

**SPACE AS CONTAINER, SPACE AS CONTAINED:
AN EXPLORATION WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO INDIAN
NATION SPACE**

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CONTENTS

<u>Themes</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
CHAPTER – 1 : Introduction	1 - 29
CHAPTER – 2 : Time-Space continuum: A Flow of Ideas	30 – 83
CHAPTER – 3 : Personality of Space as Carved out by Certain Tools in Geography	84 – 117
CHAPTER – 4 : Use of Nation Space to Delineate “Container” and “Contained” Spaces	118 – 196
CHAPTER – 5 : ‘Container’ and Contained Spaces Realized through People’s Imagination of ‘Container’ and ‘Contained’ Nations.	197 – 258
CHAPTER – 6 : Container Space, Contained Space – A Quest for Relevance.	259 – 270
CHAPTER – 7 : A Summary of Conclusions	271 - 278
APPENDIX	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	i - vii

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Themes</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
Table - 1 : Percentage of people below poverty line (1993) in all States and Union Territories/percentage of slum population to total, States and Union Territories (1991)	169
Table - 2 : Distribution of 10,000 persons by languages (Eighth Schedule Languages)	173
Table - 3 : Percentage of women employed to total employment in organized sector (March '96)	185-86
Table - 4 : Frequency distribution of 40 symbols (Container and Contained) divided into Males, Females and total.	209-210
Table - 5 : Total frequency of choices: Container symbols, Contained symbols.	223
Table - 6 : Weighted scores of 40 symbols	253
Table - I (Appendix) : Symbols arranged in preference hierarchy on the basis of total frequency.	
Table - II (Appendix) : Rank, accorded to symbols by respondents (Low and Middle income groups)	

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Themes</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
Figure - 1 : Space over time or time over space	32-33
Figure - 2 : Space perception - A comparison between Ancient and Medieval	44
Figure - 3 : Space production under consumerism	54
Figure - 4 : Space in Geometry	69
Figure - 5 : Space in Symbols	70
Figure - 6 : Simplified skeletal model of spatial structure	75
Figure - 7(A) : Interactions between social spaces at various levels	99
Figure - 7(B) : Urban space as a cone of interconnectivity	101
Figure - 7(C) : Space under planning	102
Figure - 7(D) : Steps in the organization of developmental distance	104
Figure - 8 : Space under transport model	107
Figure - 9 : Area of attraction, Relative isolation and cul de sacs	131
Figure - 10 : The Janapadas	133
Chart : Containing 40 container and contained symbols.	
Figure - 11 : Low income group - Preference hierarchy	211
Figure - 12 : Low income Female - Preference hierarchy	213
Figure - 13 : Low income Male - Preference hierarchy	218
Figure - 14 : Middle income group - Preference hierarchy	225
Figure - 15 : Middle income Female - Preference hierarchy	227
Figure - 16 : Middle income Male - Preference hierarchy	230
Figure - 17 : Comparison between: Middle income and low income female preference hierarchy.	234
Figure - 18 : Comparison between: Low income and Middle income male preference hierarchy	240
Figure - 19 : Comparison between Male and Female preference hierarchy	245

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

Everybody today, everywhere seems to be reeling under the impact of speed, movement, momentum, interconnectedness. The near and the far the ours and theirs seems to have lost their uniqueness, yet their importance have not diminished. When the telephone, the internet, the 24 hours news channels, the boeings seems to have made our good old earth a 'small place', then again, there has risen greater sensitivity and attachment towards our roots based on gender, religion, ethnicity. Thus, distance have been annihilated but still it has grown in strength. Even yesterday 'time' was associated with progress, dynamisms, with 'becoming', while space was eternal, static, 'being' and therefore there was much talk of annihilation of space by time in the world of intese capital movement. Yes, space has been annihilated, but not by time, it has been annihilated by an awareness, for a sensitivity for a different kind of space – the other spaces. The other spaces are open, outward looking fluid, mobile, plastic and they shun stagnation.

Therefore, these other spaces are now the most 'happening thing' around and hence intellectuals (of all fields history, philosophy economics) to politicians to nobodies are quoting spaces, talking of spacialization, sense of place, global village, disappearance of boundaries, disruptions of horizons, time-space compression. The good old geographer who has been doing geography ever since the time when space was cosmographic, celestial, to material/natural and

then regional, mathematical, feels a bit dizzy. This sudden interest on space, its meteoric rise to the hall of fame, its rubbing shoulders with those who so far had been busy elsewhere, creates new questions to be resolved. What should his/her position be? What intelligent things can he/she say to prove his experience and expertise. Besides, all this noise often seems to be a bit incoherent to him/her. His/her (Geographer's) space as bounded, fixed, standardized by a geographic scale, enclosed, having an inside and an outside is being suffused by all this emphasis on space as a process, evolution, dynamism, power, positions, socio-political contestation! (Massey, 1986, Soja 1996). How does he/she react? What insight can he/she provide? How best can he/she evolve? Although he/she is still confused about what appropriate noises he/she can make, the geographer has however realized that the time has come to set free his/her domesticated space. Only by doing thus and adopting an outward looking stance can he/she grab a portion of the limelight which is now being appropriated by others, by giving a free reign to space, can he/she resolve the crisis of modernity and the confusions of post modernity.

Modern geography had been analyzing space as territory to be captured, obtained, conquered. Social Darwinism, environmental determinism had called for a greater thirst for space in the form of territories of power under the maxim of survival of the fittest (Jensen 1999). While Wittfogel and Kropotkin advanced their alternative thesis whereby geography should indoctrinate from childhood cooperative spirit and mutual respect for each others community, cultural and lived space. The areal differentiation of the 1920's and 30's championed the uniqueness of geographic space resisting all possibilities of law making and generalization of space. Schaefer

pleaded for a science of geography whereby phenomena acting upon geographic space was generalizable and hence, called for a nomothetic formulation on space doing away with unique regions as THE space in geography (Jonhston, 1979). The 1960's saw the need for geographers to introduce a kind of scientism in their discipline, which saw a frenzy in the direction of a 'search for order'. The clutterings were to be removed and space rendered mathematical, simplistic, manageable, isomorphic. Space became a surface, linear, denoted by points, networks, flows and fed many hypothesis and brought to fruition many models. The late 60's saw a global concern for relevance in research, making geography societally relevant, produced a group of liberals and radicals who spoke of social justice and pleaded for equitable distribution of well being over space. The 70's and early 80's were an era of structural Marxism where unevenness is surface phenomena in terms of development, urbanization, resource mobilization was explained in terms of deep structures of the economy geared by contradiction in the process of capital formations (Smith, 1984). Dichotomy between physical and social space emerged, which was later resolved by reasonings like physical spaces are pre-given and through social relations, exchange and interactions are transformed into social spaces(Buttimer and Seamon, 1980).

Therefore,

“But this physical space has been a misleading epistemological foundation upon which to analyse the concrete and subjective meaning of human spatiality. Space in itself may be primodially given, but the organization, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience.”¹

¹ Soja, Edward (1989) “Post Modern Geographies” Verso, pp. 79-80.

Later on further advancements in human geography gave enough room for Massey to comment that: "It is not just that the spatial is socially constructed: the social is spatially constructed too."² The late 1980's saw the rise of post modernist discourse which treats space as a stage for different actors to perform on, where, new environs are created and destroyed, therefore space here is in a continuous flux, space here is critical and contested. Space can be continuously constructed and deconstruct depending on who does it.

Geography as a science of space has had a chequered life, however the competitions, contestation, criticism so far has been from within the discipline, with sporadic instances of economists and sociologists as idea givers who themselves have accepted space as geographic lending their special tools to it. Now, is probably the first time when space and geographers face challenges from outside and these are not mere idea givers or lenders of tools, they have come to stay and if necessary act as a surrogate mother to all future space conceptualizations, they include philosophers, historians, economists, sociologists, journalists, columnists. They have regenerated the geographer's interest in space per se. the geographer now sees the need for rising from the luxuriant siesta and look at space differently.

This dissertation is an attempt to trace the journey of geographic space and put it in a contemporaneous manner with the major flow of ideas and hence observe the evolution and modification of the former in the space – time continuum. It also makes an attempt to study the alternative characterization of space in geography under the operation of specific tools, the conventional way of looking at space and discover 'other spaces' and finally bridging the gap between 'spaces as it is' and 'space as it also could be'. In a nutshell, it is an

² Massey, Doreen (1989) quoted in "New Models in Geography" Vol. 2, Richard Peet and Nigel Thrift (eds.) p. 18.

attempt at conceptualizing and reconceptualizing newer perspective to space in geography.

As a geographer the events of the world today-the e-mail, the cyber cafes, the mobile phones, the fax - the general speeding up of life has increasingly created a feeling, that space is not – a ‘thing’ at all it is a ‘resource’ in itself, and therefore, the geographers, the traditional stalwarts on space need to give a fresh look at how space has been treated and how one can go about treating it in future. Increasingly, there is a feeling that the movements, inter-connectedness, flows depict a kind of ‘power geometry.’³ In this time-space compression, some exist as the movers and shakers, they are the ones who are regulating all movements, all communications through remote controls with power buttons. The other group include those who adjust their mobility, sensitivity and awareness ‘with respect’ to the movers and shakers.

“..... The get-setters, the ones sending and receiving the faxes and the e-mail, holding the international conference calls, the ones distributing the films, controlling news, organizing investment and the international time-space compression, who can really use it and turn it to advantage, whose power and influence is very definitely increase. On its more prosaic fringes this group probably includes a fair number of western academics and journalists – those, in other words, who write most about it. But there are also a group who are also doing a lot of physical moving, but who are not ‘incharge’ of the process in the same way at all.”⁴

All this should be brought under the gamut of geographical imaginations of space. Space for geographers should become alive and the geographers themselves should be capable of depicting its

³ Massey, Doreen (1989) “A Global Sense of Place” in Reading Human Geography” Trevor Barnes and Derek Gregory (eds.), Arnold.

⁴ Ibid., p. 317.

vibrancy by exposing the life blood of power play which flows through its intricate veins.

All these realizations, with a touch of imagination and some observations has made quite convincingly assures of what Lefebvre, a non-geographer had prescribed long ago:

“Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics, it has always been political and strategic. If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seem ‘purely’ formal, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of past process whose traces are not always evident on the landscape. Space has been shaped and modeled from historical and natural elements but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies.”⁵

The geographers should take note of this and should not hesitate to consider and give a fresh look at space from this stand point.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This study is grounded on the backdrop of concept of space as a phenomenon or set of phenomena as organised by human beings. Therefore, it draws from existential philosophy which believes that there cannot be any world apart from human beings (Peet, 1998). Thus space interpreted under existentialism is a space far removed from being a geometrical abstraction it is a space which is qualitative and at once projecting multiple personalities. Following Heidegger therefore, space becomes an essence of the lived world, an essence based on participation and not empirical observation, a trait which presupposes the existence of ‘contained’ aspect of space as well.

⁵ Quoted in obsid p. 80.

Under such a theoretical perspective where space is not only the 'being' but also the 'becoming' examining only the 'container's space is insufficient and therefore the geographer's quest for the 'contained' becomes important.

Existential phenomenology is severely critical of positivist science geared towards viewing the world as an inventory of facts, using objective methodologies and formulating laws. Such objectivity is undesirable for the phenomenologist because the researcher is invariably a product of his/her past seeing the world through the filter of tradition and perception and hence such objectivity is opposed to true understanding. However, the existential phenomenologist fail to suggest any alternative methodology. This study while conceiving space from the existential phenomenological point of view makes use of positivistic methodology where facts are collected to substantiate the 'feeling for space' but the only difference is that the facts are 'intensively' value 'laden' and never claims to be 'neutral' in the academic sense of the term.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Space conceptualizations have been the conventional domain of geographers, however today it has become the central theme amongst academics in general, there has been a change in the way people are imagining space. Under such a back drop geographers need to refresh their imaginations, take stock of the situation, understand and conceptualize by giving a free reign to their thoughts and by experimenting with their methodological tools. The aim is to encapsulate, better, vibrant and more imaginations clearly and create a sensitivity towards space amongst more and more people. However,

this greater awareness, sensitivity are looked down upon by many as 'reactionary', 'retrogressive' (Massey, 1989). It can be said, that while the geographers talks of hidden power relations, invisible pressure points, he/she creates a sense of 'vulnerability' often a sense of rootedness, identity which then relegates space as inside oriented, with boundaries of inside/outside, us/them creating retrogressive imaginations. The central problem therefore is: "Geographers have long been exercised by the problems of defining region, and this question of 'definition' has almost always been reduced to the issue of drawing lines around a place. I remember some of my most painful times as a geographer have been spent unwillingly struggling to think how one could draw a boundary around somewhere like the 'East Midlands'. But that kind of boundary around an area precisely distinguishes between and inside and an outside. It can so easily be yet another way of constructing a counter position between 'us' and 'them.'⁶

This is the inherent problem of space conceptualization in geography. Given the existing tools and formal training geographers succeed in constructing neutral container spaces any attempt at tinkering with conventional tools and unlearning the conventional training are often looked upon with suspicion. In case, the latter attempt somehow reaches culmination, it creates a contained space which becomes an anti thesis to the container; being laced in ideology, politics, sentiments, emotions relating to rootedness, identity. The problem therefore involves an exercise at attempting re-imagination of space as both container and contained and then trying to build a

⁶ Massey, Doreen, *obsid*, p. 320.

bridge between them, so as to make the fresh imagination more progressive, more open and more fruitful.

SPACE, AN OVERVIEW

Literature has to be relied on to help frame, formalize and progress in the quest for answers to the research questions. No research remains suspended in a vacuum and hence like all others this perhaps is also a product of its time. There have been writings closely similar to the current study and those which bears a passing resemblance to it, one has considered all. Together they have helped to add a time component to this work thus bringing it abreast with those strains of thought before its time and hinting at those which are likely to follow. A brief overview of the most important works which have acted as a skeleton have been provided.

The modern philosophers like Foucault (1994), Derrida (1994) have provided alternative viewpoints which tend to revolutionize the way the geographers can and should look at space. Foucault's 'Utopia' and 'Heterotopia' (1994) Derrida's 'Deconstruction', 'Spaces between the lines' and spaces in the 'margins' (1994) spur ones imaginations and tend to refresh ones outlook towards space as a concept of study and practice. In fact, these modern philosophers have served to create an outward looking approach to space, armed with which past literature from ancient through medieval, neo-classical, classical and modern have been analyzed.

The Encyclopedia of Philosophy (1967) gives a chronological commentary on the evolution of the philosophies of knowledge. Space conceptualization tend to formalize itself from the days of geometry of

Pythagoras and the invention of dimensions. While the different volumes of the encyclopaedia serves to create a birds eye view of the 'state of the art' as it prevailed, Ross (1952) in the "Works of Aristotle however provides deeper insights into human perception when he carefully brings out how the literati related space to simple number. Thus one taken from Pythagoras to Aristotle, to Euclid and then to Galileo, the Copernican revolution, through Rene Descartes and to Kant with slight modulation on space from being to becoming, to mathematical, to absolute, to system of relations which however has to be carefully discerned the reader. Edward's (1967) encyclopedia however never aids or assists the reader to form opinions, like any good encyclopedia it has collected and stored relevant information. Patricia Kitcher (1990) helps to remove a haze of vagueness by expanding on Kant's space as pure intuition which enables the reader with a bit of assistance to relate him to Hegels idea of space as subjective (soul, spirit) and then as objective (i.e. legal, moral) evolving into the production of familiar space, civil society, nation space which sort of provides priori logic to the later understanding of space as container and contained by using illustrations of the 'Nation Space'.

Patrick Murray (1988) hits the nail on the head when he summarizes Marxist conceptualizations in the form of 'concrete freedom', this inturn helps to unravel how Marx saw the evolution of space as giving rise to newer complexities and arising out of newer contradiction, thus being a dialectal rather than linear progression. Taylor (1986) then beautifully encapsulates the logic of mercantile capitalism and colonialism as a 'struggle for space' being derived from social Darwinism and its survival of the fittest strategy. The horrors of modernity and the creation of space as a 'melting point', a pin head,

cannot possibly be summarized any better than Haraway (1980), whose 'cyborg' brings out the essence of an existence where space is constantly fashioned to resemble utopias and in turn results in the production of 'degenerate utopias' (Harvey 2000). Deleuze (1986) Benetham (1995) lends admirable character to a space constantly policed upon, observed and recorded when they speak of the 'Panopticon,' 'electronic panopticon,' 'self policing' and 'surveillance assemblage'.

The flow of geographical ideas on space in particular is perfectly brought out by Peet (1998), whose 'Moderate Geographical Thought' weaves an enchanting saga of spatial imaginations in geography. The charm of this classic lies in its brilliant cohesiveness, loosely fitting ideas have been deftly packed and 'missing' links beautifully 'linked' to create a congruence and harmony which guides the reader protectively onwards. A work, accomplished to a lesser degree by Holt-Jensen (1999). Barnes, Gregory (1997) and Soja (1989) achieve an uphill task when, while stating facts on space conceptualizations they serve to provide a jerk to ones sensitivities and hence disturb the readers concentration thus channeling his/her thought process into a different scheme by rousing his curiosity and forcing him/her to think differentially. Articles like "The Socio-spatial Dialectic", (Soja 1989), "Between space and Time: Reflection On the geographical imagination", (Harvey 1990), "Deconstructing the Map" (Harley 1989) and the first chapter of Post Modern Geographies - "History Geography and Modernity" (not however to the neglect of the other chapters) are an eye opener in this direction. These alternative imaginations coming from geographers are particularly exhilarating. An example of which can be given from "A Global sense of Place"

(Doreen Massy 1991) where she talks of the need to understand the 'power geometry' of time-space compression as in the global world and the need to formulate a progressive approach to place without it being considered reactionary.

How and why these alternative formulations become necessary and important become clearer with Berry and Marble, Bunge (1966) Bowen (1981). Berry, Marble, Bunge were all stalwarts in propagating a simplistic formulation of geographic space as isotropic, isomorphic, thus providing a foundation for geography to be a science of locations with the help of 'unabashed, unselfconscious positivism. Kevin Cox, (2001). Macmillan (2001) applauds Bunge for popularizing the 'movement' theme in geography. Similar exploration of space under the quantitative revolution has been attempted by Johnston (1978), Cole and King. The fresher formulations of space as cognition of the environment was initially put forward as an antidote to the empiricists though behavioural space later became mired in the same trapping which plagued quantitative geographers. However this does not negate the importance of Tuan's "Topophilia" (1974) and "Space and Place" (1977), the former bringing out the characteristic bond between place and people, a nostalgic sense of place attachment while the latter perhaps first time attempting an honest separation of space and place with easily understandable metaphors. With an increase in the popular desire for dealing with humane spaces, uneven development theories acquired importance, Chattopadhyaya and Raza (1975) brought out the contradictions between 'dependent enclaves' and 'metropolitan economy' whereas Lefebvre's 'Production of Space' (originally published in French in 1974) says that any discourse on space

represents the dominant ideology and hence any unitary theory of space is an ontological violence.

Post modernist construction have been enlivened by Thrift and Crang (2000), Sparke and Castree (2000), Gregory (1994) Harvey (2000), Foucault (2000), Crang (1998). Where geography's study of space through points, networks and locations are fast dissolving.

The space as operationalized in geography through cartography is brought out in a classic account of Edney (1990) whereby, an entire empire gets constructed through the politics of mapping. Perhaps, Harley's contribution in this field is seminal as Cramton (12001) agrees, while he quotes Harley – "and the way to interpret map is not as records of the landscape but tracing out the way they embody power in creating/regenerating institutional power relations," (Cramton 2001). Rao and Bhatt (1974), Kundu, regionalisze space using popular tools, thus once again domesticating space. Nagaraja and Misra achieve the same through remote sensing and GIS. In this respect Cury's (1994) brilliant comments on the new technological innovations carefully balances extreme views. While applauding the simplicity and quickness which these technologies have introduced he criticizes that the 'in built' character of these technologies have destroyed the 'spatial situatedness' of social scientists leaving them effectively 'outside' of space.

These readings so far has helped to record the changing conceptualizations on space culminating with an attempt on the part of geography to render space operational which to a large extent have rendered 'vision' primary over and above all other sensory perceptions. Thus, an overall dependences on a technology had been effectively

achieved which had reduced the work and play to a space which was superficial – a surface, a container, a visible reality. The quest however was to render the same space as may be invisible, as contained. Nationspace is chosen to showcase both container and contained ideas. At that time however this study had not discovered Taylor's "The state as container territoriality in the modern world system" (1994). The discovery came much later, rather after the work in this area had been finished and with it came happiness and disappointment. Happiness, because someone before this had so closely perceived and put together 'ideas' as this study wanted them to be put together and disappointment because one did not lay hands on it earlier. Through his remarkable paper Taylor stresses that the state's or rather the nation-state's capture of power is largely because of its territoriality. As such, he refers to the nation state as a 'container with power' and deftly as well as logically fills it with power, wealth, culture and welfare. He then treats the concept of a 'leaking container' where he deals with the challenges to the container in the form of nuclear war, globalization, ethnic uprising. He however concludes that the leakage in metaphorical and the container reigns supreme. Although bearing striking resemblance to the hypothesis in this study, it differs from it in two counts. While Taylor fills his container with attributes. This study attempts a brick by brick construction of its dimensions with the help of the Census, the map, the museum, common history, formal education and the Cinema (Doing it specifically in the Indian context). Secondly, what he loosely refers to as 'leakage', this study prefers to see as 'contained'. In a later article (Beyond containers-internationality, interstateness, interterritoriality) Taylor goes a step further in coining the phrase 'interstateness' to indicate that nations exist in the context of

multiplicity. He clarifies that “The mutuality of external sovereignty confirm the existence of interstateness,” (Taylor 1995). Therefore, Subba Rao (1950), Appadorai (1973), Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1991), Brass (1996), Anderson (1999) have helped in formulating a container space called Indira, where personalities have been framed with the transmission of ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1989).

Kalpagam (1995), Edney (1997), Cramaton (201) helped to bring out the politics of mapping the container. Bhagat’s descriptions of the census taking in colonial and post-colonial India gave body and strength to the same. The agenda behind the container is lucidly brought out; “Numbers became a political tool as Hindus were told that they constituted a majority and an effort was made to persuade them to act as a uniform community regardless of sect, caste or class affiliation., before headcount of people were announced, it was neither possible nor necessary for communities across the land to identify themselves with any degree of preciseness to seek similarities or differences with others outside their immediate kin (Bhagat 2001). Further, Prasad’s (1998) attempt at unearthing the ideology of Hindi films aided in the construction process.

The process of re-imagining the contained space by putting together multifarious thinking in general and the thinkings of dalits, peasants, women speakers of multiple languages has been possible largely due to enlightening intellectual attempts of Gramsci (1971), Mishra, Nag (1993), Chatterjee (1994), Aloysius (1997), Ilaiyah (1998) Das (1998) and many others. Each of these authors had adapted an original perspective in dealing with a nation space which is alternative to the container and Chatterjee has experimented with a number of such contained imaginations.

The intellectual risk of creating dichotomies between imaginations is well understood and hence an attempt has been made towards bridging the gap between container and contained imaginations of space in geography Soja (1989, 1996), Harvey (1990), Pieterse (1996), Crang (1998), Massey (2001) are all proponents of the need to re-imagine space in geography, space which does not oscillate between extremes but is more tolerant, more deep and always incorporates the 'others,' thus bringing under its fold the flow of power and the position taken.

The life blood of this research has been these materials which has enriched thinkings. Through out the research new raw materials discovered and re-discovered from old themes thus rejuvenating perspectives. This literature survey is an incomplete and almost telegraphic over view of what has been read. As this work specially thrives on imaginations, it always has scope for more. In this regard the study of academic as well as non-academic literature has been the mine motive. In addition, a keen observation of media's projection of reality, songs, remarks have given this study critical insights into how newer imaginations can be forged. However, the study has restricted itself to a review of academic literature alone.

EXPLAINING KEY TERMS

Certain terms and phrases have been used throughout the dissertation which might require clarity and simplification, so that the parameters could be defined at the very outset. The key terms include: (a) Time-space compression, (b) Time-space continuum, (c) Container space, (d) Contained space, (e) Contested terrains.

Time-space compression – This is phrase which has become popular amongst, human geographers, sociologists, political scientists in recent times. In the wake of globalization it refers to a heightened frenzy of communication, mobility, movement of information, knowledge, ideas, human beings well interconnected over space and within time, forging relations—economic, political, social, of domination and subordination, creating an intense internationalization thus compressing space (tangible/intangible) and reducing time. Massey summarizes it best;

“Time-space compression refers to movement and communication across space, to the geographical stretching out of social relations and to our experience of all this. The usual interpretation is that it results overwhelmingly from actions of capital, and from its currently increasing internationalization. On this interpretation then, it is time, space and money which makes the world go round, and us go round (or not) the world.”⁷

Thus, this heightened frenzy of intense activity makes space less imposing and time a lesser constraint and hence time and space is said to have been compressed.

Time-Space Continuum: It is a method of systematically dealing with space and time simultaneously without attributing priority to either of the two. Space progress over time and time is defined by space in a healthy flow of perceptions, realizations, ideas, without halts, breaks or thresholds. As such, the dynamism of space and spatiality and the hallmarks of time are brought out evenly with special attention to transitions. It is therefore an anti-dote to any idea of paradigm shifts, precisely because the concept of paradigm shifts do not make any allowance for co-existence of ideas. Concept of paradigms also raises an ideas to a positions of a central theme before shunning it to the

⁷ Ibid., p. 316.

back alleys of academic preference. Time-space continuum as opposed to this, advocates the co-habitation of ideas, concepts, doubts and misgivings and deals with their evolution or diminution (as the case may be). As such it is a continuous process of operationalizing space/time without in any way categorizing, compartmentalizing or classifying them.

Container Space: Refers to a rational, neutral, bounded space confined within dimensions domesticated by a scale. The dimensions give meaning, shape, character to the space it contains and depicts a 'whole' which is all-embracing subsuming, universal, standardized and generalizable. The container space propagates its character, its slogan, or its hallmark in an all-embracing fold over its constituent particles; as such it subsumes any distinctiveness which the particles may depict. It is universal enough to irradicate any chaos which the constituent particles may conjure and hence would force the latter to conform to a predetermined pattern given by a pre-conceived standardized equation or scale (Brenner, 2001). It is standardized, in the sense that it is scale specific and hence the dimensional boundaries meet each other at the ends to enclose the space; there are no unknown quantities or 'x' values, the pre-fixed scale or equation decides the values of all and each. Such a space is generalizable and can be upheld as a reference point for other such spaces of identical qualities (irrespective of their scale). Thus, they can be suitably reduced or magnified to act as examples in relation to other such spaces. This concept have been elaborated in chapter 4, where I have dealt in details the attributes of container space have been delt in details. This brief description is sufficient here to serve as a working tool.

Contained Space: Contained space lives beyond dimensions. It is never neutral, hardly ever domesticated, never ever standardized, never universalized, never serving as a reference and is ungeneralizable. This can be described as 'hidden space', 'spaces in flow', spaces in flux, etc. there can never be any fixed assumptions for delineating contained space, for they are intensely political, ideological, attitudinal, ever-changing. What is perceived is just one version of its ever-changing character, there are layers of such appearances, myriad points of its distinctiveness, flexible margins and often no margins. As such it cannot be used as a stereotype to explain away other spaces. It represents at best a chaos, a composition, a splash and its 'wholeness' can never be predicted, therefore it cannot be domesticated within a fixed scale or a given formula. They exist in shades, gray areas, contestations, debates, they are also replete with un-known quantities and 'x' values. This idea has again been clarified in chapter 4 with suitable examples.

Contested Terrains: Contested terrains refer to 'no-man's land', it is that realm of ideas, opinions, discourse where hegemony has not been established. Therefore criticism, healthy debate, give and take, interactions continue to occur. In the absence of any central theme or a particular school of thought there are no binary positions, in fact, there is no black and white, true or false, everything is gray. Nothing is proved or falsified, every conceptualization, notion, dream, musing, hunch is considered equally important and ample opportunity is given to all and each for suitable expression. There is no agenda for exchange no scheme of interactions, ideas come and go, clash and merge, break and build as they please.

OBJECTIVES

As already specified, this dissertation is an attempt at fresh awareness and an effort towards re-imagination of space in geography. Its aim is to depict space as has been dealt with and is being dealt with, an extra attention towards unearthing spaces which are hidden (to geography) and 'other' (in geography) is attempted. Its objective is to plead for conceptualization of a space in geography which need not necessarily be neutral and rational but might encapsulate 'leanings', 'opinions', 'politics' and ideology. Finally, it tries to resolve unwanted dichotomies between conventional conceptualization and fresh conceptualizations for a more complete perception of space in geography which shall intern enable able geographers to relinquish their importance as master perceivers of space and grab a chunk of the 'intellectual cake' of spatial sensitivity that is being baked in the oven of heightened spatial awareness in the heat of global re-ordering. Under such a backdrop answers to the following research questions are sought.

- (I) What has been the general flow of ideas regarding space and how has the geographer in particular, moved with respect to this general flow, along with his/her space conceptualizations?
- (II) How has some of the dominant tools in geography fashioned space?
- (III) How can space be conceptualized as a container (popularly) and as well as contained (not so popularly)?
- (IV) How are the container nad contained space interconnected? How are they relevant?

DATA SOURCES

The database for this work has been derived from a variety of sources. Both numerical and non-numerical data have been mixed and matched to clarify perceptions and substantiate opinion. Information has also been generated from primary survey. As such both primary and secondary data has been used to formulate expositions. Here one would like to clarify that data both qualitative and quantitative have been used as a sort of academic evidence rather than as foundation stones for theoretical formulations.

The sources of numerical data include the following;

Secondary Source:

1. Selected socio-economic statistics of India:
Central statistical organisation (CSSO)
 - (A) Poverty figures (modified expert group - 1993)
 - (B) Slum population – 1991
 - (C) Women employment in organized sector – 1995
2. Census of India 1991 series I part IV B(I)
 - (A) Distribution of 10,000 persons by language (schedule language)
3. National sample survey – 35th round
 - (A) Data on women enumerated as non-workers



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Primary Source:

Direct person to person survey of 38 people engaged in blue collar jobs within the Jawaharlal Nehru Campus. This survey comprised of a single question. The respondents were provided with a standard political map of India and were asked to identify the figure.

The survey scheduled has been included in chapter 4 and indicates those who could correctly identify the map of India and those who could not.

Another survey involving 140 people was carried out in South Delhi. 70 people of low income category (with income less than Rs. 5000 per month) were, interviewed from Motilal Nehru Camp, Saraswati Camp and Coolie camp. 35 of these 70 respondents were female and the rest males. 70 people of the middle income group (income above Rs. 5000 per month) were interviewed from the Loksabha, Rajyasabha apartments and Munirka Vihar apartments. 35 of them there females and the rest males. A questionnaire for the same purpose has been provided in the appendix. A chart consisting of 40 different symbols, 20 of which were container symbols and 20 contained, mixed randomly were provided to the respondents. The latter were asked to choose any 10 with which he/she could identify himself/herself, ranking them in descending order of preference, stating one reason for each choice. The purpose was to capture multifarious spatial imaginations in terms of India as a nation space. Chart has been provided in the appendix.

A qualitative database was also built up. From different sources statement, remarks, opinions about the concept of Nation (India) by eminent individuals were documented in an unbiased manner in the same way as a surveyor collects information and a statistician arranges it.

It would not however be an exaggeration to say, that like many other research this work too has suffered from the fact that academics give a premium to codified information of the literate and hence miss

out on such data which is unspoken and uncodified by formal language existing in the facial expression, body languages. Here, however attempts have been made to pay adequate attention to such data and derive as much inference from these as possible.

Other than these, readings of fiction, literature, classics, poetry have been used wherever possible as relevant data substantiating expostulations.

METHODOLOGY

This research has been partially geared towards the study of existing methodological tools in geography. As such, this study has not followed any standard methodological tool, which has been used from the beginning to the end. Flexibility has been the chosen modus operandi and tools have been selected according to the need of the hour. Therefore, different tools have been used to find answer to the different questions. In general, this work has been a healthy mix of empirical-qualitative, fact-fiction, concrete-abstract, real-imagined.

The first question dealing with the general flow of ideas on space and the particular flow of ideas in geographic with respect to the general has been studied empirically by collecting and recording facts thematically often from archival sources. The approach is descriptive and the method of solution seeking is essentially that of fact finding.

The second question on how space has been forged by various tools in geography is itself an examination of the methodological tools. As such selected facts about the various tools in question have been systematically recorded to give a complete conceptualization of the nature of space under each.

For an answer to the third question i.e. how space can be conceptualized as a container, as well as contained. Nation space (India) has been used as a specific example, here both qualitative/quantitative and primary/secondary data have been used to first 'construct' the container space and then 'deconstruct' the same. The methodological approach in the process of construction has been positivistic and empirical. Here one has rigorously followed all the essential steps of scientific research beginning with hypothesis formulation, choosing variables (5 have been chosen), data collection, tabulation, hypothesis testing. In the second part of the same chapter nation space has been deconstructed as contained, here the methodological tool is 'deconstruction'. Whereby about 38 people (all involved in blue collar occupation) were shown a political map of India and asked whether they could identify the figure. No grand hypothesis has been formulated but differing opinions have been expressed in quantitative and qualitative terms.

The container and contained themes have been substantiated using peoples preferences in terms of container and contained symbol they have identified with and the ranking that they have accorded to each of the symbols. Therefore frequency preference hierarchies has been computed for different groups by adding up the frequency of choices for each symbols.

Weight scores have been computed for each symbol on the basis of rank allotted to each. Therefore a symbol given 1st ranking by a respondent gets 10 points and when chosen as 2nd ranks it is accorded 9 points. The weights are then added to arrive at a total for the particular symbol and then divided by the maximum possible

times it could have been chosen, to arrive at weighted score for each of the 40 different symbols.

Example: Therefore if symbol No. 1 has been chosen 6 times by the total low income female population and the ranks given by the respondents are as follows:-

Serial No.	Symbol No. 1 (Rank)	Weight
1.	2	9
2	1	10
3	4	7
4	1	10
5	9	2
6	6	5
TOTAL		43

Then, there are 35 females in the low income group, hence the maximum possible times symbol No. 1 could have been chosen is 35.

Hence = $43/35 = 1.23$ 1.23 is the weighted score (W.S.) which tells us the importance accorded to each symbol.

As regards to the fifth question on interconnectedness of container and contained space and its relevance, answers obtained for the previous 3 questions have been logically arranged and examined to discover newer relevance

LIMITATIONS

The constraints that have been faced are possibly in no way extra ordinary. The first being academic need to frame ones thought into a 'researchable' way of thinking with all the trappings of a research proposal, objectification, formulation of questions, put under neat subheadings. Although, this is the only accepted way of doing research it has often served to frustrate ones imaginations. Obviously,

when one is tinkering with an idea one would like to poke around and see what one can arrive at, unfortunately however, one is required to state at the outset what one wants to do and how one wishes to go about it. Fortunately, there was enough free reign to write chapters exactly as one pleased.

Secondly, the problem of providing evidence in black and white sometimes posed a problem. Research demands readable evidence, on the other hand, so many times one read so many opinions from unspoken words and deciphered “between lines” yet, there was no way it could have been put in black and white.

As far as more mundane realities go, problems of an underdeveloped country often made their presence felt, either in the form of dearth of appropriate books in the library, or extremely slow process of relocating lost books, or in the form of extremely slow computes or their unavailability. However, the experience has been largely a pleasure and minor discomforts that is recorded here are again largely because of academic necessity rather than any real crisis of survival.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The work can be largely divided into two broad compartments, the first (consisting of chapter 2 and 3) which traces the flow of ideas regarding space in Philosophy in general and Geography in particular. This time space continuum coverages into a more precise study of the ‘grounding’ of space in geography, the nature of this grounded space and the tools used in the process of grounding. The second

compartment (consisting of chapter 4 and 5) deals with an illustration of how the same space can and should be treated alternatively.

There are seven chapters. The first puts together efforts at introducing the topic, stating the problem, defining the key terms (which will be in continuous use), fixing the objectives – identifying the major research questions, stating the data source, identifying the possible methodological tools that will be used to answer the questions specified, realizing the general limitations, a brief literature review and organizing this study.

The second chapter is a theoretical odyssey of how space conceptualization have moved with time and how time itself has been categorized and conceptualized in relations to space. As such, it studies a time-space continuum of the flow of spatial imaginations in the philosophy of knowledge. Later it gauges the geographers position with respect to the general flow i.e. how exactly has spatial imaginations in geography progressed in relation to the general continuum? The conclusion attempts a judgment at how the geographer had fared in his/her space odyssey.

The third chapter attempts on understanding of the character of space as forged by some of the major tools in geography. Thus, cartography, quantitative tools in regionalization, remote sensing and geographical information system and deconstruction are the major tools that have been reviewed. The attempt is toward a depiction of space as shaped by the tools, thus the tools themselves are treated as a means and hence no qualification of their merits and demerits are attempted. The conclusion attempts to judge the overall character of

geographic space as created and pleads for a fresher imagination of space in geography beyond the popular picturing.

The fourth chapter is an attempt to elucidate how the popular imagination of space in geography is but one imagination and there can exist alternative imaginations. Nation space has been used to substantiate the case. Therefore the popular space in geography i.e. the 'container' gets constructed through the popular over arching construction of nation space in an empirical exercise using variables like common history, map and museum, census, formal education and the cinema. The same space (nation space) is then deconstructed to make room for fresher alternative contained spaces. The contained spaces are imagined with the help of primary data collected through person to person survey secondary data in the former of remarks of popular people and through alternative imaginations of dalits, women, peasants, and speakers of various languages. The conclusion never makes an attempt to pass binary judgments or award any special favour to either the container or contained space, it simply presents the existence of options to be considered by geographers of the future; options which until recently have been considered by philosophers, sociologists, historians, political scientists.

The theoretical constructs of the fourth chapter has been substantiated in the fifth where an attempt has been made to identify the container and contained spatial imaginations with reference to the Indian nation space with the help of survey conducted among real individuals from two different levels of economic strata and belonging to male and female category. An attempt has been made to operationalize the container nation and contained nation and bring out the similarities and divergences of imaginations between and

among groups. The purpose being again to emphasize the fact that space can be imagined in myriad ways and the dominant imagination is just one among many. The geographer's role therefore is to bring to the forefront and give suitable exposure to as many such imaginations as possible.

In the sixth chapter, the implications of the theoretical and empirical constructs reached so far has been discussed. How floating and often hidden imaginations and awareness about space can be documented as knowledge? How such knowledge can be utilized for better understanding of space as a phenomena, space as identity and space as power. Here an attempt has been made to explore newer avenues, which can be opened through explorations of complementary imaginations and innovative methodology.

The seventh is also the last chapter, which is a summary of the conclusions reached at various stages.

CHAPTER - 2

Time-Space Continuum: A Flow of Ideas

The study of space, its nature and personality has become popular in recent times. This however does not mean that space conceptualizations did not exist earlier. Foucault summarizes the developments nicely.

“As we know, the great obsession of the nineteenth century was history: themes of development and arrest, themes of crisis and cycle, themes of accumulation of the past, a great overload of dead people, the threat to global cooling. The second principle of thermodynamics supplied the nineteenth century with the essential core of its mythological resources. The present age may be the age of space instead. We are in an era of the simultaneous, of juxtaposition, of the near and the far, of the side-by-side, of the scattered Perhaps we may say that some of the ideological conflicts that drive today’s polemics are enacted between the devoted descendants of time and the fierce inhabitants of space.”¹

Every age no doubt has its “obsession”, however to consider a particular obsession as a monolith for a particular age, or even a particular obsession a patented property of a particular discipline, is tantamount to narrowing the possibilities of that age and its people. There are a mosaic of obsessions and there are inter-disciplines and it is these fuzzy zones which provide scope for debates, give and take, creating contested terrains of ideas.

Giving due respect to these contested terrains one would in no way try prove that this age is the age of space and the past was that of time or space perspective is the domain of a geographer and that

¹ Foucault, Michael: (1994) “Aesthetics – Methods and Epistemology;” Allenlane – The Penguin Press, p. 175.

he/she should have the final word. This is indeed a matter of personal opinion. What one would like to examine in this chapter, is solely ones own obsession; therefore one can blame no one for the opinions and ideas which emerge out of it.

Not falling into the "Prophesy for this age" trap, one would however like to point out that the inbuilt dynamism of TIME to a large extent has overshadowed the dynamism of SPACE which for long has been categorized as TIMELESS and sedentary. One believes that where the present age has scored over its predecessors is in its emerging sensitivity about the dynamic nature of space also. It is this dynamisms that one would like to examine in this chapter. From the flowing river of ideas one would like to glean out the changing conceptualizations of space and also understand the geographers involvement in this respect. It has to be remembered however that a geographer is not an isolated entity and it is not fair to compartmentalize his/her domain of action. Therefore he/she should be given the academic licence to pursuè the "temporal Sections of Reality"² as much as a historian should be allowed to explore the "spatial sections of the earth" surface"³

INTRODUCTION

The debate on whether space can be considered to have exited before humans or whether it was a coterminous to human evolution is age-old. Not entering into the polemics on the birth of space one can still claim that space does fill up our perceptions and we ourselves

² Harthson, Richard: "The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the light of the Past" (P. 460) as quoted in Johnston R.J. "Geography and Geographers, p. 44.

³Ibid.

become one with it either in its dimensional content or as intangible sensations of it (space). Therefore time has defined space in the same way as space has described the temporal character of time. This chapter would deal with this time-space continuum in two sections. Firstly, as it existed in the ancient, medieval, classical, neoclassical modern and beyond modern in the general philosophy of ideas and secondly how the same continuum has evolved over the same phase in geography in particular. Just as the description of space has varied

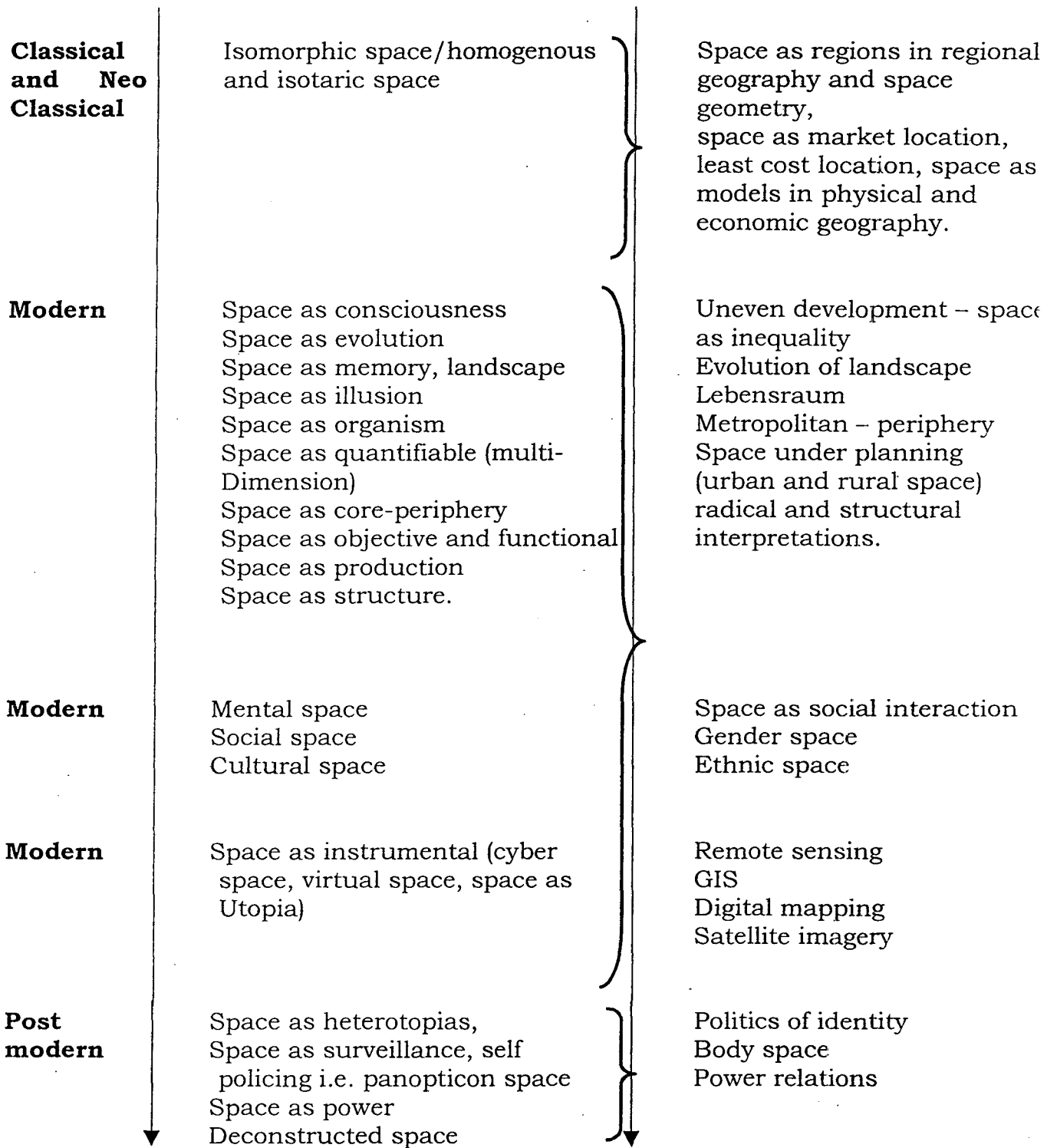
FIG. 1

SPACE OVER TIME OR TIME OVER SPACE

Time	Flow of Ideas	Flow of ideas in Geography
Ancient	Space as "Ether" ⁴ Space as Existence Space as God Space as Tri Lokas (Heaven, Earth, under world) Timeless space (Ancient Mathematical Space) "Super Celestial, Celestial, Terrestrial" ⁵ "Sacred and Profane" metaphysical space and physical space.	Cosmographic space in cosmogeography Astronomic Space Space as in imagination, in encyclopedic geography, travelogues
Medieval	Space as open, Space as infinite Space as vacuum, Space as desacrilized, Space as mathematical Space as absolute Space as geometry Space as container	Space as "place", location, points, routes, flowlines, maps, isolines, iso bases, contours, latitudes, longitudes.

⁴ Kerfred, G.B. (1967) Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 7, Paul Edwards (eds.) Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., Free Press p. 506.

⁵ Faucault, Michael: (1994) Aesthetics, Methods and Epistemology, James (eds.) Allen Lane – The Penguin Press p. 176.



over the Ancient-Medieval, Modern, Post Modern periods (See Fig. 1) similarly it is space which has determined whether an epoch could be described as “Ancient” or “Modern”. Thus though visibly separate, an alliance remains. Therefore from the days of the hourglass, sundial to

our modern day watches, space defines time through either the trickling sand within the container glass or through the section of the dial which again comprises of visible space. Similarly time defines space in the forum of longitudes (which are nothing more than imaginary representatives of time differences) echo sounding is another example of time operationalized to measure space. Time attains a meaningless death if it is held in isolation irrespective spatial context. For example, the Pleistocene period, the peneplanation stage, 1960s, in their isolation will stir no sensations in us because by themselves they are meaningless, stage, period 1960's are by themselves on prefixes and suffixes to larger spatial contexts like widespread glaciation, removal of physical irregularities, rise of scientific temper in institutionalized disciplines, respectively. Similarly, satellite imagery, identity movements, Copernican revolution, though by themselves do not have an inbuilt time element, yet, clearly specify an essence of time.

Space-time perception therefore has been a part of our existence just as eating, breathing and sleeping has been. This perception has been the lifeblood for flow of ideas (and not paradigms with breaks). The geographer like his/her mates in other disciplines have also moved with the direction of flow, sometimes along the path of least resistance at other times along paths of resistance (being a thinking human with a fair doze of emotion he/she has not been always a strict follower of rational geomorphic principles). Sometimes he/she has ducked below the surface, sometimes has had his/her head bobbing above, sometimes swirled around in whirlpools at other times gently floated along with the current. It is therefore interesting to examine the general flow, as well as absorbing task to record the smooth and

sometimes not so smooth journey of a tiny pebble called geography along the entire course (Fig.1). Notice that the figure 1 has been left open at both ends with arrows projecting out, indicating that one does not claim to either begin at the source or claim to seal the future.

HISTORY OF SPACE OR SPACE DEFINING HISTORY -THE GENERAL FLOW OF IDEAS

ANCIENT FROM NOW:

The ancient human fulfilling his/her organic necessities in a world full of 'neutral stuffs and impediments, must have had a short-term notion of time/space. His/her time must have been limited to darkness of night giving over to the brightness of day and warmth of summer leading to the cold of winter. He/she therefore must have had perceptions of 'friendly spaces' which were perfect areas and "unfriendly spaces" which were imperfect areas. His/her friendly space were those part of his/her existence where he/she had succeeded in converting neutral stuffs to resource. Thus his/her cave, his/her family, his/her success in hunting gathering where "perfect space". While natural calamities, poisonous roots, wild animals, heat, cold, rain were all impediments thus imperfecting his notion of space. Thus, his/her existence in terms of perfection attained and imperfections encountered defined his/her spatial perceptions. Space was existence, sometimes territorially defined at other times intangible in the form of instincts for survival, intuitive hunting skills which widened his/her spatial perception and often in terms of fear, hunger which narrowed his/her perceptions..

Since imperfect space enjoyed predominance the search for perfection soon began to take shape. This perfection was symbolized by creating a third space called GOD. In the initial stages GOD space was defined by animism, sacrifice, witchcraft which provided promises for newer vistas of perfection. With the march of progress” however God space was canonized and differentiated by the golden halo. This was universally true. Whether it was in the Tigris – Euphrates or Hwangho or in Greece, or in the ancient kingdom of Machu Piccu in America, an attempt to create perfect space was universal. There was no community which did not create GOD space. Human imperfection was therefore explained off as being the result of a gaping distance between mortal existence and immortal or divine presence. Attainment of perfect space was glorified in the symbol of Heaven, Paradise, ‘Swarg’, Angel, Prophet while imperfection was looked down upon, symbolized by Hell, underworld, ‘Kali Yuga’, Satan.

Space was ethereal, composed of ‘ether’ which was a material or non-material subsistence the composition of which was not known. Thus ethereal space divided into holy and unholy, perfect and imperfect continued to rule the roost until the Egyptian evolved the skill of “surveying because the flooding waters of the Nile annually inundated their fertile lands, obliterating the boundary markers of their fields”.⁶

Thus Egyptians arrived at laws on angles, lines, figures through empirical generalizations. The Greeks gave the name of ‘Geometry’ to this skill of the Egyptians and themselves furthered geometry (earth

⁶. Kerferd, G.B. (1967) Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 3 Paul Edwards (eds.) Macmillan Publishers Company Inc. and Free Press, p. 205.

measurements) though deduction. Pythagoras (582 – 500 BC) gave geometry the respect of theoretical science. His space defined by two plus one dimension gave a quality of timelessness to it (space).

The Pythagoreans conceptualized space in terms of simplistic numbers. Therefore they succeeded in capturing and enveloping the entire scattered gamut of space perception in terms of ordered numbers. Thus for the first time space was rendered manageable.

“... the likeness that the Pythagoreans believed in between numbers and the things that exist and come into being: assuming that reciprocity or equality is a property of justice and finding it to exist in numbers, they said, for this reason, that justice is the first square number: Now this number some declared to be number 4, because, being the first square number, it is divided into equals and is itself equal (being twice 2),⁷

Following the same logic marriage was given the number 5 because it involves the union of a male and a female and the odd is male the even being female. Reason, another name for which was soul and substance was given the number. One, as it was unchanging. ‘Opinions’ was given the number 2 as it could move in both directions.

“Picking out such likeness between things and numbers to be the first principles of things, saying that all things are composed of numbers.⁸

With the Pythagoreans therefore, space perception was for the first time ordered and grounded. This started a tradition of idealized simplistic space geometry which treated space as material, receptacle etc. Democritus for instance considered space as countermines to material entity. Lucretius, who considered space to be infinite, pure void however wrote of space as a container. Plato (429-327 BC)

⁷ “Works of Aristotle” (1952) translated into English by Sir David Ross (ed.) Vol. VII, Oxford Clarendon Press, p. 142

⁸ (Ibid).

furthered this tradition by talking of space as a receptacle and the matter in it being empty space, delimited by geometrical surfaces. Thus he considered space as reality and geometry/arithmetic as tools for expression of that reality. Thus logic and mathematics according to Plato holds clues for unearthing the structure of the universe. His space perception was significantly touched with ideas of utopianism, morality, pure thought. In his "Republic", his famous ideal state or "Callipolis" represents such utopian space.

A metaphysical quality was contributed to the concept of space by Aristotle (384-322 BC). His idea of space perception revolved around "primary substance" and "secondary substance". Primary substance is the "concrete thing" and the species or genera to which it belongs is the secondary substance. Aristotelian conception can be understood from the following lines.

"The search for substance for Aristotle the search for what is, as distinct from what "is something", since if a thing does not exist, it cannot be anything."⁹

He assigns the term "substance" to four objects namely, the essence, the universal, the genus and the substrate. Aristotle's space perception possibly can be understood best from his idea about "essence";

"The essence of a thing consists in the form which it has achieved, not in any form which it does not have but might acquire. Achieved form actually realized in a concrete things and Aristotle uses two virtually interchangeable technical terms for it, "entlechy" and "actuality" These are opposed to potentiality. Form without matter exists potentially but not actually and matter without form would also exist only potentially. Thus the concrete individual object is the essence, which is substance for Aristotle."¹⁰

⁹ Kerfred, G.B.: (1967) Encyclopedia of Philosophy Vol. 7, Paul Edwards (eds.), Macmillan Publishing Company Inc. and the Free Press, p. 159.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 160.

Space has also been understood as a non-substance in Aristotle's theological and cosmological interpretations. These are associated with his ideas on sources of motion. According to him motion is caused by objects which can move themselves as well as others and he calls it the 'soul'. Therefore movement of stars, planets are the activity of the soul. Thus Aristotle lent a range of qualities to space, graduating from primary matter, evolving into substrate, essence, actual and then dissipating as infinite and eternal. Often the difficulties in grounding space has been dealt in his treatises by considering space as place. Space for the first time earned different shades of character ranging from "being" to "becoming", was liberated and at the same time bounded.

At around 3000 B.C. Euclid gave a new dimension to the Pythagorean science of space with the help of his postulations, assumption and axioms. Geometry evolved as a systematic, simplistic study of space. The space under consideration was however of an abstraction and had certain predetermined characteristics based on working assumption. The purpose was to simplify and operationalise reality. His postulation codified space as two dimension. The major postulation which redefined space included the following:

1. A straight line can be drawn from any point to any other point.
2. Any straight line can be extended continuously in a straight line
3. Given any point and a distance, a circle can be drawn using that point as the centre and that distance as the radius.
4. All right angles are equal to each other.

Two things which emerge clearly out of Euclid's space geometry are firstly, space is infinite because a straight line can be extended

continuously, knowing no limit (2nd postulation); secondly, space is timeless, all his postulations are independent of time and are expected to retain their characteristics in the future as they did in the past. His space perception also leaves no scope for “illusions” and “hallucinations”. If a round plate appears elliptical from a distance then that reality is to be refuted in favour of geometrical principles which gives the accurate dimension of the plate. Hence mathematical space acquires precedence over perceptive space. Therefore senses, especially “eyesight” is relegated to a secondary position. That which appears need not be true, but that which is measured is the only true description of space. The non-Euclidean headed by G.F.B. Riemann however established a limit to the length of any straight line that can be drawn (Euclid’s 2nd postulation) thus, at once reducing space to finite. The concept of ‘great circle’ was used to violate the 1st postulate of Euclid. If the great circle was a straight line then more than one straight line could be drawn between two points, parallel lines in such case can intersect and sum of angles of a triangle constructed from such lines can exceed two right angles. However non Euclidean geometry relied on ‘ways of interpretations’ for their refutations of Euclid and hence served to only preserve and reinforce of Euclidean models. The point here is however the recognition of the fact that the days of super celestial, celestial, metaphysical, illusive, Godley space was over, giving way to something less esoteric and perhaps better understandable, although it to a certain extent did compromise human perception of reality.

Ancient period saw the nebulous beginnings of human perception on space where space was still the philosopher’s domain taking shape in cosmology, astronomy, theology and metaphysics.

Sporadic beginnings were made in putting 'space'; in black and white by the proponents of space geometry. No particular theme however predominated, conceptualizations revolved around vague and absolute where neither could capture space perceptions in its entirety.

MEDIEVAL FROM NOW

The Medieval period can be distinguished from the ancient not in terms of any periodization based on notions of time as delineated by formal historical principles of periodization; but on the basis of a significant change in human space conception. The "descrialization" of space occurred largely in this phase beginning with Galileo's theories. "Objectivity" was separated from 'subjectivity'. Godspace, super celestial, metaphysical conceptions went out of circulation once and for all. The concept of the "sacred" the realm of the "golden halo" was considered to be beyond human perceptions of reality. Reality itself was redefined and space which is a reflection of the former went through a process of overhauling.

Galileo's (1564-1642) discovery of earth revolving round the Sun and heliocentricity shocked the religious social order because it opened up space as infinitely open, not in terms of eternity and divinity but in terms of 'actuality' as ascribed by proofs of the existence of vacuum.

..... "so that the medieval place was dissolved in it, as it were. A thing's place was no longer anything but a point in motion, just as a things rest was nothing more than its motion indefinitely slowed down. To put it differently, starting from Galileo, from the seventeenth century, extension supplanted localization."¹¹

¹¹ Foucault, Michael : (1994) "Aesthetics – methods and Epistemology" edited by James Foucault, Allen Lane – The Penguin Press, p. 176.

Galileo ushered the revival of atomism and thus eradicated occult qualities from the concept of space. This was an anti-metaphysical movement which later on created groundworks for 'positivism' and 'operationalism' in space conception. In spite of strong opposition from the church, he was a fervent supporter of Copernicanism. He criticised Aristotelean concept of differentiation of celestial space into elemental and eternal matter. He was more concerned with relationships than 'essence; (Aristotle) and his conception of space was entirely based on scientific rationality of the formalized knowledge of physics, mathematics. He made no attempt to conceptualize space in terms of spirit, migration of soul, mind; subjectivity in space conceptualization was foreign to him. Galileo's revolutionary ideas of 'free inquiry', test and test again', experimentation separated philosophical space from physical space. According to him;

“..... The failure of a physicist to describe the real world (read; perceive space as reflection of reality) was not the fault either of the world or of mathematics; but was merely a result of limited competence of physicist, analogous to the shortcomings of a merchant or an accountant who had failed to take into account the weights of the containers in computing the value of his merchandise.¹²

The character of “absoluteness” was given to space by Isaac Newton (1642-1727). He believed that laws of motion presupposes the existence of space as absolute (as ethereal jelly).¹³

To this idea of absolute 3 dimensional space was added another dimension, time. this was a result of new ideas about relativity. Thus space/time was united in a new marriage of sorts. While in the

¹² Drake, S. : (1967) “Encyclopaedia of Philosophy” vol. 3, Paul Edward (eds.) Macmillan Publishing Company Inc. and Free PSS, pp. 264-265.

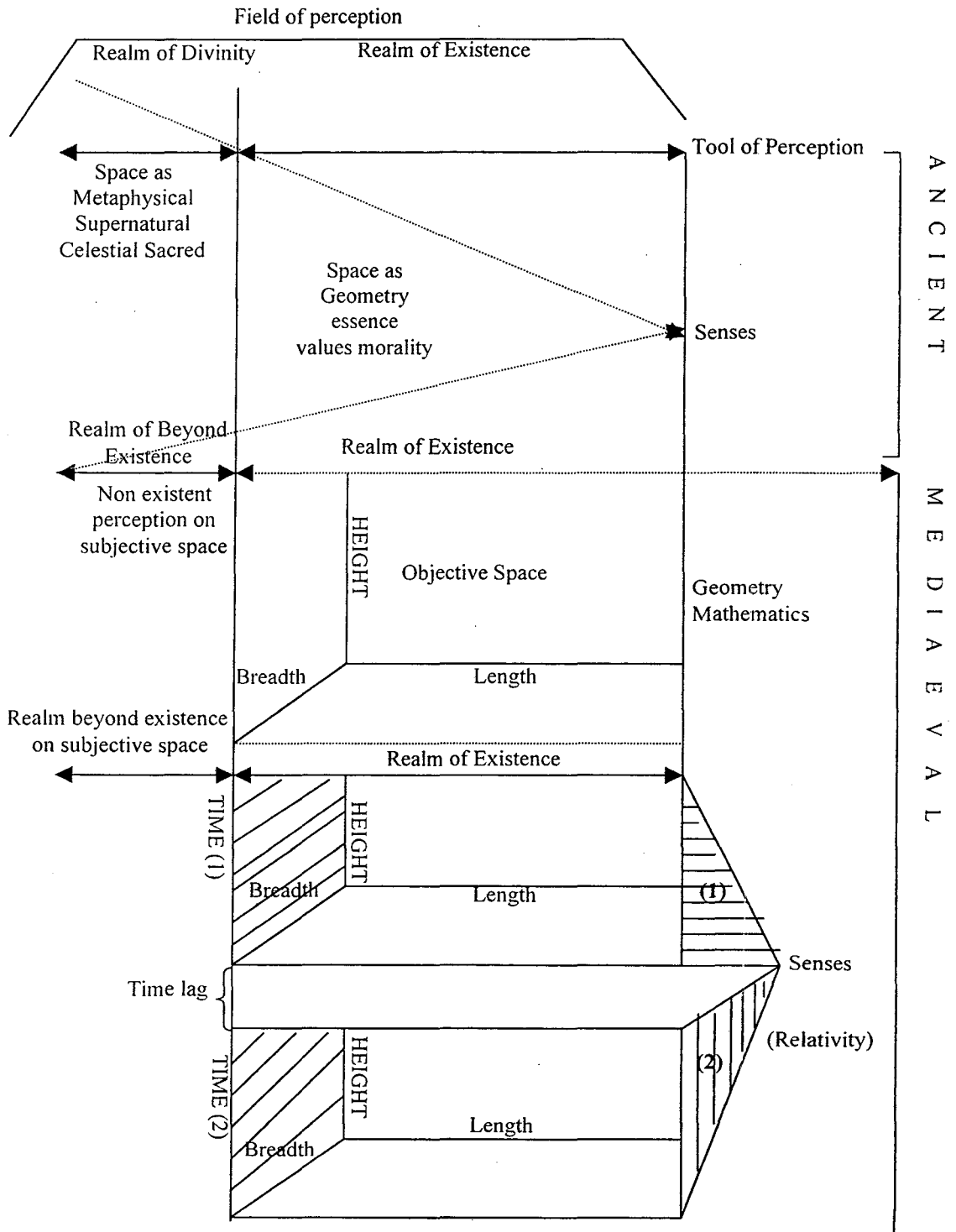
¹³ Ibid, p. 507.

ancient period each defined the other and remained ambiguous with the relativity school, space and time became distinct categories. While space was accorded three dimensions; length, breadth and height in accordance with the conceptual scheme of solid geometry to which was added the fourth dimension i.e. time. Until now space was conceived as a “continuant”, as something which was endured though time and hence timeless. Therefore all verbs in geometry were timeless. Relativity for the first time included within our perception of space a ‘reference time’, the consideration of which would actually alter the coordinates of a three dimensional conceived space.

Fig. 2 helps to explain the changing space perceptions described so far. Ancient phase has its realm of perception extending beyond real existence where space is metaphysical, supernatural, celestial, sacred. Within the sphere of existence, senses perceive space as geometry, essence, morality etc. In the early medieval phase, space perception is willfully restricted within the realm of existence; geometrical and mathematical tools perceive objective space. With the introduction of the concepts of reality, though objective space within the sphere of existence remains unchanged (having same dimensions i.e. length, breadth, height) yet, on account of differing time dimension, namely time 1 and time 2, two differing space perception (space 1 and space 2) are perceived by the senses which have been stimulated by concepts of differing reference time, (relativity).

FIGURE - 2

SPACE PERCEPTION - A COMPARISON ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL



Based on formulations of ideas on space in ancient and medieval times.



The idea of space as containing everything, including the senses was propounded by Rene Descartes (1596-1650). Space was coterminous with matter and void did not exist for him. He was a fierce champion of space as absolute thus driving the last nail in the coffin of space as subjective. However, his notion about space did not lead him to delineate knowledge by separating physics from metaphysics, like his predecessors (e.g. Galileo). He propounded the "Tree of knowledge", proclaiming unity of all branches; philosophical as well as scientific. The tree of knowledge had roots which were metaphysics, a trunk which was physics and had branches of other sciences like medicine, morality etc. His principles of doubting and exposing everything as false, led to the development of his very rigid conception of absolute space. "I think, therefore I am" (Latin, *Cogito Ergo Sum*)¹⁴ was the only solid principle which he held as true. Flowing from this was his view that if there were nothing between bodies then the bodies are contiguous. Thus the picture of space is one material world, which is infinite, three dimensional, continuous, homogenous extended body in the terminology of substance (*Plenum*). Therefore there are no ultimate atoms. Only one extended substance constitutes the conception of space. Therefore, space acquires a rigid absolute, material mould, even though guided by the dynamism of time under Descartes.

Contrarily, however space was conceived as a system of relations in which indivisible substance or "monads" stand to one another, by Leibniz. The concept of space as substance or stuff as according to Cartesian logic was done away with in Leibniz's theory of relational space.

¹⁴ (Ibid) Vol. 1, p. 347.

Conceptualization of space, as absolute as well as relational received a blow with Kant's (1724-1804) idea in "Critique of Pure Reason." Rather he conceived space as 'Subjective' (phenomenal). For him, ideas of space and time are a kind of "intuition" and that they are "pure" intuitions. According to him space is a kind of "outer" intuition which allows individuals to perceive all real objects.

This idea is clearly brought out from the following lines;

"Kant is saying when he claims that space and time are a priori forms of (human) intuition is that a spatio-temporal location is an essential feature of anything that we could ever construe as an (outer) object, and one that should occur in any ideal complete account of such an object.

..... As a form of outer intuition, space is necessary component of all representations of (outer) objects."¹⁵

Only those objects that occur in space and time are considered to be 'real' as only such objects can be perceived off.

Therefore,

"..... It is essential to his (Kant's) position that objects be identified in a framework that can be conceptualized as public. what Kant means when he says that space and time are priori forms of our intuition of objects. We presently need space and time to identify objects, and therefore nothing could be an object for us, a real object of experience, an object in the new senses in which objects are understood, if it were not in space and time."¹⁶

As such, geometry and space are inseparably related as geometry clarifies what the spatial form of sensible intuition is likely to be. Thus geometry "contemplates the relations of space."¹⁷

¹⁵ Bencivenga, Ermannol: (1987) "Kant's Copernican Revolution" Oxford University Press, p. 126.

¹⁶ (Ibid), p. 125.

¹⁷ Walsh, W.S.: (1967) "Encyclopaedia of Philosophy" vol. 5 Paul Edwards (eds) Macmillan Publishing Company Inc. and Free Press, p. 307.

There exists a reciprocal relationship between sensibility and geometry. Kant believes that since geometry is operational, theorems can be proved, lines angles can be constructed in perceptual space, hence Euclid's view are compatible with the representation of space as intuition. Therefore,

....." It follows that geometry provides a true description of the form of outer sense. (It also follows that figures that are not Geometrical will not be contractible in the space of perception."¹⁸

Therefore it follows, that space as conceptualized by Kant was a kind of sensible intuition which aided one to perceive real objects and such intuitions and perceptions were those expounded by geometry. Kant's idea of space as "Sensible intuition" received due support from Hegel (1770-1831) who regard it as "Forms of sensibility"¹⁹ and also the "non-sensible sensible."²⁰ Space or Nature is produced by light, heat, electricity, chemical composition he talks of nature at two levels' organic nature and philosophy of mind. The former comprising of animal geologic and vegetable nature. Philosophy of mind is divided into subjective (involving, soul spirit, etc) and objective (involving, legal, moral, religious actuality). His space conceptualization them, evolves to produce human, families, civil society, social state, nation and hence the ultimate consciousness. Thus hegelian space spectrum (triad) is completed with the evolution of philosophy. The philosopher by philosophizing achieves ultimate self-knowledge and sets himself free from all conflicts and contradictions which plague inferior levels of knowledge.

¹⁸ Kitcher, Patricia: (1990) "Kant's Transcendental Psychology", Oxford University Press, p. 53.

¹⁹ Walsh, W.S.: (1967) "Encyclopedia of Philosophy" Paul Edward's (eds.) Macmillan Publishing Company Inc. and the Free Press, p. 441.

²⁰ Ibid.

The Medieval period therefore sees amongst other things the separation of space from divinity and its operationalisation in the works of Galileo and Copernican Revolution. Ideas about space have oscillated between absolute, the relational, to subjective, to intuitive. Hegel marks the culmination point as he sets the stage for newer conceptualization of space mainly in the form of consciousness, of “being” and “becoming”, which in turn becomes the hallmarks for the Modern period of space conceptualization as “ideas”, as “consciousness”. However between the Medieval and the Modern there exists an interim phase of the Classical and Neo-Classical, where space was given a homogenous quality.

CLASSICAL AND NEO-CLASSICAL

This period was a result of the influence of concepts of “space geometry”. The timeless quality and simplicity of geometry led many a thinker to devise a method of imagining space as “uniform”, ‘homogenous’, isomorphic and without imperfections. The aim was to help conceive a stage where reality would become comprehensible without unnecessary complications. This space was abstract and concrete at the same time. Abstract because it was imagined, as isomorphism was a quality which did not exist in reality. It was concrete because such abstraction laid the foundation for delineating reality systematically. Though, reality was captured only partially, yet this was a novel attempt for the first time to render a kind of pragmatism to the concept of space. This was however a brief inter-phase, before the flow of thoughts evolved into what was described as modern. Here geometry was described as archaic and was pushed aside for other things.

MODERN

The task of making space a “living entity” was perhaps completed by Karl Marx (1818-1883). The reason as to why his conceptualization have been internationally kept separated from Hegel’s ideas, even though the former based many of his theories for and against the latter’s; is because Marx for the first time initiated a scientific viewing of the philosophy of space. His anti philosophical attitude due to a firm belief that philosophy itself was a kind of “class based ideology” and would disappear with new revolutions producing higher forms of freedom; led him to adopt a defiant scientific stance in the conceptualization of space. ‘Space’ however was not reduced to matter, or subjectivity or essence, it was conceived off as a kind of consciousness which would bring the ultimate freedom and emancipate all forms of alienation. Therefore Marx’s space was indeed a “living philosophy” of “carving out a higher form of existence viewed from an a-philosophical scientific angle.

Therefore,

“For Marx the interests of freedom are best served neither by building moral or utopian sand castles in one’s mind or imagination nor by holding fast to an abstract, absolutistic conception of human freedom and will, but by a science which carefully recollects the actualities of and real potentialities for, concrete human freedom.

In so far Marxian science identifies actual contradictions, it offers leverage points, first, for recognizing the possibility of altering the existing world, and second, for developing strategies for social and political practices based on more than subjective “oughts.”²¹

Thus, space gets conceptualized, created and the life blood is infused into it when the gap between theory and practice is sought to

²¹ Murray, Patrick: (1988) “Marx’s theory of Scientific Knowledge”, Humanities Press International Inc., p. 225.

be bridged by scientific perception. While influenced by Plato's ideas of myth as a third party mediating between sensuous world and world of forms, Marx considers this third party to be not a mediator but signs of contradictions, a manifestation of the needs for overturning the existing dualisms and hence recreating a 'higher' form of life world (space). As contradictions give way to newer forms of contradictions, complexities in space would emerge; in the form of (1) sphere of particularity or Civil Society and (2) Sphere of Universality or the State. The alternations in space is however never a linear activity. The continuity of space alterations is dialectical rather than linear.

Therefore "modern space" adorns a new apparel, it is philosophical in the sense that though it is conceived from the existing structural dualisms (between forces of production and production relations yet there continues to exist a gap between the scientific perception, theory building and the actual practice. However, the nature of its treatment has changed in the sense that it is now treated by a dose of scientism (a-philosophy). This in the broader view humans are different from animals in the sense that they are producers of everything starting from value to their own life consciousness. Therefore, indulging in a generalized production including their own history and space. In the narrow sense however they are producers of value only.

The alterable or evolutionary character of space was further reinforced by Darwin's theory (Origin of Species). His concept of Natural Selection, interpreted as the survival of the fittest, spoke of unexplainable variations amongst organisms within and between species. The 'positive' variants (fitter organism) lived longer and left their traits with a greater number of progeny than the 'negative'

variants (weaker organisms). This biological theory created a new rationale for explaining away ordering and reordering of space. Competition for space, its capture and domination was legitimized for the first time as a kind of “genetic truth” for all life forms. Adam Smith’s “Invisible Hand” received due support. The unequal circulation of capital, and the resulting inequality manifested over space and power hierarchy received acceptance. The concept of ‘evolution’ as a ‘must’ also created a mindset that space was historically dynamic, its reincarnation is a matter of course. Therefore ordering and reordering of space and space as a living, growing entity became the mainstream, of modern spatial thought.

The pre-mentioned gap between theory and particle received a glossing over by the critical realists. According to them existence of space is to be experienced. Perception are always half baked because they vary from person to person, therefore there cannot exist any absolute data which can universalize and standardize real space; simply because “datum is an essence, a platonic universal, which has an identity by being just the character it is. The datum, the immediately intuited evidence of reality, cannot be numerically identical with any part of that reality.”²² Thus any attempt to facultalize space with the help of words, data etc. is self falsifying due to the gap between essence and understanding.

A quality of absurdity was added to space by the existentialists, who believed in the theories that existence itself is absurd. Since reality can never be completely conceptualized and since there is no ultimate explanations of why things are as they are, a quality of

²² Smart, J.J.C.: (1967) “Encyclopedia of Philosophy” vol. 2 Paul Edward’s (eds.) Macmillan Publishing Company Inc. and Free Press.

falseness is attributed to them. There exists a limit to reason and therefore one conceptualization of space within a rational system is more than often false. What space appears to be at first sight need not be what it is and this gives a quality of absurdity to space, to universe and indeed to existence. Therefore humans have the freedom of choice to decide their individual criteria by which they discriminate truth from falsehood and indeed true space from false space.

Absurdism gave way to abstractionism. Space was taken for a journey from where it was once individualistic, often half baked and absurd, sometimes filling up sensory perceptions, at other times dishing out ideas and philosophies of hierarchization of power, flow of capital and ordinary of production process, also serving as a 'mediator' in transition or still evolving – to a destination where 'it' was given a free rein to be anything for anyone, anytime.

Therefore,

“Words become general by being made the signs of general ideas; and ideas become general by separating from the circumstances of time and place, and any other ideas that may determine them to this or that particular existence. By this way of abstraction they are made capable of representing more individuals than one, each of which having in it conformity to that abstract idea is (as well call it) of the sort”²³ (underscoring mine).

The emphasize therefore was on liberating conceptualization of space from the clutches of particular coordinates, particular reference times, and particular individuals. The aim was to make it more 'general' capable of relating to more than one. Thus from the days of critical realists when space was not to be universalized because data itself was not absolute but only an essence; there dawned the days of

²³ “Locke's essay concerning human understanding”, book, 111, ch 3, para 6, quoted in Dictionary of the history of ideas studies of selected pivotal ideas (1968) Philip and Wiener (eds.) vol. 1, Charles Scribner's Sons.

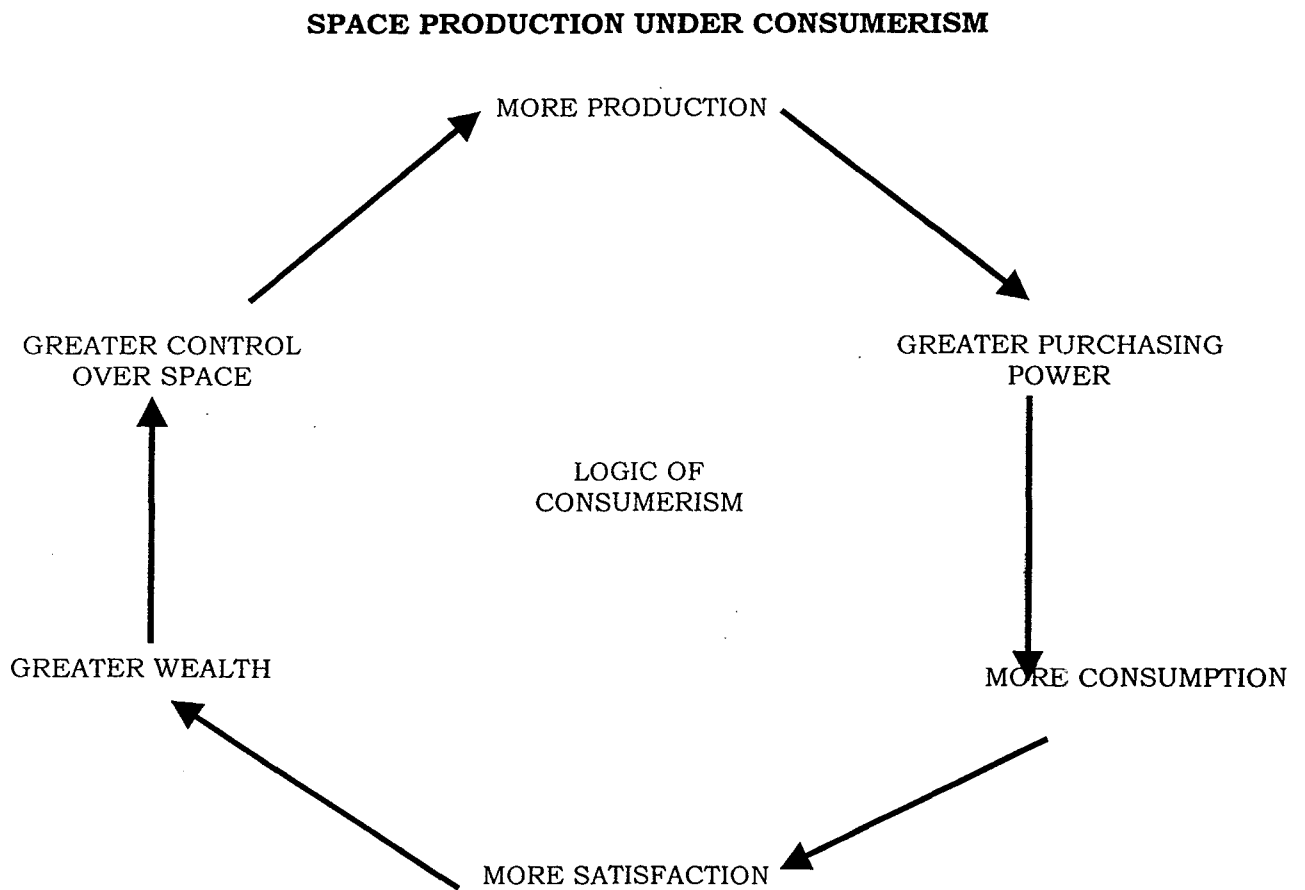
abstractionism when space was freed from all the stranglehold which tended to particularize it. Perceptible or partially perceptible, space was made to become more pervasive.

From this point onwards 'space concept' was washed by tides of ideas and ideologies, sometimes the ideas flowed simultaneously at other times in close succession. Therefore the changing character of space defined modernity in a new language. Space provided the apt foundation for the meticulous building of ideologies.

Ideas about space as social, mental, perceptive and cultural gained currency. Attempts were made to map them as well. Therefore, Combart de Lawe's (after Emile Dunkheim) attempted to distinguish social space hierarchy with the form of "familial space", neighborhood space" "economic space" became widely popular. The Age of space as mental perception given shape for the first times on paper became an important tool for sociologists, psychoanalysts for probing hidden attributes of human mind. Parallely, the use of material culture (artifacts, tools, work culture, clothes, food) to construct or delineate cultural space as distinct and unique areas of perception became an important part of space research. The important point of difference between these spaces and spaces of the yester years was that though in both time periods space continued to remain "a philosophy" yet unlike earlier days, space in modernity was "constructed" rather than "concocted" from sensations. The construction were less abstract than the fantastic 'timeless', 'tenseless' geometrical principles, simply because the models of constructions though often intangible were actually accepted universally as existing, whether in the form of interactions, relations or in the forms of pottery used and food consumed.

Along with this was a tendency to view space as a product. The days of brilliant consumerism, mass production, division of labour had arrived in the west and more consumption was viewed as greater control over space whether in the form of position, or opinion or satisfaction. Therefore, the logic of consumerism was a circular as the viscous circle of poverty (Fig. 3).

FIGURE - 3



Based on ideas from "Uneven Development," Neil Smith.

The logic was made to be applicable for individuals, groups as well as nations. This started a "goldrush" for greater space control in the form of subtle and often blatant currents of domination, within

family, within the neighborhood, between neighborhoods, between provinces and between nations.

Within this was shown the seeds of space as 'organic' and growing. Darwin's survival of the fittest' was once again the logic for absolving oneself from all qualms of forceful domination.

Ratzel's concept of Living Space (Lebensraum) brought into the open the intense need for organic spatial growth.

"..... States are involved in an intense struggle for space. All living organisms are in a fight for space, he believed, and the most powerful will have the largest spaces (reflection of social Darwinism).²⁴

Therefore, political power was conceived off as space; manifested in the form of territory and state was a mere tool in the process of organic growth of space. The natural logic was that state power should grow with culture and the boundaries of state power were an instrument of growth as well as protection. Justification for colonialism and imperialism was aptly provided. The powerful and aggressive nation in the sense of space perception began their cultural logic of capitalism over those 'weaker' nations whose space perceptions were still in a state of flux, in the form of loose conglomerate of ideas. Imperialism and colonialism however to a large extent served to define national space and nationalities on the face of the globe. Thus 'imagined'²⁵ or real communities in the form of nationalities were born (following the Western Model) either by way of accidents or logical culmination. Space seemed to have traveled a longway finally occupying a hallowed position in the form of nations.

²⁴ Taylor and Johnston, R.J.: (1986) (eds.) "World in Crisis? Geographical Perspectives", Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

²⁵ Anderson, Benedict: (1991) "Imagined Communities" Verso, p. 91.

Nations began to outwit each other in displaying and propagating their 'hoariness' rather than this youthfulness because "space propagators" found it safe to couch new and alien ideas under a backdrop of age-old underlying unity.

The Quantitative Revolution in the quest for 'relevance' out of the prevailing space perception introduced multidimensional quality of space. Dimensions that were finite and quantifiable. The need for managing space in order to make predictions for future reordering was felt strongly across disciplines. Space was sought to be 'concretized' by collecting numerical data about its dimension, punching them into a card or feeding them on a computer. The emergent pattern would be verified or qualified and based on it newer models of space were reconstructed which would package reality, comprehensible at a glance. Such spatial models were then used for future predictions. The influence of the natural sciences were so great, that laws of physics were applied universally to space concepts across disciplines. Thus human behaviours was treated to be similar to particulate response to gravity. Thus, space became finite and quantifiable, 'civilized' and 'domesticated.'

Quantitative Revolution sort of ushered the next major wave which once again swept away the sands of time, to describe space and in reciprocity, time, in an altogether new perspective. The 'radicals' in the general flow of ideas soon expressed dissatisfaction with the "perfect logic of consumerism" (Fig. 3), with the Vietnam war. Anti war lesbian movements, women's movements once again threatened to disrupt the happy domesticity of space within dimensions. 'Relevance under quantitative revolution was questioned and many "anarchists" called for a new revolution which wouldn't merely test, codify,

quantify, interpret and predict but would make an attempt to launch a struggle for a 'bit of space' for the unfortunate, the needy. This space would not be the space of the intellectuals, but the life experiences, the joys, sorrows, sweat blood and emotions of suffering individuals.

Neo Marxists soon reinterpreted space in terms of unequal exchange and exploitation. Samir Amin, Andre Gunder Frank pictured space as a Metropolitan/Periphery Structure. The world at large was divided into zones of exploitation and the zones of power. Developed and underdeveloped space became a popular food for thought in the general strand of space perception.

The emerging under developed world or the III World became champions of "planned space". The Non-Aligned Movement created a new current of ideas which conceptualized nation space as following the logic of consumerism as well as Planning. Therefore space was hierarchical not only territorially in the form of Macro, Meso Micro but also in terms of power-relations between the government and Central Planning Committee, State Planning Board, Block Development Offices, District Planning Authority Space emerged as objective and functional, once again made "manageable", however not in the same way as quantification did. Here, space was not managed within laboratories where models were being experimented within controlled environments of sterilized test tubes but space was managed by way of political power play, by way of decisions, by way of target area approached. Space was assumed as the entire field of 'real' existence beyond the laboratory walls and its imperfections were sought to be smoothed by zoning, targeting, trickle down effect, transmission of impulses.

The structuralists however felt that it was not enough to have a birds eye view of space alone, what is necessary however is the examination of the 'deep-structure' and the 'infrastructure' which gave a particular conceptualization of space which was again merely a 'superstructure'. Therefore, it was no longer sufficient to describe space (quantitative revolutionaries), or wage a war for space in favour of the hapless (radicals) or ease away imperfection by way of growth impulses (planners), what is needed however is to understand the forces of production and production relations which determine our space conceptualization.

Space today has however become more 'virtual' than real. The IT revolution has reduced space to a 'pin head'. Consciousness, memory, imagination, telepathy, intuition, essence have become redundant. People reside on this pin head, all and each, it is a cyber world where space is neither geometry, nor vacuum, but a point. People coverage here and coalesce because each seem to be like the other. People are not conscious because they are not human but 'cyborgs'²⁶ (a hybrid of man and machine). People have no memory only ROM. People have no imagination only photocopies. People have no telepathy only e-mail. People have no intuition only forecasts. Space therefore is a point of convergence, a melting point, it stands still and do not define time anymore because the 'pinhead' cyber space has rendered time quite insignificant and created space utopias.

"A map of the world that does not include utopia is not even worth glancing at."²⁷ (Oscar Wild).

²⁶ Haraway, Donna: (1980) "A manifesto for Cyborgs: Science Technology and Socialist Feminism" Socialist Review (March – April 1985) vol. 15, no. 2, p. 65.

²⁷ Quoted in David Havey's (2000). "The spaces of utopia in spaces of Hope". Edinberg University Press.

Therefore late capitalism sees space as utopias. There are spaces without real place. "They are society perfected or the reverse of society, but in any case these utopias are spaces that are fundamentally and essentially unreal."²⁸ Then there are the "degenerate utopias or to pick out a fantasy world from the layers of fantastic imagination and spread it out in reality, as a commodity available to entertain sooth and relieve at the purchase of a ticket. The laser shows, rain dance, computer games, water world (where even waves are manufactured) are exemplars of degenerate utopias. Mains refers to Disney land and shopping malls also, as examples of degenerate utopias (Harvey David 2000).

BEYOND MODERNITY

This is the phase of "Deconstruction" of space. Here space is ones own (body space), here space is ungeneralizeable, un super impossible, no longer confined within grids, coordinates, no longer compared or contrasted. This is the space of the post modernists. Here space is "hetrotopia",²⁹ sort of realized utopias reflecting the culture of society, as represented, contested and often reversed. Therefore Foucault's description of heterotopias is as follows:

" I think that between utopias and these utterly different emplacements, these heterotopias, there must be a kind of mixed, intermediate experience, that would be the mirror. The mirror is a utopia after all, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror I see myself where I am not, in an unreal space that opens up virtually behind the surface, I am over there where I am not, a kind of shadow that gives me to look at myself there where I am absent a mirror utopia. But it is also a hetrotopia in that the mirror really exists, in that it has a sort of return effect on the place that I occupy. Due to the mirror I discover myself absent at the place where I am, since I see myself over there ,..... The mirror functions as a hetrotopia in the sense

²⁸ Foucault, Michael: (1994) "Aesthetics – Method and Epistemology" edited by James, Penguin Press, p. 178.

²⁹ (Ibid).

that it makes this place I occupy at the moment I look at myself in the glass both utterly real, connected with the entire space surrounding it, and utterly unreal.”³⁰

Foucault provides 6 principles for identifying heterotopias and his first principle makes it amply clear that heterotopias are very diverse, in fact there probably is no single heterotopia which is universal. It is this diversity and its acknowledgement that gives space under most modernity an ‘all new’ quality.

Here body itself is space, it has the ability to capture, diffuse energy and information, collating them into a complex yet systematic form; thus creating order out of chaos. The colonization of body space into a space under optical surveillance and self-policing. Orwell’s ‘Big Brother’ talks of this intense surveillance where private space of individuals is under raid. Jeremy Bentham’s ‘Panopticon’³¹ refers to a special prison where prisoners, each in isolated cells are observed and subjected to a kind of soul training. The post modernists view today’s body space, private space as ‘colonized’ under electronic ‘panopticon’, under self policing and surveillance assemblage (Deleuze, 1986).³² Space according to the post modernists have to be deconstructed, precisely because universalisation, a kind of meta-philosophy has reached its obsolescence, therefore there survives only folktales, myths, legends and they are so multifarious that no glue stick can cohere them into a single omnipresent space. Therefore, the days of deconstruction and dispersal have arrived. In this fragmented, dispersed space will be a possibility of acknowledging identities.

³⁰ Foucault (Ibid).

³¹ Bantam J.: (195) ‘The Panopticon Writings’, London; Verso.

³² Deleuze, G.: (1986) ‘Foucault’, University of Minnesota Press.

A brief surfing over the “contested terrains of ideas” with time as a defining variable or a defined variable has been achieved. Often the ‘flow of ideas’ had become gigantic wages or whirlpools of narratives and counter narratives, yet that was inevitable, considering the fact that space has been considered as a ‘way of existence’ and not as an ‘issue’ or topic. What emerges out of the above discussion is that there had never been one view or one consciousness or one perception or one experience or even one deconstruction of this way of life and that is perhaps where its concrete as well as illusive qualities lie. The breaks in time had been given not in the Khunian essence of paradigm shift but simply to provide ourselves with a kind of life jacket so as to manage to keep floating in the turbulent tide of ideas. Its purpose has never been to indicate any ‘shifts’ what so ever. In the next part of this chapter one shall deal specifically with the Geographer, how he/she had managed to move in this flow, discussing the type of niche which he/she must have carved in the ‘contested terrain’. In short, the kind of give and take that has taken place between the river and the tributary (Geography).

FLOW OF IDEAS ON SPACE IN GEOGRAPHY

ANCIENT FROM NOW: While historical time, is time as interpreted by the historians, space in geography however has preceded the geographer. Before geography became a formalized discipline, geography was not what geographers do”, rather it was a host of “other things” which “other people” did and which could not be categorized strictly as ‘arts’ or ‘science’. Thus the philosopher, the astronomer got the free reign to conceptualize space as they pleased. The Greek and Roman Philosophers and Arabian astronomers, conceptualized ‘geographical’ world as a ‘celestial’ place of stars, planets, asteroids, comets.

Cosmological space was a mixture of mysticism, religion and reality. Planets were named after Gods and Goodness, universe was divided into holy space and territorial space. Ancient maps were drawn where 'earth as the home of man' was always invariably placed in the 'centre' of the galactic space. This obsession for centralism was also seen in case of rudimentary cartographic construction of the known world. Thus Anixmander produced the 'T' in 'O' map where Greece was the centre of the known world, 'Heaven' was very much a part of the spatial conception and was invariably located in the direction of the pole star. Every philosopher therefore conceived known space 'around' one-self. The prevailing notions of cosmological space consisted of a 'flat disc' with Greece in the Centre, Heaven towards the north and celestial objects orbiting the disc with Sun moving in an arch over it from east to west.

With exploration being funded by kings and philanthropists the days of 'space as imagination' was ushered. These were the days of the exploring geographers, where space was constructed in the encyclopedia, inventory of informations produced in the form of travelogues. For the sedentary reader space was conceived and reconceived in the mind through enigmatic and sometimes exaggerated description of distant land. Thus, space as imagination emerged. The geographer lived with his boots on and coupled as a geologists, botanist, mountaineer. His satchel produced a mass of data which was translated into two dimensional space in the form of maps, imagination was converted to models of real space where places were located, resources were marked, routes delineated. The comedy of errors is brought out through the following lines.

“So geographers in Africa maps,
with savage pictures fill their gaps,
and o’er unhabitable downs,
place elephants for want of town.”

Soon, space in geography became a space manufactured by memorizing facts. Printing machine was discovered and with the industrial revolution, information and facts were widely circulated. Therefore, geographical space “lived in” memorized place names, in descriptions of other parts of the world. Notions of latitudes and longitudes had evolved, as had the ideas of map projection. Eratosthene’s measurement of the earth’s circumference and Copernican Revolution to a certain extent helped to ‘desacralize’ space even within the discipline of geography (which however, still was a nebulous entity).

Therefore, the ancient period was distinctly defined by the existence of a ‘cosmological’ space. Space extended from the core, to the mental, to the lithosphere, atmosphere and beyond to the heavens and celestialsphere. Soon however, sacred space got categorized and separated from that of the ‘profane’. Philosophers made way for the explorers and an ‘imagined space’ was conjured through travelogues and space was centralized as ‘place’, location, areas of resource and raw materials. The ‘eye’ occupied the hall of fame over and above the other senses with the coming of the map, where multidimensional and often non-dimensional imagined space was given a dimensional quality.

MEDIEVAL FROM NOW: This period continued the hallowed tradition of systematizing geographical space and formalizing it with the help of multivariate data. Thus Humboldt wanted to conceptualize in a single

attempt the entire material space, this resulted in ‘the Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe’. Thus, Richard Peet describes Humboldt’s space conceptualization in one sentence:³³

“That is, Humbolt wished to find unity in a diversity of earth phenomena discovering using accurate measuring devices with the graphic display of information in iso-maps (isobars etc.)

Carl Ritter also conceptualized geographical space as an unity in diversity but rested his thesis on a technological logic.

“Ritter’s 19-volume *Erkunde* tried to infuse the multitude of geographical data with a sense of cosmic unity and purpose in the philosophical tradition of German idealism. Ritter followed the Philosopher Emmanuel Kant’s division of the sense into outer, geographical forms (sight, hearing etc.) and inner historical forms (soul, self), with science as the search for nature, and technology as integrating device.”³⁴

Thus, there was an attempt to conceptualize space in all totality. However, this ‘total perception’ was not long to last. With the ‘firm entrenchment’ of geography as an University discipline geographical space was quickly shattered between the dualisms of physical and human. Oscar Peschel, George Gerald criticized the totalizing concept of geographical space and suggested that physical space comprised of the generalizable aspects of reality while human space was un-generalizable and abstract. Attempts were made to resolve the existing dualism by re-inventing geography as the study of “aerial differentiation” or choreography. Therefore, Hartstrone’s conceptualization of geographical space was in terms of a composition of phenomena both physical and human and distinct and unique. There were such unique compositions of phenomena, distinct from each other all over the earth’s surface and together they form the

³³ Peet , Richard: (1998) “Modern Geographical Thought”, Basil Balackwell, p. 11.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 12.

entire gamut of geographical space perception. Geographical space in the form of independent, unique 'regions' (pays in French Geography, courtesy Vidal de la Blache). This was indeed a result of the overriding influence of Kant on the geographers of that time.

"Kant had argued that the sciences depended on logical clarifications, which in principle allow for generalization and universalisation. Whereas history and geography were alone – hence exceptions – in their dependence on physical classifications which captured unique configuration in time and space respectively.

<u>Science</u>		<u>History and Geography</u>
Logical classification	→	Physical classification
Similarities	→	Coexistence in time and space
Generalization	→	Uniqueness. ³⁵

Such were the influence of Kantian idealism that regions themselves were thought to exist in the mind, thus making geographical space a mental concept severed from the material world.

It seems therefore, upto this point of time, 'geographical space' have basically answered and played second fiddle to the demands of time. From being 'imagined' through collected information, to becoming divided into physical and social, to further becoming aspects of ariel differentiation has been basically a tendency of moving with the general flow of the 'river' of ideas. Geographical space also responded to the needs of defining geography as an academic discipline, hence it altered itself suitably to provide necessary logic for geography becoming an university discipline.

³⁵ Gregory, Derek and Barnes, Trevor: (1997) "Reading Human Geography". Arnold, pp. 232-233.

CLASSICAL AND NEO-CLASSICAL

This was a phase when geographical space for the first time was sought to be operationalized by those who were actually outside the boundaries of the discipline. This was a period of conceptualizing space as abstract, isotaric, isomorphic.

“In considering problems in the contract, one can restrict the properties of the object under study to a bare minimum and allow only single associations to exist. By doing this the problem maybe simple enough to understand. The abstract systems which are of use to geographer are precisely those in which the elements in the system retain some geographically significant properties.³⁶

Von Thunen , Webber, Christaller Zipf, all understood the value of abstract space in geography. Thus Vonthunen’s isolated state examined how land use pattern and intensity of farming would alter in abstract space under controlled condition of reality. Zipf used the principle of ‘least effort’ to generalize human behaviour Christaller ordered space into points (market place) and hexagons (zones of influence based on frictional effect of distance on human being). Webber used similar ideas to identify points of least cost for industries to locate on abstract space. Isard, Hoover modified many of the existing patterns. Haggerstrand used similar ideas to integrate diffusion of innovation in central Sweden.

What was significant was this isotaric conceptualisation was basically attempts of people outside the formal disciplines of geography. The classical and neoclassical stage formally established geographical space as location, market area, points in transition, flowlines, positions of least cost, optimum positions, zones of

³⁶ Berry, Brian J.L. and Marble D.F., “Spatial Analysis, a reader is Statistical Geography” Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, p. 36.

influence, connectivity, orientation. Space was ordered, patterned and made comprehensible. All those aspects of reality which could not be accommodated by the simplistic equation and theorems were considered superfluous and subdued by broad based assumptions described as “working assumptions” space was operationalised, however the problem was that it was operationalised by non-geographers. This gave rise to popular discontent and dissatisfaction amongst many geographers who felt cheated by the so-called appropriation of “geographic space.”

MODERN

The popular discontent amongst many regarding the ‘archaic’ nature of space conceptualisation in geography, rendering the subject as descriptive having no practical utility outside the university curricular and hence lacking in power and prestige in places where it mattered, resulted in an articulation of the prevailing frustration. Schaefer’s paper attacked Hartshorne and Hettner for banishing geographical space to an ivory tower, from where a panoramic view was possible but the view itself was blurred and conceptualization detached from reality. He countered that geography was in no way dealing with unique, exceptional spaces in the form of unique phenomena but rather the spatial arrangements of phenomena. For such arrangements however he argued that generalized laws were possible like that of natural sciences. Arguing against Kantian logic Schaefer championed the nomothetic cause in geography where geographers would visualize space in such a way so as to render it ‘mouldable’ and alterable for greater convenience.

Thus,

“He (Shaefer) quoted from Kant’s *Physique Geographic* (vol. 1, p.8) that ‘Geography and history together fill up the entire area of our perception. Geography that of space and history that of time. But when Kant was working, Schaefer claims, history and geography were cosmologies, not sciences, and a cosmology is not rational science but at best thoughtful contemplation of the universe” (p. 382, Schaefer’s paper).”³⁷

The new current in the tributary of Geography produced a tidal bore which threatened to replace the sands of time with fresher silt. The Washington, Iowa, Wisconsin, Social Physics school with Weaver, Ullman, Berry, Marbel sought to remove the cobwebs of abstract philosophical findings and replace geographical space in the form of a problem encased within initial propositions (assumption) leading the way to hypothesis testing, falsifying, verifying and finally model building. Comet’s logical positivism converted geographical space from space of the mind to a logical sequence of ideas progressing towards a process law building, which could be comprehended by one and all.

Cole and King, summarizes the essence of geographical space during the helm of quantitative revolutions.

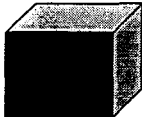
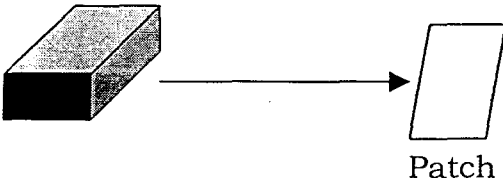
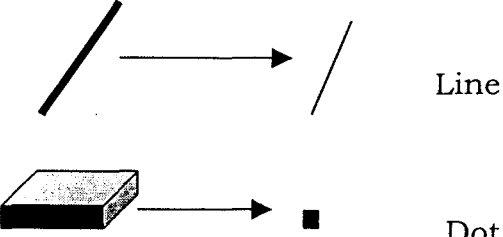
“The geographer is interested in the arrangement of objects in space. The objects he studies are also studied in other disciplines (e.g. plant and animals in biology). Moreover, the geographer does not have a complete monopoly of the study of space. This interests equally for example the astronomers, geologist and architect. The geographer, however, handles both the objects and the spaces in a particular way, often making drastic simplifications and abstraction.”³⁸ (emphasis mine).

They provide examples of how geographical space involves an elimination of dimensions of the real world for better comprehension.

³⁷ Johnson R.J.: (1979) “Geography and Geographers, Anglo American Human Geography Since 1945”Edward Arnold, p. 53.

³⁸ Cole, John P and King Cuchlain A.M. “Quantitative Geography Techniques and Theories in Geography”, John Wiley and Smith, p. 7.

SPACE IN GEOMETRY

3 dimensional Objects	Reduced to	Equivalent in Euclidean Geometry	In Topology
	Usually remains 3 dimensional space	Solid (Volume)	3 dimensional figure
		Surface	Region
	Line Dot	Line Point	Arc (edge) Node (Vertex)

The shape of objects and spaces (elimination of dimensions)

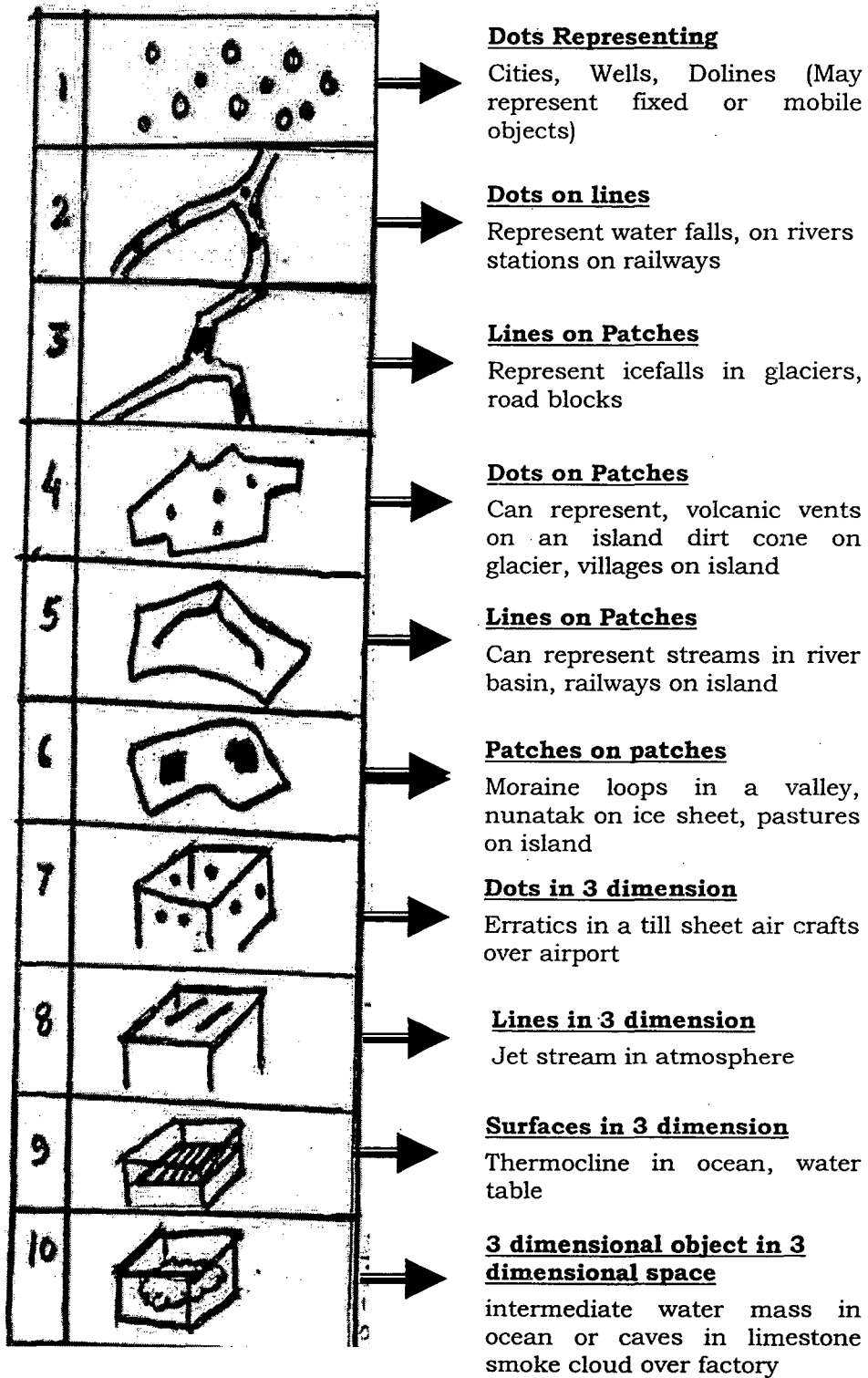
Source: King and Cole³⁹

Then railway lines which are elongated three dimensional spaces can be thought of in geography as a line. Thus for convenience, while in Euclidean geometry the equivalents of reality are surface, lines and points for topology they are region, arcs and nodes. These dimensions (in reality) are reduced to 2, 1 or none. When the shape is compact, the reduction is from three to none (dot). If the shape is flat, the reduction is from 3 to 2 (patch) and if elongated, from 3 to 1 (line) examples of the same were provided by Cole and King,⁴⁰ in the form of a schematic diagram.

³⁹ Ibid, p.7.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 10

SPACE IN SYMBOLS



Source: After Cole and King

Reality was represented in simplistic schemes. Course of rivers were delineated in profiles (Vertical and lateral). Atmospheric oceanic circulations were shown with the help of lines, dashes, arrows indicating direction. Folds and faults were shown in the form of 3 dimensional waves and fractures. Mountains were depicted in the form of cones on maps.'

In economic geography agricultural areas, pasture lands, fallow areas were shown as patches with varying symbols. The meanings of symbols explained in the index. Transport and communication, flow of goods, and passengers, migration patterns, density of population etc. were brought under a new paradigm of rationality with the help of networks, flows, grids, interconnections, linear and nonlinear models. Regional space received a new impetus with Kendall's principle component analysis, by bringing together themes with the help of original variables weighting and indexing them and then mapping dimensional space in the forms of delineated patches as regions. The mathematics of graph theory was used by Nystuen and Dacey for arriving at model regions using mass communication data. Berry showed how factor analysis could be used to resolve multivariate spatial patterns. The wave of 'value neutrality' in understanding space and predicting it 'originally' assumed revolutionary proportion.

Thus Harvey came out with 'Explanation in Geography (1969).

According to him;

"Thus, scientific activity ("normal science") is "puzzle solving" and scientific revolution occurs through accumulation, to the level of crisis, of problems that cannot be solved by reference to a prevailing paradigm the "standard model" of scientific explanation derived from natural sciences, especially physics, provide the most consistent, coherent, and empirically justified body of information on which to base understanding of the real world."⁴¹

⁴¹ Peet Richard: (1998) "Modern Geographical thoughts": Basil Blackwell, p. 28.

Thus, the “Scientism” in geography created a “New Geographical Space”. It was felt universally that “Geographical space” has indeed arrived. Infact, this new definition of space elevated the prestige of geography, to a position where geographers became planners, policy makers and geography itself acquired the status of ‘rational science’. This was indeed an achievement, geographical space scored over its reciprocal time element by redefining time in terms of equations and models, linked with space. For the first time geographical space became “workable”. Over night, space in geography was converted from a metaphysical plane to a physical, comprehensible substance.

The euphoria continued for some time before it succumbed to “Topophilia”. (Yi-Fu Tuan, 1974).⁴² This was a popular revolt against the “Rational man”, the “optimized space” and efforts towards “least cost”. A humanized placement of space was the main thrust. For the humanist, space was neither homogenized or standardized in the form of distances measured in miles; nor was ‘man’ an object behaving always in a scientifically correct manner like molecules responding to mechanical pressure. Humanists carved out a space which was actually ‘place’, a result of man’s response to his environment. A series of memories associated with locals where people have shared life experiences. Space became “space of the life worlds”. However, even the humanized space retained in it vestiges of cause-effect, response-stimuli objectification of the earlier period. The existentialists in geography, drawing from main stream philosophical tenants, geographical world’ of which man was a part. There was no space apart from man.

⁴² Yi-Fu Tuans “Topophilia” and later “Space and Place” brought out for the first time unique attachments of man with place, thus, drawing attention to specific human bond with space and place.

With a rise in the spate of students movements, protests against war and blatant capitalist consumerism, where space had been commodified, where all energies were directed towards profit maximization aided by least cost principles, a new batch of bold geographers sought to dismantle the very ivory towers on which the quantitative revolution placed geography. They wanted to de-capitalize space, break out of the perfect logic of mass production and commodification and turn to space as society and try to improve it by becoming activists rather than academicians. The shift was from space study of markets and highways to problems of poverty, racism, gender. Space became spatial inequality, injustice, and quality of life. It was believed that positivists space perception was too unreal to deal with “real problems”. Marxists ideas of space consciousness could alone redefine space, remove its imperfections by a thorough structural overhaul and finally create a just space. Geographers turned to space as society, urban, crime, ghetto, discrimination, slum, poverty, blackghetto problems spread over space filling their senses in the quest for “reformation”. David Harvey moved away from “consistent coherent and empirically justified body of information”⁴³ to “notions of social and moral philosophy”⁴⁴ which could render space as more real and could improve it as well. His “Social justice and the City” (1969) is a quest for that equality over an unequal urban space, it is a stage of transition of a geographer with liberal perspective to radical Marxism. This was not as unique case though, others like Bunge, Berry moved along the same currents to search for a space within geography which would reflect the conditions of the world as it is and will portray the frustration and misery of the hapless.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 75.

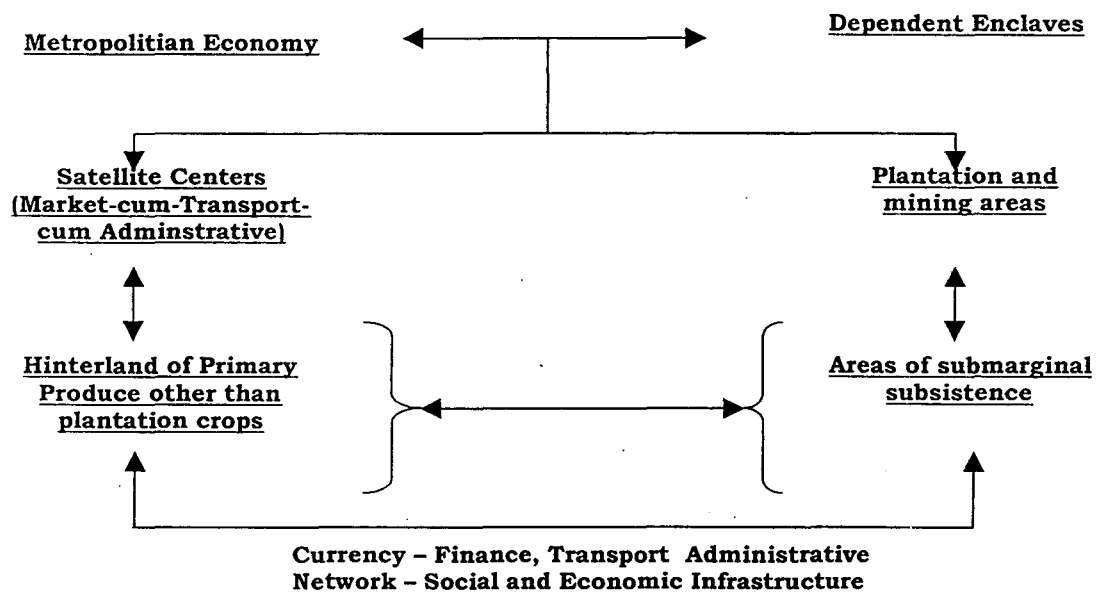
A parallel current was to conceive a special niche for a space in geography which was conceptualized from a different kind of data. Data derived from social theory, cultural anthropology, even ecology. Thus social space, cultural space, ecological space were also the dominant prevailing theme. Social space constructed by geographers as both insiders (living within study areas/groups) and outsiders (distant observers) gave a new dimension to geography. Family, neighbourhood social distance from infrastructural facilities social relations became foundation of a new space perception. Cultural space (after Carl Sauer) was constructed from archaeology, history and physical geography. Thus, tribes and their habitat, religion, clothes, food habits, man's interaction with nature became dimensions of the "new space" Darwin's influence became apparent in the "ecological approach" to the city. Natural selection and competition for space was the dominant logic for explaining "residential segregation" within cities. This segregated space was given the name "natural area". The segregation of groups within the 'natural area' was explained by way of their differential ability to cope with competition. Thus zoning of cities by Burgess, Hoyt etc. were based on ecological perspectives applied on an economic criteria. Darwin's evolutionary thesis also found place in Davisian Cycle of erosion where space became rolling and evolving with distinct stages of life, namely; youth maturity and old age. The concept of 'organismic' growth was adopted in Geo-politics, with Ratzel's concepts of state as growing and the need to develop geo-strategies for its further growth. Political space in terms of power relations were evolved. Mackinders; Heartland Theory was based on such power relations applied to territorial area; by which space was freed from territoriality to emerge as a new geopolitical entity. Dynamic models of rise and fall of states

in the form of paired Kodratieff (waves) reveal a kind of dynamism and cyclic nature of geo political space which was relatively recent, a kind of post Darwin influence.

Imperialism as a symbol of unequal exchange and colonization of third world space became an object of geographic enquiring. Neil Smith Moonis Raza Boudhyan Chattopadhyaya paralleled Fank, Amin in main stream philosophy to explain imperialistic tendencies over space in terms of metropolitan periphery modes of exploitation. A core periphery model of space was evolved. Levy of tributes, monopolistic rents, forced cultivation of cash crops where identified as unequal linkages between exploited space and exploiters domain.

FIGURE – 6

SIMPLIFIED SKELETAL MODEL OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE



Source: Boudhyan Chattopadhyaya and Mooniz Raza⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Chatopadhaya, Boudhayana and Raza Mooniz, (1978) "Regional Development : analytical Framework and Indicators". Indian Journals of Regional Science, Vol. VII, no. 1, p. 16.

Thus, similar theoretical and schematic models were used to explain space under uneven development. This was the neo Marxian trend within geography which perceived space within the geographical perspective as unequal, unjust, producers of colonial and neocolonial exploitation.

With the nationalist movement in large parts of the exploited world, geographical space was 'reborn' in many areas sometimes by accident as 'Nation space' as a territorial entity, living and overarching. The task of propagating this space under slogan of "unity in diversity" was often left to geographers, who left no stone unturned to prove the unity in diversity paradigm. Thus, in India NCERT test books devoted entire chapters where geographers spoke of physical diversity in terms of 'High Himalayas' and 'Flat Deccan', "wet Cherrapunji" and "Dry Thar". Social diversity in terms of food, clothes, lifestyle. Then sought to erase these by sating unity in terms of commonality of the Monsoon, unifying spirit of give and take, tolerances, common history, central government. Thus, all over the world geographers spoke of nation space, ethnic space, gender space.

The era of regional planning especially excited the geographers as they used their territorial knowledge of space quite elegantly to delineate National Capital Regions, Urban Areas, Tribal Development Blocks, Target Areas, River Basins, Drought Prone Area and used them as basis for resource allocation. Thus, space became objective and functional. Spate, Sdyasuk started a new trend of dividing and subdividing space by merging political and planning areas into 'operational zones' of possible resources exploitation or allocation, for quick and maximal development". The onward march of planned space was symbolized by the volumes of plan documents often simply

reiterating gaps between expected targets of spatial development and actual levels attained. Each new gap between plans and reality was ought to be emancipated in the next stage of planning. Space was defined and redefined in terms of development indicators religiously atleast every decade.

With philosophy going 'digital' geographical space did in no way lag behind, thus remote sensing created 'virtual' geographical pace in colour codes, instantaneously, made available for quick interpretation and more planning. Satellite imagery transmitted hidden space language, which could be translated only by the choicest few who then, converted it to more generalized messages about weather, climate monsoon forecast. This is the age of geographical information system, where space, space creation and space appropriation is all about "instant information", often spread out in a image of coded colours. Trees are no longer green and seas are no longer blue. This is a different lense, it uses a different filter, a filter which can act as a sieve, particularly retaining information from the mass, releasing exactly as much as is required to maintain appropriate control over space. The power structure is thus rejuvenated and retained, while the lay world is lost in a haphazard mosaic of blue and green and red. Gone are the days of maps, unfolding at a glance a host of information, reduced to a smaller scale but revealing reality as it is, minus the real dimension and size. This is the age of "Hidden geographical space", available only to those who are the owners of the instrumental logic, the others can wait for leftovers.

The time thereof is ripe to 'deconstruct' geographical space from left overs, to conjure spaces of hope to escape the surveillance lense, to experience space as power., this is possible within geography, but it

requires 'look before you leap' attitude, a measure of caution is a must. Thus, post modernist concept of geographical space is round the corner; even if one is skeptical about welcoming it with open arms, at least there is no harm in looking it in the eye and shaking hands.

BEYOND MODERNITY

Beyond modernity exists "fuzzy zones", yet uncontested. Here space is in flux, there is no one view, no one perception, there is no single truth, everything fluctuates between half truths, lies and truths. There is no 'one final version', because it has been felt that 'one' has no consistency. One, has given rise to gaping dualisms, unreconcillable schools of thought. Following Derrida, therefore geographers have decide that the figure 'one' does not apply for space, it is no longer capable of holding 'together'. Only the 'interval', the 'point the 'fuzzy' zones and the 'and' are capable for holding together.

Space therefore is no longer a puzzle, where fragments conveniently fit into a whole, nor is it a whole which can be broken into fragments, craftily carved to become a whole when required. To substantiate, geographical space is no longer micro regions which add up to form meso regions which inturn form macro regions. The logic of hierarchization of space itself is under question. Why is a meso region termed "Meso"? What water tight compartments decided their size criteria? If the answer to these questions is that the planners decide regional space for convenience of resource exploitation and allocation, then the counter argument is simply that, blue prints for survivals are chalked out by men/women of letters over tracing tables and under rulers, while actual allocation of wealth get divided between governments separated by political boundaries. Survival itself is put at

risk when political power play over rule the planner's blue print of such primary things as distribution of water.

What then is the solution? Should geographers stop conceiving space as they did? Should they have no say advisory bodies? The answers are to emerge from the chapters following the current. At this moment however it is clear, that space conceptualization should go on, but for ones the geographers should conceptualize space for themselves and themselves alone. In the past they have conceptualized space as per the philosophers, sometimes as per the economists, sometimes in order to quench the thirst for science, at other times to satisfy Kuhn's famous shift of paradigms. This satisfaction again should not be geared towards universalisation of satisfaction. No space can make everyone happy, but spaces in flow can provide some hope for every body.

"Fixity gives way to fluidity. In a very little while, the earth may have become one amorphous hydrosphere, flow against flow-some times liquid, at other times gaseous, perhaps the vestiges of insoluble and inert matter left floating under suspension. Some weep at such an image of thought; others gloat still others protest that many important solids will continue to resist dissolution (e.g. the state) or that below a certain critical threshold, vapory and liquidity ones again solidify, such that the flow returns to ground (e.g. 'world cities' as bashing points for the flows of the contemporary global economy, or capital itself, insofar as it crystallizes out as infrastructure etcetra. Nevertheless, geographers now routinely speak of 'spaces of flows and testify to their growing power to affect: the flows of money, desire, capital, pollution, information, resources, ideas, images, people etcetra."⁴⁶

The geographers beyond modernity shun the concept of space as point. To them point is limiting, point is a dead letter, point is the undoing of space, therefore one has to move away from the 'pinhead', seek space as a process, as fold upon fold, layers upon layers. The

⁴⁶ Thrift, Nigel and Crang, Mike: (Eds.) (2001) "Thinking Space", Routledge. P. 124.

point is, to have a pointless geography of space. According to them, for long, geographers have been suspended from points, sites, places, nodes, integers, digits the self, the same, positions, bifid etc. Lines have been run between points, surfaces extended from lines, volumes evolved from surface, then the networking, choroplething, ordering, etc.

“On the other hand the undoing of pointillism unfastens, open up, and space out that which pointillism has sought to regress. The differential relations of expressionism. What post structuralists geography bears witness to is the return of the repressed.⁴⁷

Therefore, space beyond modernity is space beneath what is drawn, mapped, pictured, presented. It is an attempt to feel the pulse of power flows, an attempt to discover hidden spaces, spaces produced by language (of the tongue, of the sign, of the body), spaces within differences, space within identities. Therefore, at this stage of defining time, a map is no longer reality devoid of dimension, reduced to scale, but rather the discovery of what ideological constructs led to the particular construction of the map, what power play existed in mapping a region as undeveloped, and another as developed, what are the prejudices of the data involved. This unearths hidden space and that is also well within the purview of geography. Therefore while studying teacher-student ratio, density of the class-rooms, text books/students; a geographer has a still greater task. The task of unearthing the “proletarianization”⁴⁸ of the students par time teachers hired on contract, exploited in terms of salaries and other repressive

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 120.

⁴⁸ Sparke, Mathew, and Castree, Noel: (July 2000) “Professional Geography and the Corporatization of the University : Experiences, evaluations and engagements, Anti pode, vol 32, no.3.

measures. Data will not aid in such work, because unearthing hidden space is going beyond 'points'; and there is hardly any data beyond points.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter had been to trace out space conceptualizations within flow of ideas these helping us to define time or rather helping us to understand space-time continuum. The other objective has been to situate space perception within geography, even from the time when geography was not a formalized discipline. Finally one would like to match the tributary flow with the main current and understand the geographers reaction voluntarily or involuntary in the space time continuum. The logic for constructing a 'flow' rather than breaks gets aptly fulfilled here. Had the continuum been imagined in terms of 'break' geographical space would have had to hiccup and stumble in order to situate oneself and at the same time float onwards within the main stream. Primarily because geographical space did not enjoy the same liberty as has been enjoyed by thinkers, philosophers etc. The notion that "Geography is what geographers do" proved as a handicap. Nobody wanted to be ostracized. The temptation of being a mad genius is overriding but not as overriding as to motivate rational being from sacrificing their bread and butter. Therefore geographers never experienced the 'Ureka' syndrome as far as a space was concerned. Therefore, while epistemologies changed geographers adjusted their pace as does an efficient skater according to the sheer of the ice surface. They did not dare to fall.

There cosmographic space stagnated and encyclopedic description continued on and on even when mathematicians were all

worked up discovering newer meanings. Yes, space became place and New Worlds were discovered with alacrity, but this was largely due to an economic impetus.

However, a most remarkable feature noted here is, although geography was again late in depicting space as quantifiable here this absorption was work applauding. Perhaps in no other point (no punn intended) in the continuum did the geographers had a better understanding of the nature of space (according to prevailing structure of knowledge) than he/she had during the quantitative revolutions. Perhaps more literature was churned space and more geographic imaginations captured during this period than any other. Here geographical space had scored over the general theme. Indeed the tributary had become a turbulent waterfall.

Similarly the era of social, cultural, ecological space though a late response to broad based flow of knowledge actually transcended its banks (limits) and appropriated unchartered territories. Thus, while sociologists and anthropologists had started conceiving such spaces earlier on, the geographer showed remarkable tenacity in fighting out a niche for geographical space, in term of the study of biomes settlement, residential area geo-strategy. Here again the tributary perception was the aggressor.

As regards to Marxism, radical phase, space is geography once again became half baked between the liberals and the radicals. Sometimes the same geographer had his/her identity confused, thus creating tremendous confusion in space conception.

Planning put the geographer in the hall of fame, geographical space under planning occupied position of prestige in comparison to the general broad based program, however the throne of power remained with the politician, hence bureaucratization of geographic space was the result. While the main stream surged ahead with "production of space" the geographer suffered, as he/she saw his/her space being adopted with care but never being actually implemented.

The stream and the tributary move, beyond modernity, the broad current has acquired great force, volume and height precisely because fellow thinkers are actively conceptualizing space in flow, thus broad based space conception are being constantly renewed. This is a challenge for the cautious geographer whose mis giving have led his/her to a swamp where the tributary has serious threat of disappearing, unless the geographer thinks of something new and that too quickly. Unless the geographer dares to step out of the 'point' he/she might end-up becoming the bulls eye; all the more reasons to give in to the 'Eureka' syndrome and let ones conceptualizations to run free. Who know perhaps the new space shall transcend the boundaries of the discipline itself, which would in any case be one more reason to rejoice.

CHAPTER – 3

Personality of Space as Carved by Certain Tools in Geography

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter an attempt had been made to examine space-time continuum with each defining the other. Geographer's reciprocity to the dominant current of ideas involving space, his/her role as a contributor or absorber vis-à-vis the philosophical flow of ideas. One reached the conclusion that the geographer did have a tributary of his/her own which sometimes ran parallel to the mainstream, at other times acquired the height of a waterfall dashing into the general scheme of thinking and yet at other times disappeared in the marshes.

In the present chapter one would like to examine the nature and character of space as a subject matter of human geography , and the tools that construct such a type of space. Therefore, the questions under study would be;

- ❖ What is the personality of space as carved out under human geography?
- ❖ What are some of the dominant tools of space conceptualization? What specific character do they contribute to space.
- ❖ What aspects of the personality of space remains unearthed or undiscovered by such tools?

Understanding methodological underpinnings become important. Methodology refers to a scheme of things, an ordering or arrangement which is anti-thetical to chaos. Each age therefore has a dominant methodology which serves best to conceptualize that spatial imagination which conforms with the imaginations of those enjoying dominant position in the power hierarchy. All those imaginations which cannot be captured by the predominant methodology only serves to crowd ones field of vision as they receive neither adequate support or finding, therefore usually they are ironed out by the bulldozing effects of the axiomatic framework of the dominant methodology. Assumptions are used to clear the cobwebs and hence present a 'clean' image of space which can then be rendered usable.

'Usability' has been a fixation of all age and all discipline. This has been essentially a fall out of the precedence of 'vision' over all other senses. Vision is possibly the most mechanical and least sensuous of all-human senses; therefore whatever was perceived by the eyes was termed as 'real', famed as the 'truth'. This primordial instinct of 'seeing is believing' has rendered many 'unseeables' as 'useless' and 'misfit'. Therefore, it will not be an exaggeration to say that geographical tools and methodological underpinning had not been an exception either. Tools in geography in all ages have tried to render space as 'seeable' useful, hence, capable of being operationalized and domesticated. This has been reinforced by technological advancement in all ages. Whichever discipline lagged behind in technological reproduction was quick to beg, borrow, steal from others. The axiom was simple, no discipline wanted to be stranded in a quagmire of 'notions', which could be conceived but not seen, which could be conceived but not touched. No discipline would

dare to survive under a 'gaze' which was fed by "technological life blood", for it sanitized in black and white and demanded evidence which was seeable.

Thus,

"Sights almost exclusive privilege a the means by which to know the world was only reinforced by the artificial technologies of vision. In addition to the camera obscura itself, telescopes and microscopes underscored the mechanical character of vision by enhancing human faculties and so allowing more of creation to be seen and examined."¹

Whether it was the enlightenment period or Romantic, Modern, Post modern, space was always domesticated in geography by new tools and newer methodologies. The precedence of the technological logic and a desire to remain 'in' the race never allowed space in geography from being anything more than "reality reincarnate" or rather 'ad-hoc reality". Thus, while the enlightenment period drew maps, modern period drew digital maps, postmodern period deconstructed maps and created cognitive maps. In the next section one shall deal with some of the methodological tools and prove how space in geography has been always 'politically correct, has been always useful, has always borne a striking resemblance to reality.

DOMINANT TOOLS IN GEOGRAPHY, AIDING IN SPACE

CONCEPTUALIZATION

- (a) Cartography and maps
- (b) Quantitative tools in regionalization
- (c) Remote sensing and GIS

¹ Edney, Mathew: (1990): "Mapping an Empire, the geographical construction of British India 1765-1843", University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, P. 48.

At the outset one would like to clarify that the effort will not be geared to describe the operational advantages and disadvantages of these tools in geography per se. An attempt is made to treat these tools as they are; and discover or reinvent the kind of 'order' out of 'chaos' i.e. the kind of space they forge. In the process, however, one would like to delve into the power structure, political decisions and positions taken which mould the functioning of these tools and inturn the reciprocal ordering of space.

CARTOGRAPHY AND MAPS

Ideas of life experiences and events were first put in two dimensions by early man/woman in his/her cave paintings of bison, deer, bullfights. These were sketches appealing to aesthetics rather than to technological logic; therefore expression of emotions like pleasure, wonder, happiness, far governed these drawings and therefore these were individualistic and un-standardized, by the technological logic they were useless other than for the purpose of decoration.

The very first 'useful' attempts to capture space and standardize it through visions was by way of itinerary charts of travelers. Often these were mere rough sketches of routes taken by a traveler in his/her journey along with a sprinkling of landmarks with elaborate descriptions of interesting things and commentaries on details. These were not standardized to scales, which meant that though space was captured and systematized in the absence of scale there were still possibilities of chaos and dissent. G.R. Crone talks of such itinerary of Greek travelers along their main trading routes, according to him

navigation charts had not yet made their appearance felt as journey were still restricted well within the coasts.²

With the establishment of earth's sphericity, which again can be attributed to scientific and technological advancement, geography (which was still not as well defined discipline) faced the first grave problem of scaling. Earth was no longer a flat disc and hence a bit of parchment or papyrus could never serve to be a surrogate surface unless some technology of light projection was used. Greeks tackled the problem of projection. They had no other option. City states were well territorilized by then and there was an increasing urge by the populace to venture into the sea for discovering newer space. Once the fear of coming to the edge of the flat earth and toppling over was successfully removed, map projection was pursued by zeal, backed by economic and political rationale to gain in power and riches. Ptolemy projected a slice of his known world, which however turned out to be erroneous as Taprobana (Ceylon) was exaggeratedly enlarged and the Indian peninsula was missing and Indian Ocean itself was land locked.

One important aspect which needs to be upheld here is the mix and match of scientific rationality and ideas as constructed from the stories of navigators and sailors. While graticules were inscribed on paper with the help of rigorous experimentation and mathematics, the known world imposed on it was a popular construction which changed like an amoeba. The need to standardize the amoeba was politically and economically strong, however technology was not itself self sufficient at that point of time for such an eventuality.

² Crone, G.R. (1953): See "Maps and their makers, an introduction to the history of cartography" Hutchinson University Library.

Space was re-conceived and freshly painted as the 'real' with the invention of the Mariner's compass. The break from tradition was due to the fact that spatial reality was no longer conceived through popular sailor stories but were based on direct observation. These were referred to as sea-charts or protolans. The protolans brought new complexity to the mapping of space. It called for existing data ratified by mechanical visual instruments which could measure, magnify, scrutinize space namely, the compass, the sextant, the theodolite. Therefore it called for an empirical hegemony over the known world whereby 'conception' had to be verified.

Circular world maps referred to as "mappa mundi" started doing the rounds. One characteristic feature which shows the extent of influence of church and the state even on scientific logic is that all these mappa mundis had Jerusalem as their centres. However with technological logic still progressing, even this practice began to be done away with a worried friar excuses thus.

"Jerusalem is indeed the centre of the inhabited world latitudinally, though longitudinally it is somewhat to the west, but since the western portion is more thickly populated by reason of Europe, therefore Jerusalem is also the centre longitudinally if we regard not empty space but the density of population."³

With the great discoveries financed by kings and rulers for fame, riches, territorial expansion geostrategy, the world map acquired newer refinement. The rounding of the southern promontory of Africa by Diaz in 1487, Columbus reaching West India in 1492, the discovery of Brazil by Cabral in 1500, the attainment of India by Vasco da Gama and the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan's expedition

³ Quoted in (Ibid) p. 53.

according to Crone⁴ all contributed to a further domestication of world space.

The hall of fame however in cartographic space construction is reserved for Gerhard Macerator whose world maps published posthumously provided a near complete depiction of the known world. Since then, home coming seamen from their voyages in the east were required to submit their findings with an official cartographer who would later collate these. The term “atlas” was first time given to a collection of maps after the mythical astronomer king of Lybia; thus producing in complete leaflets operationalized world space spread out for investigation, strategic voyages and political, decision making. It was as if reality was captured within manageable parameters and made available for one and all. Through, following the scientific rationale of verification, not all and each inhabiting the earth would actually empirically verify whether Antarctica looked as it was actually mapped and whether there were not a few more islands in the mid Atlantic, yet all and each would accept the real world in the atlases and globes, absorb the available information and pass it on to posterity, simply because it was backed by technological logic and technological logic is considered sound in each age as removes complexity and renders it reality as simple and useful. Thus, while in some variety of projections the Arctic and Antarctic appears at points, at others it appears as circles. While some projections sees latitudes and longitude as straight lines while others draw them as curvilinear, while some like the cylindrical projections are suitable for the equatorial zone, others like azimuthal for the poles. Yet, we accept all and each as versions of ‘reality’ simply because it is beneficial and

⁴ Ibid, p. 73.

useful for us to do so. The empirical truth that the earth's surface itself does not have graticules etched on it is redundant to us, as long as we can calculate relative distance on maps.

This technological logic is as mechanistic as changing channels in the radio. As we rotate the knob we see the needle moving across bands etched in the form of lines and figures. We believe in them because we get to hear different tunes as each band changes. Supposing the tune and the tone remains same, then do we reject the etched bands as mythical? No! Such is the deep-rooted technological logic of 'usefulness' we decide that the radio probably needs re-hauling. Therefore, if calculated distance ever fails to match with actual distance we attribute it to instrumental error, optical error, error due to earth's unique sphericity. We calculate the error to match representation with reality, but reality as seen by the eyes is never questioned. We can disbelieve our ears, our sensations, our skin, touch and tongue but our eyes enjoys precedence even over our brains.

Therefore,

“Eighteenth and early nineteenth (20th as well as 21st) century epistemology was thus rooted in a vision which, with its surrogate, established an almost physical distance between the viewer and the viewed, between the subject and the object of vision. That which is viewed is pushed away from the viewer into the external world of objects, an action exaggerated by the use of instruments to see and measure the “true world.”⁵ (words within parentheses, mine).

The gap between the investigation laced with undercurrent of power and socio-cultural glossing over is at best “near scientific” (even by the modern definition of science) because the viewer and the viewed

⁵ Edney, Mathew: (1990) “Mapping an Empire, the geographical construction of British India 1765-1843”, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, p. 48.

is separated by distance which is often not only physical. Investigation is never “perfect”, indeed perfection itself is a myth and does not have a measuring rod for comparison. Usually, the examiner is stationary and the subjects come and go but conceptualisation of the near perfect world requires the examiner to travel along with his/her bag and baggage of power relations, socio-cultural understandings often acquiring newer layers of both as he/she travels physically or non-physically.

Thus, the model of perfection which each examiner nurtures in a secret recess of his/her mind simultaneously and contiguously undergoes a make over, therefore the gap between viewer and viewed is never bridged (in the scientific sense of the term). Therefore, maps in no way are “above the politics of knowledge.”⁶ Infact, they are not a “model of”⁷ but a “model for”⁸ i.e. they serve to create a picture in the min and are not necessarily a representation of reality but often serves to produce reality itself.

Infact, an innocent looking map of reality has a message to tell, in the colours used, in the symbols printed, in the scale used for standardization and the way in which the lines are drawn. Vibrant undercurrents of power flows through it. It is possible to manufacture opinion by shading maps by creating terrains of world power blocks, by dividing world maps into a orient/accident, civilized and barbaric, terrorists and terrorized, developed and underdeveloped. The politics of mapping is so vibrant that indeed often cartographers and planners are requested to tinker with data to represent an area as depressed in

⁶ Harley, Brian J.: (1997) “Deconstructing the Map” in “Readings in Human Geography”, Derek Gregory and Trevor Barnes (eds.), p. 155.

⁷ Anderson, Benedict : (1991) “Imagined Communities”, Verso, London p. 91.

⁸ (Ibid).

order to extract funds or resources towards it. The very first flow of control in the form of colonization swept in through the politics of mapping of the Spice Island and the route designed subsequently to reach them. Such was the competition for mapped space that Spain and Portugal had their respective colonizable zones vertically divided into east and west zones, by the church so as to avoid unhealthy skirmishes. Indeed, the mapping of under development was the foundation for the Non-Alignment Movement forming the third world. Therefore, maps are never a mute representative model, they have a voice of their own, they have a story to tell, wave lengths of power radiate from them, waiting to be captured and de-coded.

“Power is exerted on cartography. Behind most cartographers there is a patron; in innumerable instances the makers of cartographic texts were responding to external needs. Power is also exercised with cartography. Monarchs, ministers, state institutions, the church, have all initiated programmes of mapping for their own ends. In modern western society maps quickly became crucial to the maintenance of state power to its boundaries, to its commerce, to its internal administration to control of the population, and to its military strength The state guards the knowledge carefully: maps have been universally censored, kept secret and falsified.”⁹

While in geography map has been used as a tool for generalization, standardization and locking perceptions about the world as it should be and probably is, very little attempt has been made until recently (that too, outside India) to conceptualize the labyrinths of power, the pulsations of opinion formation, decision and consent manufacturing, idea imposition that goes on beneath the visual imprints of the map. There are hidden layers of space yet to be discovered and this space may not often fall perfectly into place in the general scheme of operationalisation or usefulness, and it may not be

⁹ Harley, Brian. J.: (1997) “Deconstructing the map”: in Readings in Human geography, Derek Gregory and Trevor Barnes (eds) p. 163-164.

captured by vision, probably only felt and understood and then passed on as understanding in a chain of knowledge creation. But that space is yet to be conceptualized by the geographer and essentially the Indian geographer.

One has to go beyond the cliché that a geographer is a mapmakers. One has to go beyond superficial interpretations in terms of commodity flow, regional disparity and population density zones. Needless to say that these are 'useful' and we have dealt with them and will continue to find them as important aspects of our space conceptualizations. However, we should try and penetrate the 'what is apparent' layer. There geography needs to break the notion that

"Geography thrives on cartographic what the microscope is to the microbiologist, for the ability to shrink the earth and generalize about it The microbiologist, must choose a suitable objective lense, and the geographer must select a map scale appropriate to both the phenomenon in question and the 'regional laboratory' in which the geographer is studying it.¹⁰

While doing all of this, the geographer has to accept responsibility for much much more. The map as a tool has served only upto half its potential, the time has come to decode deeper messages which may not seem 'useful' as yet, but which would definitely lead to newer geographical space conceptions which is not tied down to scalar dimensions. If the geographer does not make an attempt in this direction, soon, it will be appropriated by others looking for a missing link in their chain of knowledge formation.

¹⁰ Quoted in (ibid) p. 165.

QUANTITATIVE TOOLS IN REGIONALIZATION

With the increasing importance of 'choreography' in geography, the study of particular regions began to acquire positions of eminence. However, regional descriptions suffered from the problems of comparison and operationalisation. Though, beautiful descriptions of earth regions under the heads of location, physiography, climate, soil, vegetation, socio-cultural attributes, economic were systematically provided, the two problems the geographers faced were firstly, seeing and perceiving region is like seeing all its attributes simultaneously in harmony. Indeed, regions were like a "symphony played in an orchestra," however describing them proved to be a problem because in the language of literature one could not describe all attributes at once, hence each attribute like climate or soil, etc. had to be treated one after the other. This gave rise to a situations where it seemed the geographer was given the unhappy task of choosing and laying each instrument of the orchestra separately. Depending on who chose what and in what order the result was often a cacophony.

Secondly, the lack of a standardized scale created problems in comparison of regional space. Since the scale for mapping regional space was not standardized, one region could not be described as better off or worse off than the other.

These along with many other problems gave rise to popular discontent in geography which finally culminated in the adoption of "Scientific method" in chorography. The new methods were designed to treat space like any other object under experimentation in the laboratories of the natural sciences. The steps of scientific approach to space was therefore clear cut.

1. **Observation:** The stage of problem identification. The particular problem to be studied is to be identified and observed in its spatial context.
2. **Hypothesis Formulation:** This is the stage of initial assumptions framed on a logical bases often in the form of self questioning derived from the observation of the actual real study of the problem in its spatial context.
3. **Data Collection:** Information pertaining to the problem is to be gathered within the spatial boundaries of the problem area. The data can be purely locational, observed at some point or a real i.e. values from some geographic unit. The data is then stored away in punching cards in earlier times and in floppies in modern times.
4. **Investigation and Analysis:** Investigation of the available data would lead the scientist to adopt a suitable methodology to systematize and order data into manageable forms geared towards problem solving. Ordering the numerical data would inturn mean scaling them; scaling arranges the data in a logical form making it suitable for further investigation. The choice of scales would include (a) nominal scales (b) ordinal scales (c) internal scales (d) ratio scales (e) graphic rating scales (f) itemized rating scales (g) comparative rates scales (h) rank order scale etc. The scaling would them allow the data to be put into a matrix or a set. The next step involves the choice of indicators which cover the maximum possible range giving the best possible picture. The indicators are then made scale neutral for the purpose of simple comparison or further compositing. The methods of making indicators scale free include ranking,

normalization, standardization, division by mean, division by any 'ideal' value. Once the indicators have been rendered scale neutral they can then be used to construct a value neutral socio-economic space. For example, at the meso level where a particular state is the field of operation and socio-economic development is to be captured then the districts become the points of analysis and comparison. Indicators like agricultural productivity, per capita income, literacy rate, sex ratio can be chosen to construct the socio-economic field. They are rendered scale neutral first and then comparisons are made between each point of space for each indicator. The gap between two districts regarding one specific indicator is the socio-economic distance between the two points of space within the state. Then, the space is arranged in a matrix with the districts in relation with each other. The correlation matrix produces the organisation of socio-economic space of the state.

- 5. Conclusions, law framing and generalization:** The investigation and analysis is likely to yield conclusions which can be used for framing new laws as regard to spatial organisation and can lead to further generalization.

ORGANISATION AND CHARACTERIZATION OF SPACE UNDER

QUANTITATIVE METHODS OF REGIONALIZATION

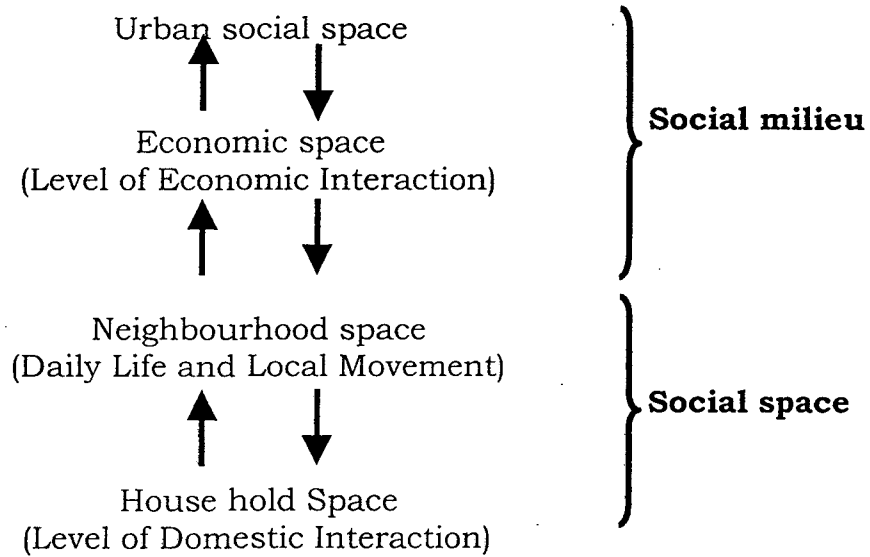
1. Social space
2. Urban space
3. Hierarchical space under planning
4. Central place studies
5. Regional spatial developmental models
6. Land use models
7. Simulation models of spatial processes
8. Transport network models.

SOCIAL SPACE

A need was felt by geographers to understand the social underpinnings of real life existence, especially in the urban context to help plan for a more congenial urban space. As Buttimer says that “Geographers ask themselves: should we be satisfied with drafting an opaque, objective map of social patterns in space, or must we supplement this with the subjective or inside view (Buttimer, p. 128). Thus attempts were made to give visual expression to the social space of individuals and groups to create a mosaic of social spaces. This space was homogenous in terms of spatial perceptions of groups and individuals and was formulated with the help of network of points and lines radiating from certain nodes or “points privilege”, (Buttimer, 130), like schools, theatres, churches.

Social space studies led to a new approach to urban studies where urban space was given dual character, namely the objective i.e. the physical setting, boundaries etc. and the subjective involving homogenous social space reflecting uniformity of values, aspirations, preferences. Combart de Lawe, computed a hierarchy of social spaces starting from the familial space, to neighbourhood space, economic space and finally urban social space. Thresholds for spaces were measured, beyond which certain individuals or groups could not travel without frustrations and tension. Number of square feet per person which can be considered as a desirable residential density were computed, effects of crowding and stress were studied, to in turn help compute limits in the horizontal and vertical expanse of social space.

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL SPACES AT VARIOUS LEVELS



The use of networking, factor analysis, social groupings, perception studies, helped to formulate a new understanding of urban life studied in terms of what is referred to as social space.

URBAN SPACE

Operationalization and simplification of the urban-social milieu to render understandable spatial models on the nature and character of urban space was attempted by the urban morphologists like Burgess, Hoyt, Ullman. Empirical research of real cities as well as concepts of dominance, encroachment etc. drawn from ecology led Burgess' to provide concentric zone, model of city starting from the central business district, the transition zone, working class zone and commuters zone. Hoyt modified the oversimplifications of the Burges model to visualize urban space in sectors of activity, while Ullman identified multiple nuclei rather than the single nuclears of he Central Business District. Ashoke Mitra attempted a functional classification of the city making use of census data on primary, secondary and

tertiary workers. He used the triangular method, whereby, the position within the triangle would indicate the functional characters of the town. Thus urban space was reduced to a point but its inherent economic character was brought out.

“The spatial organization of the regional economy through the urban hierarchy of nodes and subnodes is a complex notion the following five measures have been used to articulate this concept (7b) Average connectivity, (2b) catchment coefficient (3b) Hierarchy Distance (4b) Accessibility (5b) Distortion from the Hierarchic norms”¹¹

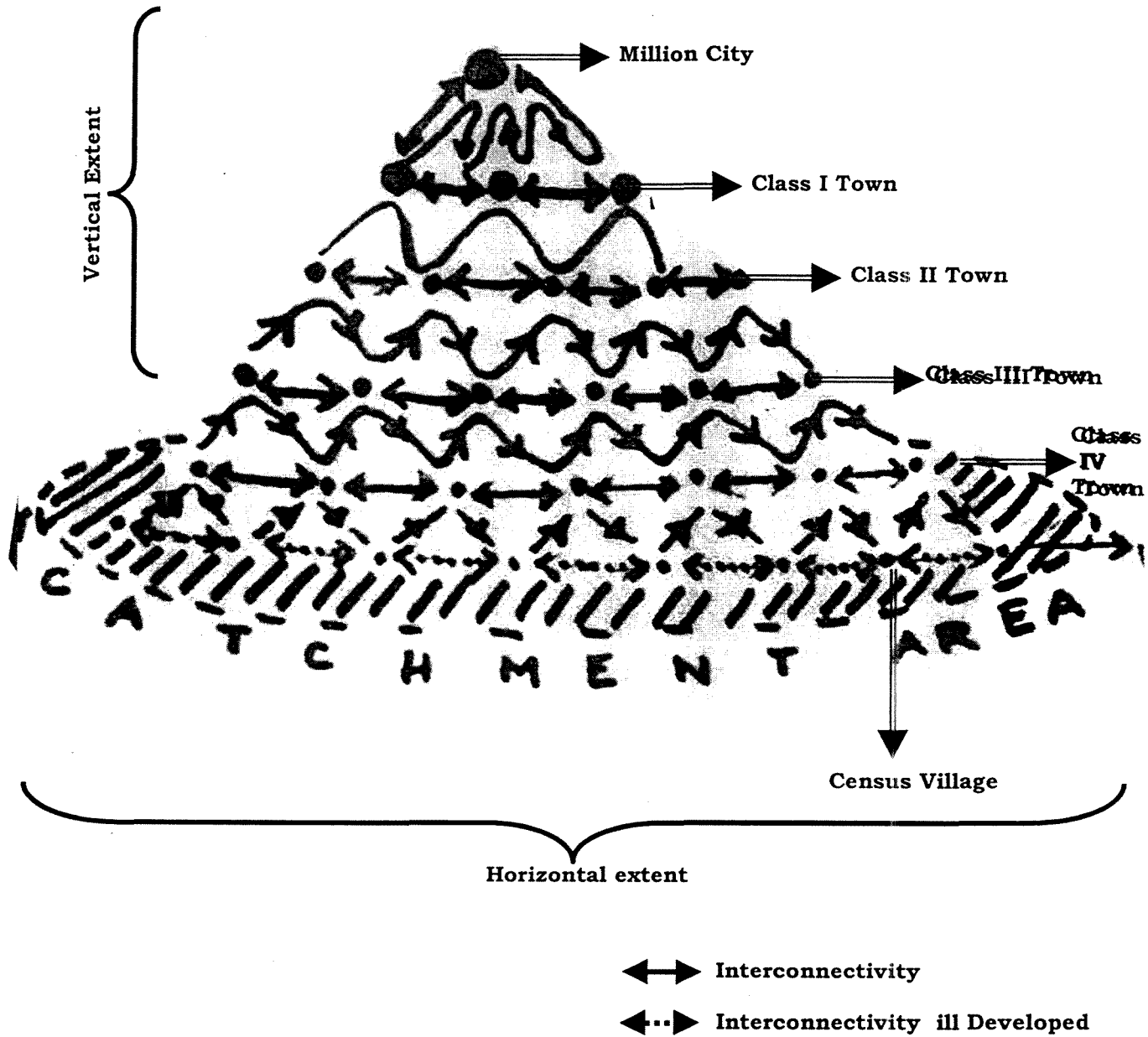
Urban space therefore is largely conceptualized in a hierarchy of census cities and towns along with their catchment area of influence connected by flows and network of transport and communication. The more efficient the index of inter connectivity the more cohesive and organised the spatial dialectics.

Therefore, a well-evolved urban space would under quantitative tools depict a perfect horizontal areal pattern in the form of hinterlands or umlands or zones of influence and would have a vertical hierarchical extent culminating in a million city or even a conurbation. The efficiency and life of such an ‘artificially’ modelled space would depend upon the nature and degree of inter connectivity. (Figure 7 B).

¹¹ Kundu, Amitabh (1992) “Measurement of urban process a study of Regionalization”.

FIGURE - 7B

URBAN SPACE AS A CONE OF INTER CONNECTIVITY



Source: After Ram Chandran

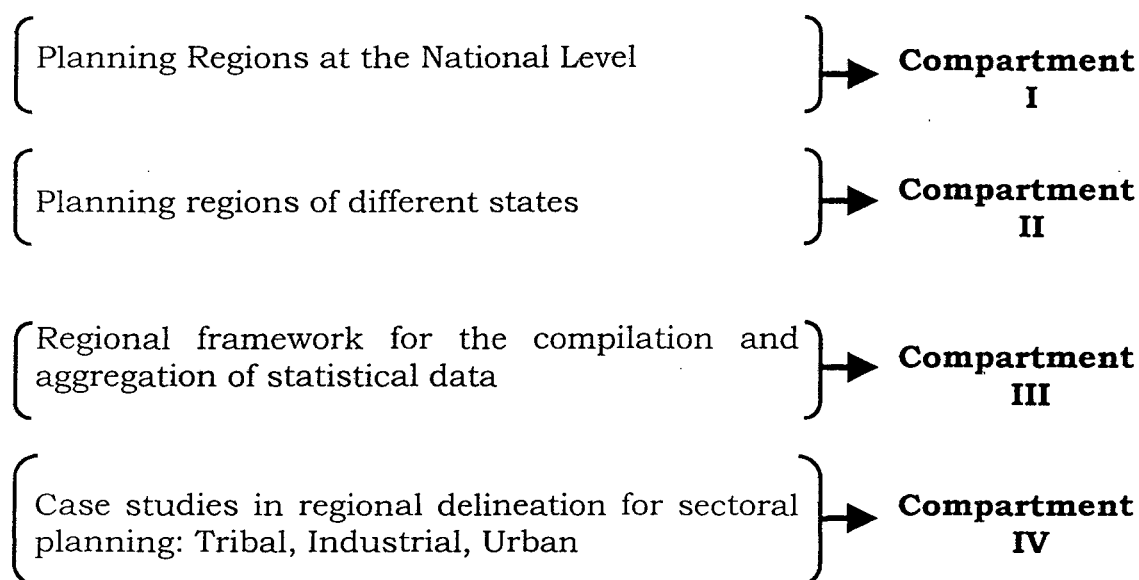
HIERARCHICAL SPACE UNDER PLANNING

This is an operational space classified and delineated to act as perfect laboratories for the study of regional planning. They are distinctively ordered and categorized, sometimes coinciding and at other time not coinciding with political units. These have been so constructed for the purpose of policy implementation, resource extraction and resource allocation. They include there broad levels, namely (1) Macro (2) Meso and (3) Micro.

Space here has been conveniently compartmentalized.

FIGURE – 7(C)

SPACE UNDER PLANNING



Source: After Rao and Bhat (1972): Survey of Research in Geography, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

The compartments may function as autonomous pockets without any give and take from the other pockets or they may exist in a state of coordination and cooperation.

CENTRAL PLACE STUDIES

Here spaces is seen as nodes and points producing growth impacts, diffusion waves, backwash, spread effects and hence touching a larger areal unit surrounding it. The phenomenon sometimes produces areas patterns and at other times exists as discrete nodes and points. Space here is operationalised as (i) rational distribution of markets and urban infrastructure at different hierarchical levels of settlements (rural and urban), (ii) a rational organisation of flows of people, goods and services and (iii) the location of growth centres”¹² Here the purpose is to focus on space as points of importance and then trace out the degree of importance by aerial delineation.

REGIONAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENTAL MODELS

“Here the traditional data matrix and the map get transformed and there is increasing emphasis on geometric analysis of the location and shaping of points, lines and areas, and the size, shape, interaction and intensity of emerging patterns.”¹³

The traditional data matrix first provides the spatial organization indicating the levels of development between points on a spatial plane, these are then sought to be rectified by constructing models, conveying out multivariate analysis factor analysis, weighting and composite indexing.

For example if the state of Uttar Pradesh is treated as the field of operation and the points under consideration are the districts of Ghaziabad, Kanpur and Lucknow and if one needs to construct a

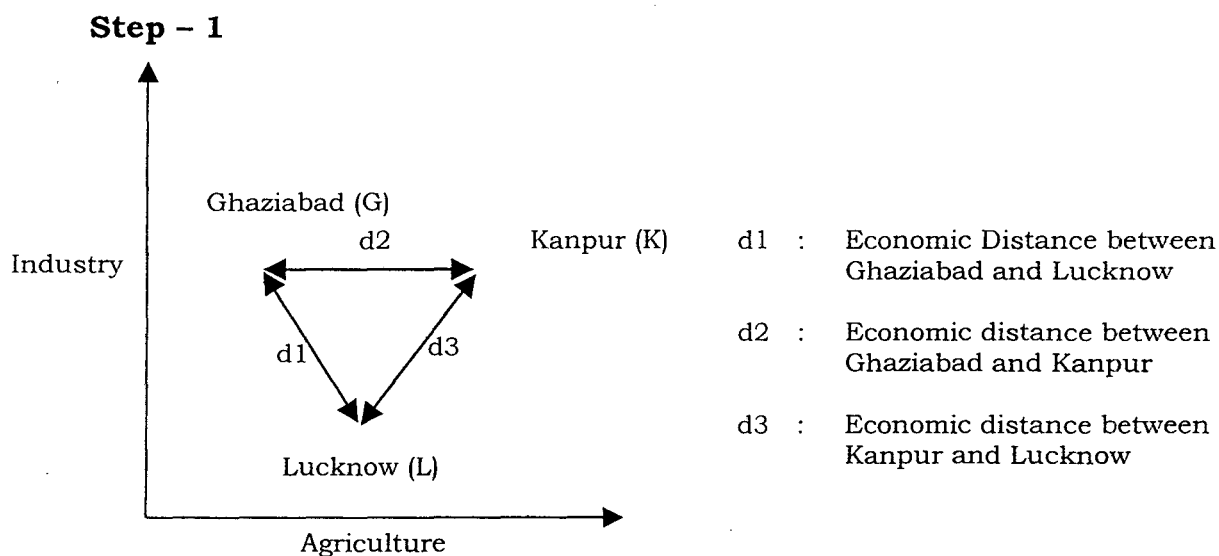
¹² Rao, Prakasa V.L.S and Bhatt L.S.: (1972) in “Survey of Research in Geography”, p. 119.

¹³ Ibid (120).

space showing their relative developmental levels in economic terms, then indicator like agricultural and industry can be considered.

FIGURE - 7 (D)

STEPS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF DEVELOPMENTAL DISTANCE



Step - 2

	'G'	'L'	'K'
'G'	0	d3	d2
'L'	d1	0	d3
'K'	d2	d3	0

Space Matrix of the state of U.P. showing distance in economic development in two dimensional space

This matrix orders space conveniently in terms of gaps in the extent of economic development and can be further used to evolve correlation matrix and composite indexing to create spatial developmental models.

LAND USE MODELS

They order space on the basis of identification of simplistic patterns of land uses. Complexities are irradiated and simplified indicators like crop productivity (Kendal 1939), intensity of cultivation

(Von Thunen), transportation costs, distances to market to draw out homogenous spatial zones. Characterization of space on the basis of observable land use has been applied for rural as well as urban areas. In the urban sector, sectoral, concentric zone, multiple nuclei models all structure urban space in the form of simplistic homogeneous zones based on the dominant land use. Here, space is inherently horizontal and diversities are either ignored or ironed out under the fixed assumptions. The last to characteristics of land use models have also been considered as a serious draw back in the scope of space conceptualization.

SIMULATION MODELS OF SPATIAL PROCESSES

These models serve to understand the dynamic personality of spatial plan by incorporating the time element in the spread path or movement of phenomena. Important among such type of spatial ordering is Haggerstrands' innovation diffusion model, migration models and urban growth processes when spatially depicted represent simulation models of dynamic structuration of space. These however consider the horizontal face of space only and are hence unidimensional except when time element is incorporated.

TRANSPORT NETWORK MODELS

Transport networks, model spaces on the basis of linkages. They serve to characterize space in terms of flows and movements of goods, ideas, people. Thus space is ordered in there form of established and existing patterns of a given transportation network. The fundamental shelter for such an ordering of space rests on (I) origin (ii) routes and

(iii) destination. Graph theory, ideas on gravity, distance decay are used as a base for recreating such a type of space.

The personality of space created under transport network models is best summarized under the following lines.

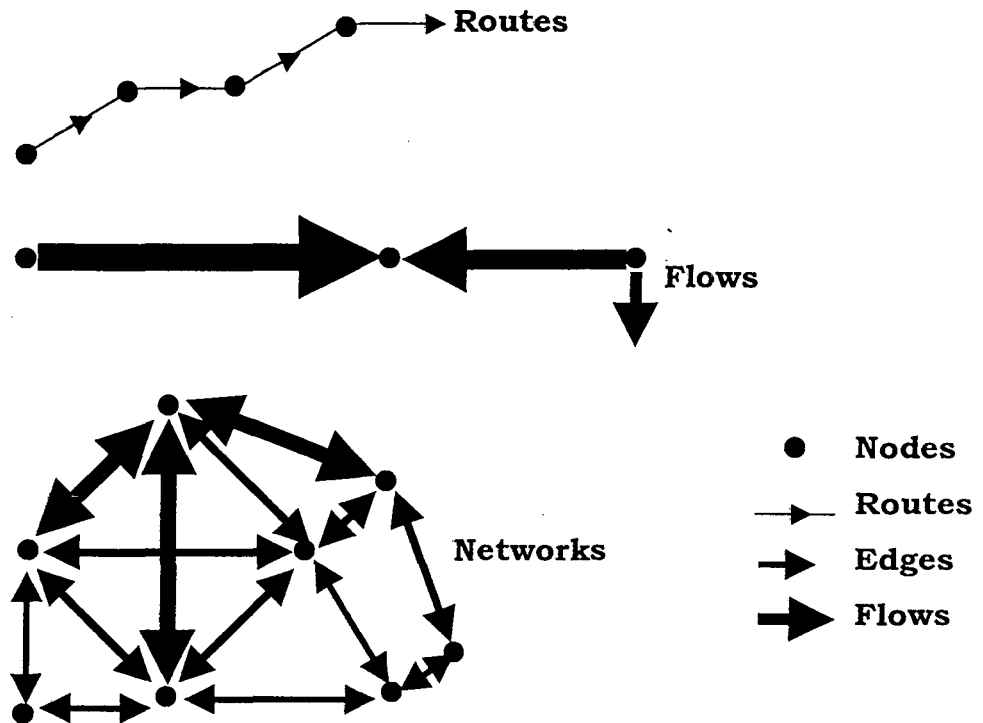
“Spatial interaction is one of the most fundamental elements governing the evolution of spatial structure and organisation. The interplay of three basic elements, namely, the demand for space, indivisibilities, and economies of scale and costs of transportation and movement explain the structure of spatial organization. Therefore, one approach to the study of spatial structure and organisation is through models of interaction. Hagget’s concept of nodal regions as systems underlines the role of spatial functional interaction as a basic process. The build up of such a system starts from movements and working through the network of routes lead to the nodes on the networks organized in a hierarchy with final integration of interstitial spaces in various organizational surfaces.”¹⁴

Flow lines, inter-connectivity, composite transport etc. indexing, etc. has been used by many geographers to order space. Singh (1970) attempted reorganization based on traffic flows. Dutt and Banerjee (1970) recognised 6 levels of hierarchies of central places with the help of composite transport indexing. Folk (1968) has examined the central place systems and spatial interaction patterns as a measure of the degree of spatial integration with reference to Nilgris and Coorg (South India).¹⁵ Berry used factor analysis to study commodity patterns thus establishing the dominance of metropolitan centre in the spatial organization of India at macro level.

¹⁴ Singh, Jagdish: (1979) “A survey of Research in Geography” Moonis Raza (eds), Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., p. 57.

¹⁵ (Ibid), p. 57.

SPACE UNDER TRANSPORT MODELS



Thus, space is constructed in two or three dimensions through connectivity, inter connectivity, nodes, edges, flows, origins and destination, it (space) does not enjoy an inherent existence in itself. Thus, space surviving as a parasite depending on networks, lines and flows to etch it in two or three dimensions.

The quantitative methods in regionalization discussed above is by no means complete. It is a slice of the cake, provided to give a taste of the nature and manner of space conceptualization in geography under the regionalistic paradigm. However one need not have the entire jar of caviar to know whether it is good or bad. The analogy above is partially suitable, as it is true that a taste of space in regionalization has been obtained but it in no way can lead to binary

conclusions precisely because, there is no 'good' space or 'bad' space, there are only types of spatial characterization.

The spatial characterization under the regional sciences serve to create a kind of fixed, operational, useful space, a kind of canvas to be used by an artist for further aesthetic refinement, but a canvas having its limits delimited. The basic advantage of space under regionalization is that it has its limits, fixed by simple ideas and logical principles prefixed as hypothesis. The space is simplified understandable workable and starkly practical often in the form of a set or matrix. Space is visible and attributable leaving nothing to the imagination. Under such a backdrop space becomes inherently dependent on organizable information i.e. space can be constructed only and only if (a) information exists and (b) information can be logically arranged. The contained elements at best serves to define the container (space), without the limiting walls of the container the elements lose coherence and character.

While geographers have and will continue to depict tremendous possibilities handling such types of space, there is also an inherent need to imagine space where there is a dearth of information or where information cannot be logically arranged i.e. in the fuzzy zones of reality. There is also an inherent necessity to study the contained elements in their own right and figure out whether a space already exists within them and between them, not necessarily subsuming them as a container. There is also a need to re-imagine and re-think space which are neither visible nor attributable and hence more complex and perhaps impractical. Therefore, the geographers especially the Indian geographers, after a long and glorious saga of

delineating and demarcating space should start thinking and imaging space, both are well within the boundaries of the discipline.

REMOTE SENSING AND GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION SYSTEM

(GIS)

The neo-logic of technification of all corners of existence has swept over geography as well. The discipline has acquired prestige among many others with the application of new tools of remote sensing and G.I.S.

“Remote sensing (RS) is the science/technology of making inferences about material objects from measurements made at a distance without coming into physical contact with the objects under study.”¹⁶

Here space is stored in the form of numerical data perceived by way of radiated electromagnetic rays. The real spatial ordering will lead to a particular data storage format. Each data point on a digital image is referred to as a pixel and image pixels are usually stored as a record. So a stream of data points comprise a pixel. A set of such records is a file. This file is processed by a computer to produce a spatial image. This image is then used for interpretation and analysis.

GIS is an automated tool for efficient storage, analysis and presentation of geographic data.”¹⁷ The spatial data is maintained in a compact form, is extracted at higher speed and lower per unit cost and allows various types of manipulation like map measurements, map overlay, graphic design etc. There are about seven types of techniques for spatial representation, for example (i) feature data (ii)

¹⁶ Nagaraja. R. and Misra, H: (1998) “Research Methodology in geography., social , spatial and policy dimension” by H. N. Misra, Vijay P. Singh, Rawat Publication, p. 162.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 207.

aerial unit information (iii) network topological data, (iv) sampling data (v) surface information (vi) label text information (vii) graphic symbol data. These basic notations used for representing the spatial location of geographic phenomena are points, lines and polygons. The stored information is spatially identified in two ways, namely, actual measurement in the form of co-ordinate and secondly, defining geographic phenomena by way of point and line relationships, networks, polygon etc. The GIS data are used for engineering mapping, highway mapping, geodetic mapping, census and related statistical mapping, natural resource mapping, urban and regional planning.

The technological logic in the quest for establishing ultimate usefulness of space to a large extent has replaced human perception with the technological vision. Machines are at work receiving, storing, processing and retrieving information on space. True, that available information is manipulated by humans but the manipulation occurs within a pre-conceived plan. True, that softwares for the same have been designed by humans, yet, a sort of vicious cycle has developed, human's invent complexities and more complexities to simplify their lives and in the process manufacture constraints of technology. Soon the constraints become guiding principles beyond which human forget to venture. Adventure is no longer a prospective business; there is too much to do within too little time therefore lenses replace the eye, software replaces the fond musing, processor replaces the wild imaginations and pointers replace the pen and ink, humans now conceive of space as spread under them, well enveloped within the range of their automated optical vision. The mechanistic gaze browse over the mechanistic, digital image of space, in a kind of "God like"

superiority., there is no need to touch that space, or feel it, infact one is far removed from ones object of interest separated by bands of colours and column of numbers. One has to know the language of the colours, band and numbers only then can reality be discovered. In the absence of that mechanical literacy, space shall disappear under blobs and patches of meaningless colours. Humans are constantly dependent on their self-created “Frankenstein” to experience the “God like View” over space. If the machines go on strike and refuse to keep our negotiated deal of information input, space as output then will space be lost forever?

DECONSTRUCTION, AS A POSTMODERN TOOL IN GEOGRAPHY?

It is possible, that questions like the one posed above had led post structuralists and post modernist scholars to rethink their geography as well a their research tools. The technological logic was looked upon as the culprit behind ‘domestication’ of space in geography. It was unanimously felt that in an attempt to simplify, and package reality and present space as user-friendly, the geographers have increasingly become mechanical in their perceptions. Space has become a key product of image perceived through the eye/lense and described by way of the map, statistics, numbers and colours. The steps to scientific research seems to be a type of “constraint” which do not allow a conception of space beyond what is perceived as ‘useful’

“There are no sharp differences between post structural and post modern philosophies. Generally, how ever, post structural philosophy criticizes the certainties of modern knowledge, as with its claims to coherence, neutrality, and truth, while postmodern philosophy carries this further into an alternative discourse based on oppositional modes of understanding. Post modernism proposes new ways of being a person which involve, on the one hand (with Deleuze and Guattari, and in some phases, Leotard), the liberation of

desire, yet on the other (Baudrillard), with cynicism or nihilistic “resistance” to the forces of modernity.”¹⁸

Therefore post modernist have made claims of being stifled by the rigidity of space as of being stifled by the rigidity of space as ‘bounded’ and have expressed the desire to break free and venture beyond the guiding principles of technological constraints in the quest for a of space which is a kind of experience to them rather than an object. The post modern geographers have criticised the map, the statistical tools, remote sensing and GIS as being instruments in carving out a space akin to a jig-saw puzzle. To them, the earlier tools have been used to conveniently fit together an accepted picture of space, with pre-existing assumptions that such a space exists. Therefore, to them (post modernists) the entire process of scientific research becomes an exciting saga of fitting the bits and pieces to either prove or falsify ones hypothesis. The hypothesis is already a dictatorial norm which sets, forth the boundaries of operation. Hence, any discovery stumbled upon excess of the grand hypothesis receives a position in the footnote as it does not find a position in the jigsaw fit of verification and falsification.

The post modernists have chosen “deconstruction” as a tool for exploring uncharted territories, whereby, their exits no logical steps towards scientific research, there is no concrete hypothesis, nor is their an attempt to prove or falsify. Nebulous ideas or even accepted reality is subjected to discourses, put under dialogue, ruffled, dismantled, touched and felt to obtain an essence. This essence is again individualistic and there is no attempt made to generalize.

¹⁸ Peet, Richard :(1998) “Modern Geographical Thought” p. 208.

Derrida, (1976) talks of the blank spaces in a page, the margins, the gaps between the written words and between lines, the minute irregularities, the cancellations made, as having meaning, messages, as essential in absorbing reality to a greater extent than the thought out sentences. Post modernist call this exercise a 'deconstruction of letters.'

"To locate the promising marginal text, to disclose the undecidable moment, to pray it lose with the positive lever of the signifier; to reverse the resident hierarchy, only to displace it, to dismantle in order to reconstitute what is always already inscribed. Deconstruction is a nutshells.

..... Why should we undo and redo a text at all? Why not assume that words and the author "mean what they says? It is a complex question."¹⁹

At the same time Derrida also codifies the dangers of deconstruction as follows;

"Derrida acknowledges that the desire of deconstruction may itself become a desire to re-appropriate the text actively through mastery, to show the text what it "doe not know". And as she deconstructs, all protestations to the contrary, the critic necessarily assumes that she at least, and for the time being, means what she says. Even the declaration of her vulnerability must come, often all, in the controlling language of demonstration and reference. In other words, the critic provisionally forgets that her own text is necessarily self reconstructed, always already a palimpsest .

The desire of deconstructions has also the opposite allure. Deconstruction seems to offer a way out of the closure of knowledge. By inaugurating the open ended indefiniteness of texturelity by thus "placing in the abyss" (mettre en abime), as the French expression would literally have it – it shows us the lure of the abyss as freedom. The fall into the abyss of deconstruction inspires as with as much pleasure as fear. We are intoxicated by the prospect of never hitting bottom.

Thus, a further deconstruction deconstructs deconstruction, both as the search for a foundation (the critic behaving as if she means what she says in her text), and as the pleasure of the bottomless. The tool for this, as indeed for any deconstruction, is our desire, itself a deconstructive and

¹⁹ Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty: (1979) in the translator's preface in "Of Grammalogy" by Jacques Derrida, p. xxvii.

grammtological structure that forever differs from (we only desire what is not ourselves) and defers (desire is never fulfilled) the text of our selves. Deconstruction can therefore never be a positive science”²⁰

Derrida’s deconstruction of the dangers of deconstruction as a tool, creates mixed feelings. Indeed, one has to remember that perfection is always a myth, even reality is not perfect or unanimous, it has versions. Therefore, as long as deconstruction is treated as another version one does not have the fear of getting swamped in a quagmire of philosophy polarized between the constructionists and deconstructionists. However, in the opiated zeal of never hitting the bottom one often tends to consider ones chosen path as the one and only one leading to the hallowed alter of reality. The post modernist geographers need to stay away from this specific dangerous trend.

For this is likely to create polarization in viewing space in totality, with tools of viewing becoming daggers directed by one party against another which inturn may have a boomerang effect. Soja warns as much in his “Third Space” (1996).

“The opposing camps are increasingly clearly drawn. On one side are the self proclaimed post modernists who interpret the epistemological critique as a license to history all vestiges of modernism. They become, as I once called them, the smiling morticians who celebrate the death or, more figuratively, the “end of” practically everything associated with the modern movements of the twentieth century. In essence, post modernism is reduced here to anti-modernism.

..... At the other extreme is a growing cadre of adamant anti-post modernists. Usually marching under the banner of preserving the progressive projects of liberal and radical modernism, these critic see in post modernism and post modernism politics only a polar opposition to their progressive intentions.²¹

²⁰ (Ibid) p. ixxvii.

²¹ Soja, Edward (1996): “Third Space”, Basil Blackwell, p. 4.

This kind of academic polarization is detrimental to the discipline of geography in general and space conceptualization in particular. One smells in it the dangers of dichotomies and dualism, which has plagued the discipline years ago. The bridge has to be built, whereby tools are not threatened by each other but rather show mutual respect. That can happen only when modernists stop looking at post modernists as populist clowns having their heads in the clouds and feet in the air, and post modernists stop sneering at modernists as philosophically bankrupt, snob pragmatists engaging in cold blooded manipulation of issues. Departments of geography world over seems to be experiencing this kind of polarization and this polarization becomes particularly marked in case of space conceptualizations, especially because of the apparently differential logic of each party behind their reciprocation to space. Indian geography however is yet to be touched by such a wave, precisely because deconstruction as a tool and indeed postmodern perspective has not made its presence felt in the works of Indian geographers. That is not to say that such works are not being produced. Indeed, few dissertation thesis and some sporadic articles do incorporate this view, however, this had not become an organized alternative in India.

Peet commends on "Soja's "Third Space";

"A post modern critical geography is spatially deconstructive, in the sense of exposing the intellectual history of critical social thought, and is spatially deconstructive, in the sense of an emphasis on the struggles of peripheralized, oppressed peoples.²²

Viewed from this perspective even 'deconstruction' as a tool is not against modernism and therefore the dangers of deconstruction

²² Obsid (p. 223).

along with a threat to polarization and appropriation of space disappears.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter one has tried to bring out the character of space as inscribed by certain tools in geography. In each of the discussions on Map and Cartography, quantitative tools in regionalization and remote sensing and GIS, a particular plan has been followed. The personality of space has been described as defined by each of these tools and then at least a paragraph of discussion have been added on the type of space (behind or below the apparent) which the particular tool under discussion either, (a) fails to unearth or (b) Unearths but fails to perceive or (c) perceives but fails to describe or (d) should describe.

The objective of this chapter has been to create specific conjectures of space under differing tools. It is quite apparent that space as constructed by map and cartography, quantitative techniques in regionalization, GIS remote sensing is a space which is useable, manageable, bounded in matrix, set etc. a kind of framework which is viewed as a chassis to begin work on, by the mechanic called geographer. This is again one opinion entirely. Here space is a container, all embracing, defining and shaping elements it contains. Deconstruction, as a tool on the other hand talks of space as contained and "lived within" space is no longer a chassis and the geographer a mechanic. Here space is the path that gets imprinted under the wheels of a car when the geographer is a mere steering wheel. Each time the tyre marks get erased (read deconstructed) and

new ones get carved depending on who drives the car (read discipline of geography) and in what way?

In the next chapter one shall define; and 'imagine' space under both perspectives i.e. as container and contained. The specific problem will be 'Nation space' and India will be used as a case study. First, Indian nation space will be constructed as a container where one shall work as a mechanic on an already available chassis, and then one shall deconstruct Indian nation space as contained, where one shall function as a steering wheel using many other individuals as the driver. Afterwards, bridges will be built.

CHAPTER - 4

Use of Nation Space to Delineate 'Container' and 'Contained' Spaces

INTRODUCTION

The concept of the 'container' and that of the 'contained' as two unique characteristics of space, that is touched upon in the earlier chapter will be substantiated here. "Nation space" would be the specific case study which would be used to define both these personality traits of space itself. However, conceptualization of the 'container space' on the one hand, and on the other hand the 'contained space' would depend largely on the nature of one's individual perceptions. The specific problem with individual perception is that it is interlaced with the individual value systems, upbringings, educations one has received. Hence, one's space or more specifically ones nation space both as a container and as a contained will bear a stamp of 'ourness', to get out of this 'ourness' and perceive a space completely alien to ones value systems, upbringing is a difficult job. It is deflected because of the following reasons.

1. To conceive a space particularly nation space beyond the boundaries of 'ourness' requires a large amount of unlearning of what has been ours and what we have been taught as ours.
2. There is an inherent suspicion and disbelief regarding any thing which we do not know as ours. Hence, any space conception

which is not ours must stand that scrutiny and erase that disbelief.

3. Accepting any alternative or parallel conception as existing and possible requires a sizeable downsizing of our egotism based on “our conception as the one and only”.

All these are clearly difficult and particularly problematic for a researcher because ourness, disbelief, suspicion, ego are all part of ones nature and doing away with them even for the sake of value – neutrality is an uphill task. It is also an equally difficult task for all those others whom a researcher is trying to convince, because these others, too have their individuality, which is inherent in them. The only solution possibly lies in:-

- (a) Guaranteeing academic license to the researcher to go beyond the ‘accepted’ the ‘ours’ view point.
and
- (b) A willing suspension of disbelief on the part of the researcher as well as others involved in the course of the academic exercise.

These two guaranteed, the conception of space and indeed nation space becomes slightly more possible

DEFINING KEY CONCEPTS

CONTAINER SPACE:

By using the term space as a container one refers to a kind of reality which is bounded by dimensions. The dimensions join each other at the ends to enclose an area, a volume, an idea or a view point. The dimensions may be measurable quantities like length, breadth, height or immeasurable attributes or symbols like patriotism, national

anthem, willingness to die for the Motherland. In each case, a container space is created, in the former it may be a square, a rectangle, a cuboid, in case of the latter it may be an all imposing, universalizing idea of a nation. The hallmark of a container space is its universalizing, standardizing and generalizing characters.

- (a) **Universal:** It should be universal enough to encompass, hold, and bring within a common pattern all existing atoms. Thus the atoms which make a square, a rectangle or a cuboid must align themselves suitably to fit into the universal frame. The frame does not alter itself, the atoms modify their position and also get negated in case they fail to come within the dimensional fold.
- (b) **Standardizing:** The dimensions should be so standardized, so as to join each other to form a definite boundary, or an enclosure, there exists no open ends, no gaps, or gray zones of transition. The length, breadth and height must be aligned according to the formula, so much so that if one is an unknown quantity, it can be deciphered as the values of others are known. If one does not meet the other it shall be suitably exaggerated or downsized.
- (c) **Generalizing:** The existence and continuance of container space depends on its ability to generalize its attributes over its constituent particles, the particles have an individuality or distinctiveness, they are all general, nameless, faceless who have no real idea about the container but known and believe that is sacrificing their uniqueness they have together served to create the container in general.

CONTAINED SPACE

Contained space exists beyond dimensions. It may neither have an area, nor a volume or an imposing idea to fit into. Contained space is like the glass fragments in a kaleidoscope, whereby, each fragment has its individuality, uniqueness, idiosyncrasies, each is important. At each turn of the instrument they form a pattern, they need not fit into any frame. At whichever angle they lie they create a pattern an account of multiple mirrors placed inside which serves to reflect a meaningless alignment into a meaningful whole. Even if the mirror is removed and no meaningful whole forms, they will still move about, stop, shift, turn and lye as per their nature, no formula can determine what each will represent with respect to the other, with the next movement. The hall marks of contained space therefore is layers within layers, points within points, transitions, zones, gray areas, flows, views, discourses.

- (a) *Layer within Layers:*** Contained space refers to slices of attributes, meanings, knowledge, area, volume, overlapping or sandwiched one above the other. What is seen is accepted but is not necessarily the only real space (Soja, 1989).
- (b) *Points within Points:*** Contained space maybe decimated in points, but again the points have no timeless coordinates, each point may be fragmented into infinity and each point may have its alternative points. Therefore fixing coordinates and marking a point is a violation of space as contained because by marking 'a' point an infinite number of points get subdued under it and many others go un-noticed around it (Harvey, 2000).
- (c) *Transition Zones, Gray Areas, Flows:*** Since contained space abhors boundaries it is never sedentary and its appearance is

never pre-determined. It is like an amoebae, ever changing. Therefore it represents a drop of oil on water forming streaks, bands, flows of rainbow colours, never setting into a configuration. It can at best be described as zones and gray areas (Entrikin, 1991, Gregory et al eds.).

(d) View, Discourses: While container space is THE IDEA and all embracing gospel. Contained space has no 10 commandments, it involves exchange of dialogue, views and alternative views and many discourses.

These definitions are however based on personal conception and may carry the influences of ones perfect or imperfect perceptions, however for convenience one shall stick to these definitions and use them as reference for any further comparisons and clarifications.

The concept of space as a container is well established in geography (as has been observed in the previous chapter), however there also exists a 'contained space' which is also well within the boundaries of the discipline of geography. The null hypothesis therefore assumes that there co-exists a container and a contained space.

This I would verify by using the concept of 'nation space' as a surrogate for space itself, drawing special references from the Indian context.

WHY NATION SPACE?

While geography has moved a long way from the days of travelogues to the days of regional description, to the days of man nature interactions and into the days of problem solving, it has never

required a passport while travelling with its ideas across man made boundaries (both territorial and a-territorial). It has clubbed countries together to form Mediterranean Climatic zone, coniferous forest belt, zones of the yellow races, with ease. Similarly, it has dealt with Africa, America, Antarctica, just as it has dealt with Egypt, India, Indonesia, with equal ease and elan. It has picked up particular problems - hunters and gathers of Malaysia, Masai herders of Tanzania, Ruhr of Germany, Indo Gangetic Plains. No boundaries have ever limited or restrained its movement. Therefore, geography is one discipline which has at once regarded and disregarded boundaries in all forms. Regarded and respected them when maps had to be drawn, disregarded them when zones had to be consolidated, flow and movements established. All for the purpose of greater understanding, 'Nation' is yet another entity which nourishes and desiccates boundaries. It nourishes territorial boundaries when it propagates the "sons of the soil" sentiment, it then thrives on love for a piece of territory as against distinctiveness from others. It desiccates boundaries when it propagates national sentiments, thus, the concept of Jewish nation without a territory or the falling of belonging of native citizens to their native land when residing as foreigners in foreign soil are examples of regard for the nation disregarding boundaries.

The marked similarity between geography and the concept of nation has led one to choose nationspace as a tool for characterizing, space in geography. As somebody said, "Going back in history, history becomes more geographical", similarly, it can be stated that moving back and forth on the lifeline of the nation, nation is both geographical and a-geographical. This dynamism of nationspace would, I believe, give me complete freedom to depict the character of

space as container and contained, hence the use of nation space in this context.

NATION SPACE AS A CONTAINER

Nationspace has to be constructed because nation, as a container is never a primordial entity (Chatterjee, 1994). Someone has to take up the task of putting it into a cohesive mould, wrapping it in appealing package of culture, common history, liberation movements, identifiable symbols, larger than life myths and legends, worshiable heroes and then and only then displayed for consumption and assimilation. The act of shaping, modelling, translating, standardizing, convincing is done either consciously or inadvertently by the parents, police, politician bureaucrat, author, poet, leader, activist, teacher. The producers are themselves also the consumers and they inturn disseminate nationspace through their mothertongue/body language amongst a host of children, carders, supporters, readers, followers co-workers and students. This nation space is the space constructed by the intelligentsia, the literate, by a section of population who are capable of reading, writing and transmitting knowledge. A popular matrix of nationhood is agreed upon, the agenda for patriotism drawn out, the 'thou shalt not' codified and finally the popular version, the accepted nation is made accessible and passed on to posterity through learning by rote, modes of conduct as an hairloom

This nation celebrates its "hoariness" and not its astonishing youth.¹ from its celebration of age it tries to draw legitimacy, and

¹ Anderson, Benedict: (1999) "Narrating the Nation" quoted in *Dissemi Nation: time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation* by Homi K. Bhabha Elliot (eds.): in *contemporary Social Theory*, Blackwell p. 211.

power of being the primary and first order identity of each and every individual. Indeed, it propagates;

“The man without a shadow was the man without a nation A man without a nation defies the recognized categories and provokes revulsion.² (emphasis mine).”

These recognised categories may vary temporally as being modern, colonial, post colonial, native, yet with each new version, the truth gets modified, however, there is scope for one and only one truth i.e. nation deserves reverence, nation deserves sacrifice.

Whatever be the definitional controversy, between people who matter, between the west and the east, there is no doubt that nation is that all embracing identity which calls for surrender of individual differences in order to be a part of a whole (container) which promises to be the emancipator and provider of all rights, freedom and self determination,

Nation space as a container calls for integration (not to be confused with homogenization and assimilation). While homogenization calls for synthesis and assimilation for fusion, integration is a process of articulated through a multi level and hierarchical system of inter dependencies.³

This popular nation has been variously defined;

Stalin “A nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make up manifested in a community of culture.⁴

² Gellner, Earnest: (1983) “Nations and Nationalism” (Basil Blackwell Publishers, p.6

³ Raza, Moonis: “Development Process and Integrated Development within the Indian Polity”, R Khan (eds.) p. 232.

⁴ Stalin, Joseph: (1976) “The National Question and Leninism,” Mass Publication, Calcutta, p.5.

Earnest Renan: “A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle. Two things which in truth are but one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principles. One is the past, the other is the present. On is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories, the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down.

..... In the past an inheritance of glory and regrets to be shared, in the future a like ideal to be realized, to have suffered and rejoice and hoped together; I said just now, ‘to have suffered together’ for indeed, suffering in common is a greater bond of union than joy. As regards national memories, mourning are worth more than triumphs; for they impose duties, they demand common efforts.⁵ at yet another place Renan says “Nationalism required too much belief in what is patently not so. Getting its history wrong is part of being a nation.”⁶

Hobsbawm elucidates “Like most serious students, I do not regard the ‘nation’ as a primary nor as an unchanging social entity. The belongs exclusively to a particular, and historically recent, period. It is a social entity only in so far as it relates to a certain kin of modern territorial state, the ‘nation state’, and it is pointless to discuss nation and nationality except in so far both relate to it. Moreover, with Gellner one would stress the element of artifacts invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations. ‘Nation as a natural, God given way of classifying men, as an inherent political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and

⁵ Renan, Earnest, quoted in “Documents on Political thought in Modern India” by A Appadorai Oxford University Press, Vol. 1 pp.492-493.

⁶ Renan, Ernest, quoted in “Nations and Nationalism since 1880, Programme myth Reality” by E.J. Hobsbawm, Cambridge University Press (1991) p. 12.

often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality” (Gellner 1983 “Nation and Nationalism,, pp. 49). In short, for the purposes of analysis nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalism but the other way round.”⁷

Thus, the recentness, the sanctity of Nation gets well established. It is therefore a hallmark of modernity, along with rationality and enlightenment and there is no question of its antheticity. Nation is no longer associated with ethnicity, as was originally the etymological roots of the word. It bears far greater emotional overtones. While the concept of nation is crystallized and circulated and larger number of people are drawn within its fold, nation defines and builds its own dimensional boundaries, for nation necessarily limits, divides.

“For good or for bad it is the bitter truth, for nations cannot represent all cultures, there are too many of them.”⁸

Therefore, the container nation or rather its guardians/propagators (in this case the literate, intelligentsia) must fix the parameter of nation space. The symbols, icons, cultures must be carefully chosen and baptized into the new religion of nationhood, those which are left out are either disregarded and neglected into oblivion, or if they rear their heads are considered as anti-national, as those which do not find any room within the container, thus, “Nationalization (coterminous to Sanskritization) becomes a pre-requisite or rather an entry ticket to the container space. This ticket

⁷ Hobsbawm, E.J. (Ibid) pp. 9-10.

⁸ Ibid, p. 48.

is either inherited at birth and goes unchallenged or borrowed and adapted.

Since this space is essentially a container, its dimensions are decided by the following.

CONSTRUCTION OF NATION SPACE AS A CONTAINER BY

1. Common history
2. Maps and museums
3. Census
4. Formal education
5. Cinema

1. COMMON HISTORY:

The sweeping wave of the French Revolution, the culture of protest, the need to emancipate, liberate, produce a new paradigm seems to have created what Bagehot called the epoch of nation building. Voices were raised against Monarchy, against the pre-capital, feudal order, against, imperialism. Waves of dissatisfaction fanned the flames of revolutionary zeal, king was no longer to be considered as the Mortal God. Divine origin thesis began to be challenged the world over, especially the west in the face of equality and rights. Nation was considered as the only solution to this crisis of ideology. The ideologues in colonized countries, pregnant with 'ideas' and 'isms' began to vouchsafe for nationalism and free nation. Thus, religious, regional, academic elites emerged whose dissatisfaction was translated in the form of provocative writings, indigenous symbols rooted to little tradition, regional songs to culminate in a process of standardization. Need to die for ones motherland was given an emotive appeal mother was conceived in three ways;

- (a) Potent mother – Mother nation as powerful as the source of strength
- (b) Suffering mother – Mother nation as being punished and trampled upon
- (c) Glorified mother – Mother nation as having a place for everyone in her heart.

Thus, the 'western' dream of nation as an emancipator when transported to the colonized countries received an emotional wash over, because there was a need to bring within the fold of this dream not only the educated but also the plethora of illiterate masses who populated these countries. This dream made common started a process of 'nationalization' which erased or sought to erase all history of previous invasion, of multiple reigns of kings, of fragmentary empires and created an "imagined community."⁹ The imagination was all embracing and those in power tried to look for chinks and fissures exploiting differences in religion, ethnicity and language. Liberation movements succeeded not necessarily because the classes and masses served to unite themselves but possibly because the colonized metropolitan economies were facing economic deprivation whereby the very question of survival became doubtful under manmade famines and plagues. Thus, third world nations emerged following the footprints of the west.

THE INDIAN CONTEXT

To begin at the beginning, Subba Rao's peopling of India talks of Areas of Attraction, Areas of isolation (cul de Sac) and Areas of relative

⁹ Anderson, Benedict: (1991) "Imagined Communities," Verso, London, New York, p. 91.

isolation.¹⁰ which were created by centrifugal and centripetal forces of migratory flows aided by strategic geography of India. He talks of a 'Z' pattern of migration beginning from Gangetic plains through eastern coastal plains, to down south. He uses archaeological evidence to support his claim and shows the emergence of populated centres in the deltas and riverine plains.

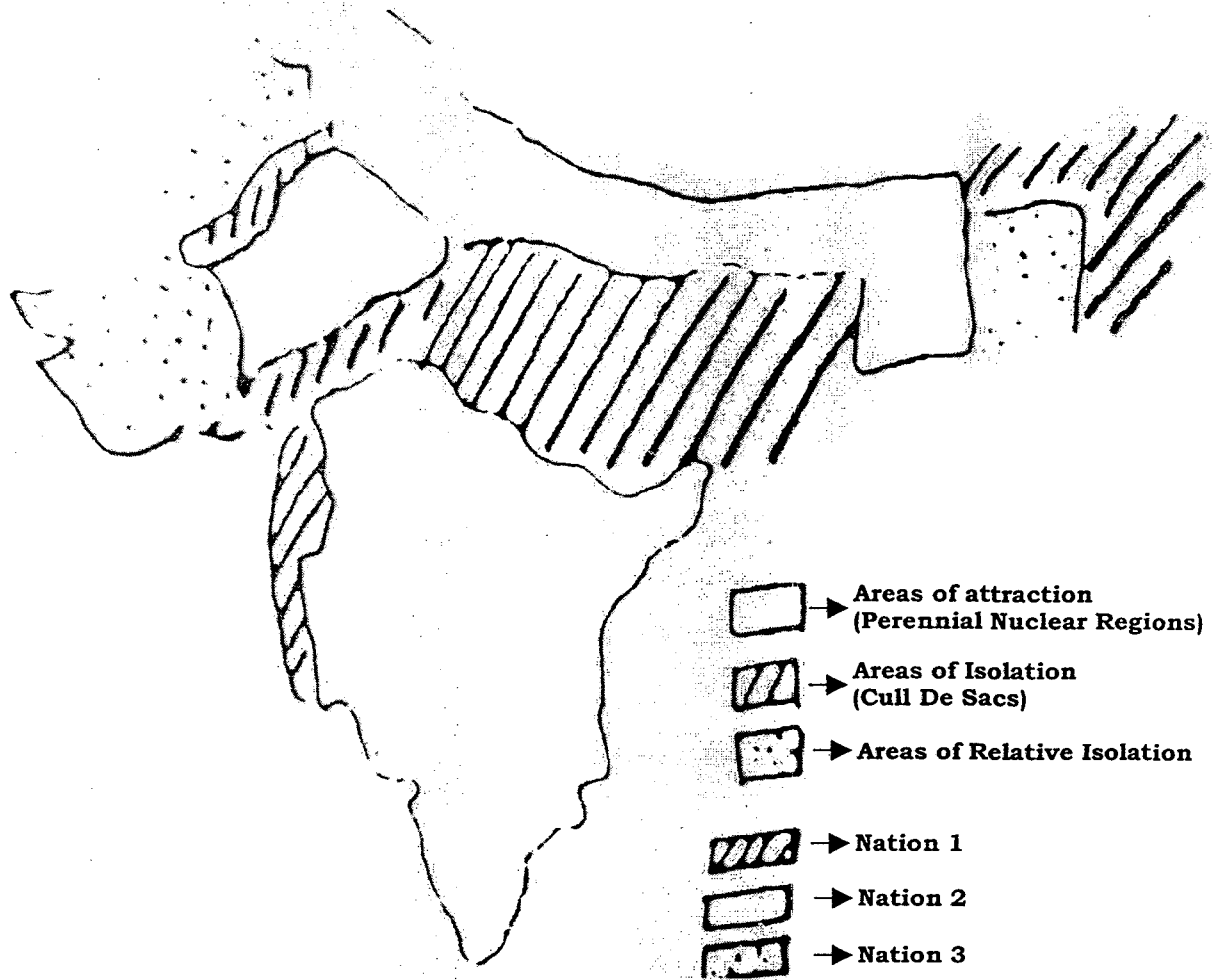
Can it be inferred then that Areas of Attraction where one nation, areas of isolation another and areas of relative isolation still another? Following the principles of common economic life and psychological makeup, it would not be overgeneralization to assume thus, because sameness of physiography could be assumed to produce bonds in terms of loving and living. Yet, one knows that physiographic homogeneity has never been a precondition to nationhood and to assume existence of nations simply on the basis of physiography is to violate the very rationality of modernity which nation symbolizes. Therefore, these areas where at best a mosaic regional diversities, neither forming containers themselves nor being enveloped within a larger container space. They simply represented an unique pattern of peopling. (Figure 9).

The Indus Valley Civilization from where Indian history begins, once again talk of the Indus Valley people as living and interacting with, nature reaching a certain degree of sophistication. Was Indus Valley Civilization a nation? Probably not, precisely because an all embracing container space never evolved. They possibly represented a primitive agricultural society, where attachment to a piece of territory

¹⁰ Rao, Subba: (1958) "Personality of India", M.S. University Archaeological Series, no. 3, p. 12.

FIGURE - 9

AREAS OF ATTRACTION, RELATIVE ISOLATION AND CUL DE SACS



Source: Subba Rao

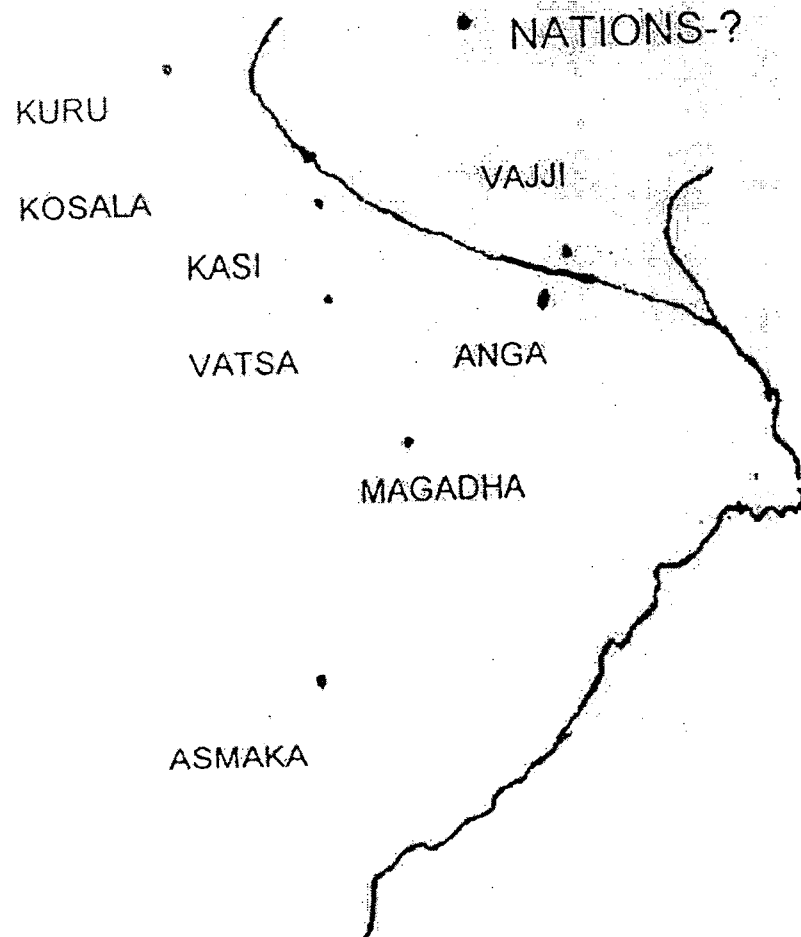
depended on the fertility of that piece of land. In case of fertility decline the entire community would migrate, no all embracing cause or ideology called for common bond of joy or sorrow.

The Gangetic plain witnessed the growth of territorial state from the 6th Century B.C. onwards. The widespread use of iron for agriculture and warfare, consequently an increase in food production due to increase in efficiency of agriculture produced surplus. This allowed a lot of agricultural occupation to flourish and military needs to be satisfied. Towns emerged, material advantage allowed people to stick to their land and also expand at the cost of neighbouring areas. These, large states with towns as their base of operation produced the JANAPADAS. (Figure 10).

Can it be argued that Panchala, Kosala, Vatsa, Kasi, Magadha, Anga, Avanti, Asmaka were Nations in their own right? Possibly not, again because of the fact that they failed to serve as the all embracing container. People owned allegiance to these territorial states as long as economic surplus sustained them. If the surplus withered away, the people would find a place in a neighbouring state and reside there without a qualm or any pricking of consciousness, or they would become vagabonds.

Subsequently, under the successive rulers, in the periods of the Sultans, Khilgis, Tuglaks, Mughals the configuration of the Empire had changed, modified. Under the Mughals large parts of contemporary India were brought together. Yet, this was only an empire, a landed property of the ruling class, parts of which could be given over as dowry in the marriage of the royal princes, or donated as

THE JANPADAS



Source: Aijazuddin Ahmad (1990) "Social Geography", Rawat Publications

patronage to a painter, in recognition for his work. Concept of belonging to an all containing idea did not exist. People owed allegiance to the nearest regional authority and change of boundaries hardly touched them; all they were concerned with was tax payments, rent on land, debt repayment.

The British rule in India at its inception was able to gain a stronghold particular because of structural weakness and lack of cohesiveness. However, the British policy of education, postal system, English as a lingua franca, transport create a new "elite club" who felt a sense of communion. Until the British came, exploitation was such that benefits were unequally shared but the sharing took place within the land. But the British monopoly of the East India Company forced production of cash crops, levy of political tribute converted the entire land into a depressed exploited periphery. All erstwhile regional kingdoms irrespective of their relative strength were relegated to position of tax payers.

The elite club fed by western education, ideologies of liberty, equality, fraternity were first sensitized by this discrimination. But it was felt that the elite awakening itself was not enough to revert or attack the unequal modes of exchange which had become entrenched, the need for involving the masses were then felt. Gandhiji clad in dhoti, armed with only a stick served as an appropriate symbol for the masses to identify with. He started movements with an aim of involving all and each.

"Boycott of British goods to be effective must be taken up by the whole country at once or not at all. It is like a siege. You can carry out

a siege only when you have the requisite men and instruments of destruction.”¹²

Other leaders inspite of the differences in ideology for the first time began to hope for a vision of India as a nation. Tilak wished to utilize regional sentiments by organizing Shivaji festival and Ganesh Puja. Although his nation had communal overtones, a dream of a Hindu India, yet the dream was again an all containing vision. Nehru discovered India in his “Discovery of India” and Subhas Bose wrote: “When one buys an indigenous product, probably of worse quality or at a higher price than the imported product, he does this for the good of the nation as a whole. It is these little conscious acts of self sacrifice which have contributed to weld India into a nation (emphasize mine) inspite of their superficial differences.”¹³

For the first time differences which were gaping canyons were seen as “superficial” and fragmentary communities of culture were conceived of as an united Nation, a containers of hopes, sorrows and dreams, a mother in distress, who needed all her sons irrespective of their religion to fight for her cause. Language barriers were forgotten, individual interests sacrificed for an overarching space which was holy and exalted, which was itself a religion.

Sri Aurobindo writes:

“Nationalism is an avatar and cannot be slain, nationalism is a divinely appointed shakti of the Eternal and must do its God-given

¹² Gandhi, M.K.: (1920) Young India (25th Aug.) quoted in “Documents an Political thought in Modern India”, obsid, p. 207.

¹³ Appadorai A: (1973) “Documents on Political thought in modern India”, Oxford University Press, London, New York, p. 209.

work before it returns to the bosom of the universal energy from which it came.

..... Have you realised what nationalism is? Have you realized that it is a religion that you are embracing?¹⁴

Partha Chatterjee however criticizes the popular imagination of Anderson's 'Imagined communities' in the Indian context.

"I have one central objection to Anderson's argument. If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?

..... I object to this argument not for any sentimental reason. I object because I cannot reconcile it with the evidence on anti colonial nationalism. The most powerful as well as the most creative results of the nationalist imagination in Asia and Africa are posited not on an identity but rather on difference with the 'modular' forms of the national society propagated by the modern west."¹⁵

Independence was achieved in the midst of bloodshed of partition. Jinnah's political ambition produced the two nation theory based on Pakistan for Muslims and India for Hindus. Even, the exalted and sacred nation space could be divided aided by a popular fear psychosis and communal discord. Nehru became the Prime Minister of India and "Unity in diversity" was coined, in order to hold firmly into place the emotive appeal of generations of common history to promote the concept of nation space as a container. A mixed economy based on the foreign policy of non alignment and later on a

¹⁴ Appadorai, A : p. 482, p. 485.

¹⁵ Chatterjee, Partha: (1994) "The Nation and its fragments, colonial and post colonial histories", Oxford University Press, p.5.

federal polity of linguistically organized state came into being., thus, the accident that was India was popularized and made acceptable. Production of nationspace by history was complete when Nizam's Hyderabad and Junagarh was composited into India and later southern states were reorganized on linguistic lines to fit into the popular paradigm of nationhood.

MAPS AND MUSEUM

Anderson argues that the map is not necessarily a "model of" rather it is 'model for" i.e. it does not only act as a tool for representation but it helps to create a spatial image in the mind. In that sense it is not a reflector of reality but serves to convince the mind of an existing reality. Cartographic construction goes coterminous with the construction of a nation space. It helps to create an image of 'totality' of 'universality' where differences evaporate or fuse to form the whole.

Pre-British maps in India were not maps in the true sense of the term, possibly because standardization with regard to the scale was still lacking. Todar Mal had made sincere efforts to survey and mark out territory for the purpose of laying taxes. The Ain-i-Akbari also reproduced in the form of maps the 11 soubas of Akbar, which later Rennel sought to demarcate, referring them to be the original division of India and then subdividing them into 'circars' and 'pur gunnahs.'¹⁶ Early and Medieval maps in India were scanty in the sense that they were at best sketches of routes taken by troops during war, or land areas demarcated for revenue collection. There was no

¹⁶ Kalpagam, UMA: (1995) "Cartography in Colonial India" Economic and Political Weekly July - Sept., p. 88.

existing map of India until the British came, simply because the rulers changed their boundaries depending on their relationship with their neighbours. There were principalities, provinces, kingdoms, tribal territories, even empires but no nation.

Therefore there existed no organised efforts to construct a map of the entire India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari as is known today. Maps about enemy territories were prepared during wars and nature of the inhabitants in terms of their vulnerability to conquests were noted down. The container space neither existed in reality nor in the mind.

“Imperialism and mapmaking intersect in the most basic manner. Both are fundamentally concerned with territory and knowledge.

..... To govern territories, one must know them.¹⁷

Therefore, the British sought to create India in their minds and first accept it as a portion of the earth's surface. Previously, the European perceived Asia as a series of fabulously wealthy countries comprising of China, Japan and India. The India itself were considered to be all the land areas beyond the Indus up till the mouth of the Ganges. Construction of India had occurred in three phases; firstly in the 1500s, when maps showed the traditional India then in the 16th century when maps also showed the peninsular, south of river Krishna and later in the 17th century demarcating the seat of Mughal power polity.

Then,

“As governance and the ‘welfare’ of people progressively and under a new matrix of calculating rationality, it became

¹⁷ Edney, M.H. : (1997): “Mapping an Empire – The geographical construction of British India (1765-1843)”, The Chicago University Press, p.1.

important to define and demarcate the 'site' of political and administrative power. In order to introduce and consolidate these new political rationalities, demarcation of administrative spaces on a scientific basis formed an important agenda of state making in the 18th and 19th centuries. In course of time, the scientific mapping of space also acquired a new epistemological significance.¹⁸

Therefore, construction of India through the map was launched with great rigor involving large number of men and huge amount of money on surveying, tedious measurements, digging archival materials, reconstructing fragmented histories, retrieving lost information.

The concept of the subcontinent, the land of elephants and snake charmers was crystallized and disseminated in the form of geographical memoirs in a systematic package to an enlightened group of readers of James Rennel. His "Map of Hindustan" and the "Bengal Atlas" are case in point. If was not that Rennel possessed any preconceived notion of how British India should look like, however, his maps and other copies made by geographers traced the Mughal empire, and it was generally felt that the British could gain legitimately by the company's adherence to spatial expression of Mughal power. Therefore, it was felt that for all practical purposes the company's fortunes were fused with that of the Mughal empire. The company's constant expansion after 1790, slowly and surely showed a congruity in territorial occupation between the old Mughal and New British Empires.

"Over the course of the nineteenth century, the British mapping of India further consolidated "India" in its modern image. Rennel had to take great care in defining what he understood to be the regions which constituted Hindustan/India. A century or more later, such care was no longer necessary. The geographical rhetoric of British India

¹⁸ Kalpagam, Uma (obsid) p. 87

was so effective that India had become a real entity for both British imperialists and Indian nationalists like.”¹⁹

Thus, the credit goes to the British for painting the picture of Indian Nation space from a series of disjointed territories for the first time, in one common hue. The topographical survey undertaken by Colin Mackenzie and Lambton's Great Trigonometrical Survey were great contributors in this regard. The British fastidiousness for scientific rationality, mathematics accuracy, details saw India constructed by a technological scientific logic. Rennel's data source of sketches, route maps reconstructed knowledge were completed suffused under a blanket of modern technological advancement in the sphere of cartography. The topographical survey had two branches namely the physical and mathematical. The physical aspect relied on observation and recording of all geological features, mineral wealth, botanical specimens, diseases and medicine, soil, air, climate, cultivation, customs, languages, animals tamed and wild. In a nutshell it sought to fill the mathematical space created by the new surveying techniques introduced with the use of theodolites, astronomical circles, Cobby base line apparatus brought from England. The trigonometrical survey was commissioned to grid India with latitudes and longitudes determined on the basis of Greenwich meridian.

“1830 is considered an important date for Indian surveys, for it makes the triumph of Lambton's great conception, the subordination of all surveys work to the one master survey, the great trigonometrical survey which was to facilitate “ascertaining the geographical features of a country upon correct mathematical principles”²⁰ (Phillimore 1950).

The obsession with accuracy, uniformity reflected the scientific rationality of the 19th century, this coupled with cognitive

¹⁹ Obsid.

²⁰ Kalpagam, UMA (Obsid) p. 92.

understanding helped to create a picture of viable India, with its resources mapped, its natural and biotic diversity discovered and documented, the behaviour, custom, language of its people enlisted, its infrastructure estimated. The “knowledge” of India was first colonized, before the territory was brought under the colonial yoke. This coherent, composite knowledge was transmitted also in the minds of the Indian intelligentsia which gave legitimacy to the container space thus created and named India.

The transfer of this space into the minds of the Indians were of course an uphill task. The British viewed the Indians as irrationals, heathens, illiterate and hence incapable of scientific work. The British system of measurement and governance however symbolized rationality and scientific temper. Therefore, smug with satisfaction at their own liberal scientific education they looked down upon Indians as superstitious and imprecise criticizing the “coss” as a unit of measurement which in no way could match the British system of measuring distances. The enlightenment project was a civilizing project, whereby Indians were trained in the art of surveying. The survey party often took the appearance of mini armies, intact with its pole bears and porters. Such villagers viewed them with suspicions and often disallowed fixing of flag poles even temporarily for flags had always symbolized power and invasion in India. As such the survey parties became mobile power points who were the torch bearers of the concept of rational India.

“The rational, uniform space of the British maps of India was not a neutral value – free space. Rather, it was a space imbued with power relations, with the fact that the British controlled (of had the power to control) the land depicted and they could impose India – wide legislation and reforms in a manner impossible for earlier rulers. Imperial space was a space of boundaries. Those boundaries occurred at all

geographical scales, from those of princely states and provinces to the field of individual ryots, but all had been rationalized and fixed by the force of imperial adjudication.

..... Political territories were no longer defined with respect to the physical features which characterize them or which bounded them; nor were they defined by the complex “feudal” inter-relationships of their rules. The British suborned the geographical character of those territories to a mathematical space even as they reduced the political structures to the “rule of law”. (Emphasis mine)²¹

The nation as it was constructed by colonial cartography continues to exist, with minor give and take. Thus, blood was shed over Pakistan and continues to be shed over Kashmir, in Kargil and the North East. The passion for keeping the container intact is a kind of intoxicant opiating many and the desire for forging a fissure is equally a heady dream for many others. India is no longer a country of spices, snake charmers and Maharajahas only, it is an “imagined community space,” and what over ones respective dreams ones India as a Nation space is intolerant to the dreams, of all others and includes ones dreams and ones only.

MUSEUM

The great store-house of symbols, museumizes displays, protects, projects and sends wave lengths to the intellectuals and masses alike regarding what is contained in the container space. These were built during the colonial phase to fit into the technological logic of “seeing is believing”. Scattered heritage, fragmented history, half burnt parchment, all flag bearers of the ‘ancientness’ of the nation were brought together under one roof to elevate the concept of our overarching nationhood, celebrating our “one ness” and “diversity”. Thus, our richness as a nation draws its legitimacy from

²¹ Edney, M.H. Obsid p. 333.

these heritage buildings and in turn asks all of each to believe in it. Every city has an Indian Museum or a National Museum constantly reiterating the 'Us' factor.

CENSUS

The census like the map helps to form yet another pillar by which the dimensional constraints of the Indian Nation space gets reiterated. Fragmentary knowledge about the people and their number exists in Ancient and Medieval literature. But these at best serve to depict the fact that collection of statistics then was not an organized activity and was as sporadic as the regions and principalities of the rulers themselves. The Rig Veda makes it amply clear that the population was scanty and spread over wide area in small villages. In 800-600 B.C. the same sources indicate that some of the population had organised themselves into towns following an urban mode of life. The Buddhist literature states that ordinary towns consisted of about 30 to 1000 families, the existence of dense population was confirmed by Alexander's army. Chandra Gupta's records show that there was a standing army of 700,000 men sustenance of which would require the existence of sizable majority. Kautilya's "Arthasashtra", advocated a systematic method of collection of population statistics as a measure of state policy and taxation. During the Mughal period also extensive records of land, production, population were maintained. Akbar's Ain-i-Akbari included exhaustive data related to population, industry, wealth. However all the methods of data collection were individualistic and perfunctory.

With the advent of British, the need for reliable estimates of population in Indian states were recognised. The need to "know" the

empire in order to civilize it was strongly felt. What resulted initially were a collection of surveys. Ward and Conner's memories of the survey of the Travencore and Cochin States (1816-20), Richard Jenkin's Report on the territories of the Rajah of Nagpore (1820-21), Sir Joh Malcom's Report on the province of Malwa and Adjoining Districts (1822), R. Montgomery Martin's compilation – statistics of the colonies of the British Empire (1839), most of these were descriptive records of people, caste, language, nature of water works, animals domesticated. However, these too, did not serve to cohere India into a whole, they simply provided descriptive enthogeographic accounts.

The groundwork for systematic census taking for the whole of British India was laid in 1852, however the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny led to its postponement. W.W. Hunter compiled a comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and later lent his advise to the survey of the districts and provinces which culminated in the Gazettes of districts and provinces. Thereby, exploratory surveys were conducted from 1869-1872 to form the basis for the first synchronous census in 1881.

The census at that time was a descriptive system delineating the demographic, social and economic aspects of India, serving as a bank of knowledge for its foreign administrators.

W.W. Hunter says in this regard,

“An undertaking (Census) which instructs and informs the administrator an gives him more a feel of the features and textures of the population than an analytical system providing the requisite tools to the economic planner.”²²

²² Mitra, Ashok: (1982) “The Census of India – Past and Future”.

The first census conducted as an all Indian basis in 1881 divided the population on the basis of age, sex, religion, caste, race, occupation, literacy etc. Since then the decennial census has been carried out with clockwork precision, with changes in its questionnaires every now and then. From 1950's P.C. Mahalanobis had put in concentrated effort to do away with the Hunterian system of descriptive statistics and inculcate an analytical tone to it. The population census continues to be balanced precariously between the two approaches.

The numerical logic of the census as introduced was to construct Indian Nation space through a logic of numbers with a tinge of description. After independence attempt have been made to make it a tool for planning. Descriptions of 'work' and definition of worker has changed a number of times. 2001 census for the first time recognizes women's household work as 'work'. However, the power relations and the general agenda behind the questionnaires, statistics and enumerations remains unchanged. At each level of the hierarchy attempt is made the construct ones own conception of the Nation space. Sometimes the government wins precedence, sometimes the enumerator, at other times the responder. Thus, since 1931, enumeration of people under caste grouping was stopped, the political explanation being that India as a nation would be better off by not reminding its citizens every 10 years of their unequal hierarchical position in society. Rumours spread just before 2001 census survey, that guided by the same parameters religion data shall not be collected. Whether reality can be over looked or killed by ignorance is again an individual perception, in this case a political one, hence the powerful potential image of Indian nation space gained precedence

since 1931, where from data on caste lines were not collected. Studies have revealed, how enumerators of majority religion often do not systematically visit localities of minority religion simply recording them as within the majority religion. Instances of 'Hindi' being recorded as mother tongue instead of the original Urdu have created a hiatus between areas inhabited by the Muslims and the Urdu speaking zones. These again indicate a system of power relation and perceptions of Indian nation at various levels which in turn get translated into statistical construction of Indian nation forming a container all embracing, though not necessarily all representing.

Thus, census emerged and remained a system of political control, governance surveillance and record by which those who mattered were and is able to codify existing population within a territorial boundary, thus transforming them into variables within a matrix., the matrix being the nation state and the variables were both potential resources as well as potential consumers. Census taking became a popular ritual by which absolute commitment to the 'popular' ideology was commended. The Census of India Act 1986 says in Section – II "Penalties and Punishments shall be melted out if enumerators tries to evade work or provide incorrect information. Respondents are also punishable for wrong or suppressed information". Thus information is not requested, respondents are duty bound to respond. The census also popularizes the ideology beyond the territorial limits, as emigrants and immigrants are also systematically captured.

Every ten years the census serves to reconstruct the container space and reminds the citizens within it that they are an infinitesimal

part of a plethora called the nation and conforming to the “National Identity” is the “done” thing.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Formal education creates a standardized logic which is then deccimated horizontally and vertically cutting across all socio-economic boundaries. It is a potent medium sewing to distribute the container space ideology through the text, though the language and body language. It feeds the mind and soothingly assures its recipients of an idea of India passed on through generations and to be passed on to posterity. Formal education represents an input-output system where by ideology givers and ideology assimilators are brought together, periodically the ideology is re-oriented or revised by a committee or board. But the basic tenants remain the same.

In ancient and medieval India there predominated three main systems of education – Hindu, Buddhist and Mulsim. The Hindu tradition was originally conceived as a need of the priesthood, by 800 B.C. it was however extended to include the lay population as well.

According to the prevalent system boys of the age of eight already having received some training at home would enroll under a Brahmin Guru in his residential school called the Gurukul. The learning was based on religious scriptures. Initially, only Brahmin pupils were allowed, however later Kshatriya and Vaishyas were also given the right to education, while the Sudras were excluded.

The period between 550 B.C. to 300 B.C. saw the advancement of Buddhist form of institutional education whereby students of all casts, status and social standing were allowed to take up learning as ‘Bhikkus’. This was extended to women as well who were allowed to

become 'Bhikkunis', this phase also saw the institutionalization of religion and education, leading to a proliferation of large number of monasteries like Taxila, Nalanda, Vikermasila.

With the advent of Islam, Muslim institutions of learning came up. These were Korani primary school attached to the mosques, known as Maktabas and institution of higher learning known as Madrasahs.

These formal centres of learning were however, overtly religious, serving to educate the 'dos' and 'dons' of each religious order. To that extent Britishers can be given the credit of secularizing formal education. Initially the British were in no way interested in educating the Indians. However, with the East India Company becoming more than a business concern, the need to promulgate English education in order to promote imperialistic designs were strongly felt. Between 1813 and 1921 British administrators laid the foundations of the modern educational system. The architect of western education T.B. Macaulay saw distinct political grounds behind educating the Indians. The British tried to create a new educational systems, modelled after that in U.K. with object of creating a class of loyal babus who would know English, become familiar with British traditions and act as intermediaries and interpreters between the ruler and the ruled. This system of education, however, served the positive purpose of secularizing and broadening the scope of education. Doors were opened for all religion, all castes under the same roof, even women were allowed to participate. However, this formalized hierarchical system of education having a single point entry and enforced on a whole time basis sounded the death knell for "skill based" education. The students in gurukuls, Buddhist monasteries

and Madrasas mixed vocational education with that of the scriptures, hunting, food gathering, nature watching, resource identification were all a part of education until the Macaulian system took over.

The days of 'skill based' self sufficient village communities are over. Education there, was a cottage industry ²³ This community was the only real community where one to one contact and communion was possible, beyond the village where face to face contact is impossible all communion is imagined.²⁴ Therefore all other communities much as towns, urban sprawls, cities, nations are imagined. These imaginations are then transmitted; therefore, transmission is no longer in the domain of skills but in the domain of ideas. The Macaulian system of education therefore created a structure, which sought to manufacture consent and commitment for the imperial nation space. It believed in classroom teaching and downward filtration theory, hereby classes were to be educated first and once classes were anglicized education would naturally infiltrate to the lower ranks.

After independence, the constitution spoke of high ideals of free and compulsory education for children under 14. Educating the masses was considered a salient objective. The Education Commission was established in 1964 to supervise, advise and draw out national policies for orienting output of the educational system towards the manpower needs of the economy. Women education, adult literacy, 100% literacy districts, education for all have flourished as its brainchild. However, we have failed to move away from the Macaulian mind set. Our minds and imagination have been colonized and hence

²³ Gellner, Earnest (1983): "Nations and Nationalism", Basil Blackwell, p.37.

²⁴ Aanderson, Benedict, obsid, p. 91.

every year we rejoice in producing yet another batch of educated, backed by degrees and often lacking in their appreciation for skills.

“Hence the only kind of knowledge we can respect is that authenticated by reasonably impartial centers of learning, which issues certificates on the basis of honest, impartially administered examinations. Hence we are doomed to suffer the diploma disease,”²⁵

While, the centres of power i.e. the Boards, Universities, Colleges, Schools continue to harp on the popular concept of the nation thus constructing India as a container over and over again, each year the brain drain increases, indicating the sheer purposelessness of formal education. The quantity has been emphasized by our education system; more and more in volume are to be brought under it fold, more and more teachers are to be trained, more books to be written, somewhere down the line quality has taken a back seat. Indian nation continues to be constructed and with each change in government there is a hue and cry about a hidden agenda, sometimes the nation is being safronized, at other times communalized, sometimes Marxism as a theory mysteriously disappears from the syllabi, at other times Guru Govind Singh is depicted as a rober, and at yet other time Bhagat Singh does not receive a place of prominence edged out by Gandhi, Nehru. The power struggle is on, the container gets imagined and remained through the texts, through the idea, through the examinations.

CINEMA

The popular mainstream as well as the parallel cinema plays an important role in defining the container space of the Indian nation, precisely because reflects the popular imagination and to a certain

²⁵ Gellner, Earnest, *obsid*, pp. 37-38.

extent personifies the mood of the people. In this respect the Hindi cinema and its popular heroes like Guru Datt, Kamal Hassan, Rajni Kant, Utpal Dutt, Raj Kapur, Dev Anand, Dharmendra, Amitabh Bacchan and heroines like Madhubala, Suraiya, Mine Kumari, Sadhana, Hema Malini has served as symbols for the nation and have defined the National Indian Man, Women the national fashion, hairstyle during their heydays. In certain phases, the entire country has been brought under the frenzy of

“Mera Joota hai Japani”
Aur patloon Englistani,
Sar Pe lal Topi Roosi,
Phir Bhi Dil Hai Hindustani”.

Sincerely, believing in the depiction of modern Indian man as a hotch-potch of national and international, yet, possessing a very Indian heart. At other times urban and rural India has been divided as Johnny Walker lipped “Zara Hatke, Zare Bach Ke, Yeh Hai Mumbai Meri Jaan”. The entire approach has been that of rural simplicity and urban complexity. The song asks rural strangers in busy urbanized Bombay to be careful, to turn, and twist to stay on guard, for this is Bombay where automobiles, bungalows are available for sale, the only thing which is scarce is “human compasion”. (dil). The 1950’s and 60’s cinema depicted the feudal structure, the agrarian exploitation, “Land” being the main theme. Thus, the idea “India lives in villages” were emphasized in “Awara”, “Andaz”, “Mother India”. A slightly, later phase depicted the work conditions and labour problems playing the modern Indian proletariat as India marched on a path of industrial development. “Sagina Mahato”, “Mazdoor”, “Andolan” were the result of that era.

Amitabh Bachhan provided the youth of India a culture of violent rebellion. Gone were the days of the Mahatma! Clash between the classes and the masses, fallacy of the modern democratic system was personified in “Coolie”, “Main Azad Hun”, “Deewana”, “Andha Kanun”. India was constructed again as an idea ridden by corruption needing a young Messiah (symbolized in the youth) to resolve all contradictions sometimes at the cost of his/her life. Institutions like the police, bureaucracy, political circles, legal system was targeted. “Common man” syndrome was on, and the common man emulated the hero and he in turn symbolized the nation.

The era of globalization and liberalization has seen a rise in the price of cinema tickets, cinema has quickly become a status symbol appropriated by the rich and the neo-rich. Digital sound systems, coffee parlors, shopping malls, ice cream corners adorn the halls, MNCs have overhauled the popular cinema culture into a ‘foreign money spending space’, the common man (and woman) has been edged out of the competition. Therefore, cinema’s construction of the container space has also seen an over hauling. Gone are the rural setting, the “gaon ki Gauries” and the “bullock cart driver”, the popular themes revolve around rich, colorful vibrant family sagas, where the characters are rich and even if they are not rich they still adorn designer clothes. The actors and actresses have no identity to carve no individuality to project, they have become identical looking, identically dancing , identically dressing packages, groomed, polished and representing the globalized India. Songs are either exotic poetry or illegible gibberish shot in foreign locales, everything is alien except for the perceptions, which has distorted ‘Indian’ overtones. Love for the nation is based on hatred for another. (Border, Sarfarosh Gadar).

Pakistani Khan Sahib is always the villain, waiting to be vanquished. The ordinary man has been left dazed, he is bewildered with the fast pace where movies are a flurry of songs and dances.

Popular main stream Hindi cinema has always carried the mood of the economy on its shoulders. It has served to bring together on a two-dimensional screen the changing concept of the nation. The container space has been created and has gone on to enrapture the audience, the audience sitting in the dark. The bond itself have been built between the 'Nation' and the people with the silver screen acting as the mediator. The mediator has helped us to perceive the nation and store it in our minds through one liners, popular dialogues, songs. An example, of the cinema's perception of the Nation and its response to it can be summarized by the following lines.

"In the post independence era, much discussed feature of the censorship for Indian films has been the prohibition of scenes of kissing. As the inquiry committee on film censorship led by G.D. Khosla reported in 1969, this prohibition was based on an "unwritten' rule (Report 1969) IN the first place, the ban on kissing maybe related to a nationalist politics of culture. The most frequently offered justification of this informal prohibition has been that it corresponds to the need to maintain the Indian ness of Indian cultue.²⁶

SUMMARIZING THE CONTAINER

The entirety of a nation as a container space lies in its availability to rise from ethnic, religious, racial, cultural, languages, economic interest and desire for identity formation into an overarching ideology, an emotion, a spirit, a community, an idea an ideology. Such a nation space is universalizing, standardizing and generalizing

²⁶ Prasad, Madhava. M.: (1998) "Ideology of the Hindi Film, a Historical Constructions", Oxford University Press, p. 89.

because it refuses to accept other version which has risen from life experiences of various smaller groups, little traditions etc.

Four variables were chosen to substantiate the creation of Indian nation spaces as a container. The variables namely, common historiography, maps and museum, formal education and cinema have also served to give dimensions i.e. length, expanse, height, loftiness, elevation, girth, volume to the container space. History has been suitably standardized to do away with fissiparous tendencies, maps and museums have given the scientific and aesthetic support in laying down the brick work of an Indian nation, formal education has served to dissipate, filter universalize the dominant theme amongst scores of living individuals and the cinema has served to generalize the ideology and imprint it in the minds. Nation has been constructed as an all encompassing whole by these four variables which have actually acted as four pillars.

Thus, a “blue print of evolution” is created which leaves behind other blue prints of other competing system and attains a “synthesis of time and space, general and particular, and interiority and exteriority. In doing so it does not only severs all its previous connections and engages itself in distancing itself from the ‘other’ which it denigrated now as primordial, thus, retrogressive, but also thrives by negating, subjugating and if possible annihilation of the ‘other.’”²⁷

The nation as a container space however is a popular and accepted construction. Popular because it is constructed by those who

²⁷ Butola, B.S.: (2000) “The Paradoxes of National Integration”, NEHU Journal of Social Sciences.

are articulate, literate, opinionated, well fed, well dressed. It is accepted because the popular has either money or power or connection or representation in the general will. It is possibly well accepted also because, the illiterate, the inarticulate, the unopinionated, the unfed and ill-dressed are too tied down with their second and third order identifies (village, occupational, caste, regional religious and gender identities) to pose a challenge to the container space. We, who have the luxury and leisure therefore take great pains in this construction. Because our stomach is full we need 'food for thought' to constantly reiterate the popular India, the container.

WHY IS THERE A NEED TO IMAGINE NATION SPACE AS CONTAINED?

The popular, accepted and accessible construction of nation space as a container is so popular and so well accepted that the question automatically arises as to why is there a need to imagine nation space as contained? The answer to this question is to be discovered in the serious challenges which the container space is facing in the contemporary world. Voices have been raised, consciousness have been conglomerated against the all embracing container, doubling as a protector, emancipator and identity giver. Increasingly, more and more individuals, more and more issues, more and more discoveries are not being able to fit into the container space. These are either superseding the boundaries of the container or containing alternative nations within them. Some such challenges which has assumed crises proportions seem to ratify the need to re-imagine nationspace as contained.

The wave of globalisation, liberalization, new economic policies have undermined the overpowering personality of the container. The Keynesian concept of nation-state as a 'welfare state,' a giver of gifts and a protector of the economically marginalised is increasingly becoming a myth. As membership to the World Trade Organisation increase, more and more nations do away with grants, subsidies, protection and welfare measures at various spheres of its activities. The need to compete has re-newed the primordial instinct of survival of the fittest. While those who have been able to acquire marketable skills swear their allegiance to Multi National Corporations, which have become nations in their own right, having their own set of loyalists and displaying utter disregard for state laws and regulations. Indeed, the nation state bows down to the wishes of the MNCs, even fawn and pamper the wishes of the latter in order to eke out a survival. The concept of increasing efficiency of the nationstate has alienated the common man, he is no longer overawed at the towering dimensions of the nationstate. The WTO, MNCs have become stiff competitors and potential containers.

The increasing awareness of environmental, ecological problems have also challenged the concept of the container. Global environmental problems like greenhouse effect, depletion of ozone layer, sea level rise, depletion of fossil fuels do not respect national boundaries. The container space has thus failed to shut out global problems nor has it been capable of shutting out foreign interventions, suggestions and blue prints for survival in this regard. This too, has contributed towards downsizing the all embracing notion of the container.

Large-scale transnational migration has also refuted the popular concept of the nation. In yester years migration was usually forced, either in the form of slavery or caused by natural calamity, plague. In the contemporary world migration is very much out of ones own choice. More and more people of the developing world are increasingly finding it difficult to identify with the over arching concept of the nation, their faith in the national ideology, their belief in the nation as a protector, liberator, job giver, has increasingly evaporated. More and more people prefer to travel to the developed world in the quest for opportunities, this is true across all classes. The complete frustration amongst the youth with regards to their system and an ever increasing aspiration for finding a niche in the developed world is well proved by the snaking queues for visa outside embassies. This has created a new religion, new mantra, new dialect, new culture and new ethos, namely the NRI hotchpotch of this and that world. This new hotchpotch is completely rootless and questions the rationality of the container space.

The Information Technology Revolution, new electronic media has also downsized the container space. The cyber space is a non-dimensional world, it has created new symbols, new myths, new tastes, new heroes, new images which are completely a – national. Gone are the days of letter writing, when a letter from foreign would start a civil war amongst the children of the household and the most ingenious amongst them would acquire the prize catch i.e. the foreign postage stamp. The boundary between the national and the foreign war so very strongly crystalized. Now, however the MTV culture, the hamburger, the Bisleri bottle are the new global symbols. Can the good old bhugiya and the resogollah compete with it?

All over the world the nations have been challenged by an upsurge of ethnic, linguistic, feminist, regional identity movements. More and more people no longer wish to believe in the unity in diversity concept. Most allege that under the garb of composite, plural culture and diversity slogans people have been fooled by a subtle process of standardization and a systematic marginalization that the nation space has melted out.

“The pan-Indian polity no longer attracts the allegiance of the majority of the masses and is increasingly being replaced by smaller entities is clear from the emergence and struggle of nationalities often denigrated through charges of regionalism, linguistic chauvinism and separatism.”²⁸

The sovereignty of the container space is being threatened by such sentiments which are increasingly gaining legitimacy at the cost of the over arching ideology.

Lastly, the “Monolithic concept of one ideologically neutral truth which is central to liberal historiography is no more accepted” (R. Guha 1989: 241).²⁹ Therefore, the concept of nationalistic history and binary logic is being given up. Alternative versions and multiple versions of reality are being increasingly accepted. Therefore, ‘Subaltern’ history, history from below, ‘peasant’s history’ are the other versions of the same truth which are gaining acceptance. Therefore, the concept of nation and its ‘only’ history as white and the rest as black has been given up for various shades of gray which are considered increasingly desirable. This also has waged an equal war in formulating a crisis for the container space.

²⁸ Aloysius, G: (1997) “Nationalism without a nation in India”, Oxford University Press, p. 2.

²⁹ Quoted in *ibid*, p. 4.

The need to re-imagine space as contained begins not only as a political necessity to counter these crisis but also as a need to quench an academic thirst by perceiving reality with an independent mind and daring to see things beyond what one has been taught as the truth. In this realm of 'contained space' there is however one assumption and only one i.e. there are conjectures, brilliant conjectures and imaginations; there is no single truth. Because there is no single truth there does not exist one identifiable space with defining dimensions, there are points within points, newer layer to be discovered and innumerable fuzzy zones, gray areas and contested terrains.

The construction of a nation as a container was made possible by a few hand picked variables which helped to create a "national culture"³⁰ a label,³¹

"It is no longer the way people behave that gives rise to a label, but instead that label defines appropriate behavior. The culture is no longer seen as the outcome of material and symbolic practices but instead as the cause of those practices;

..... national cultures are often thought of as containers with, first, a contents that can be passed down, that is the sole preserve of one nation, and, second, spatial differentiation into discrete, pure cultural areas."³²

In the next section however, one shall make an attempt to re-imagine nation space as contained, here one shall choose no variable, particularly because there is no variable to choose. The attempt would be to 'deconstruct' the nation as an overarching paradigm into ideas dispersed or rather nations within NATION. This deconstruction

³⁰ Crang, Mike (1998), "Cultural Geography". Routledge.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid, p. 162, p. 169.

is however not a political nor a reductionist exercise, it is simply a quest to unearth hidden spaces.

NATION WITHIN NATION, POINTS WITHIN POINT

The fact that nation space cannot be a photocopy machine where a single idea can be dispersed into identical copies, assembling and summarizing what goes on in the dark recesses of the minds and hearts of different individuals can be well established by the following quotations. The quotations have been picked up from the writings and speeches of eminent (eminent within the NATIONAL definition!) persons. One does not however claim, that these individuals because they are eminent can act as representatives of the entire imagined community. What one expects however, is that, these quotations are to be treated as viewpoints of ordinary individuals. The aim is to show, how the 'container' gets moulded re-moulded and sometimes becomes shapeless, at other times fragmented. The quotes of well known people have been used simply because of the well accepted logic of data availability and accessibility.

(1) B.C. Pal extract from an essay – Reform on 'National Lines'

As thought structure is one of the elements of national differentiation, so social structure is another element of it. In this thought structure we find the nature of a people's thought, in their social structure we find the character of their lives.

..... And these are as widely different among different peoples as are their thought structures. Thus we find among the Aryan races a type of social organisation which is essentially civic, while among the semitic races we find what is practically military. In

the Aryan social structure, there is cooperation and coordination of the heads of families with the patriarch or the tribal head, in the tribal councils.

..... The semetic social structure, again is characterized by the absolute sovereignty of the chief over other individuals of the tribe.

..... The genius of Aryan governments is essentially constitutional, while that of the semitic races is essentially despotic.

These peculiarities of thought and social structure, the origin of which lies buried in prehistoric obscurity really constitute the nationality, the individuality of very people.”³³

(2) B.R. Ambedkar - Ambedkar examines the feasibility of Pakistan in a book “Thoughts an Pakistan ” (1941)

“It nationality is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kim. This national feeling is a double edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one’s own kith and an anti fellowship feeling for those who are not one’s own kith.”³⁴

(3) V.D. Savarkar - Extracts from the presidential address to the Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha (Cal. 1939).

“Judged by any and all of these tests which go severely and corectively to form such a homogeneous and organic nation, in India we Hindus are marked out as an abiding nation of ourselves. Not only we own a common fatherland, a territorial unit, but what is scarcely

³³ Quoted in Appadorai, A (1973) obsid, p. 477,478.

³⁴ Ibid, pp. 488-489.

found anywhere else in the world we have a common hollyland which is identified with our common fatherland.

..... The Hindus are no treaty nation – but an organic national being.³⁵

(4) Rabindranath Tagore – in an essay on Nationalism in India

“In my country we have been seeking to find out something common to all races, which will prove their real unity. No nation looking for a mere political or commercial basis of unity will find such a solution sufficient. Men of thought and power will discover the spiritual unity, will realize it, and preach it.

India has never had a real sense of nationalism. Even though from childhood I had been taught that idolatry of the nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countryman will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity.”³⁶

(5) Golwalker in his book “Our Nationhood Defined”

“Emigrants have to get themselves naturally assimilated in the principal mass of the population, the national race, by adopting its culture and language and sharing in its aspirations, by losing all consciousness of their separate existence, forgetting their foreign origin. If they do not do so, they live merely as outsiders, bound by all the codes and conventions of the nation, at the sufferance of the

³⁵ Ibid p. 506.

³⁶ Tagore, Rabindranath: (1950) “Nationalism” Macmillan, p. 64.

nation and deserving no special protection, far less any privilege or rights.³⁷

(6) J. Ahmad – Extract from an essay “Is India one Nation?”

“All the elements which comprise the historical and cultural traditions and the future aspirations of a nation are entirely different from each other in the case of the Muslims and Hindus to the Muslim, this world is a unity and his role in this world is self affirmation and self assertion.; the Hindu looks upon this world as “Maya”, illusion , and to his mind the highest form of life is either, insensate hoarding of material goods or complete self abnegation.”³⁸

(7) M.K. Gandhi – Extract from a letter to M.A. Jinnah dated 15th September 1944.

“You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam?”³⁹

(8) A Maudoodi-Extract from a translation of an essay “Nationalism and India”.

The ultimate goal of Islam is a world state in which hostile competition would give way to friendly cooperation between peoplesAs opposed to this, nationalism divides man from man are the basis of nationality. Nationalism simply means that nationalist should give preference to his nationality over all other nationalities.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Appadorai, A: (ibid) pp. 521-522.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 527.

..... Islam cannot flourish in the lap of nationalism, and nationalism too cannot find a place in the fold of Islam.”⁴⁰

(9) Abul Kalam Azad – Extract from “India wins Freedom” (1959)

“It is true that Islam sought to establish a society which transcends racial, linguistic, economic and political frontiers. History has however proved that after the first few decades, or at most after the first century, Islam was not able to unite all the Muslim countries, into one state on the basis of Islam alone.”⁴¹

(10) B.R. Ambedkar – Speaking on the Varna System and the Nation

“Dalitization means universalizing the principles of labour as life and of democracy and equality as the aims of life. Tomorrow, a Brahmin may make shoes and a scheduled caste may teach in the university, but the dignity assigned to these tasks should be based on their utility. With such an approach to work and life, we could build a real people’s nation.”⁴²

(11) Partha Chatterjee – on Women and Nation

“The difficulty which faces historians here is that by working from the conventional archives of political history, women appear in the history of nationalism only in a “contributive” role. All one can assert here is that women also took an active part in nationalist struggle this history is to be found less in the external

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 530-531.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 533.

⁴² Asopa, K. Sheel: (1988) “Ambedkar and Nation Building” Shyam Lal and K.Sazena (eds.).

domain of political conflict and more in the 'inner' space of the middle class home."⁴³

(12) Partha Chatterjee on the Peasants and the Nation

"It is important to stress this point, because what the principle of community as the characteristic unifying feature of peasant consciousness does is directly to place it at the opposite pole to a bourgeoisie consciousness."⁴⁴ (An example of which can be the nation).

All the above quotations comprise a data base which can be systematically organised to represent different conjectures, imaginations which go into constructing (or deconstructing) personal nations, nations which cannot be standardized, universalized or generalized by using common dimensions. The above quotations are primarily with respect to the Indian context. The purpose has been , to treat each of them dispassionately as a statistician may treat numerical figures and are hence viewed in isolation devoid of any political connotations as viewpoints of individuals.

It is not enough however, to casually dismiss them as diversity of opinion as is likely to exist in any polity. In fact, considering streams of ideas as mere variety adding spice to the essential homogenous UNITY is what we are conditioned to believe, which prevents us from giving due respect to ideas as 'imaginings'. This is however not to mean that the 'contained' space saga is an onslaught to the brilliant concept of UNITY. All it claims however is that the

⁴³ Chatterjee, Partha, *obsid*, p. 137.

⁴⁴ Chatterjee Partha: (1994) "For an History of Peasant Struggle", Social Scientist p. (42).

concept of unity is not in any way the supreme, total ideology, there can be and is, a number of imaginations which we fail to accept in our opiated euphoria of being nationalists. Thus the gray zones, fuzzy areas points within point in no way makes one anti-national. Indeed, once the personality of 'nation space' as contained becomes clear, there remains no identifiable authority to define "what is national?"

POINTS UNDERSTOOD – DATA INTERPRETED?

The first quotation stresses on an idea of nation based on distinctiveness of thought and social structure. It is quite apparent that the author sees the Aryan race as distinct from the Semetic where the former seems to be refined in its mode of governance and notion of civil society while the latter still depends on despotism and obedience. The disparity seems to be similar to the orient/occident gap where the "West" reviewed the 'East' as 'static and timeless'⁴⁵ and where west is like a tool in history doing things to the east.⁴⁶ Does the author then conceive of an Aryan and a Semetic nation as separate, just as the west and east can be two blocks? (Referred to as North/South in ecological debates).

The second, quotation conceives of nation as a 'corporate sentiment', highlighting a contractual relationship rather than racial, organic which is seen as exclusivist based on 'anti-fellowship' for many.

The third talks of allegiance based on overlapping territorial boundary with the in situ holy land of the Hindus, possibly defined by the Shankaracharya's maths or shakti-peethas in the four corners of

⁴⁵ Crang, Mike, Obsid, p. 66.

⁴⁶ (Ibid)

India. It conceives nation as inherently biologically organic. If his is a thesis adopted then many non Asian Christians lose claim to nationhood as Jerusalem (the Christian holy land) is neither in America nor in Britain. If the geographical location of a holy land is determinant of nationhood, then there shall exist many contained nations within the geo-political nations of today.

The fourth speaks of a nation of humans. The ideals of no country can contest the ideals of humanity at large. Hence, should there be one Nation of Humans? Indeed Crang's,⁴⁷ idea of "outside histories" in making nations can be thought of here. He sites the example of the English men's habit of beginning the day with a cup of tea. Indeed breakfast tea has been intertwined with British existence. "Where does it (tea) come from? Ceylon – Sri Lanka, India. That is the outside history that is the inside history of the English. There is no English history without that history."⁴⁸

The fifth, quotation conceives nation as assimilator, where even thinking differently or feeling for another country is not tolerated. Therefore, all other identities are to be willingly sacrificed at the altar of the NATIONAL blue prints. A lot of the young Indians will have problems with such a conception. Indeed, many youngster of today may hesitate to shed their life at Kargil, but a lot many would be willing to die if birth was ensured in Bill Gate's land. Does such aspiration mark a different nationality all together?

The sixth constructs the nation on the parameters of religion considered as nationality and as a way of life. Is it a possible nation?

⁴⁷ See (Ibid).

⁴⁸ (Ibid) p. 171.

In Europe Christians have fought amongst themselves and have remained separated even though they shared common religion. Back home, why did Bangladesh declare independence if religion was an overriding factor in making nations? The seventh quotation is a counter imagination to this imagination of a religious nation.

The eighth and the ninth quotation deals with Islam and the concept of nation. Both provides sound evidences to back each of their claims. Islamic nation as one is a possible nation, but is it a real nation? In a country like India where Muslims and Christians are descendents of converts, does the logic hold? Faiths were adapted to escape social inequality and not out of any artificial affinity which could be described as nationalistic.

The tenth talks about a "Peoples Nation" based on a work culture where dignity of labour disrupts the Hindu Varna system. The eleventh, poses an alternative imagination of nation, a peasant's imagination and the twelfth deconstructs the nation from the women's point of view.

The attempt here has been to site an assemblage of possible nations imagined as possible by individuals inhabiting the container. Instead, of a litmus test of nationalistic patriotism conducted on them one has tried to display them as possible confections, points within a point.

To this one might add a few other possible imaginations can be taken into consideration.

TABLE - 1

States/Union Territories	Percentage of people below poverty line (1993)	Percentage of slum population to total states and U.Ts. (1991)
Andhra Pradesh	22.19	43.13
Arunachal Pradesh	39.35	0.221
Assam	40.86	4.48
Bihar	54.96	26.90
Goa	14.92	0.83
Gujarat	24.21	25.81
Haryana	25.05	6.843
Himachal Pradesh	28.44	1.258
Karnataka	33.16	.934
Kerala	25.43	12.21
Madhya Pradesh	42.52	21.02
Maharashtra	36.86	78.72
Manipur	33.78	0.853
Meghalaya	37.92	0.83
Mizoram	25.66	0.572
Nagaland	37.92	0.416
Orissa	48.56	8.432
Punjab	11.77	14.14
Rajasthan	27.41	24.00
Sikkim	41.43	0.095
Tamil Nadu	35.03	35.71
Tripura	39.01	0.744
Utter Pradesh	40.85	58.39
Wet Bengal	35.66	51.94
Andaman and Nicobar	34.47	0.34
Chandigarh	11.35	1.61
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	50.84	0.02
Daman and Diu	15.80	0.09
Delhi	14.69	22.48
Lakshdweep	25.04	0.58
Pondichery	37.40	1.531
J & Kashmir	25.17	--

Source: Selected Socio-Economic Statistics of India: CSSO, Poverty Figures - (Modified Expert Group 1993), Slum Population. 1991

If slums population is any indicator of lack of wellbeing amongst people in general, each and every state and UTs in India deprives a sufficient percentages of population a certain degree of happiness. Some states deprive more than 50% of its population a decent way of living. Yet Stalin's definition of a nation is "A historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make up manifested in a community of culture."⁴⁹ Where is the stable economic life? What right does the container space have of claiming this sizeable percentage of houseless people to be within its paradigmatic constraints? Many of these people are displaced, some are migrants, some are urban poor others are economically marginalised. One does not need any more statistical data to prove that their joys and sorrows are different from Tatas, Birlas, Ambanis, can we then club them together as a homogenous category within the container ideology? Can their sufferings, joys and hopes be same? Yet, Renan⁵⁰ had proposed 'suffering together' as an important bond for nationhood.

The percentage of people below poverty line can again constitute a nation within a nation. Each state and U.T. has a sizeable percentage below the enigmatic threshold, their world is of destitution, hunger, chronic malnutrition. Their primordial identity is that of a desire for 2 square meals a day, that and that alone constitutes this nationality. Their struggle is different from those way above the threshold. The container has sometimes defined their situation by a simple economic logic of distribution problems, yet, deconstruction of poverty can yield a completely different result. "The planned

⁴⁹ Stalin, Joseph (Obsid).

⁵⁰ Renan, Earnest (obsid).

production of poverty is intricately related to the systematic and persistent decline in the human dignity..... The decline in human value and dignity can be exemplified by the comparative preference animals receive in the developed world over the people of the developing countries According to one estimate the world food production was about 1200 million tonne in the year 1975-76, out of this nearly 50% was consumed by the developed countries though they have a population of only 20 per cent of the total world's population. The rest of the food was consumed by their animals which was sufficient to feed the population of India and China put together."⁵¹ Whether the world poor can together constitute a nation is a probability worth exploring, at the current juncture however, it is another imagination added to our already long list.

As regard to the language issue, India has as many as 18 scheduled language and most of them are spoken in more than 50% of the states and union territories put together, from table 2, it is evident that in 10,000 people, Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu are spoken in all states and union territories. Thus, at least 8 schedule languages have substantive representation in all states and union territories. When Hindi in the Devnagri script is chosen as the national language, it is bound to create controversies, especially amongst those sections of the populace whose language do not fall within the Indo-Aryan group and are hence not even remotely similar to Hindi. Various other varieties of Hindi like Awadhi, Maithili, Bhojpuri are also systematically relegated to the position of dialects, when they can

⁵¹ Butloa, B.S. (2000) "Population poverty and Environment in North East India", B. Datta Ray , H.K. Mazhari, P.M. Panah, M.C. Pandey (eds), concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, pp. 213-214.

stand the test of being full fledged languages in their own rights. A politics of language is brought to boil when even census enumerators deliberately document Urdu as Hindi to give substantive weightage to the national language. Nehru, a visionary had suggested a feasible solution when he had stated that North Indians should learn one Dravidian language and the latter one Indo-Aryan language. However, the Hindi belt being more vociferous in terms of power politics got away with Hindi. However, the fallacy is exposed, when one accepts that English still occupies the hall of fame for all official purposes. The plight of the tribal languages are worse, with missionaries effecting the tribal life, more and more tribals have embraced English as a medium for their education. Often, the choice is rather forced, as India has failed to produce textbooks in the various tribal languages. Therefore, being unable to identify with Hindi, more and more tribals have taken up English for all practical purpose and in the process the educated tribals have slowly lost touch with their tribal script. The container nation cannot provide adequate representation to all these languages, namely; the non-schedule languages, tribal languages, sign languages.

Thus, nations can be imagined, where they are not overarching and where they are not considered parochial, chauvinistic or sessionistic. Some such imaginations or transitional spaces (gray areas) can be explored to give a fair representation to nation space as contained, contained beyond the perceivable, popular dimension. In the next section the same will be attempted.

TABLE - 2

DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 PERSONS BY LANGUAGES (EIGHTH SCHEDULE LANGUAGES)

States/UY	Tot.	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarat	Hindi	Kannada	Kashmiri	Konkani	Mala- yalam	Mani- puri	Mar- athi	Nepali	Oriya	Punjabi	Sans- krit	Sindhi	Tamil	Telegu	Urdu
India	10000	156	830	485	4022	390	1	21	362	15	745	25	335	279	1	25	632	787	518
Andhra	--	588	5	7	277	78	N	N	10	N	76	1	39	4	N	2	113	8476	836
Arunachal	--	5581	819	2	731	2	N	N	58	18	6	5039	107	24	N	N	10	15	16
Bihar	--	N	292	2	8086	N	N	N	2	--	1	3	47	10	N	N	2	4	989
Goa	--	1	16	38	317	464	2	5152	111	N	3336	8	6	16	N	3	58	68	342
Gujarat	--	N	5	9149	294	3	N	10	14	N	137	2	9	11	N	171	8	12	133
Haryana	--	N	6	1	4100	1	1	N	5	N	2	4	2	711	N	N	3	1	159
H.P.	--	N	4	1	8888	1	56	N	2	--	2	90	3	628	N	N	1	1	16
Karnataka	--	N	5	12	197	6622	N	157	169	N	365	1	1	3	N	3	384	739	996
Kerala	--	N	1	2	8	26	N	22	9656	N	11	N	2	1	N	N	212	16	4
M.P.	--	N	38	2	8555	1	N	N	12	N	194	2	150	29	N	49	6	25	185
Maharashtra	--	N	20	30	782	134	N	40	43	N	7334	5	5	29	N	178	54	142	727
Manipur	--	9	106	256	131	1	N	N	10	6043	1	253	2	11	--	N	14	2	1
Meghalaya	--	192	813	1	219	2	N	N	12	10	2	277	4	27	N	2	4	3	16
Mizoram	--	12	857	1	128	N	N	N	20	16	2	119	1	8	--	N	5	3	5
Nagaland	--	109	317	N	336	1	N	1	37	45	2	267	16	12	N	N	10	3	11
Orissa	--	N	140	1	240	N	N	N	5	N	1	3	5275	7	N	1	4	210	359
Punjab	--	1	5	8	729	1	N	N	4	N	3	4	2	9222	N	N	3	2	7
Rajasthan	--	N	6	2	8956	1	N	N	6	N	4	2	2	190	N	26	3	2	217
Sikkim	--	2	68	11	489	1	N	--	17	1	3	6309	3	13	--	N	4	4	42
Tamil Nadu	--	N	1	1	29	216	N	1	118	N	13	1	N	1	N	1	8679	712	186
Tripura	--	4	6888	44	166	1	N	N	4	72	2	11	67	4	N	N	1	11	1
U.P.	--	N	19	4	9011	N	N	N	1	N	1	7	1	48	3	4	1	1	898
W.P.	--	1	8599	1	658	N	N	N	2	N	2	126	25	10	N	1	4	16	214
Andaman & Nicobar	--	2	2305	7	1763	12	N	2	929	n	19	14	30	62	--	1	1908	1175	53
Chandigarh	--	4	47	22	6006	5	17	2	38	2	17	38	11	3472	1	3	83	18	71
Dadra & Nagar	--	--	11	2191	505	38	--	1232	58	2	386	6	6	2	-- N	9	14	8	14
Daman & Dir	--	N	13	9113	359	16	--	16	28	1232	124	8	5	13	--	8	10	9	8
Delhi	--	3	129	28	8164	10	12	3	69	16	22	28	14	794	1	40	90	24	545
Lakshadweep	--	--	2	3	42	13	--	2	2447	3	8	1	1	N	--	--	54	3	7
Pondichery	--	N	9	12	31	16	N	1	475	2	7	4	3	2	N	1	8919	431	76

DALITIZATION OF A NATION

The Dalitist concept of a 'Container Nation' is that of a Brahmanic Nation, where Brahmanism does not necessarily refer to a class of people but rather to a mentality. The entire class of people whom the container had branded as 'shudra', 'ati-shudra' as having emerged from the feet of the Gods and therefore should be subsisting from the feet alone, has declaimed the nation. They have rejected the popular as aryan possession, they have denounced the aryan way of life a debauched and obscene, they have also declared Gandhi as a persevere of caste ideology and hence the National Mahatma is not their Mahatma. "Mahatmas have come and mahatmas have gone. But the untouchables have remained untouchables".⁵²

Ambedkar in "Who were the Sudras?" How they came to be the fourth Varna in the Indo-Aryan society, had challenged the Varna ordering by proving that shudras were aryan belonging to the kshatriya class. The dalits had and have their own pantheon of Gods and Goodness, who they claim are more terrestrial, more pragmatic and more closer to life. They criticize the Hindu Gods as patronizers of violence, winning wars by stealth steak and solving many complexities by "using" women as degraded commodities. Thus Krishna, a revered Hindu deity when involved in shamless polygamous relationship, is seen as a lover God whose romanticism is "holy". Respect from him is not tarnished when he advises Yudhistira to lie to Dronacharya in order to bring an end to his life. They also criticize the Brahmanic tradition of raising women to a status of shakti, mother, while failing to give her basic equal rights. Therefore, the Goddess of learning is

⁵² Quoted in Asopa, K. Sheel: (1998) "Ambedkar and the Indian Caste System" in Ambedkar and Nation Building, Shyam Lal and K.S. Saxend (eds.) p. 165.

herself a illiterate women. The Dalitist pantheon is said to consist of Gods and Goddesses who are engaged in hard, honest work whom the Dalits can emulate. They denounce the Hindu pantheon where Gods wallow in luxury steeped in som and sura, while women massage their feet. They look down upon the Hindu way of life where men and women have well defined terrains, where women have no right to 'upanayan' and priesthood where a sacrifice conducted by women is unacceptable to her male counterpart, where women are not entitled to teachings of the Veda. In fact, the Dalits categorize Hindu women as a Shudra variant, whose ears are to be plugged with molten lead if she has heard the scriptures and tongue severed if she has spoken of it. Alternatively, they suggest the Dalitists way of life where men partake in child rearing as much as women partake in agriculture.

The Hindu food habit have been considered as unwholesome where beef eating has been prohibited as a symbol of being different from the rest, in the pretext of "cow which nourishes life with her life blood is a mother". The Dalits question the logic of cow being the mother when buffalo and goats are left out of reverence. Is it because goats and buffaloes are black animals and original inhabitants of India while cow is a white animal having come with the Aryan? They, severely criticizes the Brahmins unproductive life, where they acquire no skill, neither add value to any neutral stuff, but fatten their bodies out of the nourishment which the Shudra men and women produce.

The Dalits led by Jyotiba Phule, Periyar, Ambedkar have rejected the concept of container nation which aims for political reforms at the cost of reforms of the social system. Therefore, to them, India as a nation did not come to exist in the face of exploitation by a common enemy (the British) simply because they viewed it as a

transfer of power from one kind of Brahmins (who though banned sati and promoted widow re-marriage made no attempt to break the caste system) to another kind of Brahmins. They regarded the nationalist élites as a monolith upper caste who did not contribute in any way to break the status quo. Their anger is directed at the Marxists, who claims that caste system in India is a mere superstructure and would disappear as poverty disappears, questioning the mere economic rationality, completely negating the ages of indignity and humiliation piled on them.

They criticised Gandhi, who while abolishing untouchability did not thin that there is anything wrong with the Varna system.

Thus, Gandhi says

“The law of Varna is nothing but the law of conservation of energy. Why should my son not be a scavenger, if I am one?”

What I mean is, one born a scavenger must earn his livelihood by being a scavenger and then do whatever else he likes. For a scavenger is as worthy of hire as a lawyer or your president. That according to me s Hinduism.⁵³

What Gandhi might have wanted to attribute can be explained in terms of dignity of labour. What he failed to realize is, that ‘dignity of labour’ itself was a western concept, as long as Brahmins had no fear of becoming scavengers, the dignity of labour which Gandhi aspired for would never be an inherent part of Hindu life and would inadvertently mean an heritage rule where a scavenger’s son is always a scavenger and can never aspire to rise in respect or esteem.

They speak of Nehru and his “Discovery of India” with equal vengeance.

⁵³ Das, Bhagwan : (1998) “Ambedkar: Architect f Modern India” Ibid pp 100-101.

“The history of the subcontinent for Nehru starts with the advent of these Aryan races in the remote past. The subsequent historical development is mainly a story of how these Aryans came, saw and conquered this backward land, inhabited by the uncivilized people unlike other conquerors of ancient times our Aryan ancestors did not annihilate or ‘enslave’ the defeated people but in benevolence civilized them by inclusion within the Aryan fold i.e. the nation, as the dasa – Shudras....”⁵⁴

Thus the Dalitist concept of the Container Nation or Ram Rajya was one where Varna would be a nation state ideology and the lower casts, the outcasts would not even have the right to lodge complaints with the police for fear that their women would be raped by the policemen themselves. The systematic attempt to throttle the mass conversion at Ramlila ground, on 4th November 2001 in Delhi, where it is reported that trucks transporting Dalits from nearby villages were forced back with lakhs missing their conversion, proves this point of view. Bali Raj or Ravan Raj is their alternative contained nation. They speak of Dalitization as a more wholesome form of existence.

“Dalitization means universalizing the values of labour as a way of life and granting dignity to labour as proportionate to its utility. Making shoes should receive greater respect and better payment than teaching in the university. With such an approach to work and life we could build people’s nation.”⁵⁵

Thus, the contained nation is a conjecture, a dalitized nation where the term Dalit should not confine any value laden ascriptive identity, it should simply mean;

“Dalitization is a process of the annihilation of caste, living labour as life, relegating property to community ownership,

⁵⁴ Aloysius G. Obsid p. 156.

⁵⁵ Ilaiah Kancha : (1998) “Towards Daltization of the nation” in Wages of Freedom – Fifty years of the Indian Nation State, Partha Chatterjee (ed) Oxford University Press, p. 291.

wife and husband living as equal producers, equal consumers and equal child rearers. Children learning every process of productive work: leather tanning, shoe making, tilling the land, weeding and cutting the crop, washing clothes, shaving the body as a part of education (concept of Gramsci's organic intellectuals),⁵⁶ not as exploitive child labour. Learning, reading and writing must be oriented to generate knowledge about the greatness of productive labour and not of the greatness of puja. Right from childhood, people must acquire the culture of eating all kinds of food that is good for health. Dalitization transcends all religions - Hindu, Mulsim, Christian etc."⁵⁷

THE PEASANT NATION

The subaltern group of historians have challenged the massification of the Indian peasants within the container nation, siting the peasants' nation as something which represented an ambivalent category in the civil society. Partha Chatterjee successfully counters the claims that India did not experience a sufficient peasant consciousness, as has been observed in Medieval Europe or China. He refers to the numerity of peasant revolts, the volume of the revolt themselves and the expanse they occupied as being quite significant to counter such cavil opposition.

The popular problem which the peasant's nation faced was that both the colonial historians as well as the enlightened nationalists viewed them as ignorant, volatile, easily swayed, while the colonizers viewed them with suspicions for their potential volatility making them a potent weapon in the hands of all those who wanted to make mischief, while the nationalists felt that they needed grooming and discipline hence they were to be brought within the general fold of the container nation but to be kept away from actual exercise of state power. Therefore, in the colonial days itself there arose an

⁵⁶ See Gramsci, Antonio: (1971) "Selection from Prison Notebooks", Quntin Hoare and G.N. Smith (eds) International Publishers.

⁵⁷ Ilaiah, Kancha obsid, p. 285.

anachronism with the popular main stream imagination seeking to do away with the colonial feudal system and replacing it with a Nationalistic capitalistic system, whereas, the peasant's politics identifying with the needs for being rid off zamindari, ryotwari, mahalwari exploitative structure and landlessness but incapable of being enthusiastically conscious about the capitalistic ideology of the container nation space.

Therefore, Chatterjee writes;

“On the one hand was the domain of the formally organised political parties and associations, moving within the institutional processes of the bourgeois state forms introduced by colonial rule and seeking to use their representative power over the mass of the people to replace the colonial state by a bourgeois nation state. On the other hand was the domain of peasant politics where beliefs and actions did not fit into the grid of ‘interests’ and ‘aggregation of interests’ that constituted the world bourgeois representative politics.⁵⁸”

Therefore, this duality created a fragmentary alliance between the two groups. While the popular container imagination of the bourgeoisie nationstate continued to remain suspicious of the peasant's imagination. The peasant's also translated the container imagination and cut it to fit their own agenda. The differences in the imaginations remained primarily because the container imagination is largely contractual born out of a group of individuals coming together for an alliance, however, the contained imagination is a result of identical interests born out of an already existing membership to a community.

In the post independence era too, their imagination remained largely separated. Yesterdays middle peasants having got rid of colonial rule and benefiting from zamindari abolition and green

⁵⁸ Chatterjee, Partha (Obsid).

revolution have become bullock capitalists of today, whose imaginations have altered from ridding oneself of foreign yoke to achieving remunerative prices and sectoral prosperity. It was only during the era of New Agrarianism of the 1970's with popular debates on India Vs Bharat⁵⁹ that the peasants succeeded in merging their contained imagination with that of the container. However, this too was sectoral in nature whereby, the Kulaks (rich peasants) appropriated state power, acquired respectability in politics and send their children to study abroad thus severing them from the hereditary occupation.

With the New Economic Policy and a severe cut down on Agricultural subsidies more and more peasants have withdraw into their own private hell. From desperation to sheer desperation they had hoped from producing one crop to a completely different type (lured by high price, which intern have proved to be mythical). More and more cotton farmers and groundnut farmers have committed suicide unable to cope with the international competition. The container space cannot or will not be able to shield and protect them. Therefore, more and more peasants will nurse a 'contained nation' which in no way identifies with the overarching ideology, until of course more suicides have been committed, enough in terms of number to challenge the container space into either accommodating this contained space or simply allowing itself to be overhauled.

⁵⁹ Rudolph Loyd I and Rudolph Susanne H: (1987) "In pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of Indian State", Orient Longman.

WOMEN'S NATION

Deconstructing and identifying a “contained world” of women since the days prior to colonization to today is particularly a difficult job primarily because women in India have never been a homogenous category like in that of the west. There has been stark religious differences, fissures caused due to differential economic position, differences on account of habitation in different socio-linguistic regions. Hence, women in general have remained segmented (unlike that of peasants and dalits) and inspite of their socially assigned secondary role have identified more closely with their men (whether father, brother, son) than they could with another woman. As such, feminist movements of the 18th and 19th century which had rocked Europe were like muffled echo in the subcontinent and that too in the post independence era.

Historians of various schools have glorified the ancient women and her emancipated social position by celebrating her rights of choosing her husband, learning the art of war etc. However, Hindu historiography is a problématique because the distinction between myth and history remains blurred. The fact remained that polygamy was practical even in the ancient period and women were given away as gifts to rulers like trophies won in war. The coming of Manu and his dharmasashtra is criticised as the first documented process of systematic negation of women from the public sphere, thus, dividing the social space into outer-material and inner spiritual sphere (concept of Ghar and Bahir)⁶⁰

⁶⁰ See Chatterjee, Pratha (Obsid)

Manu's image of women as being clubbed with Shudras and animals, on being frivolous and promiscuous and hence capable of being led astray, therefore needing constant supervision and if necessary whipping, possibly altered not only the society's perspectives on women but also how women saw themselves. Roles were assigned to her in the form of caring for her husband, washing, cooking and running her household with efficiency. Age of marriage was also suitably decreased. It is very difficult to ascertain whether women at that time had sufficient imagination of her own private space and whether she saw it as appropriated. From the telling sagas of sati, as depicted in films and novels however it is apparent that 'she' was hardly overtly keen on self immolation, thus, making apparent that her notions of being an 'entity' were sufficiently distinct from what the society assigned as 'virtues' of Hindu women. The advent of Islam, did not largely change her imagination, precisely because by then she had retreated into her private sphere and had less contact with Mulsim women whom her society by then had branded as a race of mlechch (barbarians) not that the Mulsim women were any better, being themselves enmeshed in the virtues of the 'paradah'. Therefore ancient and medieval times largely kept secret women's imagination of space, if at all it reveals anything, it reveals a very fragmented imagination which in no can be considered as a representative of her class. Even Chatterjee's demarcation of private spiritual space and public material space is largely as man's imagination.

The coming of the British, however helped to legitimize and advertise a popular western construction of women's space in India which even the Indian man found repulsive. Western 'rational'

literature began to speak of the irrational, humiliating treatment meted out to women, where she leads the life of slave, being married off at an infant stage and being dependent through out her life, illiterate, coarse and unaware of her identity. Artists began to paint pictures of 'harems' of nawabs and writers wrote provocative stories of male polygamy, to a British audience who lapped them up as a delicious scoup. A wave of reforms followed, where abolition of sati, child marriage, and promotion of widow remarriage was propagated. Doing good to Indian Hindu women no, doubt, but doing a larger good to the image of the enlightened Indian Man. The Mulsim society was however not prone to sati or averse to widow remarriage though the private and public sphere remained separated there also. The 'Memsahib' culture had an overpowering effect in Bengal in particular where women's attire went for a change with new additions of the petticoat and blouse. More and more women began to imitate the western women in listening to western music, needlework, reading novels. An a popular cult of 'New Women' was projected feminization of the educational curriculum occurred and many women took to formal western education either in the newly acquired English or in their mother tongue. Scores of literature has been churned bringing out the parody and humour describing Indian women's attempt to imitate the Memsahib.

Here the nationalist container imagination faced a problem, on one hand the growing nationalist zeal wanted to propagate the 'traditional' idea of the nation, on the other this new image of the Indian women, posed a problem. The container imagination could tolerate subjugation and westernization in the 'external' front however, affecting the 'home' front was like appropriating the identity and

Indianness. Yet, educated women began to voice their contained imagination under the western banner, however, they were expected to denounce whatever was western; the clash between the container and the contained was imminent. The container found, a solution by amicably portraying the 'New Indian Women' as not only a better variation of the traditional counterpart but also more 'feminine' and virtuous than the Memsahib. Therefore, while 'she' would ride the open carriage and visit the theatre, no smiling and drinking for her. The western women was denounced as lazy, luxury loving, negligent of her household duty and the new Indian women was expected to be an antidote of all these. Thus, the 'new women's' imagination was unwittingly appropriated to form a best fit where she would be 'refined' and cultured than the loud voiced, vulgar traditional counterpart, but would continue to perform her religious duties, maintain her food habits and care for her household, no matter what her husband was up to. Such a 'compromised nation' was propagated and women were conditioned into acceptance and many women writers in their memoir have confidently preached the 'virtues' of modern Indian women over her western counterparts.

However, this was not a monolithic imagination, large number of Indian women were largely sheltered from any imagination what so ever, many gaped in 'awe' and sneered at the 'new women' others did not even hear about them. In the tribal societies with missionary efforts, women and men did not lag behind each other, however their imaginations were more pre occupied with contained nations of their world (regional linguistic, peasant sentiments).

It was possibly because of the "compromised nation" manufactured, that independent India did not lag in providing voting

rights to its women like many western countries. The subcontinent has thrown up women Prime Ministers and Bangladesh continues to have reign after reign of women prime ministers while America has still not seen a women president. However, again because of the compromised and segmented nature of the 'contained' imagination and inability of women to form a class like that of the west as resulted in open betrayals in parliament over women's reservation bill, and Sha Bano case being appropriated as a 'religion issue' for the sake of vote bank politics.

The fact however remains that public or private sphere, home or outsides women do possess an imagination, which fails to form a monolith due to a criss cross of factors which keep them estranged.

TABLE - 3

States and union territories	% of women employed to total employment in organised sector (March '96)
Andhra Pradesh	15.1
Assam	29.7
Bihar	7.2
Goa	20.6
Gujarat	12.9
Haryana	12.4
Himachal Pradesh	13
J & Kashmir	10.7
Karnataka	26.9
Kerala	35.2
Madhya Pradesh	10.9
Maharashtra	14.2
Manipur	20.3
Meghalaya	22.2

Mizoram	24.4
Nagaland	16.4
Orissa	10.4
Punjab	14.1
Rajasthan	13
Tamilnadu	25.8
Tripura	20
U.P.	8.8
West Bengal	9.3
Delhi	13.8
Andaman & Nicobar	8.1
Chandigarh	17.5
Pondichery	16.4
Daman & Diu	14.3

Source: Selected Socio-economic Statistics, CSSO – 1995.

However, her imagination have been continuously marginalised. In table 3 one observes that none of the states and UTs has even 50% of its organised sector employment in terms of women. Wherever they are present the economic remuneration shows a gap with respect to her male counterparts. This is largely due to the container imagination which construct her as a socially responsible being responsible for her home and hence, doubting her contribution and ability in terms of energy and time at the place of work, reducing her bargaining power. She is pushed into the unorganized sector, or dumped into the agricultural sector. In the former 'she' faces wage discrimination and in latter she continues to give more in terms of workdays than her male counterparts, however not enjoying any decision making power with respect to landuse change or marketing of the product. Modern theological changes do not include her and she

crowds areas where agriculture is of subsistence type or where commercialization is not blatant. Casualization has affected 'her' most and the census until the 2001 never respected her household work. According to the National Sample Survey 35th round – 38% of the women enumerated as non-worker were engaged in household dairy work, 44% in firewood collection, 50% in preparing cow dung cake, 63% in fetching water, 14% in household poultry and 24% in the collection of fish and other small items. Does the container space have the imagination and room to accommodate her contained life experiences, uncommunicated imaginations and her own private nation?

LANGUAGE - A PROBLEM?

Somebody had rightly remarked that speech hides more than it actually reveals. This is probably because language is not merely a means of communication but represent undercurrent of power relations. Even prior to the coming of the British container nation existed in terms of language namely; the Brahmanic civilization with Sanskrit as the tool and Dravidian Civilization with Tamil as its tool. However, each of the two had “contained” nation space in the form of languages of the people like Pali, Prakrit and a host of aboriginal languages. It is in these people’s language that joys, fear hopes myths, folklores, songs were communicated. Even Tamil could not challenge the superiority of Sanskrit, which had no regions to claim its own (as the region were a mosaic of people’s language), but serving to be a symbol of the elite class for governance. Naturally, therefore the British could not identify the container nation, as common linguistic boundary like that of the western models did not exist. Thus, Sir John Seeley had declared that “It does not mark the territory of a nation

and a language, but the territory of many nations and many languages".⁶¹ The national movement however, in their urgent need to propagate a commonness spoke of the homogeneity of the container nation. Both the British and the nationalists were doing the politically correct things, the former pursuing an agenda of divisiveness, the later an attempt at sealing them. Persian which had acquired a pan Indian status after the patronization it had received along with Sanskrit was subdued with a mixture of 'Khariboli' to form a camp language called Urdu. Pashto, Sindhi, Punjabi Kashmiri had also undergone a rehauling due to infiltration of Arabic and Persian words. Bangla, Oriya, Maithili, Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Adi Dravida maintained their originality and the latter split up into Malayalam, Telegu, Tamil. Significant literary renaissance had also enriched some of these.

When the British came, they overthrew the 'village based' feudal order (a task undertaken in the western world by the indigenous population). Therefore, western national structure which had been formed by a natural temporal process of evolution of modes of production into a capitalist order, over throwing the feudal mode of production was not applicable in India. English was given the official status, thus, replacing Urdu's pre-eminent position. This situation was grabbed by many regional elites desiring regionalistic alliance who soon gave a communal status by composting and absorbing Braj, Avadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Malawi into Hindi and pitching it against Urdu dominance. Urdu, which was earlier a composite language, a mixture of varieties of Hindi and Persian was given a communal status and increasingly branded as a Mulsim language. The Congress in

⁶¹ Mishra, K.K.: (1990) "Linguistic Nationalities in India", Social Scientist.

order to portray its secularity adopted Hindustani, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu for official purpose. The Hindi – Urdu tussle had a material undertone to it;

“The (subsequent) declaration of Hindi as the national language would mean the dominance of the Hindi speaking aspirants in the competition for employment (public services). The non-Hindi speakers insisted on retention of English as the only way to block the elevation of Hindi.⁶²

Subsequently, in Bengal, Oriya, Assamese and Bihari sentiment was heightened as against the Bengali bhadralok domination. In Madras, Andhras, Kannadigas and Malayalees also started agitation. Similar dissatisfaction was showed by Sindhis, Punjabis for states based on linguistic line. The Hindu brand of politics adopted by Aurobindo, Patel, Tilak, Gandhi further alienated the Urdu speakers. In fact, the demand for Pakistan on the basis of similar linguistic identity minus Bangladesh could have been a rational and secular one. However, India and Pakistan emerged under a shade of “communal nationalism”⁶³ into which was compromised secular Pathan and Bangladesh as contained nations, misfits in their containers proclaiming a religious identity, both east Bengali and Pathani people had different imaginations their assertion was never on religious lines but was against a brand of cultural nationalism, however this was sacrificed of the larger altar of a container religious imagination.

After independence, the Congress had hoped that under the soothing balm of “Unity in Diversity” linguistic demands would be forgotten and a centralized monopoly government would act as a panacea. This was not to be and partial linguistic reorganization had

⁶² Nag, Sajal: (1993) “Multiplication of Nations? Political Economy of sub-nationalism in India”, Economic and Political Weekly, July 17-24, p. 1529.

⁶³ Mishra (Obsid)

to be brought out, respecting many a contained imagination. Infact, where the process of container formation, takes place through natural process of change of one mode of production into another and centralized bureaucracy develops before capitalistic development, a monolithic container of a nation can be formed erasing 'contained' nations. In India, semifeudal structure was over thrown by foreigners and the capitalist class at that time. Even after independence the capitalist class was half-baked, often themselves being feudal landowners hence swaying between feudal and capitalistic mode. Therefore, the new bourgeoisie was an alliance between capital and feudal order, which could in no way erase the contained imaginations which became reinforced with increasing regional disparity and unequal development. Khubchandani points out that these contained imaginations are themselves not homogenous as often linguistic states are themselves " not homogenous communication zones. The north central part of the country being a "fluid zone" where language identity and language communication pattern are not coterminous, affiliations to a language keep vacillating with changing socio-political climate. The fact remains however that in terms of language, India could well have been a federation of nations.

CONTAINED NATION OVER AND ABOVE THE CONTAINERS?

Before attempting a conclusion a brief statistical exercise can be carried out. In the beginning of this chapter a database on the national question using quotations of a number of eminent people was built up. Here one shall deal with 38 people who are not as 'eminent' at least in the container nation perspective. A brief person to person survey within the Jawaharlal Nehru University campus involving 38 people was carried out.

A standard political map of India was taken, and the only question to each of these 38 people were, whether they could identify the drawing? (spoken in Hindi of course).

OBJECTIVE

Map of India serves to be the most potent visible imprint of a “container nation”, it represents that container, for which one can lay ones life, for which blood shed is legitimized and exalted. I wanted to find out whether the map of India does strikes a cord in the minds of people who are not involved in any intellectual, academic pursuit. (This however does not necessitate their being illiterate).

TARGET GROUP

As already mentioned the target group were people of all ages and sex who were ordinary and unknown, in their sphere of survival. They however had to be workers involving blue collared work, particularly because the question for which an understanding is sought is - those who are engaged in intellectual exercises and academic debates brake and make nation, create space, obviate it, dissect it because it serves as their “food for thought”, what about those who have more mundane things to worry about?

SCHEDULE

S. No.	Name	Occupation	Identified	Hesitated	Failed to identify
1	Vinod	Dhabawala Sabaramati			X
2.	Joginder	- Do-	✓		
3.	Ramkishor	-Do-			X
4.	Ravinder	-Do-			X
5.	Shamkar Singh	Safai Karamcharis			X
6.	Gambhir	Cobbler	✓		
7.	Jagdish	Messenger (Godavari)	✓		X
8.	Narauan Das	Dhabawala (Godavari)			X
9.	Rahul	-Do-			X
10.	Maya	Safai Karamchari		✓	X
11.	Sashi Kiran	-Do-			X
12.	Kishan Bhagat	Guard			X
13.	Chander	Safai Karamchari			X
14.	Mayawati	-Do-			
15.	Srikrishna	Guard	✓		X
16.	--	Security guard SSS			X
17.	Latif	SSS canteen			X
18.	md. Sidique	-Do-			X
19.	Ramesh	-Do-			
20.	Kisan Singh	-Do-	✓		X
21.	Guddu	-Do-			
22.	Prakashi	Safai Karamacharis	✓		X
23.	--	-Do-			X
24.	--	-Do-			X
25.	--	-Do-			X
26.	--	-Do-			X
27.	Paramand	Painter			X
28.	Shyams Sundar	Carpenter			X
29.	Narayan	Library canteen			X
30.	Sunny	-Do-			X
31.	Bharat Singh	Guard (Library)			X
32.	Dhirender	Photocopy operator SSS			X
33.	Laskhmi	Safai Karamachari SS1			X
34.	Kishan	Ganga Dhaba			X
35.	Hemant	Pan Shop owner (Ganga Dhaba)	✓		X
36.	Santhosh is a patty Kr	Ganga Dhaba			x
37.	Haris Kr.	-Do-	✓		
38.	Subodh Kr	-Do-			
			Total : 8	Total : 1	Total : 29

The schedule indicates the name (wherever there was no hesitation in providing it) occupation of the 38 respondents, whether they were able to identify the map, or failed to do it, or whether there was a kind of hesitation involved.

Results	
Universe	38
Identified	8
Could not identify	29
Hesitated	1

One does not aim to test the significance of this statistical exercise. One does not want to claim that because 76% of the population failed to make even head or tail of it (even though many of them were literate and could even read English), India as a container space fails to exist amongst its ordinary folks.

All I want to harp at, is though these people are mainly safai karamacharies (sweepers) canteen workers, cobblers, guards yet all of them have been under the glare of the media, all of them watch T.V., yet, a map of India, the "Territorial expression" for which they can be hauled up and their lives claimed fail to strike a chord in their mind's eye.

Literacy has nothing to do with this, Bharat Singh (Guard, no. 312 in this schedule) who could read English did not identify it. Dharendra, who is a photocopy operator at School of Social Sciences I, who possibly sees a map of India everyday registered blank. Prakash (no. 22) who is an illiterate could identify it. The emotions which crisscrossed their faces when being told that they had failed to identify the map of India, was not a brand of shame for having let ones nation

down, it was a kind of self pity which one feels at missing a question in a quiz game.

The criticism that map is a an academic tool and therefore is a mismatch for universe will only reinforce the point one has made earlier-that nationspace, container or contained is essentially a 'food for thought' for the academia and means very little for the not so eminent people who have other things to worry about. They will support India to the hilt in a cricket match against Pakistan, but make no mistake, that does not necessarily mean that their imaginations are homogenous and can be appropriated by the ballot paper. We can 'unearth' their imaginations only and only when we have 'unlearned' our nation. The need for unlearning any all-embracing idea as a monolith is what this statistical exercise emphasises at.

CONCLUSION

One would like to clarify two points in my conclusion. Firstly, this chapter is not intended as a debate between popular nationalistic historiography and other historiographics. Secondly, it is not an attempt to undermine the importance of one approach at the costs of another.

In the beginning itself I had called for a willing suspension of disbelief had been called for. One has have tried to achieve just that i.e. to block out ones beliefs completely so as to rediscover geographical space as a container and as contained. Both being merely two variety of a very large array waiting to be explored.

In the previous chapter one had touched upon the tools in geography carving out space. Here one has have actually depicted the use of similar tools in creation of the container and then the confined space. While, the process of construction of space as a container has been depicted through popular dimension of the map, common history, census, films; producing a space which was total, general and standard. Alternatively, one has also 'deconstructed' the container space to re-imagine contained space or contained spaces in the form of points within point, gray areas, transition zones and layers beneath layers. One has tried to negate any superiority complex which may be associated with any of the two types, thus reinforcing a necessity to 'unlearn' ones biases and review all types of spaces as contested terrains. New avenues for geographic research can be unearthed by continuously harping at a geographer's capacity to imagine, simply because he/she is the most resilient inter-disciplinarian who already inhabits in transition zones of knowledge rather than within well-demarcated stereotypes. Therefore, one would like to conclude with a few lines taken from the "concluding remarks of a geographer in an article called "Nation, Space, Modernity" in "New Models of geography" edited by Richard Peet and Nigel Thrift (1989).

"It may be that critical thinking about what I have written ("Nation, Space, Modernity") will enhance the theoretical development of geography, a discipline which I hope, will not continue to underestimate its importance to social science"⁶⁴

Thus, while geographers have displayed tremendous acumen and critical thinking in constructing container space, one believes that contained space is another area which the geographers can explore and excel on. There is no need to search for new themes. Old themes

⁶⁴ Cooke, Philip: (1989) "New Models in Geography" Vol. 1, Part IV, Richard Peet, Nigel Thrift (eds), p. 289.

can be rediscovered revisited and a 'contained imagination' unearthed for each. In fact, social sciences are replete with such themes on 'container space', all that remains to be done is to re-imagine them which the inter-disciplinarian can achieve very well. There is no need to squabble over tools, for imagination is an individualistic exercise and therefore need not be politically correct, or economically feasible. There also exists no real problems of data availability, for data in re-imagination is essentially drawn from lived experiences. This, one believes will continue to contribute to the geographer's importance in social science for, he/she having displayed the map, the region, the network, the digital image, the nation container, will move beyond them to newer layers, newer terrains and grayer zones. Unless geographers take up this exercise, somebody else will grab the opportunity.

CHAPTER – 5

Container and Contained Space Realized through People's Imaginations of Container Nation and Contained Nations

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an attempt to carry forward, experiment and operationalize some of the imaginations theorized and shaped in the previous chapter. In the previous chapter an attempt had been made to first construct space as a container using the specific case of nationspace. The variables that had been used to build the container included common history, map and museum, the census, formal education and cinema. In the latter part of the chapter an attempt was made to deconstruct the nation container and unearth certain contained spaces as in dalit imagination, peasant imaginations, feminist imagination and other multifaceted imagination of multilingual India. Common peoples association and identification with container space was explored by using the map of India as a surrogate for container India. The results indicated the possibility of capturing myriad hidden imaginations which can however only be unearthed once one is able to unlearn the fixed notions and the conditioning one receives since birth. A conditioning which often inadvertently reduces ones capability of alternative *imagination often fuzzy* and unclear. In this chapter some of the questions whose tried to answers have been sought include the following;

1. Is it possible to bring out the container spatial imagination and contained spatial imagination of real people.
2. Is there a group or section of people among whom one imagination is more dominant than the other?
3. How do the imagination vary across gender and economic position in society?
4. To what extent does the container space and the contained space coexist in peoples mind?

To arrive at answers a primary survey of 150 people were conducted.

METHODOLOGY

A symbol pool of 40 symbols was formulated including an equal mix of container symbols and contained symbols (provided in chart). The symbols ordained as container and contained were solely based on the understanding of “container space” and “contained space” as formulated in the earlier chapter. Care was taken to ensure that each symbol did fit into the definitional framework introduced earlier.

THE CONTAINER SYMBOLS

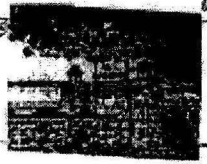
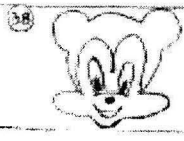
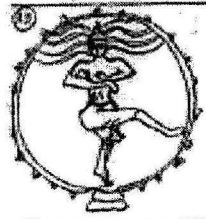
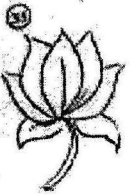
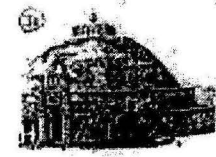
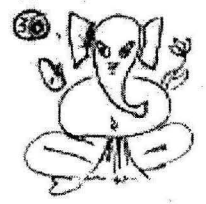
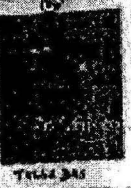
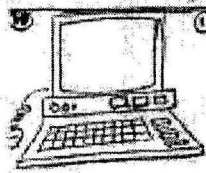
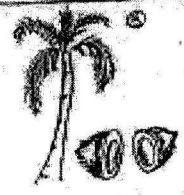
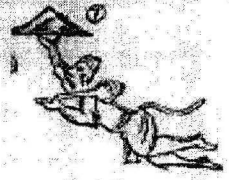
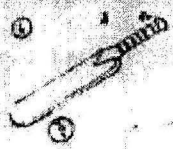
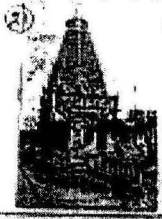
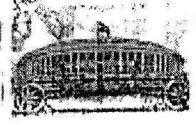
1. Sachin Tendulkar
2. Cricket bat and ball
3. Amitabh Bachchan
4. Mahatma Gandhi
5. The holy sign of Allah in Islam i.e. the crescent, star and the Holy Number
6. Computer
7. The National Emblem

8. The National Flag
 9. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
 10. The Parliament House
 11. Gautama Buddha
 12. Baba Saheb Ambedkar
 13. Ram and Sita
 14. The Holy Cross
 15. Sanchi Stupa
 16. The National Flower
 17. The Hindu Holy Sign i.e. The 'OM'
 18. The Mickey Mouse
 19. The Nike Logo
 20. The Red Fort
-

The underlying logic behind assuming or classifying them as container symbols is their over arching quality. These symbols have not been treated with respect to their intrinsic quality but rather as cultural symbols of secular Indian Nationspace which has gained popularity across classes, communities and religions. Thus, they are a collection of icons which are national enough to be identified irrespective of the class, sect or religion to which they specifically belong. Therefore, they are largely the representative of the popular imagination of Indian Nation and have risen above contained affiliations. To elucidate with examples; Sachin Tendulkar may be a cricketing hero but in India he has acquired the status of a National icon and is hence not the sole property of cricket fans in the same sense as Buddha is a national icon or Rama-Sita is a cultural symbol. Thus, cricket bat and ball is as much an overarching figure as Gandhi or Azad or Bachchan is and the Ashokan Pillar is as much as popular symbol as the Parliament or Redfort or Sanchi Stupa, or the lotus or

SYMBOL CHART

SYMBOL CHART



for that matter the tricolour and the computer is. With globalization and IT revolution the Micky mouse and the Nike logo is considered to be conterminous with the 'OM' or the lotus as important container symbol. The moot point is however, that there is no attempt to clarify the extent of popularity or the degree of nationalness of the container symbols themselves. They are all complementary and not competitive and hence do not fall in any hierarchy in the symbol pool. One begins by giving equal importance to Gandhiji as to the Mickey Mouse as container symbols and no attempt is made to ascertain whether Gandhi is more important a container symbol than the Mickey Mouse is. Therefore, the larger purpose is not to ascertain whether symbol number nine is more important or popular than symbol number 33 but all the symbols are simply a tool for understanding how individuals as members of groups identify themselves with container space, whether they depict some homogeneity in their nature of association or are they so heterogeneous so as to defy any kind of pattern formation. Therefore the intrinsic character of the individual symbols i.e whether religious character, or nationalist trait, or corporate character is entirely obviated, their individual identity is simply regaled to standardize them simply as cultural symbols of a container space called the Indian nation. It is however entirely possible that at the end of the exercise certain symbols emerge as more popular than certain others, this is just a fall out of the entire exercise which will aid in interpreting the underlying behavioural patterns behind spatial association than establishing a rank order of symbols in terms of popularity.

The Contained Symbols

1. Camel
 2. Sickle and grain stalk
 3. Devi Durga
 4. Dayanand Saraswati
 5. Hanuman
 6. Coconut tree and coconut
 7. Ramakrishna Paramahansa
 8. Tulsi Das
 9. Natraj
 10. Kathakali Dancer
 11. South Indian Temple (Tanjore Temple)
 12. Netaji Subash Chandra Bose
 13. Lord Jaganath
 14. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
 15. Fish
 16. Lord Ganesha
 17. Swami Vivekananda
 18. Tamarind
 19. Bullock and Plough
 20. Goddess Saraswati
-

The contained symbols again have been chosen keeping in mind multifarious identities and heterogeneous imaginations. Regional symbols have been mixed with linguistic and other identity based symbols. No claim however is being made of representing all regions, all identities, all languages, all traditions just as in the earlier case of container symbols no focussed attempt had been made to include all religions or all sports, etc. The symbols have been chosen keeping in mind the definitional backdrop preset in the previous chapter. They largely, include the 'sublayers' the points within 'points' and the 'gray areas' within the overarching blanket and node and broad zones.

Thus, the contained symbols stand out in the similarity of one trait i.e. the absence of an 'all embracing', universalizing, over arching character. They are limited in their dimensions in the sense that they do not claim to cut across, class, sect, religion or boundary. It is possible that more than a single region, or a single religion or sect may identify with it, yet in their inherent nature they cannot act as representative icons of the entire nation space. Thus, they confine their operation within pocket and are popular within that pocket or a numbers of such pocket without however having the homogenizing character in the form of a standardizable scale enveloping an entire crossection called the nation. Thus, camel is largely a contained cultural symbol as a tamarind, fish or coconut is. Not that, camel cannot exist elsewhere other than Rajasthan or that a Bihar cannot identify with a coconut. It is not as if the camel is the sole prerogative of a Rajasthani, fish that of a Bengali, tamarind and coconut that of Keralites and Tamilians but the basic assumption is that each of these symbols have cultural roots which are immediately identified in pockets. The cultural underpinnings make fish a cultural symbols of the east, the coasts and camel that of Rajasthan and coconut and tamarind that of South India. It is entirely true that people all over the country consider them as part of the cultural capital, however it is their 'cultural specificity' in terms of socio-cultural roots make them region specific, group specific, thus, the assumption therefore is that they would evolve certain *spontaneous* imagination and close affinity from a certain pocket more immediately, more importantly and predominantly than from others. Similarly, Durga will largely be a cultural symbol of a Bengali just as Ramakrishna, Netaji and Vivekandand will be. Ganesh will evoke imaginations in the Hindi

heartland and Maharashtra and as Vinayaka in South India just as Saraswati will stir nostalgia among people of Bengal, and Orissa Natraj among south Indians, Jagganatha among Oriyas. Hanuman again will expectedly be popular among the people of the Hindi belt as well as among people from lower economic strata in general who could be more likely to feel an affinity towards the hardworking tribal deity, a deity who with his symbolism of rigorous hardwork will weave a commonality with people employed in blue collared work. The Kathakali dancer would strike a chord with the South Indians as the sickle and cow would be easily identified by migrants who were originally tied to the land either as landless workers or land owners. Dayanand Saraswati with his Hindu social reforms and Tulasidas and remembrances of his dohas would attract a predominantly differed category of people than Syed Ahmed Khan whose contribution to education among Muslims would be remembered possibly by an entirely different group. Against the contained symbols are simply cultural icons, evoking memories among a specific or largely specific target population and are not to be gauged as religious, economic, political. Together they form a culture specific icon bank, which can be interpreted as spontaneous, particularistic, primordial, exclusive.

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Association or identification with symbols can provide an idea about spatial conceptualizations both container and contained.
2. The container symbols and the contained symbols are the only two categories in the symbol pool. Intrinsic qualities like political, religious, sectarian after not considered. Therefore, the 2 sets of symbols are treated as universal cultural symbols

(container symbols) and specific cultural symbols (contained symbol).

SAMPLE SIZE AND CHARACTER

An universe of 140 people have been surveyed. 70 of which include people from the middle income group earning more than Rs. 5000 per month involved largely in activities other than manual labour. This 70 has again been divided into 35 males and 35 females within the same category, as either themselves involved in occupation which does not involve in physical labour and fetches more than Rs. 5000 per month or being members of such a house hold.

The other 70 includes population from the low-income group as usually involved in manual labour and earning less than or equal to Rs. 5000 per month. This again being divided into 35 males and 35 females. Therefore the universe of 140 have been stratified first on the basis of income group namely, low and middle and then each of this strata have been divided into substrata of males and females in equal proportion. The respondents have been randomly picked on the basis of a random number table.

STUDY AREA

The field area included the low-income localities like the slums or colonies called the 'Saraswati Camp' and Motilal Nehru Camp near Munirka enclave apartments Munirka Vihar and Loksabha/Rajya Sabha Awas near Priya Cinema. These localities fall within South Delhi. The reason for specifically choosing these areas where firstly because they represented a healthy mix of communities and secondly, because their comfortable distance from the J.N.U. campus which

allowed one to investigate even in odd hours. The questionnaire has been added in the appendix.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was kept crisp and simple in order to capture spontaneity, which is essential in depicting imaginations and conceptions. Questions were asked under the following heads.

1. The respondents name
2. Address
3. Occupation
4. State of origin
5. Sex
6. Age

And a second section requiring him/her to choose any ten symbols with which the responders could identity himself/herself from the pool of 40 arranging them in descending order of preferences, stating one reason for choosing each (See Appendix). A chart containing a mixture of container and contained symbols discussed above was provided for the exercise. All the symbol were made available in monochrome to make them equal in terms of presentability.

LIMITATIONS

1. One would have preferred to include a much large collection of symbols for a more rigorous exercise but problems here are two fold. Firstly, the limitations of time had to be taken into consideration. Secondly, while surveying it was realized that a larger number of symbols could have resulted in diminishing

returns and a loss of spontaneity as the mind would be too confused to spontaneously grade symbol in order of preference. In fact, there was considerable problem while surveying the low-income group, often the respondents had to be coaxed into carefully observing each symbol before embarking on the exercise.

2. Keeping in mind the time constraints, a more complete survey was not possible. Ideally, such a survey should incorporate people from different sections of socio-economic and cultural existence. A dual survey of migrants and their counterparts in their native states and union territories (place of origin), with a mix and match of dual imaginations could have yielded a more comprehensive result.
3. Minor distorting of respondents perception resulted in case of interference from others. Often the husbands tended to help their wives in their preference listing, at other times they tended to advise and often scold them for having chosen for example Amitabh Bachchan over Gandhiji. No amount of explaining, that the gendered perception and the difference between male-female conceptualization was an important component in-built in the research methodology would convince husbands from interfering with their wives and fathers interfering with their children.
4. In the low-income group the respondents often took it as a kind of a game and many tried to choose symbols which they thought that the researcher would like. Thus, keeping with the interviewer's image of an educated university student many illiterate housewives strove to choose the computer. Repeated

explanations on the necessity of choosing symbols of closer affiliation to their life experience had to be given.

These were however, some of the inherent problems of questionnaire surveys which tend to plague all researchers especially when the target population happens to be illiterate

UNEARTHING SPATIAL IMAGINATIONS

The major purpose of this field survey has been to unearth if possible differing spatial imaginations, not only in terms of container and contained but also in terms of gender differences and class differences. The data obtained in the form of male, female rank order preference for symbols have been analyzed in a frequency distribution table divided into two income groups low and middle in Table 4. In Table 1 (in appendix) the preference hierarchy for various symbols have been computed divided into categories of low income group total; which shows the ordering of all the 40 symbols in descending order, ranging from those which were more frequently chosen by the low income group to that of the ones least frequency chosen. Similar frequency wise ranking of female and male preferences have been computed for the low-income group. The middle income group frequency hierarchy in descending order with male, female and total as separate categories have also been computed.

THE LOW INCOME GROUP

The low income category when considered as a group (Fig. 11), show that the container symbols like Gandhiji, Amitabh Bachchan, Ram-Sita and the lotus occupy high position in the hierarchy. This indicates the overarching quality of these symbols

which captures the essence of India as a Nation container so comprehensively that even the marginalised are brought into the fold of the same container imagination as the affluent, in this sense the imagination of these poor people seem to match that of the Tata and Birlas.

The container symbols which had a moderate appeal to this group as a whole included Sachin Tendulkar, the Parliament house, the national flag, the crescent, 'OM', Buddha, cricket bat and ball, Maulana Azad, Computer and Ambedkar (Table I Appendix). Those which were not patent enough to evoke an overarching nation space included the cross, the red-fort, the Mickey mouse, the Sanchi Stupa and the Nike logo. The Mickey mouse and the Nike logo seem to have been out-rightly rejected across this group possibly concretizing the understanding that their potentials as container symbols are largely limited to a certain economic strata. Again it has to be accepted that a far comprehensive understanding could have been evolved if the sample survey could be equally divided among people of all religion, all economic categories, all parts of India. A different insight could also be uncovered if religious symbols were done away with but this too as its peril has religiosity in India to a large extent overlaps with cultural identities.

Goddess Saraswati, the bullock-plough, Hanuman, Ganesha, the fish, tamarind, camel in general have done well indicating that these symbols are or were more akin to the life of these people evoking localized, village specific, region specific, culture specific, gender specific imaginations which to a large extent would be complementary

TABLE - 4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 40 SYMBOLS DIVIDED INTO MALE(M), FEMALE(F) AND TOTAL (T)
Symbols (As per serial number in the chart) →

	Camel			Sachin Tendulkar			Sickle and Grain Stalk			Devi Durga			Dayanand Saraswati			Cricket bat and ball			Vir hanuman			Coconut tree and coconut			Amitabh Bachchan			Computer			Gandhi			Crescent star and Holy Number			Ramkrishna			Tulsi Das		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Middle Income Group (Above 5000 per Month)	9	0	9	15	17	32	3	1	4	4	7	11	8	6	14	4	8	12	11	6	17	2	2	4	12	19	31	21	15	36	21	26	47	2	3	5	7	8	15	4	6	10
Low Income Group (Below 500 per Month)	9	12	21	11	7	18	5	7	12	1	2	4	3	0	3	4	6	10	17	13	30	10	12	22	21	19	40	2	6	8	28	29	57	7	9	16	3	1	4	2	0	2
Total	18	12	30	26	24	50	8	8	16	5	10	15	11	6	17	8	14	32	28	18	46	12	14	26	33	38	71	23	21	44	49	55	104	9	12	21	10	9	19	6	6	12

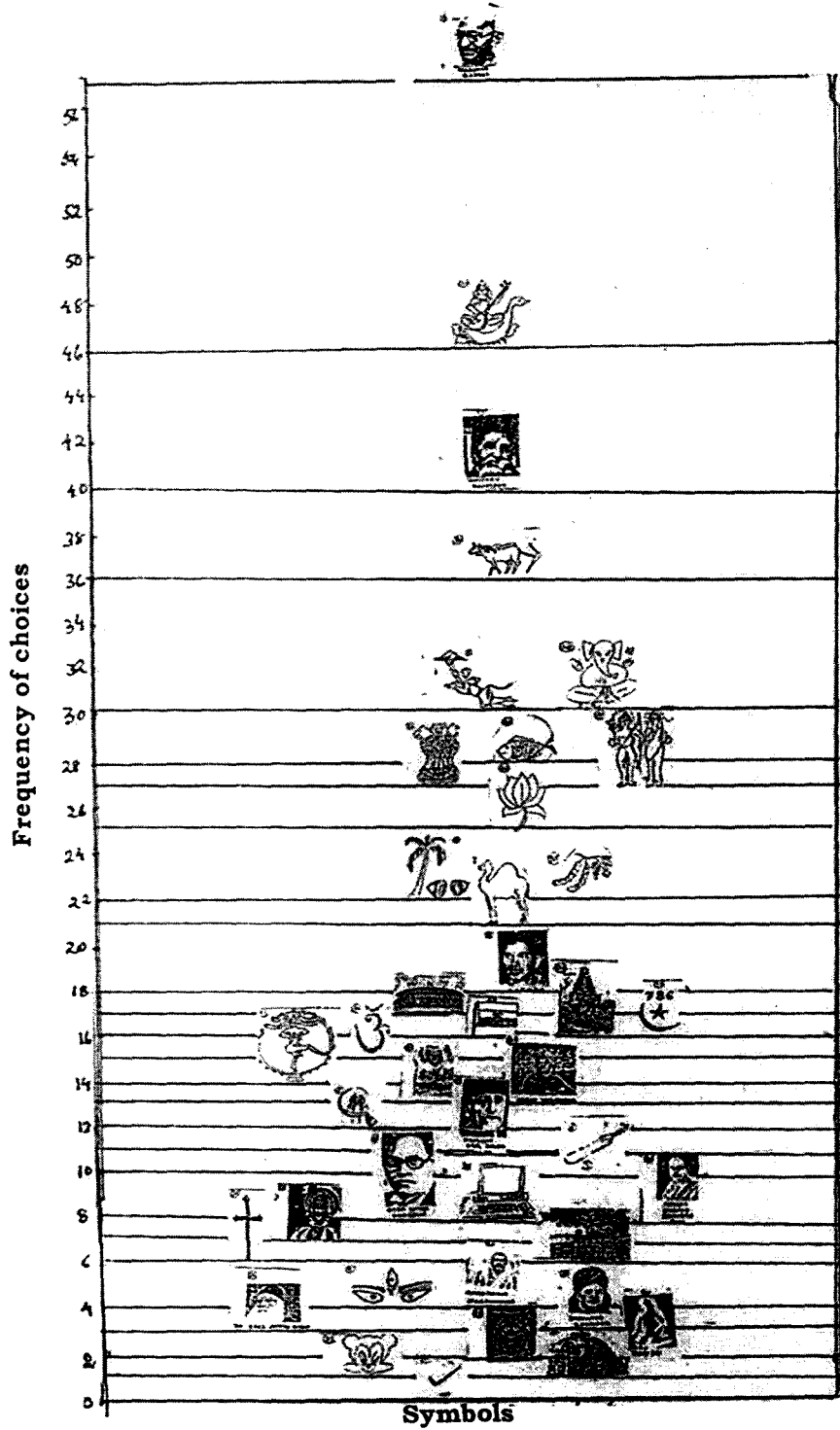
(Contd. Table 4)

	Natraj			Ashokan Pillar			Kathakali Dancer			National Flag			Maulana Azad			Parliament House			South Indian Temple			Netaji Subash			Lord Jagganath			Gautam Buddha			B.R. Ambedkhar			Sayed Ahmed Khan			Ram-Sita			Fish				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Middle Income Group (Above 5000 per Month)	5	11	16	20	14	34	4	4	8	20	19	39	4	2	6	21	16	37	6	2	8	12	9	21	5	1	6	10	14	24	4	9	13	2	1	3	14	8	22	3	2	5		
Low Income Group (Below 500 per Month)	3	11	14	18	9	27	5	2	7	9	7	16	6	5	11	12	5	17	8	8	19	7	1	8	1	1	2	10	3	13	5	3	8	1	2	3	12	15	27	15	13	28		
Total	8	22	30	38	23	61	9	6	15	29	26	55	10	7	17	3	21	54	14	10	24	19	10	29	6	2	8	20	17	37	9	12	21	3	3	6	26	23	49	18	15	33		

(Contd. Table 4

	Holy Cross			Ganesha			Sanchi Stupa			Vivekanand			National Flower			'OM'			Tamarind			Bullock Plough			Godess Saraswati			Mickey Mouse			Nick Logo			Red Fort				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Middle Income Group (Above 5000 per Month)	4	7	11	14	19	33	1	0	1	19	15	34	7	7	14	15	7	22	3	2	5	8	5	13	15	20	35	3	7	10	2	0	2	6	4	10		
Low Income Group (Below 500 per Month)	0	6	6	11	19	30	1	0	1	7	6	13	11	14	25	8	7	15	5	17	22	17	19	36	22	24	46	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	3	6		
Total	4	13	17	25	38	63	1	0	1	25	21	46	18	21	39	23	14	37	8	19	27	25	21	49	37	44	81	3	8	11	2	0	2	9	7	16		

LOW INCOME GROUP
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY



to the overarching imaginations aroused by Gandhiji, Bachchan etc. The contained symbols which have not fared particularly well include the Kathakali dancer, Devi Durga, Natraj, Netaji, Ramakrishna, Swami Dayanand, Syed Ahmed Khan, Tulsi Das, Lord Jaganath. The reason for their mediocre performance does not lie in their inability to juggle contained imaginations, what could be understood from the general altitude is that these symbol are couched in regional, order or class sentiments and provided that the sample could include sufficient number of people from those particular regions, orders or classes their performance would have been better. Wherever respondents identity overlapped with these highly culture specific symbols they received enthusiastic backing. Considering the limited time and ariel expanse of the study these symbols cannot be overtly rejected and contained imaginations branded stagnant in these spheres. As more expansive research could illuminate this aspect.

LOW INCOME FEMALE

As far as the female population of the low income group is considered (Figure 12) the symbols which seem to capture the imagination include Mahatma Gandhi, followed by that of goddess Saraswati and in the third rung of the preference hierarchy by Amitabh Bachchan, Ganesh, and the bullock and plough. This in turn is closely followed by the tamarind and then Rama Sita and in the 6th rung by the lotus. While Gandhiji received the highest number of votes from the low income group females, this was not an unique feature. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi is indeed on overarching figure and occupies a large part of the container imagination of the people cutting across gender and class difference is well proved by the

fact that his was the only figure which appeared at the top of the frequency ranking table across all the categories. Amitabh Bachchan to a large extent appears to be yet another cult figure helping male, females across classes to construct a container nation in their minds. The other two container symbols in the reckoning i.e. Ram-Sita and lotus figure prominently in the female mind of the low income group, had unique reasons for their popularity in this group. The females chose the former for they seemed to represent the ideal couple symbolizing loyalty, piety and chastity, in other words all those symbolic virtues which are valued by and considered coterminous with an ideal construct of a just society. Thus overarching qualities and attributes of the holy couple, seemed to make them less human and hence more aspired for in turn representing an image of India as all embracing, as the ideal nation state namely, the Ram Rajya.

The lotus though included as a container symbol did not evoke container spatial imagination, it was chosen by the low income group females primarily because it looked like a beautiful flower. In that respect it served to infuse a more contained individualistic sentiment than any overarching project.

Among the contained symbols chosen, the tamarind and the bullocks drawing plough are especially interesting, more so, because these two symbols became prototype of class and gender respectively. The former was given a specially preferential treatment by the females of the low income category only. Examining tamarind's position elsewhere show that it does not capture the imagination of the females of the middle income group nor does it figure importantly in the minds of males both low and middle income. Females of the low income category who chose tamarind largely said that it reminded them of

village trees. Thus, tamarind which was chosen to represent contained spatial imagination in the form of South-Indian food preferences served to explore unique imaginations of poor women of their villages and their wild childhood days of raiding tamarind trees. Thus it serves to evoke not only an unique spatial imagination but an imagination unique to a particular gender and a class. More so because tamarind does not figure importantly in the preference hierarchy of the low income males.

The bullock and the plough has a slightly different story, it becomes a representative of a class imagination, the gender component is absent, as it figures prominently in the higher rungs for both males and females of the poor income group but is conspicuously absent from the top echelons of the male-female preferences of the middle income group. Goddess Saraswati and Ganesha on the other hand seems to be easily identified with across all classes and gender. It is true that some women saw in the Goddess's image only a duck or a peacock and in that of Ganesh's only an elephant, by and large they figured as a popular representative contained imagination.

The next interesting observation which can be arrived at is on the basis of female (low income) preference for fish and coconut. Both these symbols rank 7th and 8th in the preference hierarchy (Fig. 12, Table (I) provided in the appendix) and were largely chosen by the females of this class as they could easily identify with them over and above many other container symbols, in many cases because they were an inherent part of their kitchen or because the other symbols were to alien for them. Both these symbols figure prominently in the preference hierarchy of the low income males as well making both of them representative symbols of a class specific imagination,

particularly because they are absent in the high preference position of the men and women of the middle income category. An interesting observation is that at least 2 females from Rajasthan mistook the coconut tree for a date tree and the coconut for date, clearly indicating the containedness of this symbol and its capacity to evoke the roots of ones life experiences. Gandhiji or Amitabh Bachchan could not have been mistaken for anyone else precisely because they are completely antipodal in their unmistakable all embracingness to that of the coconut tree.

Other contained symbols occupying the middle order of the preference hierarchy of the females include the camel, the Natraj, the South-Indian temple the sickle and grain stalk. The camel and the sickle symbol once again become contained symbols of the low income class group as they figure low down in the middle income group both for males and for females. The Natraj and the South-Indian temple received most preference votes from females who were original inhabitants of Tamilnadu, just as the camel was recognized by migrants from Rajasthan. While Hanumanji also received moderate preference on account of his popularity in the Hindus pantheon among females of U.P. and Bihar. It is significant that neither the females from Bengal nor those from Tamilnadu opted for him. The container symbols make their presence felt only from the 10th rung and that too, the crescent and the national emblem were largely chosen because once again they were accidentally linked with everyday life experiences. While most low income category women identified with the crescent not as an Islamic holy symbol but as the moon and star which she observed daily, the emblem was identified with because these women had seen it embossed on the coin. Thus,

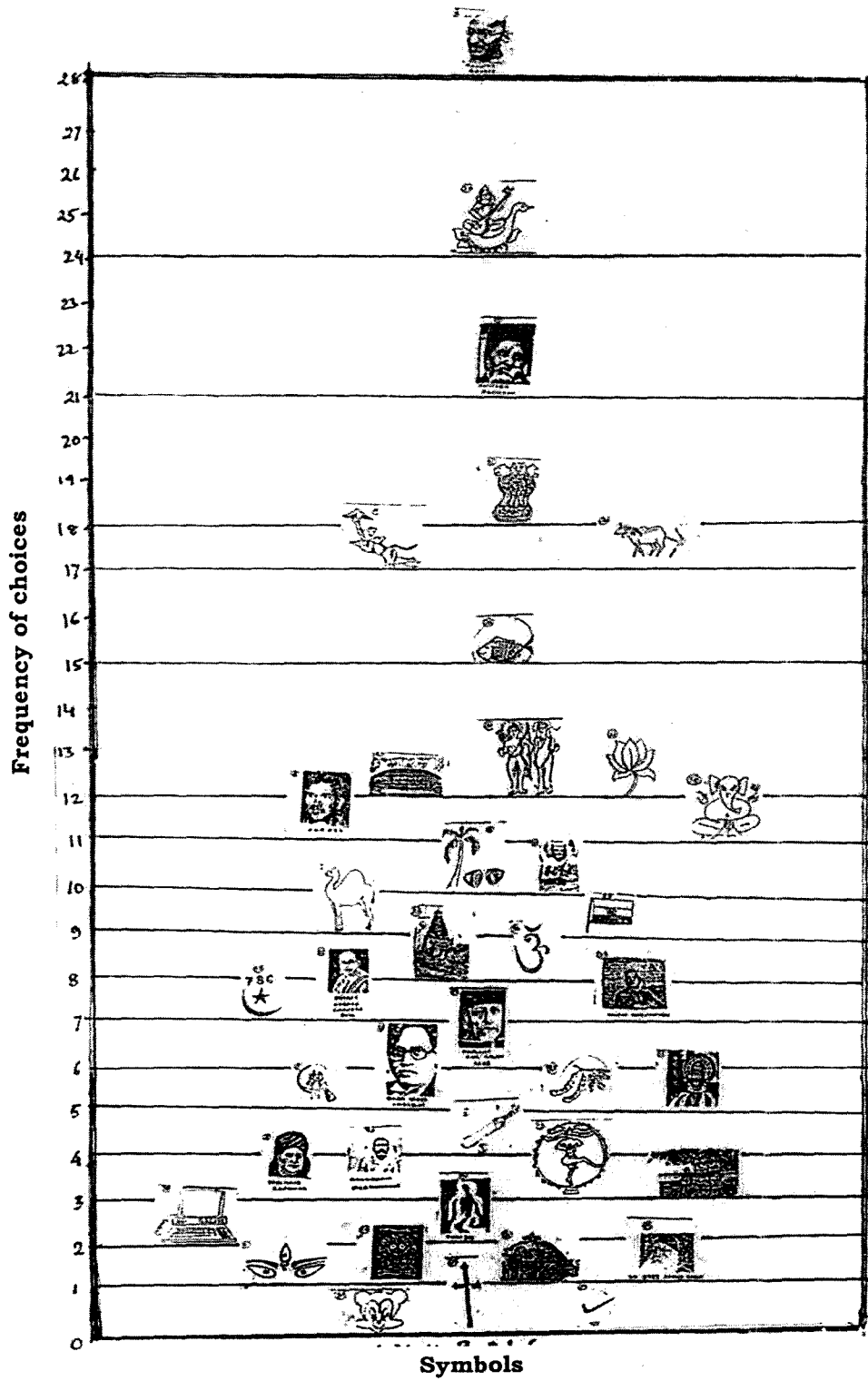
though posed to evoke overarching imaginations, these container symbols largely juggled contained imagination. In one specific case a boy warned his aunty from refraining from choosing the crescent as according to him the crescent was symbolic of Islam and they were Hindus by birth, the aunt however was adamant that the crescent had nothing to do with religion and that it was the moon which she saw daily. Further lower down container symbols like Tendulkar, the National flag and the 'OM' makes their appearances followed by the remaining container symbols. Some of the contained symbols which did not find a place in the minds of these women were Kathakali dancer, Ramakrishna, Devi Durga, Dayanand Saraswati, Netaji, Jaganath, Syed Ahmed Khan, Tulsi Das. In most case the reason for their rejection was the absence of large number of respondents from Bengal or Orissa (indeed very few Bengali or Oriya women were to be found in the low income category). Three container symbols which were rejected or nearly so were the Mickey mouse which had just one taker and the Sanchi Stupa and the Nike Logo which had none. This is true for the low income male category as well, thus indicating that the Mickcymouse and the Nike are largely class specific container symbols, and are not part of the life experiences of the poor.

LOW INCOME MALES

The preference hierarchy of low income males broadly pertains to the preference hierarchy of the low income females (fig. 13), (Table 4 and Table I (in appendix)) thus, together these two sub-categories can be loosely clubbed with minor give and takes into a common spatial perception hierarchy representative of a particular economic strata.

FIGURE - 13

LOW INCOME MALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY



While Gandhiji, Saraswati, Amitabh Bachchan, Ram-Sita and the lotus continues to rule the roost amongst the container symbols, three new additions in the upper rung of the hierarchy which seems to be relevant, considering that the low income females did not accord much importance to them, are the national emblem which stands as the fourth most frequently identified with container symbol, the Parliament house which stands in the seventh rank and Sachin Tendulkar which stands at the 8th position (Table 4, Table I Appendix). Considering the fact that in the low income female category the emblem stood at the 10th position, Sachin Tendulkar in the 12th and Parliament house in the 20th, these three container symbols seems to capture a more masculine identity to the nation and are hence a representative of gendered space than that of economic position. Another important observation stems from the fact that though the lotus was popular among the males, unlike the females it was identified with more as political symbol than as a beautiful flower. The National flag, B.R. Ambedkar, Maulana Azad, the 'OM' are the other container symbols which also stands promoted. The container symbols which stand demoted however include the computer the Mickey mouse, the cross. In fact what was observable was more low income females had shown interest towards the computer than the males and surprisingly no female mistook it for the television while some males did precisely that. This feminine interest to the computer can probably be attributed to the fact that most of the low income females work as maids in houses where they come in closer proximity to the computers than their male counterparts who are elsewhere engaged. The low income males also differ from the females with respect to the fact that they chose to ignore the cross and the

crescent. Some Muslim men did not bother to choose the crescent while some Christian men ignored the cross. On having enquired it was realized that most Muslim men feared to reveal their religious identity while many Christian men felt that people in general did not know what the cross stood for and hence made preferences of symbols which were more commonly known. The females on the other hand identified with the cross quite easily as many of them came in direct contact with missionaries who came to the slums to teach and the crescent was quite a hot favourite as it was chosen as the moon without any religious connotation whatsoever.

Among the 'contained' symbols what is largely noticeable is that apart from a general similarity in the trend, Ganesh has been prominently demoted by the males along with the tamarind coconut and camel. Thus the influence of urban society seemed to have rubbed off on the males to a greater extent than on the females as contained symbols associated with culture specific imaginations have received lesser importance than symbols of universalized imaginations which to a large extent have received a boost.

CONTAINER AND CONTAINED

As a group however the low income category can be considered to depict a pattern as far as container and contained imagination goes. In general it was possible to bring out the container and contained spatial imagination of the respondents. Table-5 indicates that for the females 196 responses were in favour of contained symbols and 154 for container symbols. For the males the responses in favour of contained symbols were 181 and that for the container symbols were 169. For the group as a whole the contained symbols

were chosen 374 times while the container symbols for 326 times. Thus, it can be inferred that contained symbols unearthing layers within layers and points within points were more dominant than container symbols universalizing imaginations. The class as a whole showed a tendency towards unearthing numerous nations in their myriad imaginations than corroborating towards a universal all embracing container spatial imagination. The contained imaginations were stronger amongst the women folk who identified to a greater extent with symbols from daily life and often defied their husband's chiding and advice of choosing more "respectable" symbols than the coconut tree or the tamarind. This however does not go into formalizing that the contained space amongst the economically marginalised or amongst the gendered marginalised stands in competition with the container space. Although in terms of the numerical majority the maximum choices have been for contained symbols, container symbols like Gandhi, Bachchan have been the most frequently chosen thus indicating that the container Nation and the contained nation complement each other. Although in terms of the total frequency contained symbols have scored above the container, container symbols like Gandhi, Bachchan, have individually scored higher than many a contained symbol. Therefore, there can never be a competition amongst the spatial imaginations, nor any hierarchy, they simply coexist.

TABLE - 5

TOTAL FREQUENCY OF CHOICES FOR CONTAINER SYMBOLS					
Low income female	154	Middle income female	248	Total female	402
Low income male	169	Middle income male	211		
Low income total	236	Middle income total	408	Total male	308

TOTAL FREQUENCY OF CHOICES FOR CONTAINED SYMBOLS					
Low income female	196	Middle income female	102	Total female	289
Low income male	181	Middle income male	139		
Low income total	374	Middle income total	192	Total male	320

Certain container symbols like the crescent, the Mickey mouse, Nike logo, the computer, the cross have turned out to be more representative of contained imaginations while contained symbols Saraswati, Hanuman have evoked container imagination in the versatility of positive responses they drew from a cross-section of the respondents. Saraswati as a contained symbol certainly proved to be an aberration to her group and the Goddess' over whelming popularity in this part of the world is certainly difficult to explain. Some contained symbols evoked altogether different contained imagination than expected, thus Rajasthani's mistook the coconut tree for date tree and the duck in the Saraswati symbol with the peacock while

many a South-Indian took Sir Syed for Saibaba. Therefore, while in general the symbols evoked both container nation and contained nations and the low income group as a class category showed greater inclination towards contained imaginations with minor difference between the sexes, it could be safely stated that container imagination thrived and often coexisted with contained imagination thus concretizing the fact that spatial imagination of a particular aspect of reality is at once varied and myriad they coexist and deserve equal importance. The geographer's role is important in negating artificial hierarchies in spatial imaginations and bringing to light hidden imaginations from the darker recesses of the human spatial cognition.

THE MIDDLE INCOME GROUP

The middle income male and female can be roughly clubbed as a group going by the broad similarities in their spatial imaginations minus a few small differences here and there. The symbols of preference in the highest order included those unmistakable container symbols which can be considered as pillars of a proud Nation (Fig. 14 Table I Appendix). Thus Gandhiji, tricolour, parliament house and national emblem received the highest preference along with the computer which was largely viewed as the technological capital of the future rather than as an object of curiosity as in the low income group. Interestingly, Sachin Tendulkar outsmarts Amitabh Bachchan. The reason for such priority allocation by some were that Tendulkar was a man of the future, his life being an endless success story while Bachchan though a cult figure has had his share of lows in life and according to many was getting embroiled in occupations not befitting his stature. Tendulkar was an embodiment of nationalism winning matches against other countries almost viewed as small scale wars.

Thus the more God like a person and the more distanced he is from ordinary life the more was his fame. Therefore, an imagined container nation was conceived as more attractive than a more real primordial identity based on real relationships. The lotus lost face because more people in this category saw in it a ploy to extricate political affiliations.

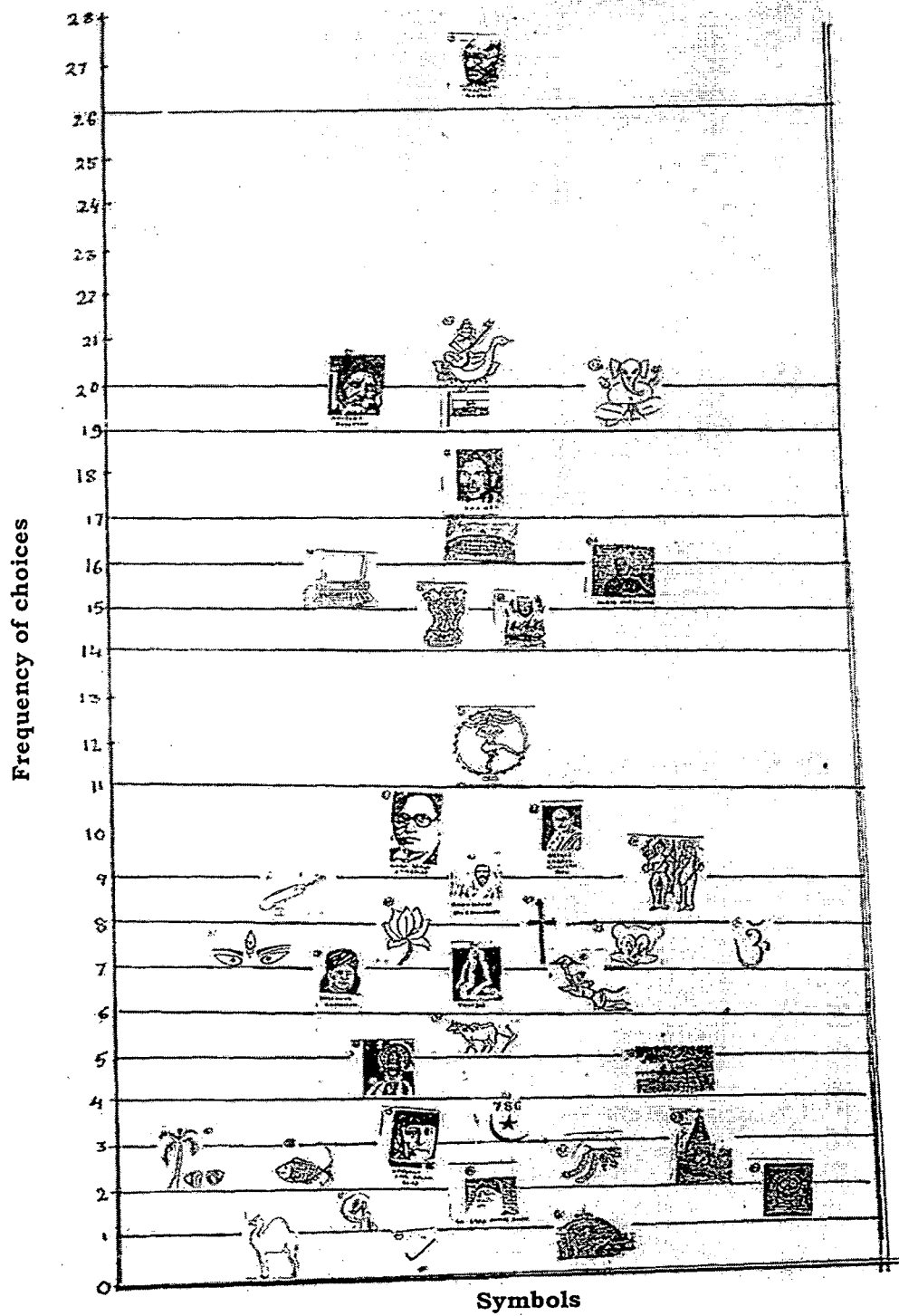
The contained imaginations had more to do with such symbols which to a large extent were representatives of a lifestyle that fed on books, literature, the metaphysical and mystical. Thus, religious leads like Vivekananda and Ramakrishna, reformers like Dayanand Saraswati were easily identified with, than say a fish or coconut. The former was considered to be far better, superior and representative of a higher order of life than such mundane articles related to food habits or material culture. Indeed when one middle class woman who was also a Bengali was asked why she had chosen Ramakrishna while having ignored the fish which is definitely a part of her daily pallet, replied that food is not so important as values in life. Another stated that there were better things to choose than the coconut tree. Thus, the contained imagination was distinctly a representative of a class which did not have to worry about primordial necessities. Since primary necessities of food, clothing, shelter have been more than sufficiently available, this group of people had the leisure and scope to delve on higher forms of life and values of existence. Therefore, their spatial imaginations bordered around what they considered 'superior'. Their contained imagination did display culture specific roots but they were roots which drew nourishment from the juices which their thinking brain provided rather than from the juices of the village earth. In that respect the middle income category stands as a group

displaying a general similarity in imagination. While contained nation were visibly imagined the container received precedence and within the contained certain imaginations were given more importance on they being considered as more refined.

MIDDLE INCOME FEMALE

The middle income female category include female who are either themselves earning enough to fit into this group or are wives of persons who fit into this category. The prominent inference that can be drawn from their frequency preference hierarchy (Fig. 15 Table I Appendix) is a general preference for container symbols. The nature of identification with symbols so a spontaneous tendency to associate with those symbols which are all embracing, popular and universal. Therefore, Gandhiji finds place in close proximity with the national tricolour. The parliament house, the national emblem, Sachin Tendulkar, Amitabh Bachchan, the computer, Buddha and Ambedkar follows in quick succession. An interesting difference from the low income group happens to be a decline in association with 'Ram-Sita', the 'OM' which were among the favourites in the low income category. Another striking difference from the low income category happens to be a closer affinity towards the Mickeymouse and the cross which were either ignored completely or received only partial importance amongst the low income group in general and the low-income females in particular. Most females easily identified with the Mickeymouse accepting it as an important figure in their daily lives giving it particular importance in the lives of their children. The cross in most cases were chosen by young women who had gone to missionary

MIDDLE INCOME FEMALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY



schools or by women whose children went to missionary schools. The crescent, Maulana Azad were demoted in the preference rankings.

As far as the contained imaginations run, Goddess Saraswati and Ganesha ruled the hearts striking a similarity with the low income group, however the other contained symbols which were identified with at the top order of the hierarchy were foreign in comparison with the low income category. Vivekananda, Natraj, Netaji and Ramakrishna were promoted in the middle to high order preference zone setting the middle income female apart from the low income group (Fig. 15 Table 1 Appendix). But the contained symbols which were really hit hard were the bullock and the plough, the tamarind, the coconut tree, the fish, the South-Indian temple, the sickle and grain stalk. The camel was chosen by nobody at all. The middle income female category seemed to represent a slice of the urban cake which stood out apart from the course and rustic symbols of village life. What was surprising that many a South-Indian female did not choose the Tanjore temple simply because they had not yet visited it.

The middle income female category therefore did represent a group of people displaying an altogether different spatial imagination where container symbols dominated and Nationspace was largely homogenous and universal, culture specific symbols all though recognized were relegated to positions of unimportance and hence contained imaginations were largely ignored or considered unimportant in the face of the overarching container Nation, which was given a respectability akin to the popular conception of Indian Nation space as constructed in the previous chapter.

MIDDLE INCOME MALE

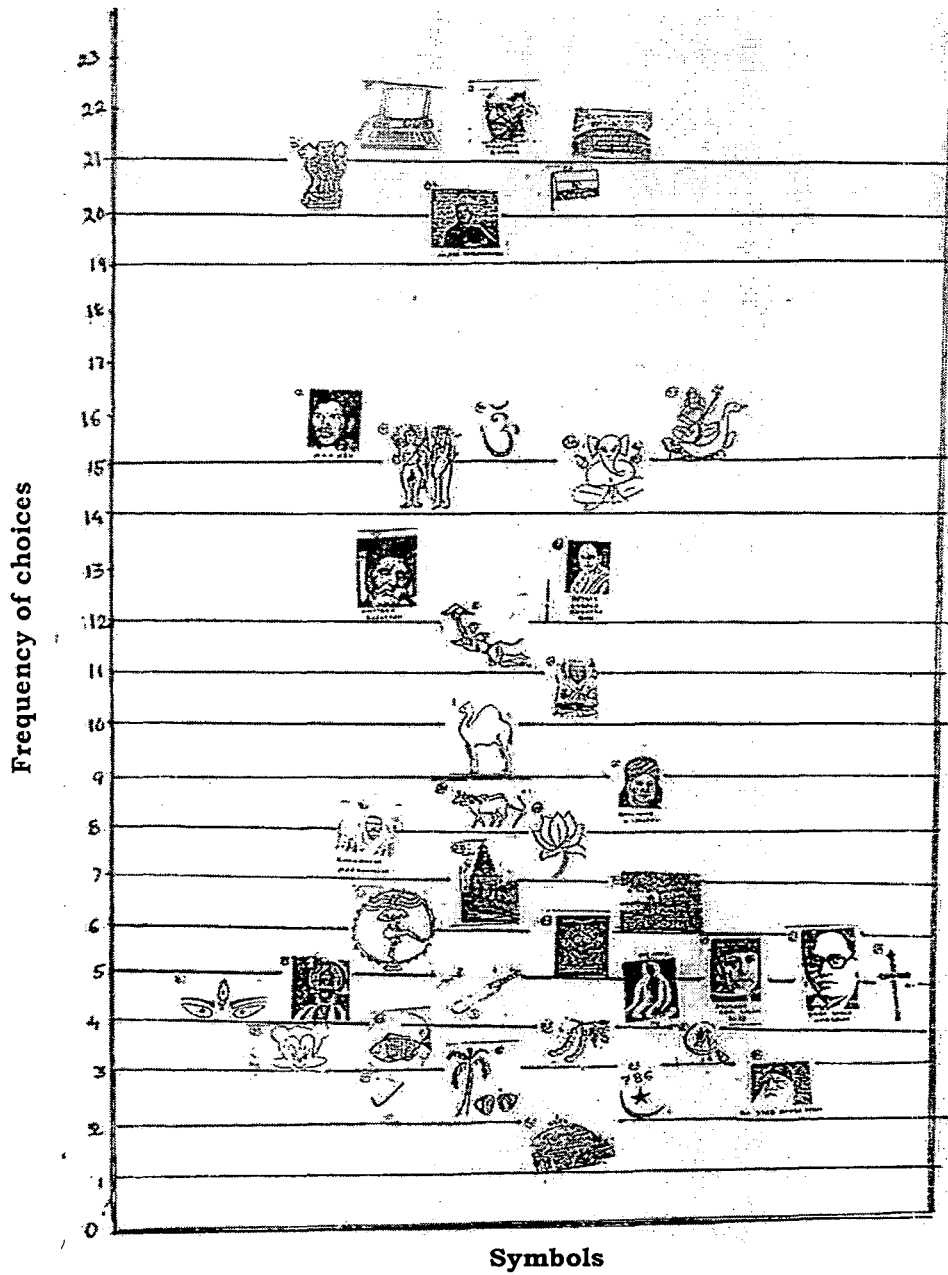
Container imaginations were more important for this category of people as well. The first to the sixth rung of the frequency preference hierarchy (Fig. 16 Table I Appendix) had a predominance of container symbols (which were 10 in number) as against contained symbols (which were 4 in number). The container imagination at the top most rung for the first time was represented by more than one symbol at the top most order. Thus, Gandhiji was accompanied by the computer and the Parliament house. This was immediately followed by the rational emblem and the flag. Sachin, the 'OM' and Ram-Sita followed suit. What is particularly interesting is that in this category for the first time Amitabh Bachchan was relegated to a lower position to the extent that he fell behind Tendulkar. Many men felt that after the Crorepati saga Bachchan's stint in the election campaign resulted in his lesser popularity among men of middle income category whose choices seemed to be more driven by political affinities. Both Mickeymouse and the Nike logo received suitable importance.

Like the middle income women Vivekananda, Netaji, Ganesha were able to evoke sizable response. However unlike the female counterparts the camel and Hanumanji won favours with men. Contained symbols like the tamarind, bullock-plough, sickle, fish however were less preferred as in the case of females in this particular income group.

The general preference pattern of the males were towards broad container symbols thus displaying a degree of similarity with the females in this group. Contained symbols associated with hinder religiosity and philosophy were preferred over the more mundane

FIGURE - 16

MIDDLE INCOME MALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY



imaginations. However, alternatively, the camel and Hanumanji seemed to have captured a chunk of the male contained imagination unlike the women in this category. While the imagination on Nationspace were container oriented, alternative imaginations could not be ruled out. The contained imaginations were however more pertaining to a literary order than to rustic cultural symbols thus exposing a degree of urbanization of even the contained imagination which negated to a large extent the importance of roots. Many a middle income male preferred to refer to themselves as Delhites though their grandfathers were original migrants from elsewhere.

CONTAINER AND CONTAINED

Unlike the low income group as a category which displayed a predominant leaning towards contained imaginations the middle income group as a whole displays a closer affinity towards imaginations which are more universal. The frequency of choices in favour of the container symbols was 248 for females out of a total of 350 response. For males the choices in favour of container symbols were 211 as against the contained symbols being chosen 139 times. (Table-5). For the middle income group as a whole 408 of the total of 700 choices made were in favour of container symbols, which is around 58% of the total. Therefore, the men and women of the middle income group do display a similarity with respect to their national imagination.

This however does not go on to establish that contained imagination – layers beneath layers and points within points are all together absent. Men and women have displayed alternative imaginations running parallel to that of their class category and often

such imaginations have been subtly different between the male-female groups. For example, while the camel and Hanumanji as a symbol of contained imagination did find a place of preference among the males, it was not the case for that of the females. On the other hand the Natraj and the Devi Durga were able to evoke powerful contained imagination among females though they were ineffective with the males. Symbols like Vivekananda and Ramakrishna were identified with irrespective of the gender and regionality factor among the middle income category making them more larger than life than originally assumed. Certain contained symbols like the bullock-plough, the tamarind, the coconut tree, the sickle and grain stalk were completely edged out, thus becoming almost incapable of evoking any imaginative responses from either the males or the females. The lotus, a container symbol which evoked largely apolitical responses among the low income category was demoted in the middle income category as most felt that it was a political symbol. Another container symbol i.e. the Ram-Sita to a lesser extent was less popular while Goddess Saraswati retained her position irrespective of class order. This difference was largely brought about by the middle income females. The middle income females did not demonstrate as close an affinity towards Ram-Sita as did the low income females. To the former this particular symbol was not so much an embodiment of Indian values like loyalty, chastity, ideal marriage, nor were they God and Goddess of any specific attribute. This is where both Ganesha and Saraswati scored. Ganesha scored both amongst the male as well as the females as it was not only a God of wealth but also the first amongst Hindu Gods to be revered during any puja. Goddess Saraswati again symbolized knowledge and was valued. Thus, while contained symbols like Ganesha, Saraswati retained their positions, Ram-Sita which is

assumed to comprise an overarching cultural imagination of India loses its potency in this class largely because of the female's preference for Gods and Goddesses of specialized attributes. The Mickeymouse and the Nike logo gets a boost and becomes a representative symbol for this particular class.

Therefore, though a leaning towards container imagination was clearly discerned as the general trend there have been upward and downward shifts in both cases (container & contained) which in turn indicates that while the overall leanings can be discerned an undercurrent of fluidity continues to exist which makes spatial imagination even within the same class order extremely dynamic.

LOW INCOME FEMALE AND MIDDLE INCOME FEMALE

Studying the female population of the two variant economic classes with respect to each other can unearth differences or homogenities and heterogenities in spatial imagination in terms of the container contained aspect of nation space. The Fig. 17 brings out clearly both the homogenities and deviations.

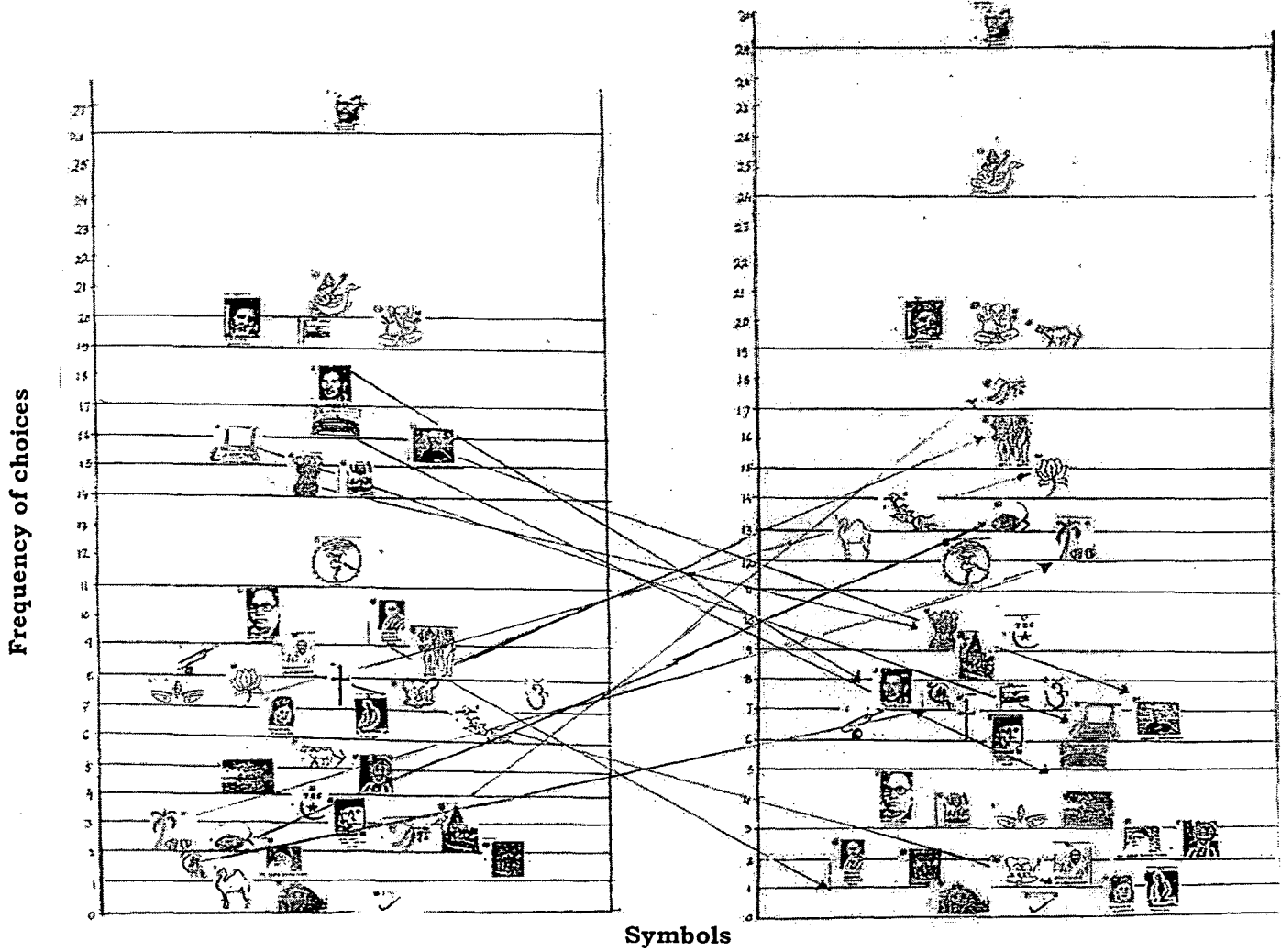
HOMOGENITIES

Container symbols like Gandhiji, Amitabh Bachchan, Red fort, Maulana Azad, Cricket bat and ball, the cross, Sanchi Stupa, the Om, stood in similar rungs of the preference hierarchy in terms of the frequency of choices across the classes. While Gandhiji and Bachchan emerges as overarching in their potentiality of cutting across classes, the rest of the symbols enjoyed either equally moderate or equally low down preference ranks. Thus the gendered construction of the Indian Nation space around the iconic status of Gandhiji and Amitabh are

FIGURE - 17

MIDDLE INCOME FEMALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY

LOW INCOME FEMALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY



homogenous; while the rest of the container symbols have either created an identical level of ignorance or disinterest among all females irrespective of their financial standing.

The contained symbols like Goddess Saraswati, Ganesha, Nataraja, Kathakali dance, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Lord Jaganath, have again maintained an almost identical level of frequency preference across the classes. Lord Ganesha and Saraswati, Natraj are representatives of certain desirable attributes like wealth, knowledge, dance which were admired equally amongst the females. Kathakali dancer, lord Jagganatha, Sir Syed were equally disadvantaged across both classes of females on account of sufficiently large number of suitable regional and religious components.

With respect to these container and contained symbols the frequency preference amongst the females indicated a homogeneity in spatial imagination. The container Nation space was identically built across the classes by the potent container symbols and in the same way the not so potent container symbols failed to rise to the occasion to built container Nation space again across the classes. Similarly certain contained symbols produced homogenous contained nations in the minds of all females while certain others remained equally ineffective across the classes.

DIVERGENCES

What however sets the females apart from each other and prevents the development of any over all gendered pattern is the divergences in the imagination.

The first divergence that catches the attention happens to be the position of Tendulkar as a container symbol (fig. 17), as far as the middle income females are concerned, Tendulkar is preferred enough to occupy the 4th rung however as far as the low income female is concerned he does not capture the imagination or evoke a National memory in the their minds occupying the twelfth position (Table I B). Although the Cricket bat and ball as a container symbol enjoys equal responsiveness, Tendulkar becomes a symbol for the middle class. The low income group women were largely able to choose the bat and ball as they were similar to the toys their children wanted or played with. Knowing Tendulkar however required a different level of interest and understanding which was low among this category.

The container symbols like the National emblem, National flag and Parliament house enjoyed the 6th, 3rd and 7th position respectively amongst the middle income females (fig. 17) however they fair disastrously as far as the low income female category is concerned the 10th, the 12th and the 14th position respectively. The national symbols seem to be uppermost in the minds of the middle income group as far as imagination of the nation goes but the same symbols are relegated to lower rungs and are not effective tools in triggering container imaginations among low income females. The computer which receives position of eminence among the middle income females are once again ineffective among the low income females. While the middle income females consider the computer as the technological breakthrough the low income females when they did identify the computer, it was largely because they could not find any other more favourable options. Here again the Computer stands out as a class representative. The Buddha, B.R. Ambedkar, the Mickey mouse too captures the refined

imaginations of the urbanized economically better of females than those of the low income group. On the other hand, the crescent, Ram-Sita and the lotus are more preferentially accepted by the low income females. While more poor women chose the crescent imaging it as not a religious symbol but as the well known moon and the Lotus as a beautiful flower, the middle income female knew exactly what the crescent stood for and often imagined the Lotus to be a political symbol. The crescent was not identified with as the Hindu component in the universe was large and most Hindu females had other symbol to choose from which were more closer in terms of religious proximity. The Lotus was ignored as many discerning females did not want their preferences to be overtly politically embroiled. The Ram-Sita which represented virtues of loyalty, charity for the low income female the middle income female did not recognize them as Gods and Goddesses of any specialized attribute and hence preferred to choose other types.

The contained symbols like Vivekananda, Ramakrishna, Netaji was chosen by the well-off females as most of them had read their life history, philosophy or considered their teachings valuable. The low income females did not usually have detailed conception about these people. The camel, the tamarind, the fish, bullock-plough, sickle, coconut tree enjoyed popular status amongst the contained symbols for low income females . These evoked memories of village, or home, or region and were easily identified with by the low income group, the middle income group on the other hand did not think these symbols to be important or valuable enough. The homogenities and divergences between and amongst the female population makes way for myriad spatial imaginations, ranging from contained speculations of a poor women whose nation revolves around the items of her, daily

diet or favourite duty mundane tools from her life experiences to the more sophisticated preference of the well off females aspiring for and identifying with values, teachings, technologies which are over and above primordial instincts. The container imagination was once again in various shades from the popular shades of the tricolour and the well known four headed lion to the lotus as a beautiful flower and Ram-Sita as the ideal type. It is this cross-section of spatial imagination which makes the female – female comparison more fruitful. It goes on to express the individuality of female as a class in terms of homogenities displayed and at the same time points out the varieties in the form of divergences that emerge at once fragmenting the class into components of class and unique individuals. In presenting such heterogeneity and homogeneity in the same frame in terms of spatial imagination the geographer's contribution becomes important.

LOW INCOME MALE AND MIDDLE INCOME MALE

The Male-Male comparison across classes (Fig. 18, Table I Appendix) again bring to light the homogenities and divergences as far as the imaginations goes.

HOMOGENITIES

Among the symbols of container imaginations, Gandhiji, the national emblem, Ram-Sita, Cricket bat and ball, the Red fort, B.R. Ambedkar, the cross, the Nike logo and Sanchi Stupa, Buddha occupies more or less the same rungs in the preference hierarchy. The preference ranking however could have been altered if the sample included a broader cross-section including more people from certain

communities or people from a slightly higher income level who perhaps would be more akin to choose the Nike logo. However, considering the current universe, Gandhiji cuts across classes to capture the male imagination and so does Ram-Sita. The other container symbols mentioned above have been equally inefficient in both classes as far as moulding male imagination goes. Interestingly, Amitabh Bachchan and Sachin Tendulkar fails to bind the two classes together. The former having a higher preference ranking among the low income males while the middle income males seem to be disappointed with him for his recent political stints. Sachin Tendulkar on the other hand seems to be a more potent symbol for the middle income group.

Among the contained symbols the Ganesha, the camel, Tulsi Das, Kathakali dancer enjoy equal preference. In both cases these symbols stand in equal footing in moderate or low rungs of preference. The camel seems to be moderately preferred by both classes of males as a hardy animal from Rajasthan thus causing Rajasthani's and males from certain other surrounding states to go for it. Tulsi Das seemed to be equally preferred for his dohas and surprisingly most males across the classes seemed to know Khata kali as a dance form of the south even though many North-Indian could not get the name right often calling it Kathak which is a name for a North-Indian dance form. The Ganesha on the other hand was universally revered for his importance in matters of wealth.

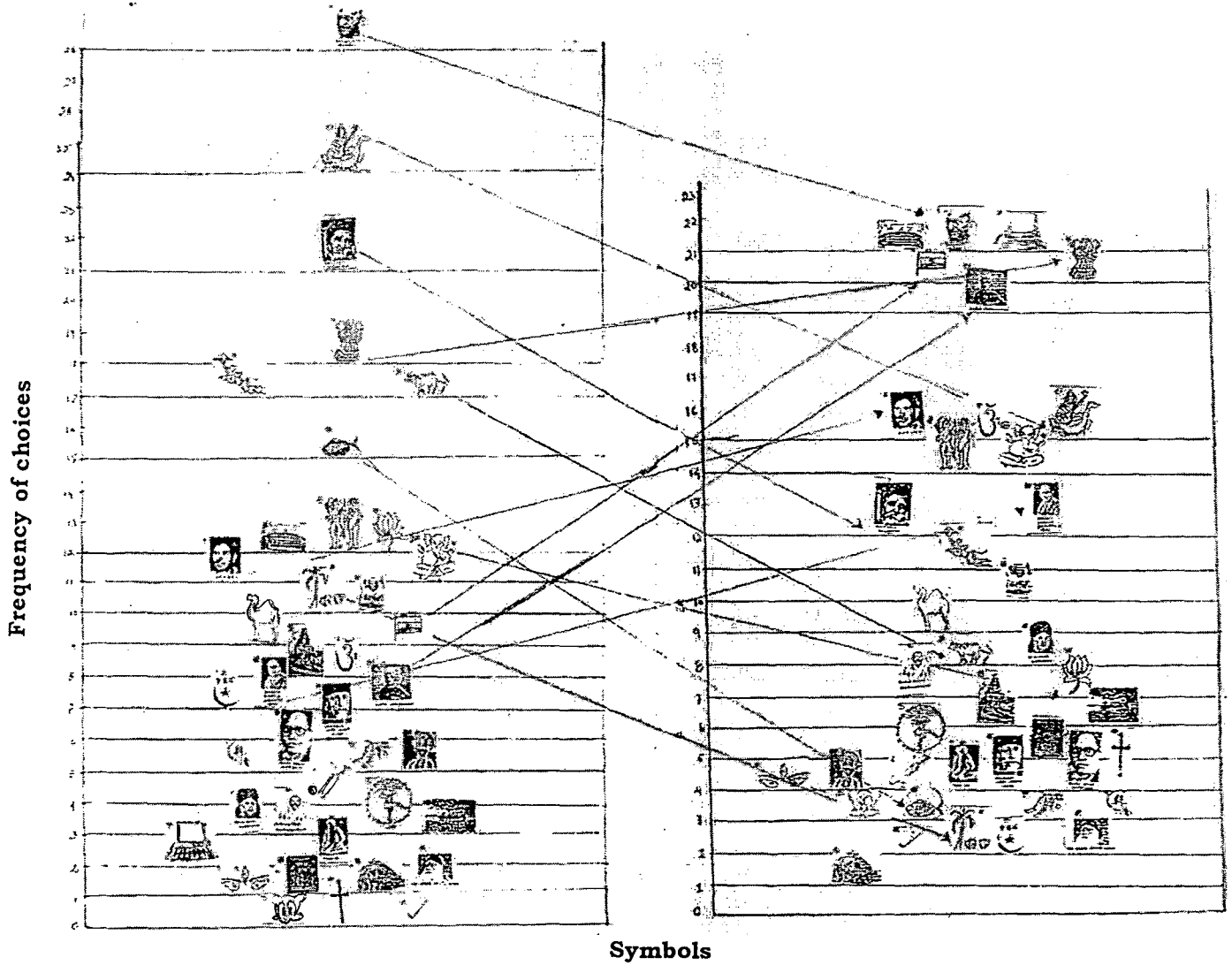
DIVERGENCES

The deviations in terms of perceptions both as container and contained were more prominently observed. The container symbols

FIGURE - 18

**LOW INCOME MALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY**

**MIDDLE INCOME MALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY**



which enjoyed positions of higher preference amongst males of the middle income group and were demoted in the preference hierarchy of the low income group included (fig. 18), the computer, the parliament house, the National flag, the Om, the Mickeymouse. The computer featured very poorly in terms of overarching imagination of the poor males. They could not understandably identify with it as an important object of National existence, neither did they think it to be a tool which required sufficient reckoning; therefore the computer was placed in the 17th position in a scale of 19 (Table I Appendix). The middle income males gave it the 1st position, most looked upon it as a technology which shall alter the future of India. Most middle income males who were themselves computer professionals looked upon it as their bread and butter calling it indispensable. The middle income group chose the Parliament house often with a touch of irony calling it the seat of corruption and hoping that someday the situation would change. Fewer low income males identified with the Parliament and all those who chose it did so because they had seen it near the India gate. The National flag, the OM, the Mickey mouse were very much a part of the middle income male perception of their life either as citizens of the country or as consumers of a dominant culture, the low income males however found these to abstract and far away from their daily existence.

The contained symbols of middle income preference which were demoted by the low income group included Swami Vivekananda, Netaji, Devi Durga, Ramkrishna Paramahansa. In this respect the male-male comparison acquires similarity with the female-female comparison. The above mentioned contained symbols were largely reduced to contained symbols for the refined, literate class while the

low income males like their female counterparts failed to associate their imagination with such symbols. However, low income males were migrants from the east and especially Bengal did identify with all the above mentioned symbols thus indicating that these symbols were related to the contained imagination of not only a particular class but also a particular section of the Indian population.

The container symbols which were more preferred by low income males than their middle income counterparts included the lotus, Ambedkar, Azad. The lotus was given preference by most of the poor males either because it was a flower from their village or because they were flower sellers, the middle income males felt that the symbol had been cunningly kept to extricate individual political affiliations and chose to ignore it. Ambedkar was chosen in large number by the males of kooli camp who were well versed with his struggle for the marginalised of which many of the residents were a part. Azad again was identified by the poor Muslims as a nationalist who fought for the country the middle income males probably found other symbols more attractive for instance Netaji was more popular as a nationalist than Azad.

The contained symbols which received preference from the low income males over that of the middle income included the Hanuman, the bullock and plough, the fish, the coconut tree, the South-Indian temple, the sickle and the grain stalk. In a nutshell, the symbols of material existence associated with primordial, instincts of survival were more preferred by the poorer section of the males. In this respect again the low income males were similar to their low income female counterparts. Food items, agricultural implements were more potent

in evoking contained imagination among the poorer section than in the case of the middle income group.

The homogenities and divergences added together creates an imagination basket which is in turn symbolic of many Indias, some overarching, others hidden, some common across the male populace, others restricted to economic standing. Whether male and female put together can contribute to two different gendered imagination will be examined in the next subsection.

MALE IMAGINATIONS AND FEMALE IMAGINATIONS

Male-female imaginations as whole are clubbed together in Table-4 and the preference ranking formulated in Table-I (Appendix).

HOMOGENITIES

Container symbols like Gandhiji, National flag, Ram-Sita, Computer, Buddha, Bachchan, Sanchi Stupa, Nike logo received equal respect across the gender categories. These symbols can therefore be considered either overarching enough to subsume gender variations in perception or they may have been ineffective in triggering unique imagination given the limited diversity in the sample character itself. Therefore, Gandhiji is equally overarching across males and females occupying the first position for both (Fig. 19, Table I Appendix) while Nike logo or Sanchi Stupa does not seem to ruffle to a great extent either the imagination of the males or that of the females, occupying the last (23rd position) for females and the 2nd last/ last position (23rd & 24th) among males.

The contained symbols like Goddess Saraswati, Vivekananda, Coconut tree, Ram Krishna Paramahansa, sickle, Sir Syed seem to occupy similar perception hierarchies for males and females thus once again signifying that the contained imaginations they evoke are gender neutral.

DIVERGENCES

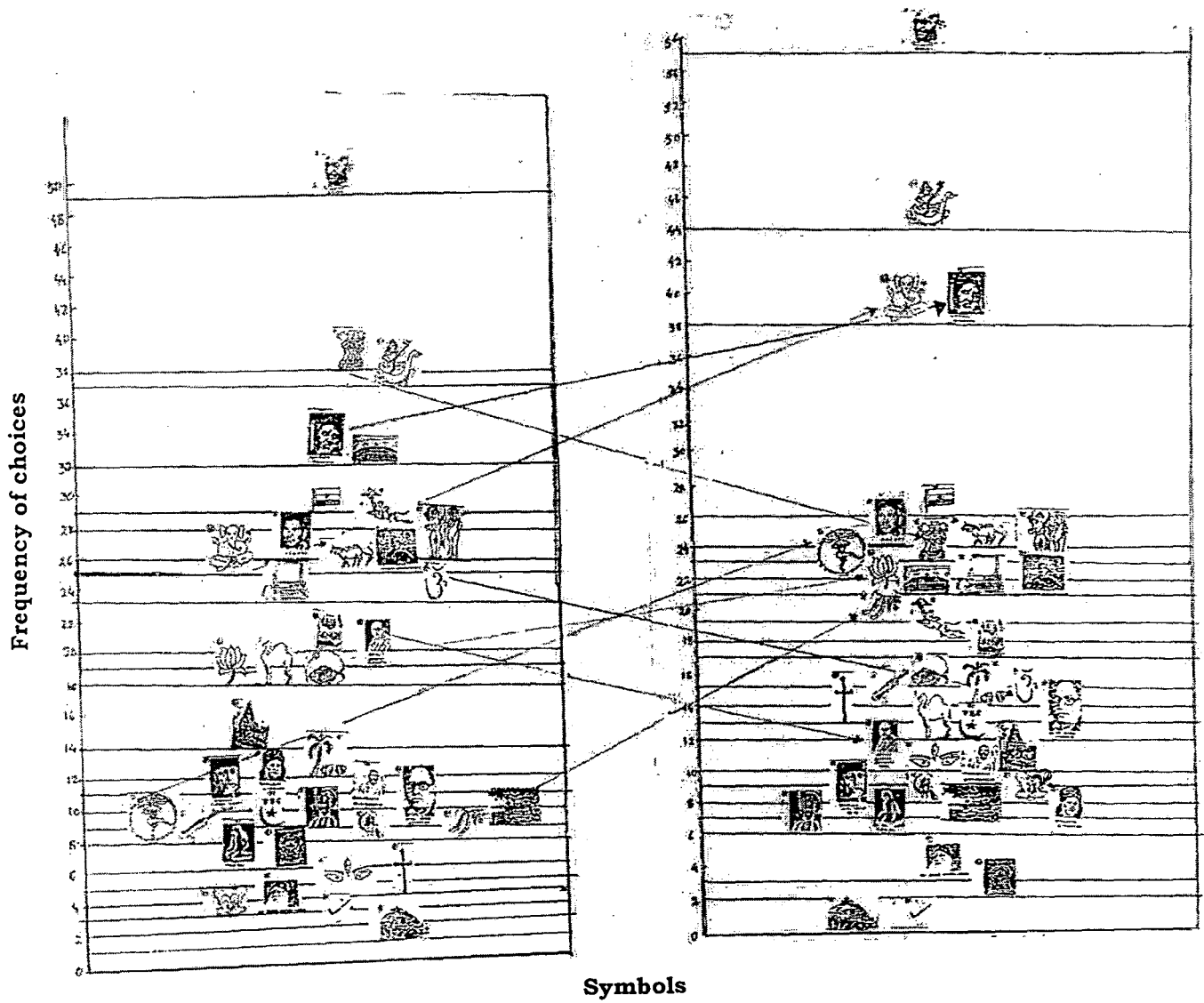
The female preference oriented container symbol turns out to be Tendulkar, the Lotus, Cricket bat and ball, Ambedkar, Crescent, Mickey-mouse. These symbols evoke particular female imaginations more energetically than they do in case of males. The craze for cricket and Tendulkar though a middle class one does find substantive representation among the low income female as well. The Lotus and the crescent were chosen by mainly the low income females as attributes of nature, most men however did not identify with them perceiving them as political and religious symbols. Ambedkar received preference among poor women as a champion of the low castes and among middle class women as the framer of the constitution. The Mickey mouse was chosen by mothers as the most amusing cartoon character on television.

The more masculine container symbols included the Parliament house, the Om, Maulana Azad. More men imagined the nation through the Parliament house perceiving it as the seat of political power, most females disinterested with politics chose to ignore the same. More men were attracted to the Hindu symbol 'OM' while most females found it abstract. The Maulana was chosen by most men as a nationalist while more females went for Gandhiji (female percentage share in the frequency for Gandhiji happens to be higher).

FIGURE - 19

**MALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY**

**FEMALE
PREFERENCE HIERARCHY**



The feminine contained, imagination revolved around the bullock-plough Ganesha, the Natraj, the tamarind, Devi Durga, South-Indian Temple. More female saw the bullock-ploughs being associated with the earth, fruitfulness and bounty. The Natraj was conceived as a cultural symbol, where Shiva was the dancer god. Unlike the male category where Natraj was specifically chosen by the South-Indians, for the females the choice option was exercised by females other than South-Indians. The tamarind emerged as the universal female favourite, especially among poor females who seem to relish the sour taste making them nostalgic about the village trees. Devi Durga again was seen by the women as a symbol of female power or 'shakti'. Ganesha was equally preferred by low and middle income females as a homely God with whom every Puja would begin. Males in the low income category preferred Saraswati over Ganesha. The S.I. temple was recognized by females of both South & North India, but males other than South Indians did not identify with it.

The masculine contained symbols included Hanumanji, Netaji, camel, Dayanand Saraswati, Jaganath. Hanumanji seems to evoke similar male imagination with his symbolism of strength dogged determination as was Durga symbolic for females. Hanumanji's bachelor image seem to be another reason for females being distanced from this particular deity. Durga on the other hand, wherever she is a potent force is more a property of the females so much so that a young unmarried girl is worshipped along with the Goddess herself. Other customary requirements also make female imaginations more linked to Goddess Durga and male imaginations associated with the bachelor God Hanuman. Netaji seemed to be a favorite among males, and the reason for this choice seemed to be Netaji's image of a firebrand leader

who would not hesitate to launch a violent rebellion. The acceptance of violence as a method of protest made Netaji less of a favourite among females. More males having memories of riding the camel or having used it as a mode of transport made it a favourite among males.

Dayanand Saraswati and his social reforms among Hindus were more known to the males as was Jaganath as a deity. Thus the masculinity and femininity in both container and contained imagination was sometimes on account of the intrinsic quality of the symbols, sometimes due to the character of the universe and at other times on account of variations in the receipt of information across gender. In general the gendering of spatial perception was stronger for the contained imaginations the gaps between male-female being larger here. The distances were narrower for container imaginations. As a whole container imagination was higher for both males and females having a frequency score of 380 and 402 respectively. The contained imaginations being 320 for males and 298 for females (Table II). The gap between the container and contained imagination of the males as a whole was narrower (i.e. 60 more responses were in favour of container imagination) than that of the females (104 more responses were in favour of container imagination).

LOW INCOME AND MIDDLE INCOME GROUP

The comparison between the low income and middle income categories as a whole again indicates the existence of certain homogenities and divergences, (Fig. 11, 14).

HOMOGENITIES

Gandhiji, the National emblem, Ambedkar, Cricket bat and ball, Red-fort, Nike logo are the symbols which evoke imaginations of an overarching nation identically across economic standing. Ganesha, Natraj, Kathakali dancer, Jagganatha are the contained symbols which are homogeneous with respect to the imaginations they evoke across the economic category.

DIVERGENCES

The container symbols which receive more preference in the middle income category are the National flag, the Parliament house, the computer, Sachin Tendulkar, Buddha, Om, the cross Mickey-mouse, Red fort. These symbols become a class specific representative of a container imagination of the Indian Nation which is popular, yet, which is an abstraction for a large portion of the population who fail to identify with it. The national tricolour, or the red fort, or the computer, the seat of power i.e. the Parliament touches very little the life of the ordinary folks. The low income group therefore has a different India to imagine largely through Bachchan, Ram-Sita, Lotus, the holy crescent. These container symbols often carry differing meaning for the ordinary people and are chosen as more tangible realities of national existence than the abstract symbols of patriotism which are never the less respected.

The middle income group cherishes certain contained imaginations as well. These contained imaginations are at times representatives of the particular class as well. Vivekananda, Buddha, Ramakrishna, Durga, Tulsi Das, Netaji embodies a contained India

which is an embodiment of values of peace, love, strength, determination, where higher forms of life are being constantly aspired for.

The middle class imagination looks for a nation space which embodies the cherished values which the middle class role models stand for. This contained India is a sacred and abstract space which lies hidden beneath the layers of overarching patriotism, political greed, corruption and technological progress. This contained India differs from the contained space of the low income category. Their contained India revolves around Goddess Saraswati, plough and bullock, Hanumanji, Ganeshji, the fish, the coconut tree, tamarind, the camel, South-Indian temple, sickle and the grain stalk. Interestingly apart from the Gods all the other objects of imagination are tangible realities. Saraswati is admired because of her learning and Ganesh as the wealth giver. A hidden India emerges where possibly, the girl child has education and everybody a bit of wealth. The poor people's India is abundantly imagined through agricultural wealth, overflowing in fertility, copious in grains, fishes, coconuts and tamarind. The camel and the sickle are as important tools as the computer is in a middle class dream. The temple is no longer a South-Indian architecture but symbolizes a 'good' space. Thus, the contained imagination of the poor are more tangible more visible and perhaps includes such dreams which are possible, reachable.

Overall, the contained imagination scores higher for the low income group. Table-5 shows that the total number of choice responses received by the contained symbols put together is 374 for the low income group as against 292 of the middle income category. The contained imaginations are more potent among the poor, India

therefore thrives amongst the poor in a myriad sea of imaginations. For the middle income group however, the container imaginations have received the larger number of votes a total of 408 as against 326 of the low income category.

Therefore, while the poor people have multitude of India's to choose from the middle class prefers to conform to the more popular picture. In a more expansive research it would be more interesting to observe what course the trend line of imagination might take. Is it possible that as one moves higher in the income hierarchy the spectral colours of imagination fuses to form the all white and as one moves down and more down the colours are more refracted to produce distinctly coloured imaginations? Or is it that the spectrum exists in all categories but becomes visible depending on the clarity of the prism and the nature of the reflecting surface? The fact however remains, that both the middle and low income groups discover and also invent India as both a container and as contained within themselves. It is the acceptance and propagation of this coexistence which the geographer as a spatial and social scientist must champion.

WEIGHTED IMAGINATIONS

While the frequency preference hierarchy has given a fair idea of the general bent of imagination in terms of male, female, low income, high income and have inturn helped to rediscover nation as contained or container, rank weightage can add refinement to the same.

METHODOLOGY

The rank accorded by the respondent to each symbol has been recorded and weights assigned to each in descending order of

preference. Therefore, when chosen as the 1st ranking symbol the same is accorded 10 points while when chosen as the 2nd ranking it is accorded 9 point. The weights are then added to arrive at a total for the particular symbol and then divided by the maximum possible times it could have been chosen, to arrive at a weighted score for each of the 40 different symbols¹.

THE POTENCY OF SYMBOLS IN UNEARTHING IMAGINATIONS

Table-6 indicates that for the low income females apart from Gandhiji (w.s. = 5.94), the coconut tree (w.s. = 4.09), the goddess Saraswati (w.s. = 3.2), the Ganesha (w.s. = 2.86), Ram-Sita (w.s. = 2.71), bullock-plough (w.s. = 2.54), tamarind (w.s. = 2.2), camel (w.s. = 2.06), lotus (w.s. = 2.00) are extremely potent symbols which have helped them in unearthing national imaginations both container and contained. More of the potent symbols were contained symbols than they were container symbols. Among the less potent symbols were Netaji (w.s. = .03), Lord Jagganath (w.s. = .09), Mickey Mouse (w.s. = .03). Therefore while the preference hierarchy indicated the general range of choice, the weighted score shows that certain symbols were more potent than others with respect to the rank accorded to them. The high potency symbols for low income females were certainly the coconut tree and the tamarind, though the former was 8th and the latter 4th in the preference hierarchy, in terms of their potency they have improved their positions.

As far as the low income male goes, Gandhiji (w.s. = 7.91) is closely followed by Bachchan (w.s. = 7.86), Goddess Saraswati (w.s. =

¹ The methodology adopted here has been explained with an example in the first chapter.

3.43), Hanumanji (w.s. = 2.91), National emblem (w.s. = 2.57), bullock-plough (w.s. = 2.31). This potency ranking however more or less follows the general preference hierarchy (Table I, Appendix) of low income males with the only exception being that Bachchan appears to be more potent than Goddess Saraswati, though the latter has been chosen more number of times. The symbols with particularly low potency include, Goddess Durga (w.s. = .057), lord Jagganath (.057), Sanchi Stupa (w.s. = .14), Red fort (w.s. = .26).

For the low income group as a category, the high potency symbols were Gandhiji (w.s. = 13.85), Amitabh Bachchan (11.09), Goddess Saraswati (6.63), Sachin Tendulkar (5.86), Hanumanji (4.88), Bullock plough (4.85). Here again, Amitabh Bachchan and Tendulkar have improved positions in terms of potency than they were in terms of frequency of preference. In a nutshell therefore, the broad hierarchical position of the symbols in the plane of imagination of the nation has been retained in terms of the potency of the symbols as well, with minor exception like the tamarind and coconut especially for the females, Bachchan for males and Tendulkar as well as Bachchan for the low income category as a whole.

TABLE - 6*

WEIGHTED SCORES OF 40 SYMBOLS
Symbols as per serial number in the chart →

	Camel			Sachin Tendulkar			Stickle and Grain Stalk			Devi Durga			Dayanand Saraswati			Cricket bat & ball			Vir Hanuman			Coconut tree and coconut		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Low income group	1.43	2.06	3.47	4.26	1.6	5.86	0.51	0.71	1.22	.057	.69	.747	.43	0	.43	.89	.80	1.69	2.91	1.97	4.88	1.29	4.09	5.38
Middle income group	0.57	0	0.57	2.97	3.8	6.77	0.57	0.23	.8	.91	1.43	2.34	1.71	1.20	1.91	.54	.83	1.37	1.89	1.06	2.95	.20	.31	.51

	Amitabh Bachchan			Computer			Gandhi			Crescent star and Holy Number			Ramkrishna			Tulsi Das			Natraj			Ashokan Pillar		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Low income group	7.86	3.23	11.09	.37	1.2	1.57	7.91	5.94	13.85	1.03	1.49	2.52	.54	.29	.83	.26	0	1.09	.29	1.77	2.06	2.57	1.51	4.08
Middle income group	1.91	3.74	4.65	3.69	1.66	4.75	4.37	5.6	9.97	0.2	0.49	0.69	1.37	1.46	2.83	.46	.63	1.09	.8	1.31	2.11	3.51	2.69	7.20

	Kathakali Dancer			National Flag			Maulana Azad			Parliament House			South Indian Temple			Netaji Subash			Lord Jagganath			Gautama Buddha		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Low income group	.66	.4	1.06	1.09	171	1.8	.83	.57	1.4	1.57	.2	1.77	1.43	1.49	2.9	1.26	.03	1.29	.57	.09	1.47	1.54	126	1.8
Middle income group	.37	.49	.86	2.66	2.83	5.49	.57	.09	.66	4.29	2.00	6.29	1.23	.11	1.34	1.83	1.09	2.92	.54	.11	.65	1.71	1.86	3.57

	Ambedkar			Sir Sayed			Ram Sita			Fish			Holy Cross			Lord Ganesha			Sanchi Stupa			Vivekanda		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Low income group	1.06	.54	1.6	.23	.29	.52	1.66	2.71	4.37	2.43	1.8	4.23	0	1.14	1.14	1.69	2.86	3.55	.14	0	.14	1.06	.94	2
Middle income group	.8	1.66	2.46	.51	.2	.71	2.31	2.54	4.35	.17	.31	.48	.66	.91	1.57	2.14	3.34	5.84	.14	0	.14	3.14	2.77	5.91

	National Flower			'OM'			Tamarind			Bullock plough			Saraswathy			Micky mouse			Nike Logo			Red Fort		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Low income group	1.23	2	3.23	.89	.77	1.66	.83	2.2	3.03	2.31	2.54	4.85	3.43	3.2	6.63	0	.03	.03	0	0	0	.26	.26	.26
Middle income group	.74	.91	1.65	2.0	1.2	3.2	.31	.37	.68	.89	.49	1.38	2.43	2.29	5.76	.31	.57	.88	.17	0	.17	.49	.26	.75

* Break up of the ranks accorded per symbol in Table II) (Appendix).

Regarding the females of the middle income category, Gandhiji (w.s. = 5.6) still occupies the position of prominence, followed by Sachin Tendulkar (w.s. = 3.8), Bachchan (w.s. = 3.74), National emblem (w.s. = 3.69), Ganesha (w.s. = 3.34), Goddess Saraswati (w.s. = 3.29). Thus, both Tendulkar and the National emblem have improved their positions in terms of potency and helped capture imaginations more powerfully than others.

In the middle income male category Gandhiji (w.s. = 4.37) has been slightly more potent than Parliament house (w.s. = 4.29) and computer (w.s. = 3.09) while in the preference hierarchy all three stood in an equal footing. The National emblem improved its position with a score of 3.51 over and above its general position in the preference hierarchy Swami Vivekananda (3.14) also proves to be a powerful conjurer of contained national imaginations.

For the middle income as a group Gandhiji (w.s. = 9.97) is followed by the National emblem (w.s. = 7.20), Vivekananda (w.s. = 5.91), Ganesha (w.s. = 5.84), Saraswati (w.s. = 5.72), National flag (w.s. = 5.49). In general therefore the National emblem, Vivekananda and Ganesha turn out to be more potent and hence have their positions revised, though in terms of the preference hierarchy the National flag had occupied the second position in terms of the larger frequency of choices.

The weighted imaginations indicate a kind of undercurrent of power which tends to make certain symbols more powerful than others in their capacity to be identified and chosen over and above others. This potency of symbols helps to unearth a kind of container and contained imagination of nation space which is more

spontaneous. The tamarind, coconut tree, Amitabh Bachchan, Sachin Tendulkar, Ganesha, National emblem, Vivekananda all prove to have a degree of potency which gives them an edge over and above the others. Therefore, while they might be less frequently chosen in certain groups, even then, their potency measured in terms of the ranks accorded by the respondents make them better off. Therefore, certain container and contained imaginations are constructed more spontaneously by certain symbols to a greater extent than many others. Such symbols measuring higher in the potency scale build a construct of space which is more powerfully and easily imagined, as they seem to capture that layer of cream which is uppermost in the imagination pool.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this chapter as well as the statistical exercise undertaken had been to operationalise multiple spatial imagination. The theoretical constructs of the earlier chapters which had gone on to hypothesize and evolve the understanding that space can be imagined and re-imagined in multi-farious terms, is given shape here. In the previous chapter the specific problem of the nation space was dealt with. Two types of spatial imaginations in the context of India as a nation was unearthed namely, the container nation space and the contained nation space. Both of which were constructed, deconstructed, imagined and re-imagined through ideas. In this chapter an attempt was made to provide flesh to the ideas of container and contained nation space by taking into account imaginations of real people. The broad conclusions which emerge from the primary survey can be briefly summarized as follows.

- ❖ People possess definite spatial imaginations and their imaginations can be understood from the manner in which they associate or identify more with certain things than with others.
- ❖ It is possible to identify patterns of spatial imaginations between certain members of a group either drawn on grounds of gender, or economic position.
- ❖ It is possible to differentiate between imaginations which can be categorised as all embracing, over arching (container) and those which are personalized, individualized, specific (contained).
- ❖ Both the container and contained spatial imaginations complement each other in the plane of imagination and also arrange themselves hierarchically.
- ❖ Both imagination co-exist among all groups, male-female, low income, high incomes.
- ❖ The low income group is general and the low income female in particular have shown a greater affinity towards contained spatial imaginations. Specific, personalized symbols related to everyday sustainability and livelihood experiences like the fish, coconut tree, bullock plough, tamarind has been more preferred than Vivekananda, Netaji etc.
- ❖ The middle income group has shown a general tendency towards a spatial imagination which is more over arching and generalizable. They have depicted a particular preferences towards, the well known national symbols like the national emblem, parliament houses, national flag etc. This has been true for both men and women of the middle income group.

- ❖ Container imagination however does coexist with contained imagination in the low income category and similarly contained imagination also exist amongst the middle income group.
- ❖ The females together or the males together do not conform to a pattern, largely because of the difference in the upbringing, conditioning and priorities of existence among the low and middle income category. The economic gap is much too large to be filled in by any particular gender preference.
- ❖ Gandhiji and Amitabh Bachchan are the two container symbols with cut across gender and class differences in being identified with. Goddess Saraswati is one contained symbol which is identified by people across gender and class.
- ❖ The experiment in identifying a container and contained nation, through people's imagination is largely an attempt at operationalising the existence of myriad varieties of spaces in geography.
- ❖ Geographers who by nature exist in the transition zones of knowledge are best equipped in identifying space of all types, container, contained etc. their effort should be geared towards giving recognition to all types of imaginations, i.e. the dominant as well as the marginalised spatial imaginations. What is dominant and what is marginalised at a point of time is for society to decide. A geographer's efficiency lies in re-imagining and operationalizing both and that is what has been attempted in this chapter as well as in the thesis in general.

In the next chapter an attempt would be made to understand how the conclusions reached in the current chapter through the brief

statistical exercise can help in understanding the nature and character of certain types of spaces in geography. An effort would be made to ascertain whether the conclusions reached here helps geographers to understand certain spatial problems better, if so, how? It would be interesting to ascertain whether the understanding of geographical space with the help of a healthy coexistence of imaginations actually helps to absorb spatial problems in a better manner and whether they actually equip the geographers to find quicker solutions to such problems.

CHAPTER – 6

Container Space, Contained Space – A Quest for Relevance

INTRODUCTION

The relevance of the study of space – whether as ‘container’ or as ‘contained’ or as any other category possibly stems from the fact that space in general and particularly in geography has always moved. In the sense that from being an unique region to ‘substrat social’ (Emile Durkheim, 1890), to least cost location to managerialized peripheries, it has moved to a stage where it is no longer absolute or relative but rather a process. It is possibly the most cherished possession, because it moves and is hence a process. So much so that, lack of space, is tantamount to lack of consciousness and in turn a loss of identity. Therefore, all movements today whether it is the feminist movement, the gay or lesbian movement, the ethnic movement, the housewives movement for economic remuneration, the dalit movement, linguistic and regional demands are all a struggle for space, a desire to be identified, accepted and recognized. Indeed, which struggle or which space becomes the container and which becomes the contained at a point of time depends upon the prevailing power structure in society. Therefore, capturing space whether in public or in private sphere is synonymous to partaking off a slice of the cake of power. Depending on who captures the larger slice the container, contained equation gets decided. That imagination which is more potent, more vociferous and well deccimated becomes the over-

arching container imagination and hence the container space. The other imaginations then has to continue their struggle for existence and as they are an aberration to the container imagination they are often dubbed as exclusive, parochial, retrogressive and reactionary. As such demand for space/identity becomes the most important demand for all such marginalised imaginations. The tussle continues and whatever little space these imaginations are successful in capturing becomes the contained spaces. Any decline discipline space as its subject matter cannot ignore any of the following.

- ❖ That space is not only what is apparent but also what is not apparent, i.e. space is not only visible reality but also the aspiration and desire to be a part of that visible reality. Therefore space is power, space is identity.
- ❖ The contained spaces need not be parochial, or retrogressive or reactionary. The former is only one way of conceptualizing spaces.
- ❖ The contained spaces need to be represented and reported and hence offered a chance to take position along with the container space.
- ❖ It is not incumbent that container and contained spaces are at loggerheads always, often they are made to look like it by vested interests.

Since, geography is essentially a study of space, all these aspects have to be necessarily represented. The research undertaken so far has been an attempt to include all the aspects of space so as to give the geographer and geography an efficiency which is rejuvenating for itself and for others.

This chapter, therefore will highlight the relevance of this research vis-a-vis, geography and society, the first two subsections are devoted to the former. The third subsection will highlight the challenges which geography faces, with respect to such research and the fourth subsection will elucidate how symbols, inconstantly manufacture space identity, how they have been used as tools in power relations and how geography can contribute to their better understanding.

CONTAINER, SPACE, CONTAINED SPACE AND GEOGRAPHY

As already highlighted, geography is a discipline which thrives on its inter-disciplinary character. Herein lies its greatest advantage in studying the struggle for space and bringing out its dynamic nature. Geographers have long been fascinated by boundaries, one of their favourite occupation had been delimiting regions. While doing so, on the basis of objective observations, geographers have often knowingly or un-knowingly created notions of 'inside', 'outside'¹ our history, their history, in-ward looking, outward looking, us and them. The struggle for space as power, the struggle for recognition, identity had begun then and there. The desire to be 'included', accepted within the boundary have been manifold.

Thus, regional and linguistic movements have struggled for space in territorial terms, with a desire for representation within the boundaries. While feminist movements, labour movements, ethnic movements, black movements, gay movements, peasant movements, dalit movements have struggled for space, some times solely in terms of acceptance and identity and at other times for both territory and

¹ Massey, Doreen: (1991) "A Global Sense of Place" in Reading Human Geography by Trevor Barnes and Derek Gregory (eds.), Arnold, p. 316.

identity. Geographers have a role to play in describing, analyzing and representing such struggles.

Another important feature of space as a process as already mentioned is the interconnectedness it creates. Thus inter-state, intra state, international migration of people, capital, labour, goods are also an attempt to occupy new spaces, gain new identities, develop a new niche.

The struggles that ensue therefore create 'power-geometry.'² Geographers have been studying them for long but their efficiency in today's context of globalization, privatization lies in identifying the power struggles between the container and contained spaces and in attempting a solution to such frictions.

In the current world where terror as an 'ism' is being given a new-interpretation, the geographer is expected to redefine a terrorists and a terrorized on the basis of spaces clinched and spaces aspired for. The reactionary/revolutionary divide, the guerilla/freedom fighter divide, the secular/communal divide is in a state of flux, precisely because the existing rationality which protects the container space is being shaken, is being continuously challenged. The geographer has an advantage over others, for he/she can use his/her knowledge of space/identity, interpreted as container and contained to resolve controversies and tensions.

CONTAINER SPACE, CONTAINED SPACE AND SOCIETY

What space society gives to whom depends upon the 'massification' of a prevailing ideology. When an ideology has been

² Massey, Doreen (1991) *ibid.*

suitably decimated, the masses in general become receptive to it. This reception is a sort of space creation.

In a society, the ruling elites i.e. the intelligentsia the industrialist, the capitalist farmer co-opt to manufacture an ideology which is then decimated. Of the 3 ruling elites, the intelligentsia which includes white collar workers, office workers in administrative services, teachers, doctors, writers, journalists, professionals politicians, trade union leaders etc., is the most potent.

Thus, "the other two ruling classes, the capitalists and the rich farmers are like owners of a car, whereas the intelligentsia take the seat of the chauffeur The intelligentsia has not got the power to oppose the interests of the monopoly capitalists and the rich farmers. But it has the power to so manipulate matters that its own interests are served along with interests of the other two ruling classes. And being manufacturers of ideology, the intelligentsia can see to it that its manipulations are cleverly hidden behind persuasive hyperboles and rhetoric in the name of the downtrodden."³

Therefore, the ruling elites and especially the intelligentsia creates a space container. However, civil society has and may have aspiration which do not match the agenda of the then ruling elites, these then become the dissenting voices, the struggle for space within space emerges and contained imaginations get crystallized. Often the ruling imagination marginalizes the other voices. However, the existence of myriad ideas itself enriches society as a phenomenon.

Therefore, container space/aspiration, contained space/aspiration acquire their 'container' and 'contained'; character within society. What is legitimized by society and declared as container today may be rejected tomorrow as newer elites occupy

³ Rudra, Ashok: (1989) "Emergence of the Intelligentsia as a Ruling Class in India," January 21, Economic and Political Weekly, p. 145.

positions of prominence and bring aspirations which were previously 'contained' to the forefront. The understanding of space as 'container' and as 'contained' therefore is not a philosophical enterprise only, it has practical viability and practical usage. The importance of this research lies therein. It has been largely aimed at taking positions so as to give newer interpretations to the societal power play.

CHALLENGES TO GEOGRAPHY

There exist certain challenges to geography as a discipline as far as analysis of space, aspiration for space, interpretation of space as container and contained is concerned.

The first challenge stems from what Smith comprehensively states;

"Geographical space is a social product; in this conception a geographical space which is abstracted from society is a philosophical amputee. Further, the relativity of space becomes not a philosophical issue but a product of social and historical practice The production of the meaning, concepts and consciousness of space which are inseparably linked to its physical production."⁴

This is possibly the most serious challenge to Geography. On one hand the understanding of space faces the danger of being a "philosophical amputee," on the other an attempt at objectification alone makes it lose sight of the consciousness, desire for identity and aspirations for niche which a space bears witness off. Reconciling the opposing poles is possibly the most serious challenge.

The second challenge which a geographer faces is the need to build up a progressive sense of space (contained space). For this the geographer himself/herself need to be convinced about the fact that

⁴ Smith, Neil :(1984) "Uneven Development Nature Capital and Production of Space," Basil Blackwell, p. 77).

container and contained space are alternative imaginations and that there is a need to face up to contained imaginations than brushing them under the carpet. Therefore, the geographer needs to do away with any insecurity that he/she may have as regard to contained spaces in order to convince the world of a progressive sense of space. Therefore, a geographer needs to hold on to the notions of differences, uniqueness, rootedness without considering them reactionary and hence convincing others of the 'same'.⁵

Thirdly, the geographer needs to rethink boundaries, boundaries will have to be treated as transition zones, as areas of interconnectedness as pores of reception. Only then, container and contained imaginations which a geographer conceptualizes will add meaningfully to the world. Otherwise geographers space conception may degenerate to questions of infiltration, vulnerability, distrust, competition.

Lastly, the geographer has to convince the world of the spaces in flux. What is specific today may be general tomorrow and what is unique now may be common here after. Forces which may seem homogenizing (for e.g. globalization) may produce new uniqueness (in terms of uneven share of values produced), therefore space has to be viewed as a process. Therefore all those who have been denied spaces will stake their claim, in order to create their unique history, forge new awareness.

⁵ Massey, Doreen (obsid).

SYMBOLS AND SPACE AS CONTAINER AND CONTAINED

Symbols, icons are a link between consciousness and imagination. In the absence of symbolic or iconic association thought remains as imagination. However once imagination is linked with visible symbols or icons it serves to create awareness, consciousness. With the creation of symbol pool collective consciousness is generated. Possibly, one of the earliest examples of symbol crating collective consciousness is “the flag”. It served to united people under the domain of power, claim their allegiance and proclaim victory. Therefore, flag bearers, trumpet blowers, drum beaters, torch bearers have always been important in all civilizations because they were symbolic of a collective consciousness and hence indispensable in the struggle for space.

All such symbols which acquired considerable popularity reached the hall of fame and receive iconic status. These are then used to represent a common ideology, in order to mobilize a common struggle. The fact that the election commission has a machinery to supervise the pictographic symbols of political parties, speaks volumes of their importance. The first election commissioner of India carried out considerable research in conceptualizing symbols keeping in mind the ruralness, illiteracy of the electorate. The freedom struggle was mobilized around symbols like Gandhi’s spindle (Charkha), Khadi, Tilak’s Shivaji festival and Ganesh Puja, etc. Even after independence, the Congress mobilized space under the iconic stature of Gandhi, Nehru. The process of using symbol as a tool for space appropriation continues. With the fall of ideologies, religion often fills up the gap. The current government’s attempt to appropriate electoral space on the basis of Hindu symbol is a case in point. Therefore, the

lotus which is the Hindu holy flower is its electoral symbols, the rathayatra, the tilak (as tika), the Shila Daan, Ram's Ayodhya are all symbols decimated in the public fora. The dissents arise when individuals are unable to find representation within the symbol pool created by the dominant ideology which need not necessarily be overarching as yet, (but aspiring never the less to be universalizing) appears to be a kind of violence on all such imaginations which are aspiring for expression but are suffering from a 'crisis of symbols', either artificially created through threat and terror, or naturally occurred. The desire for space becomes a thirst and often translates in a loss of faith in the system, creating individuals who do not hesitate to become suicide bombers just to realize their dream of clinching some space.

The understanding of the container and contained space, through symbols becomes important here. In the context of the nation space, it becomes an understanding of the power relations, aspirations, desires of the society linked with representation or desired representation through acquired space. The geographer who has already contributed substantially in studying electoral behaviours, voting patterns can do remarkably well in pre-empting, analyzing and explaining the disturbing fissures, the needless violence, the communal mind, the psyche of the terrorist and the consciousness of individuals and groups divided into economic strata or on the basis of gender. Using symbols, documenting its variety, uniqueness, peculiarity across the length and breadth of the country i.e. horizontally, as well as vertically across various strata of society can create a database which can be used as an indicator for conceptualizing the fights for space. This indicator can be more

sensitized keeping in mind economic and gender differences. As for example, chapter 5 indicated how as one moved from the lower rung of society to higher, struggle for space changed from more primordial issues associated with survival to a more value based philosophical plane in the higher rung.

Horizontally across geographical space also, struggles for space can be conceptualized at two levels for instance at the level of migrants in alien territory having preference for symbols which have been to some extent alienated due to urban or foreign influence and at the level of the point of origins, where symbol preference retain the “smell of the earth.” The gap between the struggles at the point of origin and destination both in terms of container identity and contained identity can be unearthed.

Even at the era of globalizations and the so called homogenization of culture through the MTV, Macdonald’s the geographer can un-earth spatial power play in the form of locally global, globally-local, glocal imaginations. For example, MacDonald’s menu though outwardly similar when compared to an American outlet has specific local peculiarities incorporated. Therefore, to cater to Indian tastes one finds “Aloo tikki burger!” and French fries without beef tallows. Kentucky fried chicken found it impossible to carve a niche in India on account of competition from the original tandoori. Therefore, the extent of global localization becomes apparent from the following lines;

“Here (McDonalds) fast food restaurants, though outwardly the same as their American models, serve quite different tastes and need appreciated for food variation rather than

uniformity, and generate mixed offsprings, such as 'Chinglish' or Chamerican restaurants in China."⁶;

Such symbolic manifestation of co-habitation of identities, of shared spaces where container-contained boundaries gets diffused is also of interest for a geographer who is speaking of collapse of boundaries with the Internet and is crying hoarse about the cyber world.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions that emerge from this chapter as well as from the entire research can be summarized as follows:

- ❖ Space study in geography is no longer in terms of absolute and relative but also as a process.
- ❖ Space is dynamic and is hence most cherished. Annihilation of space is therefore tantamount to loss of consciousness, awareness and identity.
- ❖ Struggle for space creates a power geometry which geographers can easily unearth and analyze using innovating tools as they inhabit zones which are in transition and are hence best receptive to not only what is apparent but also of those that is not apparent
- ❖ Which kind of spatial appropriation is considered as 'over-arching' (container), and which kind specific/particularistic (contained), depends upon the power structure in society.
- ❖ The container space is usually constructed by those occupying positions of importance in the power hierarchy using popular tools

⁶ Peters, Jan Nederveen: (1996) "Globalization and Culture, there paradigms", Economic and Political Weekly, p. 13910

(common history, census, map, museum, cinema) and is then decimated.

- ❖ Contained space encapsulates those imaginations which stand distinct from the container imaginations. Such contained space then co-exist with the container spaces, sometimes as equals, sometimes as marginalised and sometimes as neglected.
- ❖ Understanding the container and contained space is not simply a philosophical enterprise but results in the understanding of society itself, depending on whether geographers can face up to certain challenges.
- ❖ Giving representation and exposure to container as well as contained space by a geographer leads to a conception of a 'progressive sense of space.'
- ❖ Link between imagination and consciousness leading to struggle for space/identity is easily built by symbols/icons. Symbols/icons can serve as potential tools in unearthing many such hidden spaces of hopes.⁷

⁷ Harvey, David : (2000) "The Spaces of Hope" Edinburg University Press.

CHAPTER - 7

A Summary of Conclusions

The formulation in the second chapter which begins the discussion on the personality of space in a space-time continuum and also situates geographical space between, along and within the main flow of ideas concludes with the following ideas.

- ❖ There has existed no inherent superiority or inferiority of space and time over one another. Each has served to contextualize and define the other. Certain ages have brought to fame certain aspects of each and hence created a continuum.
- ❖ It is best to conceptualize the dynamic nature of space-time as a 'flow' rather than paradigm shift with breaks. This largely because ideas and imaginations have never been monoliths so as to appear as sole preserve of one age and one time. There has always existed a conglomerate of imaginations.
- ❖ Space conceptualization in geography has run as a tributary to the main flow of ideas, sometimes becoming turbulent as a waterfall dominating over and above the general flow at other times running sluggishly with it.
- ❖ Therefore, space in geography stagnated for a long time under cosmography as celestial, sacred. With the age of exploration space became encyclopedic description of enchanting lands and was for the first time grounded as 'place'. Economic drive added territorial component to space and the discovery of the New Worlds and the

age of Mercantilism produced a kind of space in geography which was viewed as resource. Therefore, describing unique areas of the earth surface led to 'chorography' in geography where space was described as 'regions'. The rise of scientific temper in other disciplines also pushed geography to domesticate space within dimensions to be rendered operational, capable of being defined by data and equations. 'Usability' was the main character of space under quantitative revolution. With space crunch rising to a point of crisis, the thirst for space and the need for formulating strategies for owning more and more of it (space) was seen under geo-politics, geo-strategy, documentation of biomes. The radical approach, identity movements pushed geographers to rethink space in terms of 'consciousness' and the panacea for all evils was the equitability of distribution of values in space. Therefore, a niche for everybody for a happier world was promulgated. The age of planning led to a 'production of space' which could be created and managed for the first time giving certain powers to geographers to put their dreams to reality creating bureaucratic space.

Thus, the second chapter acts as a quick journey through space-time continuum both as in general philosophy and in geography to give an overall picture of the changing operationality of space.

The third chapter builds on the second, in the sense that it becomes more focussed, as it takes up geographical space as carved out by certain dominant tools in geography. The tools that are discussed include,

- (a) Cartography and maps
- (b) Quantitative tools in regionalization
- (c) Remote sensing and GIS

The discussion in this chapter are geared towards understanding the character of space as created by certain tools in geography and is not an attempt at a critical analysis of the tools themselves. The basic formulations include the following.

- ❖ How space became a project under colonization and how cartography and map making served as the tool of the colonizers in empire creation thus maps becoming 'model for' reality rather than 'model of' reality. The section on cartography and maps presents a criticism of the superficial nature of space as formulated by maps and pleads for making maps and technology in general, more probing and hence unearthing the undercurrents of power that flows beneath the 'displayed' overlying layer of space.
- ❖ The quantitative tools in regionalization discusses space as social, urban, hierarchical, modelled, networks. This section concludes with the idea of space as domesticated, useable and as a 'container' filled with relevant informations and compactly bounded. There is also an appeal to use the same tools more innovatively to discover such spaces which are fuzzy, which are in-coherent and difficult to operationalize.
- ❖ Space is objectified as a technological output under the new tools like remote sensing and GIS. Here space is spread out under a technological gaze and is observed from a tower. This section concludes with a discussion on the need to make such technical space more interactive, so that it can be touched and felt.
- ❖ The chapter concludes with a critical approval of the personality of space as carved by tools in geography and also discusses the

possibility of using 'deconstruction' as a tool for conceptualizing space.

The fourth chapter highlights the fact that space as a 'container' usable and manageable have been the hallmarks in Geography. It stresses on the fact that 'contained' spaces also exist and they run parallel to 'container spaces' and the geographer's responsibility lies in giving equal exposure and acceptance to both the popular 'container' and the not so popular 'contained'. The container and the contained aspect of the space is then clarified by using the example of Indian Nation space. The container nation space as overarching, universalizing, standardizing, generalizing is constructed by common history, maps and museum, census, formal education and the cinema. These act as variables in formulating the container nation wherein imaginations are homogenized and bounded within dimensions which have received legitimacy.

- ❖ Therefore the container nation is constructed through the popular nationalist historiography, the exaltation of the freedom struggle, the iconization of the heroes of yester years.
- ❖ Maps and museum creates a structure of India through scientific logic as done by the British in legitimizing the territory under colonization. Therefore, a visible representative is created in the form of the replica of popular India called the map and the artifacts proclaiming their ancientness of a space within display cases in the museum.
- ❖ The census legitimizes the container space through the magic of numbers and through the popular politics of power thus strengthening the container space.

- ❖ Formal education in formulating a syllabi creates a prescribed India to be decimated through output points like schools and colleges.
- ❖ The popular mainstream cinema reflects the popular imagination in three dimension on a two dimensional screen, breathing life into the container.
- ❖ The chapter contends that the container nation is under a state of crisis from forces of globalization, environmental problems, transnational migration, ethnic, linguistic, feminist movements and hence there arises the need to understand 'contained imaginations' as well.
- ❖ The contained nation is viewed not as parochial, or exclusivistic or sessionistic but as parallel imaginations which are not as popular on account of systematic marginalization arising out of false suspicion. These contained imagination exist as sublayers, gray areas and hidden points. The chapter re-invents these contained spaces as in dalit imagination of a nation, peasant's imagination. The chapter ends with a desire for equal acceptance of all such imaginations without hierarchization or competition between and among them.

The fifth chapter is an attempt at operationalizing both container and contained spaces through the idea of India as a nation. The theoretical constructs of the earlier chapters which hypothesize that space can be imagined and re-imagined in multi-farious terms is given shape here. Certain specific ideas emerged from the primary survey that was carried out, they include:

- ❖ People possess certain spatial imaginations and these can be understood from the manner in which they identify with certain objects of existing reality.
- ❖ Often, spatial imaginations form patterns representing certain groups
- ❖ Such patterns of imaginations easily take up two well defined character, namely; overarching-container and particularized-specific-contained.
- ❖ Both the imagination coexist and cohabit between and among groups, without competition.
- ❖ Geographers who inhabit transition zones of knowledge are in the correct position for identifying spaces of all types container or contained and their efforts should be geared towards giving recognition to all types of imaginations – popular as well as those not so popular. What is popular and what inhabits the periphery at a point of time is decided by society but geography as a discipline should strive to re-imagine all types, thus enriching the discipline with a more complete idea of space as a phenomena.

The sixth chapter effectively searches the relevance of the study and understanding of the study of space. It establishes space as a process with its inherent dynamism. The major implications of dynamic space as understood in this chapter s as follows,

- ❖ Quest for space today is a quest for consciousness and realization of identity of individuals and groups and that is where its practicability lies.

- ❖ The imagination which acquires the shape of a container and those that get contained are decided by society at a point of time and understanding them leads to an understanding of society itself.
- ❖ Unearthing the container and contained space results in better understanding of the power structure in society and enables the geographer to objectivize and analyze as well as resolve the different parallel struggles for space.
- ❖ 'A progressive sense of space' is what the geographer should aim at creating from his/her better understanding of space.

A research in social science should aim at understanding issues and finding answers to questions so as to sensitize and become more sensitive to society. Space comprises one's entire life experiences, therefore, it is not only the 'being' but also the 'becoming'. Struggle for space is also the struggle for power and consciousness. Aiming at refinement towards the study of the personality of space is of utmost importance. While container spatial imaginations had been well documented, contained spatial imaginations somewhere down the line either got ignored or was treated as negative often, exclusivistic, retrogressive. The answers obtained to the research questions posed however indicate that contained imagination need not be negative, infact, a cohabitation of container and contained imagination and the nature of their interconnectedness indicate the power struggles within the society. Struggles in which geographers have an active and effective role to play.

Any future research in this direction attempting to put together imaginations varying on a horizontally scale as well as on a vertical scale has to face certain problems. Capturing space conceptualization

of distinct and different individuals is an uphill task, precisely because it requires a move towards capturing finer nuances of emotions and sentiments. This is the most formidable limitation of any such project because an exercise which requires empirical evidence is often incapable of documenting such finer nuances.

However, considering the increasing sensitivity towards space perception in the academic world and an attempt to use such perception as a barometer for understanding society, the relevance of such research cannot be ignored. This heightened sensitivity which the geographer as a social scientist earns in the course of such research is a net gain which can be recycled into use for more sensitive portrayal of societal issues in the future.

APPENDIX

TABLE - I (APPENDIX)
SYMBOLS (IN SERIAL NUMBERS AS IN THE CHART) ARRANGED IN PREFERENCE HIERARCHY ON THE BASIS OF
TOTAL FREQUENCY

RUNGS IN THE HIERARCHY	Middle Income Male	Middle Income Female	Middle Income Total	Low Income Male	Low Income Female	Low Income Total	Female	Total Male	
	1. 10, 11, 12	1. 11	1. 11	1. 11	1. 11	1. 11	1. 11	1. 11	1. 11
	2. 16, 18	2. 37	2. 18	2. 37	2. 37	2. 37	2. 37	2. 16	
	3. 32	3. 9, 18, 30	3. 20	3. 9	3. 9, 30, 36	3. 9	3. 30, 9	3. 37	
	4. 2, 34, 37	4. 2	4. 10	4. 16	4. 35	4. 36	4. 18	4. 9, 20	
	5. 27, 30	5. 20	5. 37	5. 7, 36	5. 27	5. 7, 30	5. 2, 36	5. 18	
	6. 9, 22	6. 10, 32	6. 16, 32	6. 28	6. 33	6. 28	6. 27, 16	6. 7	
	7. 7	7. 16, 24	7. 30	7. 20, 27, 33	7. 7, 28	7. 16, 27	7. 15	7. 2, 27	
	8. 24	8. 15	8. 2	8. 2, 30	8. 1, 8	8. 33	8. 32, 20, 33, 10	8. 30, 32, 36	
	9. 1	9. 25, 22	9. 9	9. 8, 24	9. 15	9. 8, 35	9. 35	9. 34, 10	
	10. 5, 36	10. 6, 13, 27	10. 24	10. 1, 18	10. 12, 16	10. 1	10. 7	10. 24	
	11. 13, 33	11. 4, 29, 33, 34, 38	11. 27, 34	11. 21, 34	11. 21	11. 2	11. 24	11. 22	
	12. 21, 40	12. 5, 14, 7	12. 22	12. 12, 22, 32	12. 2, 3, 18, 34	12. 20	12. 28	12. 33, 28	
	13. 15, 23	13. 36	13. 7	13. 19	13. 6, 10, 29, 32	13. 18, 21, 12	13. 34, 8, 6	13. 21	
	14. 4, 6, 14, 17, 19, 25, 29	14. 17, 40	14. 15	14. 3, 25, 35, 17	14. 19, 20	14. 34	14. 29	14. 8	
	15. 28, 35, 38, 3	15. 12	15. 13	15. 6	15. 4, 24, 40, 25	15. 15	15. 1, 25, 12	15. 5	
	16. 8, 12, 26, 39	16. 8, 19, 28, 35, 21	16. 5, 33	16. 5, 13, 15, 40	16. 17, 26	16. 24, 32	16. 4, 22, 21	16. 13, 19	
17. 31	17. 3, 23, 26	17. 36, 25	17. 14, 10	17. 22, 23, 38, 13	17. 3	17. 13	17. 40, 17, 12, 25		

CONTINUED, TABLE I

18.	18. 1, 31, 39	18. 6	18. 4, 23, 31, 26	18. 5, 14, 31, 39	18. 19	18. 3, 38	18. 15, 6, 3, 35
19.	19.	19. 4, 29	19. 38, 39, 29	19.	19. 6	19. 19, 40	19. 14, 23
20.	20.	20. 14, 38, 40	20.	20.	20. 22, 10, 25	20. 14, 5, 17	20. 4
		21. 1			21. 17	21. 26	29
		22. 17, 21			22. 29, 40	22. 23	38, 26
		23. 19, 23			23. 4, 13	23. 31, 39	39
		24. 12, 28, 35			24. 5, 26		31
		25. 3, 8			25. 14, 23		
		26. 26			26. 38, 31		
		27. 39			27. 39		
		28. 31					

TABLE - II

RANK ACCORDED TO SYMBOLS BY RESPONDENTS (APPENDIX)
 SERIAL NUMBER OF SYMBOLS AS PER CHART IN 'CHAPTER 5' →

Low Income Group	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
1	3	10	3	3	4	10	3	9	0	6	7	5	9	9	2	9	10	4	6	2	3	3	6	4	1	5	0	2	2	10	
2	7	5	5	1	2	9	2			7	8	1	2	6	6	6	1	1	1	7	8	2	8	10		6			10	4	
3	1	3	1	1	9	8	4			5	4	2	3	4	10	1	10	1	1		5	2	4	5		3			7	9	
4	6	1	1	2	10	1						3	5	5	2	5	3	4	4	7		2	9	9	7				6		
5	3	1	2	3	10	9						8		1	2	3	9	3	2	5		7	6	5	2				4		
6	1	9	3	4	10							8		6	3	2	10	6	1	4		1	3	4	4				1		
7	2	10	6	8	7									2	8	8	10	2	2			8	2	2	9				2		
8	4	4		3										1	8	3	1	3	4			7	1	1					10		
9	9	5		3										10	1	6	10	5	5			2	9	8					5		
10	9			3										10	9	6	6	4	7			2	6						4		
11	7			4										9	4	9	6	2	7			1	10						8		
12	8													7	4	10		2	5			7	4								
13														7	1			1	1			3	2								
14															2			4	6			1	3								
15															4			5	3			4	8								
16															8			3	1			3	3								
17															10			6	4			4	2								
18																		2	6			3	2								
19																		1	10			2	4								
20																			7			5	5								
21																			1			2	2								
22																						1	6								
23																						1	1								
24																						1	9								
25																						5	1								
26																						8	3								
27																						5	1								
28																						9	3								
29																						1									
Total Weightage	30	2.06	1.46	1.6	4.26	.71	.51	.69	.057	0	.43	.8	.89	1.97	2.91	4.09	1.29	3.23	7.86	1.2	.37	5.94	7.91	1.49	1.03	.29	.54	0	.26	1.77	.29
Max. possible choice	T	3.49		5.86		1.22		.747		.43		1.69		4.88		5.38		11.09		1.57		13.85		2.52.83		.26		2.06		7.08	

Contd. TABLE- II

Low Income Group	16		17		18		19		20		21		22		23		24		25		26		27		28		29		30		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
1	4	1	5	7	9	5	10	5	9	10	3	6	10	4	8	9	7	5	4	5	3	1	1	8	4	3	9	0	6	7	
2	10	8	3	7	10	7	4	1	10	5	8	5		1			4	6	1	7		1	1	1	5	6	4		6	5	
3	6	6		10	7	10	5	9	10	7	4	5		5			4	3	4			1		3	5	7	7		2	5	
4	3	7		2	6	10	6	10	9	3	9	7		6			2		8			2	1	6	8	10	1		7	5	
5	8	7		6	9	6	10	2	10	9	5	3		3			6		1			6	2	10	3	5	4		2	8	
6	3	9			8	7		10		7	2	8		6			10					4	6	8	9	4	1		9	2	
7	3	7			3	6				9	1	2		8			2					3	4	7	9	7			4	9	
8	7	8				6				5	4	2					7					9	3	6	4	1			7	2	
9	2	1				4				5							7					4	9	9	5	10			2	7	
10		9								1							7					2	4	6	1	2			9	2	
11		6								8												10	2	3	9	4			9	4	
12		1								8												10	10	7	8	4			7		
13		5																				9	10		10	7			6		
14		10																				6	9			5			8		
15		9																				2	6						7		
16		3																					2						5		
17		3																					2						6		
18		8																											2		
19																													5		
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23																															
24																															
25																															
26																															
27																															
28																															
29																															
Weightage Score (W.S.)	30	1.77	.29	1.51	2.57	14	.66	71	1.09	.57	.83	.2	.83	1.49	1.43	.03	1.6	.09	.057	.26	1.54	.54	1.06	.29	.23	2.71	1.66	1.8	2.43	1.14	0
	Total (W.S.)	4.08		1.06		1.80		1.40		1.40		2.92		1.29		.147		1.80		1.6		.53		4.37		4.23		1.14		3.55	

Contd. TABLE - II

Low Income Group	31		32		33		34		35		36		37		38		39		40		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
1	0	6	3	7	4	6	8	4	3	5	5	4	5	10	10	0	0	0	0	7	8
2			9	2	9	6	6	9	10	8	4	2	9	3					7	8	
3			5	3	10	9	9	7	8	6	9	9	8	3					10	8	
4			9	5	8	6	8	10	8	3	10	8	8	8							
5			3	9	1	7	6	5	7	4	5	9	10	3							
6			4	4	1	7	7	8	8		6	7	1	4							
7				10	8	4	6	8	6		7	6	8	8							
8					7	9		6	7		8	2	9	2							
9					10	9			6		5	6	5	9							
10					8	7			8		9	8	4	3							
11					3	7			4		5	10	6	1							
12					3				8		9	7	1	7							
13					2				2		6	1	3	4							
14					10				6		2	6	10	7							
15									9		9	10	8	1							
16									7		5	5	6	10							
17									3		4	6	7	5							
18											8		10	1							
19											4		1	9							
20													7	2							
21													1								
22													3								
23																					
24																					
25																					
26																					
27																					
28																					
29																					
Weightage Score (W.S.)	30	0	.14	.94	1.06	2.0	1.23	.77	.89	2.2	.83	2.54	2.31	3.2	3.43	.03	0	0	0	.26	.26
	Total (W.S.)	.14		2.00		3.23		1.66		3.03		4.85		6.63		.03		0		52	

TABLE - II

SERIAL NUMBER OF SYMBOLS AS PER CHART IN 'CHAPTER 5'

Middle Income Group	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	9	0	4	1	8	3	5	1	4	4	1	9	4	4	5	4	9	3	4	4	1	2	8	8	3	2	1	0	4	4	8
2			5	2	4		3	6	2	3	4	3	4	6	10	7	5	3	10	1	3	4	7	2	2	1	9	6	10	2	
3			1	2	1		2	5	1	6	6	8	9	5			2	3	6	7	2	5		6	9	5	3	8	6	6	
4			1	9			2	3	1	3	5	10	3	6			7	9	8	5	8	7			1	4	6	10	5	10	
5			1	2				5	2	3		8	2	2			2	4	6	9	3	1			2	5	6	2	4		
6			10	5				1	8	5		7	3	6			5	4	9	7	7	5			4	9		10		3	
7			1	1				6	8			7	8				2	1	10	8	6	5			8	9				10	
8			1	2					8			7	3				9	2	3	8	2	1				2				8	
9			5	10									6				7	1	4	9	1	7								10	
10			2	2									9				4	1	8	3	3	1								6	
11			9	1									4				4	4	5	9	5	5								8	
12			1	1													9	10	7	6	2	2									
13			1	1														2	1	7	4	5									
14			9	1														2	4	8	1	4									
15			8	1														4	7	8	5	3									
16				6														4	5		3	2									
17				7														9	1		1	1									
18																		3	7		5	8									
19																		9	5		5	7									
20																			8		8	3									
21																			5		3	3									
22																						1									
23																						3									
24																						2									
25																						2									
26																															
27																															
Weighted Score (W.S.)	Total (W.S.)	.057	0	2.97	3.8	.57	.23	.91	1.43	1.71	1.2	.54	.83	1.89	1.06	0.2	.31	1.91	3.74	3.09	1.66	4.37	5.6	0.2	0.49	1.37	1.46	.46	.63	.8	1.31
Max. possible choice	T	.057		6.77		0.8		2.34		2.91		1.37		2.95		.51		4.65		4.75		9.97		.69		2.83		1.09		2.11	

Contd. TABLE - II

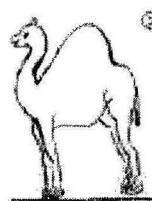
Middle Income Group	16		17		18		19		20		21		22		23		24		25		26		27		28		29		30		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	7	5	10	5	9	6	6	10	4	2	5	10	2	8	10	7	5	9	3	6	3	4	9	8	10	4	6	10	8	7	
2	6	6	10	6	1	6	7	9	4	1	1	8	7	4	2	0.11	4	10	6	2	1		7	4	10	7	9	5	2	8	
3	5	5	3	7	1	3	9		6	10	3		3	8	10		4	7	3	4			1	10	7		3	9	1	1	
4	5	10	8	9	5	6	2		4	7	2		2	10	10		3	9	4	3			6	1			3	6	6	8	
5	7	2			6	7			4	9	9		10	8	4		3	3		4			7	6				5	5	2	
6	7	6			8	10			4	9	3		3	8			8	10		4			7	5				6	9	2	
7	4	6			8	3			6	7			10	7			8	3		6			9	9				4	10	1	
8	1	6			8	7			1	9			6	4			10	10		2			2	1					10	5	
9	3	2			2	3			1	10			9	4			2	9		10			5						3	1	
10	8	2			8	10			2	2			6				3	6					7						10	8	
11	7	5			4	6			6	3			8					3					6						6	2	
12	5	7			6	7			8	9			2					5					3						5	8	
13	7	7			8	2			2	10								2					2						1	7	
14	8	10			9	6			6	2								3					2						3	1	
15	4				7	1			1	8																				7	
16	4				7	7			2	8																				9	
17	8				7	8			2																					2	
18	7				9	5			6																					3	
19	9				10	9			3																						
20	10				4	1			7																						
21									2																						
22																															
23																															
24																															
25																															
26																															
27																															
28																															
Weighted Score (W.S.)	Tot al (W. S.)	1.31	3.51	3.69	.37	.49	2.66	2.83	.57	.09	4.29	2	1.23	0.11	1.83	1.09	.54	.11	1.71	1.86	.8	1.66	.51	.2	2.31	2.54	.17	.31	.66	.91	2.14
Max. possible choice		7.2		.86		5.49		.66		6.29		1.34		2.92		.65		3.57		2.46		.71		4.85		.48		1.57		5.48	

Contd. TABLE - II

Middle Income Group	31		32		33		34		35		36		37		38		39		40		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	6	0	3	10	8	10	5	9	6	8	5	8	6	5	6	7	7	0	6	10	
2			9	4	1	8	4	4	9	1	2	10	1	9	8	9	9		5	9	
3			7	1	8	2	9	4	7		9	8	1	9	8	7			10	6	
4			2	2	9	4	10	4			8	5	5	4		9			10	10	
5			1	4	6	3	3	9			10	7	10	1		9			8		
6			9	3	10	9	10	4			10		5	2		8			10		
7			7	9	9	9	8	1			4		7	5		8					
8			8	3			10				9		7	6							
9			5	5			8						7	1							
10			5	3			10						3	1							
11			8	5			9						9	10							
12			6	5			1						5	8							
13			4	8			9						6	1							
14			2	4			10						5	7							
15			3	2			1						3	2							
16			4				5							5							
17			4				1							10							
18			3											10							
19			9											4							
20														5							
21																					
22																					
23																					
24																					
25																					
26																					
27																					
28																					
Weighted Score (W.S.)		.14	0	3.14	2.77	.74	.91	2	1.2	.31	.37	.89	.49	2.43	3.29	.31	.57	.17	0	.49	.26
	Total (W.S.)	.14		5.91		1.65		3.2		.68		1.38		5.72		.88		.17		.75	

SYMBOL CHART

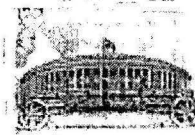
SYMBOL CHART



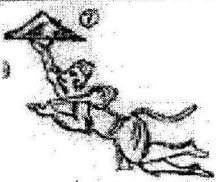
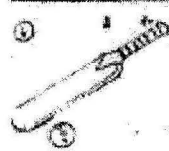
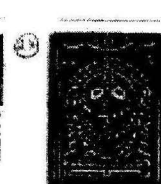
SACHIN



DEEPA KUMAR
SARASWATI



KETAKI
SUBASH
CHANDRA
BOSE



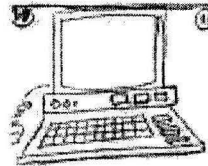
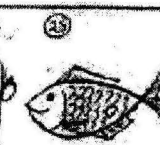
AMITABH
BACHCHAN



DADA SAHEB
PHALKE



SRI SYED AMRUL KHAN



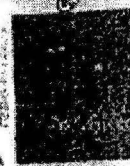
NAKASHA
QADRI



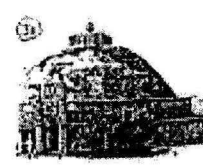
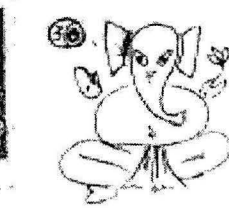
786



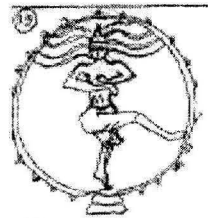
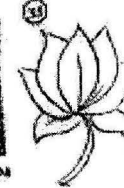
RAHESHA
PARAKHISA



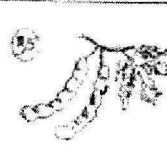
TULSI DAS



SWAMI SACHANAND



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MADR KALAN
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