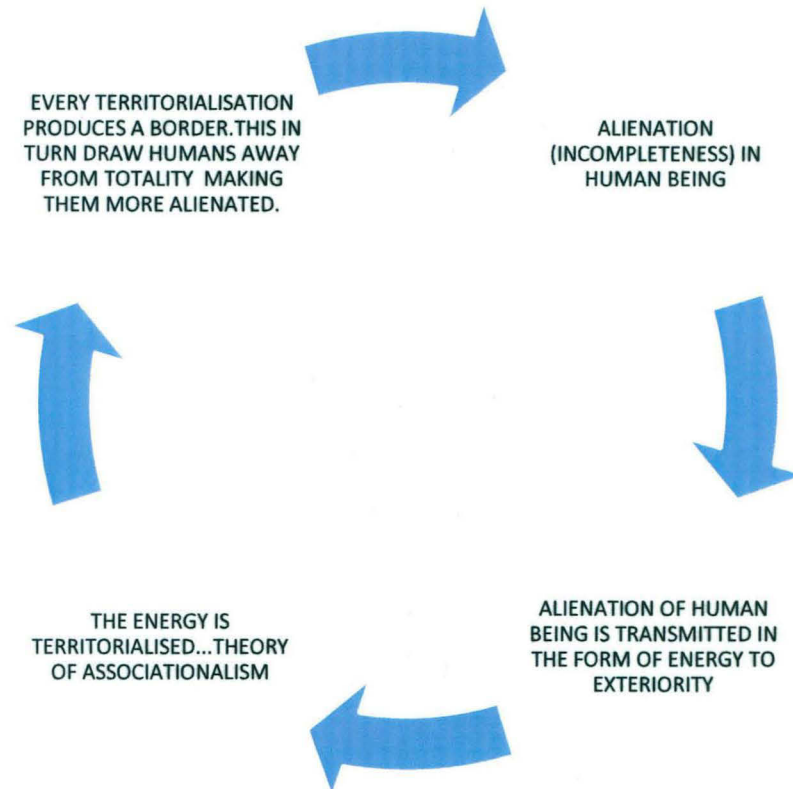
In the globalising world it has often been claimed that borders are vanishing. This assumption can be problematized, as still restrictions persist on free movement of people across the boundaries. With the terror attacks of 9/11, states are hardening their borders and consequently implementing 'protectionist' policies against the free movement of humans and goods. The recent terror attack of 26/11 in India has opened up a new chapter in the 'border security paradigm' where marine borders have become the new frontiers for the states to protect. Due to the economic slowdown the process of nationalisation of currencies has strengthened. Globalisation process is facilitating fluidity in the concrete borders but on the other scale, abstract borders (borders of the mind) are becoming rigid. The notion of 'borderless world' is just a

myth; the very idea of it is circulated by the capitalist classes to gain economic benefits. European Union at one level is being de-territorialised and has transcended the regional borders but at the other level it is been re-territorialised creating a much harder border regime. European Union's spatial organisation and border regime is often criticised for its discriminatory and exclusionary nature. The principle of territoriality suggest that de-territorialisation at one level will result into re-territorialisation at the other level. According to "law of conservation of energy", energy is neither been produced nor been destroyed it is transformed into one form to another. And human territoriality is nothing but emission and imposition of human energy to its exteriority to influence, dominate and control an individual, community, and nation-state or may be resource.

The effect of 'geopolitical imagination' of a country also influences the way human territorialises his space. Previously it is been discussed that an inclusive and an exclusive geopolitical imagination would affect human territoriality differently. Inclusive imagination would try to include various religion and cultural groups in the spatial setting of the country. In contrast exclusionary imagination would see only one particular group in their spatial setting. Territorial imaginations mentioned in the classical or religious text of a country divulges its territo-cultural margins and subsequently its boundaries. The concept of "Brotherhood" in Islam has for long affected the spatial organisation of state. In ancient times Islamic states witnesses open borders where there was free flow of goods and information.

Figure 5.1:

**THE CYCLIC MODEL OF ALIENATION (INCOMPLETENESS), TERRITORIALITY
AND BORDER**



In my work the fundamental question of 'Why Borders' signifying humans unending process of bordering has been tried to be answered while appreciating the interface between border and territoriality. Still various nuances of bordering phenomena are left unexplained due to lack of literature on the very issue and limited scope of my study. These gaps in my study should be filled up by the political geographers in their further researches. The question of "Why borders" can only be decoded completely only when the subsequent question "WHY TERRITORIALITY" would

be understood and addressed by the political geographers. There is a sincere attempt made in the above model to deconstruct the complex inter-relationship between alienation, territoriality and borders. This model can give a fresh insight into the border studies. Academic debates are essential on the issues pertaining to borders and territoriality which happens to be the core of political geography discipline.

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