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Conceptualizing Location – One Term, Many Meanings, a Lot of Problems

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Abstract

Location as a geopolitical concept is one of the most fundamental variables being used in research since the beginning of geopolitics itself. Yet, usages of the concept in geopolitical literature point to different conceptualizations of location which, in turn, provide different explanations of causal properties this concept has on the state‟s behavior. This logical inconsistency imbedded in the concept of location sets up a fundamental question: what location, as a concept, is and how does it produce causal effect onto a state? Following that another question arises: can this inconsistency be resolved through reconceptualization?

By identifying the set of different attributes assigned to the concept of location in existing literature determination of inconsistency has been made and used as a basis for reconceptualization of location. Through the introduction of a model with four secondary concepts using the radial approach to concept formation an attempt has been made to resolve internal inconsistencies of location as a concept and as a variable while increasing its explanatory power in understanding and analyzing its effects on states as shown in the case study of location of Republic of Serbia.

Keywords

Geopolitical Thought, Conceptualization, Location, Position, Locality, Vicinity, Place, Milieu, Serbia

Abstrakt

Lokace jako geopolitický koncept je jednou z nejzákladnějších proměnných, které se používají ve výzkumu již od začátku samotné geopolitické politiky. Použití konceptu v geopolitické literatuře však poukazuje na odlišné konceptualizace lokace, které zase poskytují různé vysvětlení kauzálních vlastností, které tento koncept má na chování státu. Tato logická nekonzistence obsažená v koncepci lokace vytváří základní otázku: Co je lokace jako koncept a jak vytváří kauzální vliv na stát? Dále vyplývá následující otázka: Lze tuto nekonzistenci vyřešit prostřednictvím konceptualizace?

Identifikací souboru různých atributů přiřazených konceptu lokalizace v existující literatuře bylo zjištěno, že nekonzistence byla provedena a použita jako základ pro rekoncepci lokality. Prostřednictvím zavedení modelu se čtyřmi sekundárními koncepty využívajícími radiální přístup k tvorbě konceptu byl učiněn pokus vyřešit vnitřní nesrovnalosti lokace jako koncepce a proměnné při zvyšování své vysvětlující síly v porozumění a analýze jejích účinků na státy, na příkladu případové studii o umístění Republiky Srbsko.

Klíčová slova

Geopolitické myšlení, koncepce, lokace, pozice, lokalita, okolí, místo, Milieu, Srbsko

Range of thesis: 98 pages, 43,789 words, 243,209 characters (without spaces)

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

In Prague on _____   Mihajlo Kopanja_____

Title

Conceptualizing Location – One term, many meanings, a lot of problems

Justification of the relevance of the topic

Location as a concept and variable in Geopolitical research is one of the most frequently used concepts and variables in Geopolitical research. From the very beginning we need to point out that location isn`t the only variable or concept used in Geopolitical research. Geopolitical literature looks at other factors when observing a state and relations between states. But location is one of those variables in Geopolitical research that is the most constant. Even if it is one of the most constant variables, examination of different books or articles may provide you with different explanation of what location is, or to be more precise, how location is defined and used. In some works you can see it purely geographically, in other it is relative to surrounding states and their power. In certain works even both are used.

Besides this point, geopolitical literature is full with interchangeable usage of two terms: Location and Position. It is not quite clear, when reading different literature do the authors perceive this as just linguistic variations of the same concept or two different concepts in general? Both terms produce and understanding that a state is "placed" somewhere but not enough clarity to see if they both mean the same thing. Additionally, even definitions of those terms, by themselves, in Oxford Dictionary are problematic because they use one to explain the other. According to Oxford Dictionary Location represents "*a particular place or position*[1]" while Position represents "*a place where someone or something is located or has been put*[2]". One word is used to describe the other and vice versa.

If Geopolitics deems itself in any regards a scientific discipline it must possess a conceptual framework to use and through which it attempts to explain reality of its scope.

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[1] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/location accessed on 7.5. 2017.
[2] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/position accessed on 7.5.2017.

Explanations of reality do not lie within the conceptual framework but in theory formation as explanations or laws why some phenomena or event is occurring, will it occur again and when is it going to occur. But as Kenneth Waltz pointed out "Laws establish relations between variables, variables being concepts that can take different values[3]". Thus, concept formation is a key prerequisite to the formation of any theories

Conceptualization lies as an abstract framing of those events and phenomena, through the usage of language, which we assess in order to determine the existence or absence of causal relations between different phenomena. Thus differences in our conceptual formation produce the distortion of laws being established, creating a debate which hardly solves problems but go into absurdity. Misunderstanding and inadequate predictions of phenomena Geopolitics researches can arise not only from differences in theoretical assumptions but frequently also from problematic conceptual formation. Different conceptualizations of location, the Geopolitical concept this thesis is focusing upon, produce different observations leading to different conclusions, predictions and etc., which in turn produce contradictory explanations whether location is important for a state and in which manner does it influence the state.

Our goal is to examine in what ways the concept of Location is being defined and used within geopolitical literature in order to identify the differences we focused upon in previous paragraphs as well as to attempt to re-conceptualize Location in order to solve this issue. Thus, in better defining of *What* location is we can find an answer to *Why* location is important and *How* it reflects on state`s potential, power, security as well as relations between states.

Research Goal

The research goal of this thesis is to reexamine in what way is the Concept of Location being defined and used within Geopolitical literature in order to properly understand its significance in the Geopolitical research and to make it a more useful tool.

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[3] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010), 1.

Research Questions

1. In which ways the concept of Location has been formulized and used within Geopolitical literature?
2. How can Location be re-conceptualized in order to provide a more useful tool for Geopolitics?
3. Does the re-conceptualized concept of Location provide, in empirical testing, more sufficient explanatory power?

Working Hypothesis

Our hypothesis is that the concept of Location is a much deeper concept encompassing more secondary concepts[4] whose interrelationship causes positive or negative values of Location as a variable in Geopolitical research

Methodology

Choice between different methodological approaches must follow research goal we wish to accomplish and the research questions we wish to answer. Since, the first research question deals with literature assessment, method that we will implement in order to determine the ways in which different authors defined and used the concept of Location will be content analysis. This method will allow us to analyze the meaning assigned to the concept of Location in selected text in order to provide a systemic overview of those definitions and usages. Following that, in order to answer our second research question on whether it is possible to re-conceptualize Location we must implement a method of concept formation. Using this method we will be able not only to attempt re-creating the Concept but also to critically assess why current usage is insufficient. At the end, in order to provide an answer to the question if our re-conceptualization endeavor is successful or not in providing better explanations we will employ the method of case study, or to be more precise controlled comparison.

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[4] Refer to: David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), 845-855.

Preliminary Structure of the Thesis

The thesis`s structure will follow the presented research questions and it will be divided into three sections. In the first section we will seek to answer the first research question by assessing selected literature. This will provide us with the list of different attributes that the literature has assigned to the Concept of Location which we`ll use to create a systematization of the definitions and usages of the Concept. Second section will focus on an attempt to formulate a new Concept of Location based upon findings in the first section. We will explore different ways how that could be established in order to maximize its value in Geopolitical research. And finally, the third section will be a case study in which we would apply re-conceptualized Concept of Location to show merits of its application in future geopolitical research.

Due to the nature of the thesis and the research it intends to present, making a working structure of a thesis is difficult. This is because the course of the research and the findings from it can significantly affect the main body of the text. Thus, we will present a preliminary structure of the thesis based upon our expectations of the outcomes of the research but stress the fluidity of the structure itself which can change during the process of research and writing.

The preliminary structure is:

Introduction

1. Methodological framework
    1.1. Content Analysis
    1.2. Concept Formation
    1.3. Case Study
2. On Geopolitical concepts and their relationship

I.   On usages of the Concept of Location
    1. How is Location being used?
        1.1. Attributes assigned to the concept of Location
        1.2. Consistency in usages among authors
    2. Primary attributes of Location – What is agreed on
    3. Secondary attributes of Location
        3.1. The most frequent secondary attributes
        3.2. Black swan attributes
        3.3. Can secondary attributes be grouped?
    4. Typology of conceptualization of Location

Preliminary Literature

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Table of Contents

I.   Introduction

Have you ever searched for an apartment? It`s not such an easy task. Leaving the problems of what is there on the marked aside, there are so much difficult choices to be made. Should you buy/rent a newly built apartment or not? How many rooms should the apartment have? In what condition are the installations if it`s not new? Should you search for a furnished apartment or not? What are your neighbors in the apartment building like? What is the neighborhood like? Are there stores and coffee shops nearby? Playgrounds, schools, hospitals, farmer`s market? Does the neighborhood have a crime problem? Should it be closer of further away from your workplace? What about parking space? Vicinity to the main roads and boulevards? This search is further complicated if you are a smoker. If renting, it is not just whether the landlord allows smoking inside but also the matter of whether or not in the vicinity of the apartment exit coffee shops which "look the other way" when it comes to the no-smoking-inside law. In similar situation are pet-owners.

Finding the right apartment requires thinking on a number of questions, trying to satisfy as much as possible and it necessarily involves some trade-offs in the end. The quest for finding the right apartment can be thought of, to a certain point, as an interesting analogy to Geopolitical analysis. And as seen above, similarly to Geopolitical analysis the quest for an apartment has a lot to do with location. No matter how well furnished and beautiful inside, the prices of apartments are always higher at better locations. Of course, unlike political entities, people can move and chose the location in which they wish to live, and this is where the analogy ends. But both raise the question of what makes a location good?

Geopolitical Studies, being a scientific discipline, have of course raised this question much higher reasoning than the average Joe wishing for a nice place to live. But the relevance of the concept for Geopolitical research and decades of thought on location hasn`t provided a consistent understanding of the concept. Take two geopolitical works, observe the usage of location, interpret its meaning and there is a high chance that the same term in two works may provide you with different explanations of what location is, or to be more precise, how location is defined and used. On top of this, location is not the only term contesting to abstract and conceptualize the phenomena of the effects of spatial distribution onto units striving to be analyzed. Frequently, there exists and interchange in usage of terms like

location, position and place which are even used in order to define one another and as synonymous. To further add to the confusion, relations between international relations and geopolitics, which will not be addressed in this thesis, have led to an additional misunderstanding when conceptualizing the term position[5] due to Kenneth Waltz`s seminal piece *Theory of International Politics*[6] and his usage of the term. Thus, the research on location posts a question whether to include these other terms in observation or not? By focusing solely on the term location, much would be lost in the quality of the research and so all three terms would be observed as a conceptualization of correlated phenomena.

Strong influences of political science, namely international relations, led to the overwhelming influx of the ideas of the political, forgetting the influences of the geographical. This in turn manifested itself in geopolitics that disregards its –geo part, on whose foundations it arose. It is not the point of geopolitics to talk about international relations by emphasizing geographical features as more prominent variable in research but to effectively combine the knowledge of geography and determine their role in political phenomena and processes. Reexamining and reincluding the trends of thought and debate originating in geography could reinvent geopolitics as a discipline and not a buzzword of this time. This line of thought reflexes itself onto the research which will focus on Geopolitical, Political-Geographic and Human-Geographic literature, putting the works stemming from International Relations and Political Science to the sideline. This does not mean that works stemming for International Relations and Political Science are less relevant because their complementary role to Geopolitical Studies have much value for the discipline.

These influences of Political Science and International Relations could be attributed to viewing of Geopolitics as grand spatial relations approach, which sees but a fraction of the totality of influences of physical and human geography on political phenomena and processes by reducing it to the observations of the "grandest" of states. As seen by the opening paragraphs, there exists an implicit conjecture within the research that Geopolitical variables can be used on other actors and not only the "grandest" of states. Questions of Geopolitics being exclusive to relations between states severely narrow the scope of the discipline disallowing its usage in specific spatial processes that involve actors that are not states. This conjecture will not be addressed more within this thesis. While deemed important enough to

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[5] For an example see Ratzel`s discussion on position with similar connotations as Waltz`s. Friedrich Ratzel, Studies in Political Areas. The Political Territory in Relation to Earth and Continent, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Nov., 1897), 299.
[6] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010).

be mentioned, the research is state-centric and aims addressing what the concept of location actually means and how does it affect state`s potential, security and foreign policy. Geopolitics as a study of spatial relations, minus the grand adjective, needs to develop conceptual framework, variables with which to "play" applicable on the smallest and the largest of states. While there is merit observing smaller, more important actors[7], the questions of adequate scale[8] of research and units observed can lead to missing some crucial links and understanding with one shot in a marginal territory of a marginal region occupied by marginal states resulted in the biggest war, The Great War, mankind has seen up to that point stretching to all corners of the world.

So, what does location actually tell us? That is the question. With different ways location is defined and used, choosing a specific conceptualization to be used in an analysis resembles more cherry-picking than on a well-established and tested propositions. With conceptualization lying in abstract framing of events and phenomena in order to determine the absence or the existence of causal relations, differences in conceptual formation can produce distortion in those relations. And more often than not, fierce theoretical debates arise from such foundations which can go on to absurdity and rarely return back to the same foundations as the mean for resolving the dispute. Different conceptualizations of location, the Geopolitical concept this thesis is focusing upon, produce different observations leading to different conclusions, predictions and etc., which in turn produce contradictory explanations whether location is important for a state and in which manner does it influence the state.

Thus, the research goal of this thesis is to reexamine in what way is the concept of location being defined and used within literature in order to properly understand its significance in Geopolitical research, and to make it a more useful tool. In order to fulfill the research goal, the thesis will be organized around answering three research questions. Firstly, in which ways the concept of Location has been formulized and used within Geopolitical literature? Answering this research question will provide an in-depth view of conceptualizations of location in literature and the consistency in defining, meaning and usage of the concept. Secondly, how can Location be re-conceptualized in order to provide a more useful tool for Geopolitics? Unraveling this question will strive to re-envision the

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[7] Ibid, 129-138.
[8] Agnew defines scale as "the level of geographical resolution at which a given phenomenon is thought about, acted on or studied". John Agnew, *Making Political Geography*, (London: Arnold, 2002), 139.

concept, based upon already existing work, in order to strengthen the concept and improve its utility for research. Finally, does the re-conceptualized concept of Location provide, in empirical testing, more sufficient explanatory power? By providing empirical testing of re-conceptualized location, the increased utility of the concept will be assessed.

The research will hold a mixed approach, jump back and forth between deductive and inductive approaches[9]. But to state that it clearly stands in the classical geopolitics camp as a meta-theoretical foothold for deductive research is mistaken. The research will draw heavily on critical and constructivist approaches from critical geopolitics[10] and constructivist approaches to human and political geography[11]. To a certain point, one might argue that the objective behind the objective of the research is to attempt, at least to a certain point, to reconcile and to bridge the classical and critical approaches to Geopolitical Studies which has been indicated by the likes of Klaus Dodds and Phil Kelly[12]. To reconcile does not mean to combine the two approaches. The plausibility of such an endeavor is highly debatable due to the vast ontological and epistemological differences making a successful combination into a single paradigm virtually impossible. The point of reconciliation lies in seeing merit in both and to accept certain points from both, the foundations of the classical and the justified criticism of the critical, while retaining a clear positivist stance.

In the term Classical Geopolitics, we will combine what could be thought of as both Classical and Neoclassical Geopolitics and as Critical Geopolitics both Non-Geopolitics and Post-Structuralist Geopolitics as described by Virginie Mamadouh[13], and following the line of division by Phil Kelly[14]. The label Neoclassical Geopolitics as described by Mamadouh represent merely works of a newer date with little to no difference from Classical Geopolitics thus representing a neologism rather than a new approach, creating a confusion with the recent attempts to establish Neoclassical Geopolitics[15] as an approach that expands the scope of Classical Geopolitics. To a certain point, this research stands closer to the emerging

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[9] John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 156.

[10] For an example see Gearoid O Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics*, (London: Routledge, 1996).

[11] For an example see John Agnew and David Livingstone, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011); John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, *A Companion to Political Geography*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

[12] See Phil Kelly, A Critique of Critical Geopolitics, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (2006), 24-53.

[13] Virginie D. Mamadouh, Geopolitics in the nineties: one flag, many meanings, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 46, (1998), 237-253

[14] Phil Kelly, A Critique of Critical Geopolitics, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (2006), 24-53; Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

[15] Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017.

Neoclassical Geopolitics than to either Classical or Critical. Although there will not be explicit dealing with this subject matter within the research a keen eye will undoubtedly spot this and such references should be taken more as a conjecture and not as a „law". Yet, the main assumption underlying the research, and what is giving it the deductive „flavor", is that of locational supremacy[16] which is in line with classical, positivist research of the likes of Spykman and Mackinder[17].

The goal of this thesis is not to formulate an –ism, but to focus on the „core of ideas" that make geopolitics what it is. Concretely, to focus on one and to observe, analyze and conceptualize the idea behind it and its role and value for the discipline. We hypothesize that the concept of location is a much deeper concept encompassing more secondary concepts[18] whose interrelationship causes positive or negative values of location, as a variable, in Geopolitical research. In better defining of *What* location is we can find an answer to *Why* location is important and *How* it reflects on state`s potential, power, security as well as relations between states.

The thesis will be organized around the research questions and divided into four distinct parts. The first part will be introductory dealing with the methodology behind the research and the place of the concept of location within the geopolitical analysis „tool-kit". Second part will revolve around the first research question providing the analysis of the usage of location within the discipline. By focusing on the attribute base of used conceptualizations, location will be broken down to its constituent parts in order to assess the coherence and consistency of the concept. Third part will revolve around the second research question and it will, based upon the findings from the second part, approach reconceptualization of location. By focusing on the attribute base it will re-arrange them in order to achieve coherence between the attributes and avoid "stretching" of the concept. Final part will empirically test re-conceptualized location by implementing it within a single case study focused on the Republic of Serbia. Although the research proposal stated that multiple case studies will be undertaken, the course of the research revealed problematic of usage of such method because of wide arrange of variables needed to be taken into account. Although not stating that such method couldn`t be implemented, it would not be pragmatic for the purposes of this thesis

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[16] Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).
[17] Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 553-569.
[18] Refer to: David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), 845-855.

because it would require for each individual case to write at least as much as for the case study written on the Republic of Serbia, thus requiring and least the same amount of pages bringing this research to several hundred pages of text.

1. Methodological framework

Establishing a methodological foothold for conducting such a research is critical for maintaining its validity. Literature-assessing research like Kenneth Waltz`s done in his book *Man, the State and War*[19], Robert and Jean Gilpin`s research in *The Political Economy of International Relations*[20] or, closer to the subject matter of this thesis, Lynn A. Staeheli`s work on *Place*[21] provide a guideline. Yet their works do not explicitly and in greater detail describe the methodological process behind their research. The specific focus of this work, analyzing one specific concept, leads to the need of formulating not just a methodological approach to assessing literature but also how to understand and analyze concepts themselves as well as how to test the validity of the research. Each of these steps withholds their own issues and tasks which need to be tackled in order for the research to have a stable foothold and validity.

In order to achieve such objectives, to assess literature and how it conceptualizes Location the first problem is not how to analyze literature and which literature to assess (although this is critical as well), but to understand concepts themselves[22]. Thus conceptualizing will be used not only in tackling the second research question which would have more direct usage of it, but also in literature analysis in order to provide a clearer picture into what phenomena are being analyzed, assessed and compared within different works of different authors. Within chapter 1.1., foundations of conceptualization and understanding concepts will be set forth. This step is very significant for one, not so apparent, reason and especially prominent in Geopolitical literature which is the lack of abstractional separation of concepts as variables in research. Authors tend to use one concept to explain another which in

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[19] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
[20] Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
[21] Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170.
[22] See Kimberly A. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2002).

turn explains the first one. Although this issue, which will be dealt with more thoroughly in chapter 2, is inescapable in certain scenarios at least a theoretical boundary must be placed and reasons for such interconnectedness of concepts be explained and systematized.

With establishment of means in which assessing conceptualization is being done and what concepts are, a foothold for analyzing literature on the concept of Location will be made. If this gives us an answer to the question what are we focusing on in our analysis the second tool will be how are we going to analyze literature? Through usage of qualitative content analysis assessment will be made of selected pieces of literature and their envisioning of what Location as a concept and a variable in research means and how does it "act". The final method which will be utilized is a single case study, focused on the Republic of Serbia in order to tackle the third research question as a way how to assess whether re-conceptualization of Location will improve our understanding of the impact and role this variable plays in geopolitical analysis.

1.1. Concept Formation

The dual purpose of concept formation within this research requires elaborating on concept formation from the view point of first and second research question. Undoubtedly, ways how one formulates a concept which has merit and validity for conducting research encompasses the second research question more directly. But guidelines for formulating a concept and validating their usefulness are crucial for conducting content analysis. The descriptive nature of research on concepts means that it is observed as second class research[23] yet majority of empirical research, seen as "true" scientific research, is prone to take shortcuts when it comes to describing and conceptualizing their variables creating much confusion[24]. The descriptive-empirical divide is also seen in the falsifiability of concepts which unlike causal relationships in empirical research cannot be disproven, only helpful or unhelpful, leading or misleading.

Following the work done by John Gerring, concepts necessarily cover three aspects: a) the events or phenomena to be defined; b) the properties or attributes that define them; c) a

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[23] John Gerring, Mere Descriptions, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, No. 4, (Oct., 2012), 721-746.
[24] John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 109.

label covering both *a* and *b*[25]. To these aspects Gerring in following works adds another aspect, d) indicators[26]. Problems with concepts and their formulation lie in the inadequate combination of these aspects. To add to the list of problems, authors tend to stretch concepts to cover instances for which originally concepts were not intended to be used[27] or are too vague[28]. Also, contextual character of specific research (and theoretical paradigm) and the nature of the variable which is conceptualized for such research play a critical part in concept formation although such a defeatist position is hardly acceptable.

As stated in the Introduction, terms like location, position and place represent an abstraction of the same phenomena, with very similar attributes and indicators defining them and yet the terms are different. This leads us to question whether these terms do in fact represent the abstraction of the same phenomena and if so, how can we determine that? Additionally, whether the same term covers the same phenomena and/or does it include the same set of attributes? All of these issues are present attempting to answer both the first and the second research question. In order to resolve the issues the focus must lie in determining the set of attributes author has assigned to the concept of Location (and its adjust terms) within their research. Thus, through determining the set of attributes concept of Location has in each selected piece of literature will serve as a node for content analysis critical for answering the first research question.

Concept formation is more critical for answering the second research question in which an attempt is made to re-conceptualize Location. Based upon the methods used and data analyzed and systematized by using content analysis, addressing the second research question will be made by using conceptual formation proposed by John Gerring[29]. Serving more as guidelines than a strict methodological framework, Gerring points to the inability of completely satisfying each criterion while maintaining a coherent whole leading to the need for trade-offs[30] This model of how to approach concept formation can be used both as a

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[25] Gerring John, What Makes a Concept Good? A Criterial Framework for Understanding Concept Formation in the Social Sciences, *Polity*, Vol. 31, No. 3. (Spring, 1999), 357-358

[26] John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 116.

[27] Ibid, 113.

[28] Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1034.

[29] Gerring John, What Makes a Concept Good? A Criterial Framework for Understanding Concept Formation in the Social Sciences, *Polity*, Vol. 31, No. 3. (Spring, 1999), 357-393; John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[30] Gerring John, What Makes a Concept Good? A Criterial Framework for Understanding Concept Formation in the Social Sciences, *Polity*, Vol. 31, No. 3. (Spring, 1999), 367.

mean to determine problems of a concept and to formulate a new one which allows for comparing different alternatives when it comes to re-conceptualization of Location.

1.1.1. Gerring`s criteria for Concept Formation

In his 1999 article, Gerring`s proposed framework rests on a set of criteria as guidelines for successful concept formation: Familiarity, Resonance, Parsimony, Coherence, Differentiation, Depth, Field Utility and Theoretical Utility[31]. Alternatively, in his 2012 book *Social Science Methodology: A Unified Framework*[32], Gerring stipulates the following seven criteria: Resonance, Domain, Consistency, Fecundity, Differentiation, Causal Utility and Operationalization[33]. Being that his 2012 set represents some additions as well as conjoining several of former criteria into one, on top of coming probably after additional years of his research, the criteria this thesis will follow are from the 2012 book.

Resonance represents the level of intuitive clearness of the term or to state it more bluntly, how much it makes sense[34]. Concept`s goal is to adequately represent the "nature" of phenomena "capture" it within a defined term chosen. As any language tool, term used for one concept needs to convey a clearly understandable message to others for them to comprehend the phenomena observed. Choice of a term should be found within the existing lexicon which most accurately describes the phenomena[35] and as close as possible to the established usage of the term[36]. If diverted from the established usage, it could produce ambiguity at the expense of the reader and not fulfill its task[37]. This may not always possible, with no words in the existing lexicon that could describe adequately the phenomena, authors are compelled to create new term to convey the message[38] even though they are never completely removed from the existing lexicon[39].

[31] *Ibid*, 357-393.
[32] John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[33] *Ibid*, 116.
[34] John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 117.
[35] *Ibid*, 118.
[36] *Ibid*, 117-118.
[37] *Ibid*, 119.
[38] *Ibid*, 118.
[39] *Ibid*, 119.

The Resonance of a concept depends on the *Domain* in which it is intended to be used. Each concept has its intended audience being it language-vise or scientific field-vise. Gerring referred to this as linguistic domain[40] which impacts thinking on application of the criterion of resonance. This of course has its issues being that a) choice of a language can affect whether the concept will be more widely accepted or not, and b) problematic of creating clear boundaries between scientific fields. Besides linguistic domain, there is also empirical domain relating to the context of research which can make concepts more useful for some research than others[41].

The criterion of *Consistency* refers to the established usage of a concept which conveys the same meaning in different empirical contexts[42]. Consistency is a central concern for this research from the perspective of the first research question. If a term of a concept conveys different meanings depending on the context than a concept can be seen as "stretched"[43]. Additionally, by authors assigning different attributes to a concept and labeling it with the same term produces confusion. This can be resolved through addition or subtraction of attributes defining the concept[44], which is crucial for the perspective of the second research question.

Fecundity is perhaps a central criterion of Gerring`s framework. It relates to the richness, thickness, powerfulness of a concept[45]. A concept that is able best to abstract the complexity of phenomena in reality and be able to be applied to the widest array of cases fulfills this criterion the best[46]. Concept`s fecundity i.e. power tells more about the phenomena and is able to "identify those things that are alike, grouping them together, and contrasting them to things that are different[47]". Finding a logical set of attributes which make a coherent whole is central to fecundity in order for a concept to achieve maximum usefulness.

Differentiation represents the external boundary between one concept and another[48]. The mentioned issue of using one concept to explain another which in turn explains the first raises the question why do we need two concepts? Slight differences might be found which justify

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[40] *Ibid*, 120.
[41] *Ibid*, 121.
[42] *Ibid*, 121.
[43] *Ibid*, 122.
[44] *Ibid*, 122.
[45] *Ibid*, 124-126.
[46] *Ibid*, 124.
[47] *Ibid*, 125.
[48] *Ibid*, 127.

to a certain point such a situation, yet to achieve differentiation one must look at the entire semantic field and a place for such a concept relative to its neighboring terms[49] and to superordinate and subordinate concepts. Re-conceptualizing one concept necessarily affects its neighboring concepts and thus one ought to be careful not to step too much into such a mine-field. Perhaps the easiest is to differentiate concepts by comparison to their antonyms, yet there are concepts which do not possess negations to them[50].

Although there is merit in descriptive function of concepts[51] by abstracting the complex phenomena of reality, their usage also exists within a larger segment of causal research. The criterion of *Causal Utility* refers to the utility a concept has for conducting causal research because any variable cannot be concept-less[52]. Concept`s value increases if it is able to be used in causal research and formation of a concept can also depend on context and the requirements of the empirical research making them usually more specific[53]. In general those concepts designated as independent variables strive to encompass fewer attributes while those encompassing dependent variables strive to encompass more attributes[54].

Operationalization represents the point of contact between the abstracted phenomena and the empirical reality[55] and is closely related to the issues of measurement. Whether a concept used in causal research can be measured easily or more difficultly affects the usefulness of the concept. Formulation of a highly abstract concept, difficult to pinpoint within empirical space raises the question of the value of the concept besides hypothetical intrinsic value of the concept itself. Additionally troublesome is the fact that, not keeping in mind with the criterion of operationalization, one can wonder if it is possible to recognize a concept when seen[56].

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[49] *Ibid*, 127.
[50] Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1042.
[51] John Gerring, Mere Descriptions, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, No. 4, (Oct., 2012), 721-746.
[52] John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 130.
[53] *Ibid*, 131.
[54] *Ibid*, 130.
[55] *Ibid*, 156.
[56] *Ibid*, 117.

1.1.2. Classic vs. Radial concept

In attempting to re-conceptualize Location based upon findings from assessing literature of quite different backgrounds, epochs and theoretical streams the task of formulating a concept which is in line with the criteria presented above will be challenging[57] to say the best and impossible to say the least following more classical views on concepts like for example Sartori`s[58]. Although Sartori`s work represents an interesting and important addition to our understanding of the role concepts and conceptualization have in any research, how misformation of concepts contributes to lack of understanding between researches and how adequate conceptualization can, at least in theory, successfully bridge qualitative and qualitative methodological approaches[59], his view is of clear and bounded taxonomic hierarchy of less to more general conceptualizations[60]. This is envisioned through processes of intension and extension[61]. "Intension (connotation) [is] the systematic and explicit definition of the characteristics of the concept, and extension (denotation) [is] the range of cases that can be categorized as meeting the conceptual definition)[62]". Through intension and extension of a certain term he sees this process of establishing more general categories by establishment of base characteristics applicable to a high number of cases, followed by subordinate categories which possess additional characteristics and are applicable to fewer cases.

Breaking from Sartori, in the quest to cover more by saying less[63], stemming from Lakoff`s work[64], radial approach[65] sees the intension/extension features of superordinate and

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[57] *Ibid*, 112.

[58] Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1033-1053.

[59] For multi-method research and the role of concept (mis)formation see Ariel I. Arham, Concepts and Measurement in Multimethod Research, *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Jun., 2013), 280-291.

[60] David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), 845.

[61] Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1041.

[62] Ariel I. Arham, Concepts and Measurement in Multimethod Research, *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Jun., 2013), 281.

[63] Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1041.

[64] George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[65] This approach could be described also as an attempt to formulate a maximal concept with configurational typology John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A United Framework*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012),136-137, 147; David Collier, Jody Laporte and Jason Seawright, *Typologies: Forming Concepts and Creating Categorical Variables*, in ,*The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, edited by

subordinate concepts in relation to attributes differently. Radial concepts have a primary/secondary concept relation unlike superordinate/subordinate relation inversing the intension/extension of Sartori`s work in order to avoid conceptual stretching (See Figure 1). Ideal type classical concept strives to formulate a concept with least possible number of attributes sufficiently covering the largest possible number of cases creating difficulties in using a concept in comparative analysis with different context. Unlike classical, radial concepts formulate almost an ideal type primary concept which possesses a higher number of defining attributes than the secondary concept and whose application on a high number of cases is less than the secondary concept[66].
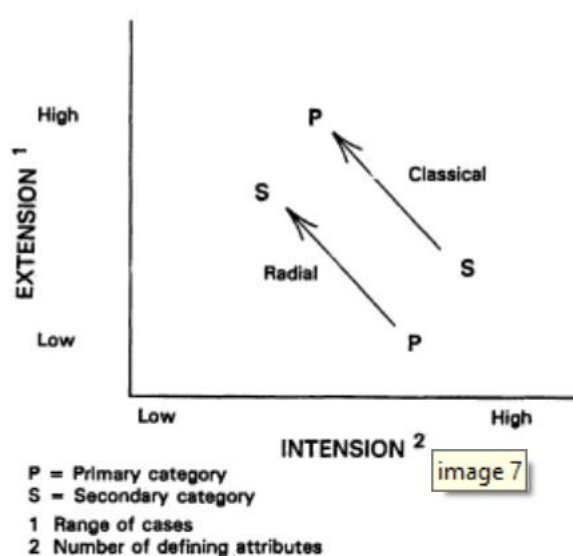
Figure 1: Avoiding „conceptual stretching" with Classical and Radial approaches[67]

Within radial concepts, both primary and secondary, there exist a set of prime attributes, which could be described as a base intension of a concept. An example of such a prime attribute can be that all mothers are female regardless genetics, nurturance, marital status and etc[68]. "True" mother has all such attributes, and thus is a primary concept, but since all "true" mothers are provide 50% of their genetic material to the offspring whereas not all females that give birth to children possess all other attributes, there are always more genetic than

Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Henry E. Brady and David Collier, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 152-173.

[66] David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), 850.

[67] *Ibid*, 851.

[68] George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 74-76; David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), figure 4 pp. 849

"true" mothers, more secondary than primary cases. A defining attribute of mother is then that a mother is a female, but that tells us very little and has little to none use for research.

A comparative view of Dahl and Nye`s approaches to formulating power represent a classical/radial dichotomy. Whereas Dahl sought to find the most central, intuitive meaning of what power is[69], Nye brought this into question by reducing it to just one image of power[70]. Although Nye`s three images of power[71] do not share the same attributes, they combined do formulate what power is, i.e. the broader essence of power, although they can be rarely used combined in all cases. Thus, he advocates for usages of all three images in the international arena appropriately, based upon which would be the most appropriate in a concrete situation[72].

Similarly, addressing Location through a classical approach would require establishment of a primary concept having few attributes and applicable to large number of cases and then add attributes to fulfill the contextual requirements. But part from being a spatial area, any additional attribute added to the primary conceptualization of Location would cement its nature leaving little room for usage providing small extension and would lead to conceptual "stretching". This could perhaps explain the sea/land dichotomy dominance in Geopolitical literature and the obsession with the access to the sea and the prolonged influence of authors like Spykman[73] or Mackinder[74] with little to none room for additional value any new research could add and the end of need for any new Geopolitics. Although this might be a bit too harsh it raises the point of the rigidity of the classical approaches.

Thus, the first step in reconceptualization will be to approach the concept of Location by trying to conceptualize Location based upon findings from the literature assessment. Analyzing different ways how the Concept of Location is defined and used allows us to pinpoint the most frequent attributes. By grouping attributes assigned to the concept from the literature assessment data a base for creating both primary concept of Location and its secondary concept will be made following Gerring`s criteria and in order to avoid conceptual "stretching". Gerring`s criteria it will be faced with additional difficulty connected to the

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[69] Robert A. Dahl, The Concept of Power, *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul., 1957), 201-215.
[70] Džozef S, Naj, *Budućnost moći*, (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2012).
[71] Džozef S, Naj, *Budućnost moći*, (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2012), 28-37.
[72] Džozef S, Naj, *Budućnost moći*, (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2012).
[73] Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017).
[74] Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.

relationship between those concepts, and to location in general. View of Location as a radial concept allows us to observe location as a combination of entirety of attributes whereas it will not contradict this step because each secondary concept, although sharing primary attributes will be able to have different secondary attributes. This does not mean negating Sartori`s work or classical approach completely. For some approaches this can be highly favorable[75], and thus usage of a radial approach can be seen as complementary to it in order to approach certain phenomena more adequately[76].

1.2. Content Analysis

In order to understand the meaning behind different conceptualizations of Location within selected literature method of interpretative content analysis will be implemented[77]. Being that a concept strives to „collapse" phenomena observed in reality, which is defined by a set of attributes, to a single term, understanding the meaning behind such a term requires interpretation. Additionally, there is a difficulty in analyzing terms such as location and it`s adjust terms such as position and place due to their situational and structural meaning in certain usages. Whether someone is in a bad place or in a higher position can interfere in an analysis that would enumerate its usages. On the other side, concepts like Heartland possess, virtually as an attribute a spatial-locational dimension to it although none of the terms we have mentioned appear. Thus interpretative content analysis allows for observing manifest as well as latent content[78]. The work of using this method within the thesis will follow several interconnected steps in order to provide the answer to the first research question.

First task is to determine the units of observation which within interpretative approach to content analysis follows the use of Small-n units[79]. The process of selection of units of observation will be faced with two problems: selection bias and language limitation. Selection of literature to be analyzed observed from the perspective of selection bias is faced

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[75] David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), 846.
[76] *Ibid*, 845-855.
[77] James W. Drisko and Tina Maschi, *Content Analysis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 57-80
[78] James W. Drisko and Tina Maschi, *Content Analysis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 72; Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, 2nd edition, (London: SAGE Pulbications, 2004), 17.
[79] *Ibid*.

with three issues. Firstly, Geopolitics as a discipline arose on the intersection of two disciplines: geography and politics. While geographers see it as a sub-discipline of a sub-discipline of a sub-discipline (Geopolitics < Political Geography < Human Geography < Geography), International Relations also see it as one "school" of foreign policy.

Thus, there is an issue of whether or not to include literature on Political Geography, Human Geography, Political Science and International Relations. Secondly, the lack of what could be described as an agreed canon of knowledge in Geopolitics severely limits determining what would be the most referential list of sources to be analyzed. With regards to the books and articles there is different weight and impact of different authors and their works for the discipline. And finally, although Geopolitical literature is not the most abundant in the entirety of social sciences we cannot state that there is only handful of materials from which we could take our sample. Abundant literature can be a problem primarily because analysis of the entire literature that uses Location as a factor is improbable at best and impossible at worst. On the other hand, with regards to the issues of language, due to the fact that the author is fluent only in English and Serbo-Croatian the literature that will be used can only be in one of those languages, otherwise the analysis is next to impossible. Although far from ideal, and acknowledging its potential effects on the research, sampling will be based on the combination of Convenience sampling[80] which would form a larger dataset and the basis for Relevance sampling[81]. The need of addressing the issues on conceptualization of such a fundamental concept for Geopolitical research has the validity even as a steppingstone for future research.

Second task is to assess each individual unit that has been selected by identifying ways how the concept of location has been used in those works. This will be achieved by determining the sets of attributes authors assign to the concept. And the final task is to systematize the findings of the analysis. This will be done in two ways. Firstly, by representing in a single table, enabling comparative view, units of observation with attributes defining the concept which authors assigned to it. More importantly, it will provide identification of what are the "primary" attributes existing in all conceptualization. Secondly, other existing attributes will be analyzed in an attempt to group them in order to provide an easier way to systematize the findings in a matrix typology.

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[80] Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, 2nd edition, (London: SAGE Pulbications, 2004), 120-121.
[81] *Ibid*, 118-120.

1.3.   Case Study

Whereas, the method of concept formation dealt with how to „make peace" with satisfying different criteria of concept formation, if our re-conceptualization doesn`t provide a more effective way of explaining events and phenomena which we observe in the world, part from not quite satisfying the criterion of causal utility, there will not be any value added by this thesis. The aim is to use a single case study in order to apply the re-conceptualized model of location in order to amplify the explanatory power of the effects of location as a variable produces on state`s potential, power and security. Setting such a large scope within the dependent variable follows the line of what a concept as a dependent variable should be following the criterion of causal utility.

Although criticism of implementing case study methodology within the methodological community exist due to the fact that case study is seen as non-generalizable, informal, non-replicable, doesn`t have a strong empirical leverage and biased in selection of cases[82] it is still one of the most widely employed methods in political science because it provides an in depth view of the subject matter. This leads to a prolific collection of ways one can approach case study. Accepting limitations this method has, the research has two critical questions it must address with regards to case study: population observed and case selection.

But before continuing to addressing these questions an important note must be given. Over the course of research of literature and the defining and usage of the concept of location, new information regarding the nature of location as a concept and as a variable in the broader toolkit used for Geopolitical Studies research provided a demand for a methodological change of the research from what was stipulated in the research proposal. Understanding the deep interconnectivity and interrelationship between different variables a simplistic and concise ability to conduct a controlled comparison case study is not possible without being satisfied with a weak test. It is not only that case studies must focus on the values of variables being observed but also to choose units which share other characteristics like the size of territory, population, relative military might which might provide a distortion in assessment of causal relationships.

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[82] John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6.

Simply put, even with minimally sufficient focus on the effects of other variables, to provide a proper analysis of each of the three secondary categories which would have been the same value, as well as an additional secondary category with different value for two units of observation would require at least twenty to thirty pages. Multiplying this by four in order to assess each secondary category, providing an answer to the third research question would require twice more text than the rest of the thesis, heavily surpassing the format of a Master thesis. On the other hand, a mere statement in a few lines that three out of four secondary categories are the same would create a questionable scenario, severely weakening the test and putting forward the questions of biasness. Thus, the choice fell on a single case study in order to satisfy the format of the thesis and to provide a stronger test of the model.

Returning back to the crucial questions regarding the implementation of case study, an explanation must be given to the population being observed and the selection of the case study. Although the stated conjecture, which this work does not aim to prove, that conceptualization of location as variable could hypothetically be possible to use on different units of analysis, the state-centric approach, and indeed the only pattern aimed to be analyzed, in this research implies that the sampling pool from which cases will be chosen are sovereign states[83]. Even though this has been hinted in the previous paragraph while noting on the limits to following the methodology written in the project proposal, not much has been said on ways how to choose the state.

With the model being applicable to all states, the choice of which state to be analyzed through case study does not imply by any means that it is more or less applicable. In the strive to find the more generalizable case, and acknowledging the possibility of intervening effects of other factors due to the character of the dependent variables of security potential and power, finding states which possess average values for the mentioned non-locational variables would be more general and a stronger test than applying the model on Great Powers or even Regional ones. On the other side, same goes for micro states and states with highly specific locational values like New Zealand whose isolation although still being applicable to the model won`t present generalizable results. Thus, the choice fell on the Republic of Serbia because of it having among the most average scores regarding the non-locational variables.

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[83] John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 80-83.

2. On some Geopolitical Studies concepts and their relationship

Location is not the only concept/variable used in Geopolitical research[84]. This obvious statement is clear to anyone with at least a course level knowledge of Geopolitics but it is the one needed to be repeated. The quest for finding the underlying laws governing social relations rests upon relations between variables which are concepts[85]. But the strive for mono-causal explanations and reducing the complexities of the phenomena in reality[86] to a simple, parsimonious, almost E=mc2 like equation, loses much in its explanatory power and tends to disregard differences, context and uniqueness of cases as well as change and evolution of the world[87]. The discussion on Geopolitical Studies concepts and their relationship, through which phenomena and events in reality are abstracted and explained, must start with the brief definition of Geopolitical Studies. Over the years many definitions have been put forth, from the first definition of Kjellen[88], over the one from Haushofer and his Munich school[89], to more recent definitions of the likes of Cohen[90], Morgado[91] and O`Thuatail[92]. In determining which is the most encompassing but still concise the thesis will follow the definition of Milomir Stepic who defines Geopolitics as a *"scientific discipline which studies the role and importance of physical-geographic and human-geographic factors in political phenomena and processes[93]."*

Through the decades in which Geopolitics was researched, authors have put forth numerous concepts as variables which provide causal relations on states[94]. Any detailed analysis of the entirety of variables and conceptualizations of those variables, along with its

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[84] Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, 46.
[85] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010), 1.
[86] On the complexities of social and political world refer to Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
[87] Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, Glossary, pp. lxxiv.
[88] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 44.
[89] Karl Haushofer, Erich Obst, Hermann Lautensach and Otto Maull, *The "Official" Definition*, in Andreas Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer: Geopolitics in Action*, (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1966), 23.
[90] Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 15.
[91] For a detailed assessment on defining Geopolitical Studies see: Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, 45-48.
[92] Gearoid O Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics*, (London: Routledge, 1996), 46.
[93] Quoted in Zoran Kilibarda, *Osnove Geopolitike*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2008), 11.
[94] For one of the earliest discussions on Geopolitical concepts alone, refer to Werner J. Cahnman, Concepts of Geopolitics, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (Feb., 1943), 55-59.

causal impacts would take hundreds of pages of text, which is not the prime objective of this research[95]. Yet where does the concept of interest of this research fit and how does it produce effects in correlation with other variables places the relevance of this research in the core of thinking about Geopolitics. As described, any re-conceptualization inevitably influences other, bordering concepts through their differentiation. In fact, the differentiation issue lies in the core of this research as much as consistency in use of location because of the inability of authors to create adequate separation of abstractions of reality in their works as one variable provides explanation for another and vice-versa.

With three points raised in the previous paragraph, interrelationship, differentiation and mutual defining between geopolitical variables, any observation of them as separate issues is mistaken. No concept is an adequate representation of reality but an abstraction of it. Concept strives to approach reality as much as possible while retaining its causal utility, and more often than not that means that interrelationship is high, differentiation murky and mutual defining necessary. Take as an example the relationship between topography, borders, rivers, line of communication and mobility. Each one of these is an important concept for geopolitical research (and as will be shown later for this research as well). The uneven distribution and character of mountains, plains and valleys create natural passageways as much strong borders. Such strong borders are such because they enable ease in mobility for "others" i.e. invaders to come. On the other hand, those natural passageways direct the course of a river and lines of communication. Rivers, as streams of fresh water, are indispensible for human beings on top of being the cheapest route for transport. The transport aspect of rivers is interconnected to mobility as much as lines of communication other than rivers. In the early days when Africa was colonized by Europeans, the only hinterland that was colonized was the one through which large navigable rivers went through because they allowed for easier, cheaper and faster communication. Thus, in conceptualizing lines of communication, for example, mentioned topography, rivers are necessarily a segment of its attribute base. But rivers cannot be equated to lines of communication nor vice-versa. Separation of the two is needed because the mentioned value of rivers as sources of water exceeds the pure communication aspect. If they were equated, this would mean either such rivers are only important for communication or that lines of communication are drinkable.

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[95] For an interesting piece dealing with the scientific history of the discipline refer to Geoffrey Parker, *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2015).

This reasoning could continue and involve other concepts. Yet, these variables are not fixed. Although some are more variable than others[96] even those frequently thought of as fixed are in a constant change, however slow it might be. Continents hundreds millions of years ago were positioned completely differently. These changes in variables influence the changes in the values of other variables[97]. As Mackinder describes, technological changes affected the changes in mobility which in turn influenced the change in what can be thought of as the best line of communication which favored some more than others[98]. It is not just that changes in one produce changes in another, but also the full impact of one variable can be only understood in the cumulative effect of all. It is precisely because of such effects that Gyula Csurgai accurately sees Geopolitical analysis as containing some elements of a systemic perspective[99] because each variable affects others, to a greater or lesser extent and because their interrelationship produces a cumulative effect of the whole greater than the effects of its parts.

It is thus so, that the current advancements in technology have led some to minimize to the level of a statistical error the effects of geography on social phenomena[100]. This fact has been over exaggerated because of what could be described as the Occam`s razor of Geopolitical research, the principle of parsimony. Being that Geopolitics encompasses both physical and human geographic factors this principle can be adequately applied only to physical geographic factors in order to avoid the assumption of rationality[101]. Unlike other concepts and variables in geopolitical research like size of a state[102], shape[103], borders[104],

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[96] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 48-86.

[97] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 14.

[98] Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.

[99] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 51.

[100] These views will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis with direct connotations to the concept of Location.

[101] For an example of assumption of rationality see John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 31.

[102] For an example refer to Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 30; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 87-91; Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 5; Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 26-57.

[103] For an example refer to Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 76-77; Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 58-78.

[104] Colin Flint, *Introduction: Geography of War and Pease*, in, *Geography of War and Peace: From Death Camps to Diplomats*, edited by Colin Flint, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), 6; Hans W. Weigert,

frontiers[105], lines of communication[106] etc. the principle of parsimony posits that the line of least resistance are the most favorable and bring the greatest advantage[107]. In an essence, Mackinder discusses implicitly about this principle in the time when railway became more parsimonious than the sea[108], while Mahan, writing before Mackinder, stresses the more parsimonious sea transport regardless of the greater distance[109]. Today, the ability of a strategic bomber to attack any point on the globe in the matter; of hours does seem that it breaks the "shackles of geography[110]", but the expense of such an endeavor is hardly sustainable in the long run, breaking this principle. In a triangle of economic cores, lines of communication and mobility it is this principle that will make a coherent whole of them by parsimony filtering what would be the main line of communication, based upon the most favorable mean of mobility to the economic core. Similarly, Paul Kennedy`s imperial overstretch[111] represents the outcome of not following the line of the principle of parsimony in relation to concepts like military power[112] and size of the state. It is interesting how, potentially, the invention of a teleporter could perhaps completely undermine the "shackles of geography" given it is able to withstand the limitations principle of parsimony sets forth, but this still exists in the realm of science fiction.

Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 79-141.

[105] Nicholas Spykman, Frontiers, Security, and International Organizations, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1942), 436-447.

[106] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 5; Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 163-168.

[107] Many authors have described what could be called the principle of parsimony in their work. Although not explicitly naming it as such, they addressed the value of the principle and its effects. For an example refer to: Friedrich Ratzel, Studies in Political Areas. II. Intellectual, Political, and Economic Effects of Large Areas, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Jan., 1898), 450; James Fairgrieve, *Geography and World Power*, 6th edition (London: University of London Press, 1927), 43; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900), 23.

[108] Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.

[109] Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016), 17; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900), 38.

[110] Even before recent times, authors such as Douhet and Seversky pointed to such a possibility and utility of it. Major Alexander P. De Seversky, *Victory Through Air Power*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942); Giulio Douhet, *The Command of The Air*, (Washington: Air Force History and Museums Program, 1998).

[111] Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988).

[112] For discussions on the elements of power in Geopolitical literature refer to Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016), Chapter 1; and Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 19.

Interrelationship of variables provides difficulties for conducting successful conceptualization of those variables. But without adequate conceptualization of key variables used and without consistency in use through the research within the discipline, validity of those researches is questionable. Although some factors and concepts that are in use in different researches have been discussed that is not a complete list, and even if it had been attempted to enumerate them, new concepts will appear and, potentially, some old will disappear. But the persistence in use of certain concepts, through the decades of existence of Geopolitics as a scientific discipline, combined with the changing nature of social world has led to their reinterpretation[113]. Acknowledging all of this, approaching the concept of Location necessarily involves bearing in mind the impact on other concepts and the effects of other concepts, in order to properly assess usages of Location and to adequately re-conceptualize Location in order to increase its value in research.

II.   On usages of the Concept of Location

As talked in the Introduction, the choice whether to stick only to the term location, or to include in the assessment two additional terms, position and place is crucial for the outcomes of the research. Different conceptualizations for the service of the research are legitimate but create a conceptual minefield in the long run. Specifically for us, the choice between the two is to play it safe or risk it for greater benefits for the field and future research. The choice fell to the side of risk and analysis of all three terms. Although much of this has been said, it still needs a greater elaboration. Oxford dictionary defines all three terms by using each other to define them. Location is "*a particular place or position*[114]." Position is "*a place where someone or something is located or has been put*[115]" Place is "*a particular position, point or area in space; a location*[116]." Also, a comparative view of synonyms of those terms also point to each other.

With all three terms resonating strongly in a large linguistic domain, the level of differentiation between them is highly elusive. On a fundamental level, the question each term focuses upon is where something is? And if used as a variable in research, what effects

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[113] John Agnew, *Making Political Geography*, (London: Arnold, 2002), 111.
[114] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 27.04.2018., https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/location
[115] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 27.04.2018., https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/position
[116] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 27.04.2018., https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/place

does it produce on that something? This is pointing to the fact that each term is indented for extremely similar causal logic. Based upon such logic, treating the terms as labels of separate concepts and thus requiring differentiation-focused analysis is unsound because established interchangeable usage of these terms as well as intrinsic logic behind them point to more merit of a consistency-focused analysis.

This logic is not only focused on the consistency issues between these three terms. That is merely an extension of the conceptual issues regarding the term location. Even the term location is conceptualized and used in different meanings. This problem of ambiguous and inconsistent conceptualization of such an essential variable in Geopolitical research creates impossibilities for replication of research results and conducting comparative analysis undermining legitimacy and value of the entire discipline. In order for Geopolitics to grow and evolve, at this stage, it is just as important is to question and reexamine the foundations of it[117] as it is to strive for novelty in research[118]. Perhaps, quest for re-examination of foundations could lead to novelty.

In the chapters to follow, the usages of the concept of Location in conjunction with is adjust terms Position and Place will be assessed by observing works from authors stemming from Geopolitics, Political Geography and Human Geography. The choice of excluding International Relations and Political Science from the sample is the matter of the nature of the concept. With geopolitics standing between political science and geography[119] and relying on inquiries from those disciplines, plenty of interchange of findings exists. But, whereas in political science, spatial concepts and variables are used as assisting tools in research[120], "geographers subscribe first and foremost to the view that location matters[121]". If the research

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[117] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 5.
[118] Phil Kelly points to the lack of re-questioning of basic premises in the classical geopolitical camp, unlike critical geopolitics, as well as ignoring recent developments. Phil Kelly, A Critique of Critical Geopolitics, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (2006), 45.
[119] Simon Dalby and Geraoid O Tuathail, *Introduction: Rethinking Geopolitics: towards a critical geopolitics*, in *Rethinking Geopolitics*, edited by Simon Dalby and Geraoid O Tuathail, (New York: Routledge, 1998), 2. For the discussion of the relations of Geopolitics to other scientific disciplines see Zoran Kilibarda, *Osnove Geopolitike*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2008), 13-18.
[120] For an example see Walt`s development and use of proximity as a variable in his balance-of-threat approach in alliance formation. Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), most notably 23-24.
[121] Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 1.

was focused on the concept of power, which is central to authors like Kjellen[122], geography would be less helpful while International Relations and Political Science would be included.

1. How is Location being used?

Concept of Location is more crucial of a concept in classical, more materialist, geopolitical paradigm then in critical, more idealist, social constructivist and post-positivist, paradigm[123]. Yet, critical paradigm, although raising discursive elements of geopolitics to the top spot, does not evade discussions on location but see it in a different light. These ontological and epistemological differences put additional strain to the research requiring further elaboration. The chicken-or-the-egg problem has long strained, and without a doubt will continue to strain in the future, the field leaving the inability of paradigms to communicate, leaving them in their own social bubble with every "more concrete" debate ultimately being raised to ontological and epistemological levels, resolving nothing.

As Phil Kelly points: "*since „realty" derives from some combination of both objective and subjective sources, might not it be more constructive for both the classical and the critical to admit these common dilemmas and instead utilize this „reality problem" in rationality as a method for complementing each other?*[124]" Admitting common dilemmas and complementing each other, while accepting the virtual implausibility of combination of the two due to the different ontological and epistemological stances, should lean towards the conclusions and views of the „production" of different phenomena and their effects on units of analysis. This is the goal here, to assess different conceptualizations of the phenomenon of location from the viewpoint of different paradigms and their communication on such level, and in doing so to enrich one or the other, and in the perspective of this research, the more classical, positivist (however soft it may be) side.

Recent developments which are brought by the level of technological advancement and interconnectedness of the world have rightly raised the point of the compression of time-

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[122] Andreas Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer: Geopolitics in Action*, (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1966), 53.
[123] A comparative view of the difference between the camps can be seen in Virginie D. Mamadouh, Geopolitics in the nineties: one flag, many meanings, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 46, (1998), 237-253.
[124] Phil Kelly, A Critique of Critical Geopolitics, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (2006), 44-45.

space and "flattening" the world[125]. But, such "flatness" tends to be over exaggerated and taken as an assumption[126]. The fact that the Earth is not uniform in its features on the entirety of its surface gives merit to the assumption that certain areas of such surface have more value than another[127]. Some areas have more natural resources that are crucial for economic development[128]. Some areas are more critical for transport and communications. Some provide more opportunities than other. Some are more affected by climate change than others[129]. Not trying to exaggerate this statement to a deterministic level, this does point to the fact that where you are does affect what you can accomplish, by giving you greater or lesser *possibility* to accomplish something[130]. Creative usage of what you have can outweigh the plenty of another which isn`t utilized properly.

This returns us to the question that if Location does produce effects, how does it exactly produce those effects? What are the features that contribute to the fecundity of Location? How can those features be operationalized to be of use to research? And if the previous is defined, does the empirical domain show clear consistency in the usage? Collapsing all these questions into its core line, the most important fact which needs to be determined is the attribute corps assigned to Location. By analyzing, enumerating and weighing the importance of attributes each author has assigned to the concept, patterns of usage will be displayed which in turn will display the level of consistency that Location has within the empirical domain and how the concept is envisioned and used.

1.1.　Attributes assigned to the concept of Location

Determining the exact meaning which could be extrapolated from the text and shaped into attributes is not without its hardships especially when focusing on only one sentence or a paragraph. Not all works provide an explicit definition of the term, which leads to the need of a broader focus in order to provide satisfactory understanding required for defining attributes.

[125] Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

[126] Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.

[127] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 57.

[128] Zoran Kilibarda, Miroslav Mladenović and Vladimir Ajzenhamer, *Geopolitičke perspektive savremenog sveta*, (Beograd: Fakultet bezbednosti, 2014), Chapter 7.

[129] *Ibid*, Chapter 9.

[130] Nuno Morgado, *Theoretical fundaments and methodological guidelines in neoclassical geopolitics*, Paper presented at the 25th World Congress of Political Science, Brisbane, QSD, Australia, July 2018, available at: https://wc2018.ipsa.org/events/congress/wc2018/paper/theoretical-fundaments-and-methodological-guidelines-neoclassical, 4-5.

Interpreting meaning and context of the entire work is needed in order to achieve the satisfactory level of understanding of the usage of location. Take Mackinder`s *Geographic Pivot of History*[131] as an example. Quantitative content analysis of this critical article for Geopolitics shows a total of zero usages of *Location*, two usages of *Place* and five usages of *Position*, out of which one has a clear situation meaning[132]. Yet, the core of his approach is the one of positional supremacy of the Heartland[133]. Furthermore, his re-envisioning of Heartland in his following two works[134] brings to question the foundations upon which he conceptualized Heartland, the role of a more basic concept of Location within it and the relationship with other geopolitical variables.

In Appendix 1, assessed literature is systematized based upon two points. Firstly, the term used within the research to designate the locational variable (i.e. location, place or position) and secondly, the set of attributes of the concept. In some works even the explicit and clear usage of the term labeling the concept is lacking like in the case of Mahan`s *Problem of Asia*[135], and the works of O`Tuathail[136] and Dalby[137], but even they discuss on some locational implications. For an example take O`Tuathail`s discussion on the imagination of "the East", "the West" and "the Third World" between them[138]. In his view of "the Third World" being a zone of competition between them being located within such an area can produce negative effect on a state. Perhaps the best example can be found in the case of Cuba, an "Eastern" domain surrounded by "Western" countries. In the world of ideological competition of the Cold War[139] which modified ancient Occidentalism and Orientalism into Capitalism and Communism, being in such a place, like Cuba was, is anything but favorable. In such conceptualization, Location ceases to be associated with physical geographical

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[131] Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.
[132] The quote from the article goes as follow: "*It appears to me, therefore, that in the present decade we are for the first time in a position to attempt…*" Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 422.
[133] Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 554.
[134] Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942); Halford J. Mackinder, The Round World and the Winning of Peace, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Jul., 1943), 595-605.
[135] Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900).
[136] Gearoid O Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics*, (London: Routledge, 1996).
[137] Simon Dalby, Critical geopolitics: discourse, difference, and dissent, *Society and Space,* Vol. 9, (1993), 261-283.
[138] Simon Dalby, Geraoid O Tuathail and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 6.
[139] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 37-44.

attributes but with the spatial distribution and impact of the antagonistic nature of the dominant geopolitical discourse[140] and "Others[141]".

The example of "the East" and "the West", and its connection with Location, point to another ambiguity with relation to the attribute corps of the concept. The question of scale, so central for geographers, spills over to reasoning on Location in determining the adequate scale through which one should observe the locational impacts on the unit of analysis. Some authors make clear differentiation between scales of observations by creating two secondary concepts. Nicholas Spykman clearly differentiates what he deems as *world-location* "with reference to the lands masses and oceans of the world as a whole[142]" and *regional location* "with reference to the territory of other states and immediate surroundings[143]". Practically the same differentiation is seen in the work of Martin Sicker[144]. With virtually the same description of the concepts and same attribute base, the only difference between Sicker and Spykman is that the first uses the term position[145] and the second location, further supporting the claim of conjoined observation of those terms[146]. Cohen`s differentiation of geostrategic and geopolitical regions[147] might also be seen as such, Yet the issue is that his division has also systems theory connotations[148] which makes it much more than the matter of scale. Thus, there is a clear division of scaling approaches in locational reasoning between the nation-state focused[149], region focused[150] and to the reasoning which could broadly be described in a

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[140] See John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 46-77.

[141] For conceptualization and uses of "other" see Iver B. Nojman, *Upotrebe Drugog: "Istok" u formiranju evropskog identiteta*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2011).

[142] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 31&40.

[143] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 31&40; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy II, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Apr., 1938), 213.

[144] Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Also, very similar in Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 5.

[145] Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 99-100.

[146] To add to the discussion the term place, John Agnew clearly points that the impact of the term place is kept only as location. John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011), 323. Yet, to stay true to Agnew`s intent he stated this as a criticism upon which he based his work modifying the concept but still retaining a strong locational aspect to it. John Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 27.

[147] Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 64-65.

[148] Talkot Parsons, *Društveni sistem i drugi ogledi*, (Sremski Karlovci: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2009).

[149] Zoran Kilibarda, *Osnove Geopolitike*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2008), 36.

binary fashion as theories of planetary duality[151]. To these, sub-national scales can also be included which is the quality of French school[152] and especially the work of the „subversive" school connected to Yves Lacoste[153].

Thus, the concept of Location has been defined by following attributes, in no particular order, as seen in the Appendix: spatial area, relativeness, boundedness (fluidly), layeredness, other states, neighboring states, strength of neighboring states, strategic significance, political, cultural, ideological, religious, linguistic relationships, demography, other cultures, other civilizations, centers of diffusion and military power, unique human and political characteristics, social organization, world trade, economic orientation, economic centers, Ecumene, other locations, connection to other places, important regions, sense of people of its [of the place] existence, specificity of an area, centrality within a region, physical features, Earth`s surface, longitude/latitude, Equator, topography, sea, land masses, narrow marine straits, narrow passage on continents, isthmuses, lines of communication, islands, climate, natural resources, rivers, accessibility, geopolitical imagination and "Others".

1.2. Consistency in usages among authors

Example shown in the previous chapter of conceptualization of location made by Nicholas Spykman can be given credit for acknowledging the role of scale in geopolitical research. But his conceptualization points to an internal inconsistency of his own work. If world and regional locations are just a matter of scale, other attributes would show correlation. Yet, he conceptualizes world and regional locations with different sets of attributes. As quoted in the previous chapter, world location has geographical attributes defining it like the oceans, land masses, etc., while regional has political attributes defining it in terms of other surrounding states[154]. Ellen C. Semple points to this even clearer by stating

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[150] Geoffrey Parker, *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 140-154.
[151] Zoran Kilibarda, *Osnove Geopolitike*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2008), 37-42.
[152] See Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926); and Geoffrey Parker, *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 87-101.
[153] Virginie D. Mamadouh, Geopolitics in the nineties: one flag, many meanings, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 46, (1998), 240.
[154] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 31&40.

that "specific geographic location is thus defined by natural features of mountains, desert and sea or by the neighbors whom they are unable to displace or more often both[155]". Attempting to observe Spykman`s locations as secondary concepts in the classical approach these geographical and political defining features could be seen as secondary attributes but if striped from them, bare primary concept (in the classical sense) is meaningless. On the other hand, seen as two separate concepts invokes the difficulty of difference due to very similar resonance being that world and regional adjectives do in fact resonate much more scale-vise invoking meaning of fundamental similarity in causal effects.

In fact, there are rare cases in which purely geographical attributes, with relations to climate, topography, lines of communication, land/sea are present. Perhaps, that is only the case with Mackinder, although even his work flirts heavily with idealist connotations. Similar case is with relations to neighboring states. Kjellen comes closest to such conceptualization[156], stating that location relative to other states is critical for understanding location but recognizes that even geographical attributes can in certain situations have decisive effects on politics[157]. But this is just a tip of the ice berg. By invoking locational impact by connecting it to isthmuses, narrow marine straits, cultural, political and social relationships, geopolitical imagination, centers of power, strategic significance and broad term of civilization, consistency of the concepts is severely undermined being "stretched" to the limit of being useful for any research, let alone comparative analysis.

But the criterion of consistency and domain implicitly hold another point which Gerring seems to have missed. Literature analyzed in order to create the dataset for this analysis contains literature stretching from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Within this timeframe, the world and social reality went through substantial change. Thus we can talk about temporal utility of a concept[158]. For Spykman, "the fact of location do not change[159]", and this and alike views have been severely criticized

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[155] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 132.
[156] And to a certain point Dorpalen follows, see Andreas Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer: Geopolitics in Action*, (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1966), 12.
[157] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 77.
[158] To a certain point, Agnew shares this point of view and adds to this view theoretical effects and "academic-social-bubble" effects, which will be discussed further in the following chapters. See John Agnew, *Making Political Geography*, (London: Arnold, 2002), 12.
[159] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 43.

by critical literature and Spykman`s contemporaries[160]. For Weigert et al. although location is fixed i.e. states do not move from where they are, but the political implications of location change over time[161]. Austria did not move from where they were but their environment has significantly changed in the past three decades. From the frontier zone where NATO and Warsaw pact collided to the secure interior of Europe, Austria today is much more secure from conventional military conflict than it was three decades ago.

Although by many, location is the most important geographic factor[162], it is also one of the factors most subjected to changes[163]. This is not to say that change brought a complete break with the old in the line with the saying "the King is dead! Long live the King!" As discussed previously, there exists a degree of merit in the reasoning of those from a century ago and if a concept strives to encompass a phenomena those who conceptualize it deem as-timeless-as-possible, it ought to define it in attributes broad enough to endure the pressure of change while retaining "peace" with other criteria for successful conceptualization. Unfortunately, this hasn`t been addressed thoroughly and all that has remained is an inconsistent use of Location, stacking attributes and ignoring the implications of it.

2. Primary attributes of Location – What is agreed on

Although comparative analysis of the usages of the concept of location show clear inconsistencies by being overcrowded with different attributes defining it, a common line of thread can be found. It is not by chance that Spykman`s (and in turn Sicker`s) example was chosen in the previous discussions. As a criticism of the issues of consistency in usages, world and regional location stripped off its contradictory attributes leaves bare concepts whose utility need not be questioned. But through that stripping of contradictory attributes, expanded onto the entire dataset a core of attributes can be seen whose usage is consistent with within all conceptualizations. Leaving causal utility aside, this set of primary attributes

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[160] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 175.

[161] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 174.

[162] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 150; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 39; Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 77.

[163] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 150.

is beneficial for understanding the fundamental nature of Location being that there exists and agreement in though. Out of all enumerated attributes, the two which are constant and thus can be described as primary attributes are the attribute of *spatial area* and *relativeness*.

Thinking of Location, and it`s adjust terms Position and Place, in terms of confined portion of space hasn`t been addressed extensively although it is agreed implicitly, with the exception being Agnew`s *Space and Place*[164]. With geography being described as spatial science by many authors[165] space is crucial for its foundations, which in turns puts great importance to it for geopolitical reasoning. Agnew`s work on the relations between space and place puts forth two meanings of such relationship, with place being thought of as a portion of space (i.e. similar to scale) or place being distinguished from space by having its own special characteristics that differentiate it and make it unique[166]. While clearly siding with the second meaning, Agnew`s work shows in both cases accepts the notion of the generality of space representing the unity of many places. Space = Place 1 + Place 2 + Place 3… + Place n[167]. The difference is that in the second meaning, uniqueness of places requires study of such uniqueness in order to understand broader implications.

Additionally, two other points must be raised in the matter of this attribute. The territorial nature of the state[168] and the concept of borders clearly point to a defined portion of space whose totality is populated by them. With a state-centric approach of this research and the political in geopolitical this is important for understanding the role of the attribute of spatial area as a segment of the totality, regardless of the generality or uniqueness. Secondly, as it has been already pointed out, the lack of uniformity of the earth`s surface shows differences from point to point and in turn value of the spatial area from one point to another.

The second attribute that is present in all works is the matter of the relativeness of Location. This does not mean that location varies in what it is, thus breaking consistency. Relativeness builds upon the attribute of spatial area and is the reason for inconsistencies in the usage of Location. By stating that certain points on the earth`s surface are more important

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[164] John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011).
[165] Ibid, 317.
[166] Ibid, 316. Agnew additionally, as the third approach, discusses those who reject the importance of place in the interconnected world of today see Ibid, 318.
[167] This simplified view is intended only to show that, spatially, places exit within broader space and has no additional causal connotations.
[168] Nicholas Spykman, Frontiers, Security, and International Organizations, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Jul., 1942), 436.

than others and that, following Agnew`s work, there exists uniqueness of each place, pinpointing exactly what are those points that are important and what are the characteristics that make any place so unique allow to define, give meaning and causally utilize Location. Even the term relative exists in much explicit conceptualizations of location like Spykman`s, Boyle`s[169] or Kuby`s[170]. Although one could say that Location as a concept has no negation i.e. something to which it can relate in order to understand its meaning (which is in fact rightful observation), the internal coherence and implications of location are built upon dyadic and polyadic comparisons or negations. If we take the sea/land dichotomy, the negation of one another, as a defining attribute of location, this negation will allow us to understand the concept of Location in a similar way we understand the war/peace dichotomy. The problem is when Location is relative to too much attributes, breaking coherence, which leads to the inability to make such an assessment.

3. Secondary attributes of Location

Unlike the set of attributes whose usage is persistent within all the assessed works a much larger number of attributes which appear and disappear within the usage of the concept. The two primary attributes which would define location as a *spatial area* where the unit of analysis is which is *relative*, is meaningless on its own. In fact, the attribute of relativeness is on its own meaningless without points of reference to which something should be relative. Regardless of the classical/radial dichotomy in approaches to envisioning concepts and avoiding conceptual "stretching" discussed earlier, without the secondary concepts, Location does not have any fecundity nor causal utility and the ability to be operationalized. With resonance, domain and differentiation being relatively in line with such conceptualization, such trade-offs produce anything but a useful concept. This chapter`s intent is not to question conceptual analysis too much but to provide explanations to why those secondary attributes, enumerated previously, were assigned in order to provide fecundity and utility to the concept of Location.

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[169] Mark Boyle, *Human Geography: A Concise Introduction*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 4.
[170] Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 1.

The most basic way in which authors have approached conceptualization of location is through addition of physical geographic attributes to it. The most extensive list of such attributes can be found in the work of *Weigert et al*[171], which provide not only an enumeration of different approaches but the effect they produce. Many authors connect the impact of location in relation to climate[172]. They see temperate zone as the most favorable for developing power[173] because it allows for agricultural development and moderate temperature conditions which serve as an adequate base to maintain its sovereignty. More often than not, attribute of climate conjoined by the vicinity to the Equator[174] providing the same logic. The mention and usage of the Equator as an attribute, precisely because of its climatic connotation, should not be confused with the longitude/latitude (spatial metric) aspect existing in some works[175]. Although such conceptualization refers to location as absolute location, it is still relevant to an arbitrary creation of a reference grid which incorporated the Equator but what Equator is not.

Perhaps the most utilized geographic secondary attributes are the ones relating to the sea and oceans[176], and land masses[177]. A common line of though is that if a state has sea access it

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[171] Although they approach the subject matter with great level of detail and explanation, this work fail short on the matter of coherence. They include practically all secondary attributes enumerated in the work and explain how such location provides causal effects on the state. An addition of the discussion on coherence, the subject matter of this research, would come close to complete their work. Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957).

[172] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 77; Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 52; James Fairgrieve, *Geography and World Power*, 6th edition (London: University of London Press, 1927), 16-19; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900).

[173] For an example see Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 42.

[174] *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 42-43; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 101; Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 77; Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002); James Fairgrieve, *Geography and World Power*, 6th edition (London: University of London Press, 1927).

[175] Mark Boyle, *Human Geography: A Concise Introduction*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 4; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 99; Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013); James Fairgrieve, *Geography and World Power*, 6th edition (London: University of London Press, 1927); John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011). Erin H. Fouberg, Alexander B. Murphy and Harm de Blij, *Human Geography: People, Place and Culture*, 10th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012).

[176] Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 90; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 43; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History,*

has better location[178]. The encompassing meaning of the land/sea dichotomy is not only on the fact of a sea access but to how many seas does one state exit (with more being the merrier, but also it is important to which seas does the state exit)[179], is the sea open or enclosed like the Black Sea[180] and in some cases even whether the state is an island, peninsular, etc[181]. There are of course different views on the value of these attributes with Mackinder being the most famous example of land over sea superiority[182]. The land/sea attributes of location are much in line with the concept of mobility, which although connected, need to be abstracted. Through adding an attribute of natural lines of communication[183], and the control of it, these concepts are differentiated. As Vidal points out

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1660-1783, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016), 18; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900), 43; Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 182; Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 48-86; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Halford J. Mackinder, The Round World and the Winning of Peace, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Jul., 1943), 595-605; Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942); Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437., Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[177] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy II, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Apr., 1938), 40; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010), 101; Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016); Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926); Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 553-569; Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Halford J. Mackinder, The Round World and the Winning of Peace, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Jul., 1943), 595-605; Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942); Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437., Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[178] Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 137.

[179] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy II, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Apr., 1938), 222.

[180] See Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 182 and 227; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy II, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Apr., 1938), 213-236.

[181] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 197-8; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010).

[182]); Halford J. Mackinder, The Round World and the Winning of Peace, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Jul., 1943), 595-605; Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942); Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.

[183] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 52; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea*

"whoever is in possession of these gates has the supremacy[184]". Such lines of communications are exemplified in narrow marine straits[185], narrow passage on continents[186], isthmuses[187], canals, islands[188], and rivers[189]. On land, lines of communication, being narrow passages or rivers, are directly related to topography[190] which "opens" the continent through establishment of lines of least resistance to movement and mobility[191].

But islands and topography provide another consistency issue because they are both used in two different ways. While topography can have a communicational connotation it can also have meaning of strategic high ground like in the case of the Golan Heights. Similar is the case of islands where connotation differs from the meaning of an island state and island as an outpost through which one can control sea line of communication like in the case of Malta.

Power Upon History, 1660-1783, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016); Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900); Halford J. Mackinder, The Round World and the Winning of Peace, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Jul., 1943), 595-605; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50; &II, De la Blache, Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[184] Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926),371.

[185] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 51-52; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016); Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900); Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957); Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926).

[186] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957).

[187] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957).

[188] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 153-154; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016); Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900),

[189] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 52; Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 16&130; Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437; Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942); Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 184.

[190] Attribute of topography is also prominent see Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943); Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911); Halford J. Mackinder, The Round World and the Winning of Peace, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Jul., 1943), 595-605; Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942); Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.

[191] John Agnew and David Livingstone, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011); 321

Finally, natural resources[192] can also be a determining attribute of whether a location is favorable or not. The uneven distribution of natural resources on the Earth`s surface and the abundance or the lack of certain natural resources gives value to certain locations over others[193]. An example can be found in the Gulf States and oil or lithium and drinkable water in South America.

When envisioning such a secondary attribute base, for people that have at least the basic knowledge of geopolitical approach tend to correlate such usage with the works of early authors. Although true, it is only partially right because the earliest authors, not counting Mackinder, were actually using location defined by different secondary attributes. Both in the works of Kjellen[194] and Ratzel[195], which lay in the foundations of the discipline, attribute base of the concept of location lies not in seas, land masses or lines of communication (although they are also important for their work) but relative to other states. This conceptualization which sees the location relative to other states[196] is not exclusive for those authors and their epoch and bears resemblance to the work of realist school of International Relations[197]. The scale between approaches does vary with some seeing the world holistically and thus location relative to all states is important for understanding location whereas for some a regional scale is used by only observing the neighboring states[198]. Through this

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[192] Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 48-86.

[193] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 48-86, Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[194] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943),

[195] John Agnew, *Making Political Geography*, (London: Arnold, 2002), 15.

[196] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943).

[197] Connections between Geopolitics and Realist paradigm of International Relations are common. For an example see the discussion on "the realist spirit" of Mackinder`s work see Lucian Ashworth, Realism and the spirit of 1919: Halford Mackinder, geopolitics and the reality of the League of Nations, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 17, No. 2, (2011), 1-23; Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, chapter 2.1.1.

[198] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 77; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016); Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911); Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 48-86; Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957); Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50; Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

conceptualization, in correlation with other concepts of size and strength of states[199], the value of location and its impact of it, is assessed on states. Stemming from such conceptualization, the concept of a buffer-state is derived as being a small and weak state occupying a spatial area between two strong and powerful states[200].

In line with Agnew`s work on place, a body of scholarship which focuses its interest on locational aspects on the specificities of an area in which the unit of analysis is placed. Places in which units of analysis are located hold attributes of specificity of that area[201] which produces effects on the unit of analysis only within that area. The broadness of the meaning of specificity is difficult to be used as an attribute which would create a concept which is possible to operationalize. Similar criticism could be given to secondary attributes of having unique human and political characteristics[202] which again say very little for a concept to have causal utility and be able to be operationalized. Yet, similar secondary attributes which do possess very similar connotation are in fact in use in some conceptualizations which see the uniqueness and specificity through assessing the social organization[203] of such an area and the senses of people living within it of its existence[204].

Though, rarely are they used as the only secondary attribute and are followed by the attributes of political[205], social[206], ideological[207], religious[208] and linguistic[209] relationships.

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[199] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 80, Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy II, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Apr., 1938), 213-236; Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50.

[200] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 176; Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 80.

[201] Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170; John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011).

[202] Erin H. Fouberg, Alexander B. Murphy and Harm de Blij, *Human Geography: People, Place and Culture*, 10th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012); Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013); Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

[203] James Fairgrieve, *Geography and World Power*, 6th edition (London: University of London Press, 1927); John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011).

[204] Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170;, John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011).

[205] Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170; Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Hans W.

These attributes are mainly focus on the views of human geographers on their conceptualization of place and not specific for authors labeled as geopoliticians. Somewhat implicit, such line of thought does exist within certain geopolitical literature as an explanation of certain regions and observations. Just take the Balkans and the complex relationships within this region. The exception to the lack of explicity is Cohen`s work on shatter-belts[210] where these relations are defining this concept and being located within such a region has extremely negative effects. Another important line is that such areas cannot be observed in a vacuum but only in connection to other places because, although specificity of places make them unique, they are not black boxes and there is constant influence, or inputs from other places and outputs to other places[211]. Further, some authors even see this connection to other places by weighing them and determining it only through vicinity to important regions of the world[212]. Not only do some authors see location through a region-vise outside view, but also to the inside as well. Being located centrally within a region[213] is much beneficial than being on the periphery.

Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957).

[206] Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 553-569. 556; Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170; Mark Boyle, *Human Geography: A Concise Introduction*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2015); Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[207] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[208] Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[209] Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[210] Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[211] James Fairgrieve, *Geography and World Power*, 6th edition (London: University of London Press, 1927); Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170; John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011); Mark Boyle, *Human Geography: A Concise Introduction*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2015); Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

[212] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 48-86; Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911); Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50.

[213] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 129 & 139; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace

Similar logic to the previously mentioned relationships is the inclusion of attributes which relate location to other cultures and civilizations[214]. Following the pattern of similarity being better – difference being worse, the closer a state is to the domain of another culture or civilization[215] the worse location it has. Exemplified in Samuel Huntington`s work, he describes the points of contact between two (or more) civilizations as bloody borders[216]. These secondary attributes bear much resemblance with conceptualizations of location which sees other states, although mostly through power, as the defining features of locational impact. Spykman even at one point sees location, relative to other states and the centers of cultural diffusion and military power[217]. Also, the similarity to the attribute of centrality within the region exists, if one envisions one civilizational block as a whole. Being in the middle is much better than being on the periphery, or on those bloody borders. But civilizational and cultural secondary attributes are not the only ones that are implicitly or explicitly connected to the conceptualization of location with the main secondary attribute being other states. Conceptualizations which bear in mind economic factors have a mixture of such state-related attributes and region-oriented attributes by observing location as being relative to the economic orientation[218], economic centers[219] or the Ecumene[220]. To add to the

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Independent Publishing, 2016), 19; Phil Kelly, *Classical Geopolitics: a New Analytical Model*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016). Newman

[214] Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations?, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, (Summer, 1993), 22-49; Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000); Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 131; Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943),, Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 553-569; Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957); Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170;, John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Newman, Mark Boyle, *Human Geography: A Concise Introduction*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2015); Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013); Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900); Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy II, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Apr., 1938), 213-236; Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926).

[215] This thesis does not intend to enter the debate on the similarities and differences between culture and civilization or how they are conceptualized. For an interesting discussion on the difference between the two, and a direct criticism of Huntington`s work see Cvetan Todorov, *Strah od varvara: S one strane sudara civilizacija*, (Beograd: Karpos, 2014).

[216] Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations?, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, (Summer, 1993), 34.

[217] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 28-50; Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010).

[218] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943),, Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 553-569; Lynn

confusion even more, some usages of location are relative to world trade which not only counts other states and economic centers, but also lines of communication.

Finally, recent contributions to Geopolitics, stemming from the broad category of critical geopolitics, conceptualize location much differently than the previous approaches. In fact, one can easily criticize including their contribution to this research being that they disregard much of the concepts of classical geopolitics, including location. Yet, interpretation of their work can be, at least to some degree, be connected to envisioning what location could mean. Focusing on perceptions, representations, imaginations and most importantly discourses[221], influenced heavily by Foucault`s[222] and Gramsci`s work[223], by assigning imagined importance of a certain spatial area inter-subjectively, such territory becomes important. Thus, location, and the value of it, can be seen as a spatial area relative to the dominant inter-subjective imagination.

4. Can Secondary Attributes be grouped? Typology of conceptualization of Location

Looking through diverse secondary attributes of Location, inconsistencies within works as well as the overall inconsistency in conceptualization bring to question the ability to adequately compare different conceptualizations. Because attribute base used while

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A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170.

[219] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911); Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[220] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 138; Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

[221] Simon Dalby, Geraoid O Tuathail and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Newman, Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Simon Dalby, Critical geopolitics: discourse, difference, and dissent, *Society and Space, Vol. 9, (1993), 261-283;* Simon Dalby and Geraoid O Tuathail *Rethinking Geopolitics*, (New York: Routledge, 1998).

[222] For an example refer to: Mišel Fuko, *Bezbednost teritorija stanovništvo: Predavanja na Kolež de Fransu 1977-1978*, (Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2014); Mišel Fuko, *Moć/Znanje: Odabrani spisi i razgovori 1972-1977,* (Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2012).

[223] For an example refer to: Antonio Gramsci, *Pisma iz zatvora*, (Zagreb: Državno izdavačko poduzeće Hrvatske, 1951).

determining the meaning and the effect of location comes from wide arrange of phenomena, any comparison must be made through the observation of those attributes. By observing the attributes more closely one can see that there exists a common logic between some, allowing for grouping of attributes to be made. Although conceptualization in its own strives to group as much phenomena as possible in order to make a coherent whole, this grouping should not be observed as such. Some secondary attributes bear resemblance in characteristics they provide and come from the viewing on what kind of relations properly define one`s position within the world. With virtually no author putting an absolute determinant of location (with the exception of the works like Dalby`s or O`Tuathail`s where location is of marginal significance) and wanders between attributes of different "backgrounds", certain conceptualization of location can be nominally grouped only by their most dominant meaning of location. Otherwise criticizing internal coherence of a concept, which is as key point to this research as consistency within empirical domain, would be redundant.

Thus it is not that conceptualizations, in the sense of how authors have defined location, can be grouped but attributes stemming from different conceptualizations. In turn, such grouping can only be correlated with different conceptualizations based upon their most dominant meaning. Assessing the entirety of attributes appearing in different works, two distinct patterns of difference appear. The first is the difference of attributes that are primarily related to geographical factors and the attributes primarily related to other units of analysis (i.e. states for the purposes of this research). The second follows the line of the materialist/idealist division[224] in which authors see the core of what location is as being found either material aspects or idealist aspects of the previous division. These two patterns allow for attributes to be grouped by identifying which side of both differences they occupy.

By establishment of such a matrix with dichotomy between geography and units of analysis on one side and materialism and idealism on the other, four types of location emerge, defined by those characteristics. Through this typology, secondary attributes are observed separate from the works from which they originate and are conjoined by the approach to ways "reality" has been abstracted and by what is deemed as important for such reality. Thus, four different "types" of location emerge: geographic-materialist, geographic-idealist, unit-materialist and unit-idealist.

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[224] For a good overview of materialist/idealist views in International relations see Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 22-40.
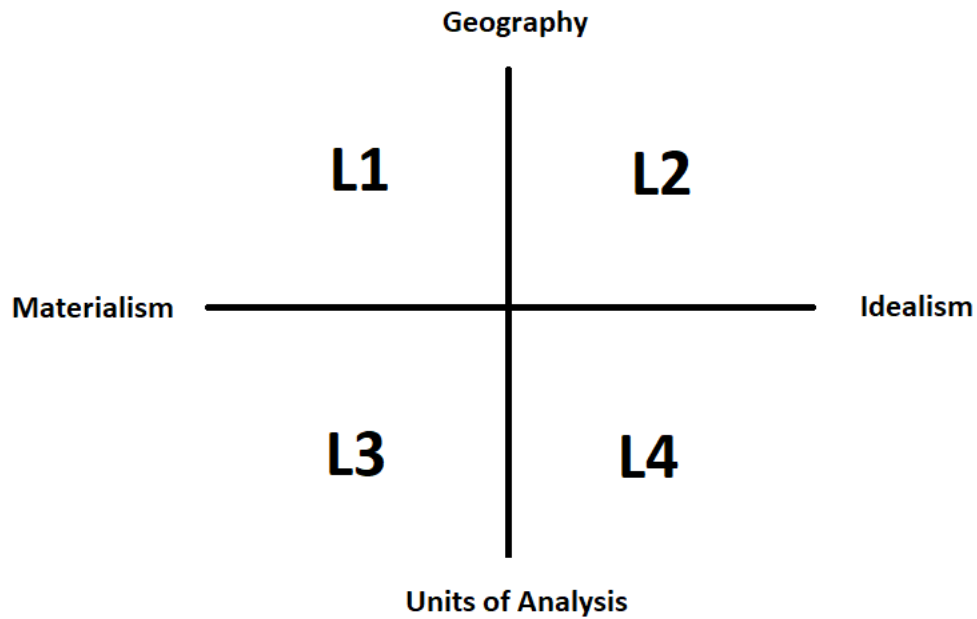
The *geographic-materialist* type of location (L1) encompasses attributes which correlate to the physical geographic factors defining Location and based upon which location as a concept gets its fecundity. The concept rests on attribute basis of the natural geographic features which give value to location. These features resemble the closest to the constraining effects of geography which acts upon human beings. To deem a certain location favorable or not, will rest upon the favorableness of those features. With such attribute base, value of location is separated from the perceptions and views of human beings of them. This type of location defines it as the spatial area relative to the following attributes: strategic significance, physical features, Earth`s surface, longitude/latitude, Equator, topography, sea, land masses, narrow marine straits, narrow passage on continents, isthmuses, lines of communication, islands, climate, natural resources, rivers, accessibility, etc.

The *geographic-idealist* type of location (L2) rests upon attribute base which are inseparable from human beings and their views. Found most strongly in the attribute that defines location through the sense of people of its existence, location represents series of segments in which human interrelationships produce different bounded units with its own characteristics. With variations in those relationships locations are constantly defined and redefined creating layers upon layers, adding to the complexities. Such bound-ness of location is variable and with increasing relations with units lying outside they can create a new geographic boundary of a region. The core of defining the value of location in such conceptualizations rests upon the relations within the bound segment of space. Thus, this type

defines location as the spatial area relative to: sense of people of its existence, boundedness (fluidly), layeredness, political, cultural, ideological, religious, linguistic relationships, demography, unique human and political characteristics, social organization, other locations connection to other places, important regions, specificity of an area, centrality within a region,

The *unit-materialist* type of location (L3) unlike the previous two types which relate to geography, either being physical geographic characteristics or human-envisioned geographical units, does not see the value of a certain spatial area through such way. Location is seen through comparison with the same units as the unit of observation. With the state-centric character of this research, that means relative to other states. But, resembling realist views in International Relations, most notably Walt`s work[225], they negate influences of ideas and only focus on material reality of states. Value of location is seen through the relation with other states, all of which are driven by the principle of self-preservation[226]. Because of such view, perceptions and values of humans influence very little to one`s location because every other state could be a threat. It is not that it should be equated the proximity to other states as the key factor because that can be negative as much as positive[227]. Ultimately it rests on the material power of those states to act upon you or you to act upon them. Thus being far away from other states could also be negative. Thus, this type defines location as the spatial area relative to other states, neighboring states, strength of neighboring states.

The *unit-idealist* type of location (L4) is the final type of location and it is on the intersection between unit of analysis and idealism. The materialist/idealist division separating L4 from L3 type reflects the way in which relations between states are observed with this type leaning towards views and perceptions rather than power. On the other side to separate it from the L2 is to differentiate the orientation towards geography and units of analysis. With both having attributes of social, cultural and other relationships, human views and their relationship do not shape the geographic area through senses of people making a whole like for L2 but represent spatial positioning between different units themselves. Thus, determining

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[225] Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[226] Interestingly enough, Spykman`s introductory segment to his America`s Strategy in World Politics resembles quite closely to the work of Kenneth Waltz and his view of the international arena. Compare Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010); and Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), most notably 15-19.

[227] Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016), 19.

the value a certain location has rests upon the spatial distributions of units differentiating/associating through the „imaginations" of people living at such location, the cultural and civilizational differences between them and inter-subjective discourses giving meaning to their interactions. Through those ways, such discourses, „imaginations" and relationships, taking different values, establish a spatial distribution of units whose distribution need not be linear but units can be nearby other units with opposite, previously mentioned, values which in turn gives value to location. To paraphrase Wendt, location is what state`s make of it[228].Thus location represents the spatial area relative to other cultures, other civilizations, geopolitical imagination and "others".

III.   Location revised

Seemingly, location represents a simple term whose meaning is easy to comprehend. Its use can be seen every day by people to spatially concretize and demarcate broader space as a bounded area within which events happen and phenomena exist. This frequency of use is not without its reasons which lie behind the need for the vastness of space to be compressed in order to deliver the complete meaning behind the thought. But the „completeness" that spatial demarcation gives to the phenomena and processes is not without its own problematic which translates to the question how does this spatial concreteness complete those phenomena and processes[229]. Intuitively, everyday use of location and the ways in „completes" the meaning of a phenomena and process is usually understood. Telling your significant other that you will go to a restaurant implies that you will share a meal. More than just having a meal, implicit in the meaning lays the fact that you will not be preparing a meal, that you wish to enjoy his/hers company, that there will be no more „work" after the preparation of the meal is complete, etc.

The analogy of a restaurant and the effects of „completeness" that spatial designations in terms of location have on the meaning is useful because it points to the fundamental characteristics that separate the entirety of space into its portioned areas and the relationships between those areas. To stick with the restaurant analogy, telling your significant other that

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[228] Alexander Wendt, Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics, *International Organizations*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 391-425.
[229] John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011), 317.

you will go to a fancy restaurant changes the meaning from a meal and company to a special occasion. It is still a meal at a restaurant but one in which meal is of secondary importance. This matter of „Completeness" vs. „Concreteness" of location is the central tenant that most of conceptualizations of location, especially those who treat it as a well-established variable in research[230], miss from explaining.

Whether location represents a mere demarcated area of space within which matter exists and processes happen and which constrains or enables the existence of matter and the happening of processes or if the fact that matter exists and processes happen in that particular spatial area alters general rules guiding the behavior of matter and processes are the questions whose answers is worth pursuing. But completeness implies concreteness or to be more precise, it implies that it is an extension of concreteness. Yet, the difference lies in the general rules behind the phenomena and processes which concreteness doesn`t alter but completeness does. This is nowhere near a new statement and the value of context has been before raised as important in research. But this is a necessary starting point for revising location.

Returning to beginning and the seemingly simple meaning behind location, it may be intuitively understood in everyday use for which differentiation between „completeness" and „concreteness" is almost irrelevant for conveying a message, scientific rigor in the quest to observe and explain causal relationships requires not just relevancy of differentiation between „completeness" and „concreteness" but also the building blocks which make location what it is. As seen in the previous observations on the conceptualizations of location, no matter how rigorous, there is no coherence within the academic community. With dozens of different conceptualizations which have different attribute base any research that explains phenomena and processes with location as an independent variable is in a danger of being challenged by a different conceptualization of location no less questionable than the premier one. This leaves research in a constant loop where what is „right" is what is „loudest" and the argument which is right is more often than not based upon different theoretical and disciplinary streams than empirical evidence.

The following chapters tackle these issues and propose an alternative conceptualization of location within Geopolitical Studies. By amassing views and experience from decades of research by different authors the critical mass of knowledge exists although the question is

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[230] This would then exclude Agnew`s Space and Place and Place and Politics as well as similar works which focus the attention of their research to the concept itself and not the application of the concept as a variable.

whether it has been sorted, abstracted and generalized properly. In line with the old English wedding saying, this chapter will bring „something new, something old and something borrowed" in order to reassess, rearrange, redefine this age old concept. By assessing what the discipline will gain from this reconceptualization, ability to coherently adapt it into a single concept as well as alternative conceptualization of location, the strengths of such model and its weaknesses.

1. Fundamentals of Spatial and Locational Reasoning

If anything, previous chapter showed a profound lack of coherence in the foundation of Geopolitical Studies. To state Geopolitical Studies and not location was not a mistake. It was the intention. The fact is that thinking on location is directly connected to thought and envisioning of what Geopolitics is. Perhaps, out of the entire toolkit Geopolitical Studies and its analysis have at its disposal, the concept of location is the most dependent on how one sees Geopolitics and the lack of coherence within the discipline is perhaps the most profoundly seen in envisioning location[231]. It is because of this that meta-theoretical and "disciplinary" positions of the authors seem to influence the choices of attributes they assign to location[232]. Those more leaning towards political in geopolitics tend to observe location by putting emphasis on other states, post-modernist to the role of discourses and inter-subjective imagination, early theoreticians to physical geography.

By connecting the spatial and the political[233] and with its interdisciplinary character[234] Geopolitical Studies exist on a contested space which allows for its fundamental assumptions

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[231] John Agnew describes Geopolitics of the „old" based upon physical geography and relative location. Alexander B. Murphy, Mark Bassin, David Newman, Paul Reuber, John Agnew, Is there politics to geopolitics?, *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 28, No. 5, (Oct.,2004), 635. Although agreeing that solely basing Geopolitics on physical geography should remain in the „old" even if some, like the French school, have always negated such preferential treatment of physical geography, negating the influence of relative location in this era is just as mistaken as giving preferential treatment to physical geography.

[232] See similar conclusion regarding the conceptualization of place Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 167; as well as Nicholas Entrikin, *Region and Regionalism*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011). 347

[233] Milomir Stepić, *Geopolitika: Teorije, ideje, koncepcije*, (Beograd: Institut za političke studije, 2016), 15.

[234] Milomir Stepić, *Geopolitika: Teorije, ideje, koncepcije*, (Beograd: Institut za političke studije, 2016), 18; Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 49.

to be challenged by different disciplines as much as theoretical streams within Geopolitical Studies. The fallacy of these debates is that they distort this contested space by argumentative debate on the nature and character of the Geopolitical Studies which hardly solves anything and more often than not follow Godwin`s Law[235] and lead to *reductio ad Hitlerum*[236]. Of course, no theory is the owner of Geopolitics[237] just as much no discipline can claim to be the sole authority over certain phenomena without reliable „proof" in understanding such phenomena. After all, all social sciences represent different approaches towards the same aim of understanding an acquiring knowledge about societies and the social world[238]

Building upon the previous argument, the path from early stages of social sciences which mimicked physics, to establishment of its own methods and ways to examine reality, and finally to some rejecting positivism in social sciences, each step has shaped Geopolitical Studies themselves and in turn the concept of location[239]. The layered knowledge, accumulated through the past century, has in fact "stretched" the concept, impacting its utility. But the same layered knowledge came from the natural evolution of science and by spotting, observing and addressing phenomena seen in reality, added to our understanding of such reality. To negate the „old" or the „new" on the basis that they are just that, boring „old" and just-a-trend „new" will be absurd without examining the logical coherence, strength of arguments and empirical evidence underlying their observations. Thus, the purposefulness of the deductive approach to be applied to observing conceptualization of location is questionable because it will lead too far from the main goal into a theoretical Gordian knot. More fundamentally, this disciplinary and „theoretical" debate over the nature of location should cede to questions of spatiality and the effects of spatiality onto already established causal relations as an inductive stimulant that would reinvent the debate and more importantly be more purposeful in understanding location.

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[235] According to Oxford online dictionary Godwin`s Law represents "The theory that as an online discussion progresses, it becomes inevitable that someone or something will eventually be compared to Adolf Hitler or the Nazis, regardless of the original topic." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/godwin's_law By dropping the „online" part from the definition of this humorous „law" we can see plenty of usages of it even in academic debates.

[236] Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History*, (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 42-43.

[237] Colin Gray and Geoffrey Sloan, *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 168.

[238] Rhoads Murphey, *The Scope of Geography*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 16.

[239] For an example in Colin Flint`s work geography is seen as socially constructed rather than being an assessment of objective reality existing separate from us and which we can observe and analyze. Colin Flint, *Introduction: Geography of War and Pease*, in, *Geography of War and Peace: From Death Camps to Diplomats*, edited by Colin Flint, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.

Lack of understanding of location is not one that comes primarily from those debates mentioned in the previous paragraphs as much as it comes from authors striving to tie location to a „tangible" phenomenon. The tangibility of phenomena do not necessarily mean that it has to be physical or easily measurable but that it can be clearly extrapolated and demarcated from other phenomena. Geopolitical imagination is much more tangible than location regardless that some can find this statement absurd. This view stems from the fact that no matter that we, as human beings, and everything around us exist in space we have a profound difficulty assessing it part from it being given. With everything existing in space (and time), it is the characteristics of certain spaces that produce effects, „tangible" phenomena like sea, mountains, other states, geopolitical imagination, etc. breaking the uniformity of space.

1.1. Three crucial points in understanding Location

If we circle back to the logic that location represents demarcated spatial areas understanding of location should follow the same logic as space. It is at this point that logic of thought diverts in selecting „the most relevant" „tangible" phenomena that brings value of some spatial areas, locations, over other. But omitting some phenomena over others leads to the reduction of the factors of spatial analysis which are equated to the effects of selected „tangible" phenomena. Structuring the diverse topics on the nature of location into clear and short formulations we are faced with three distinct problems facing any spatial thought which must be addressed, analyzed and solved: a) completeness vs. concreteness, b) connectedness of spaces c) attributes of space(s).

The previously discussed „completeness"/"concreteness" dichotomy and its effects on other causal relations are central to the ways space(s) produces effects. Although majority of events of relevance happen in space[240] the effects of space on those events are mostly

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[240] The increasing impact of cyberspace on people and the social world in recent decades affected the choice in stating majority and not all. If this was written half a century ago „majority" would be excluded from this sentence. Yet, even the cyberworld and cyberspace rest heavily on phenomena which exist in physical space unlike physical space which can exist regardless of cyberspace. The logic behind this is easy to comprehend with cyberspace needing electrical energy, physical servers, cooling of those servers and other inputs from physical space in order to maintain it. This does not mean that events in cyberspace do not affect events happening in physical space. An interesting and I believe needed research would be on the mutual connectedness and effects these spaces produce on one another.

excluded from analysis. Most probable conclusion to why „concreteness" is more favorable for research than „completeness" lies in the fact that „concreteness" of spaces alone allows for establishment of general rules. There is a great deal of similarity between space and time with the same dichotomy being applicable to temporal effects just as spatial. Take for an example *Waltz*`s structural realist theory of International Relations. For his model, time and space are irrelevant because they cannot affect relations between states part from the changes predicted by the theory (switch in the deep structure from anarchy to hierarchy)[241]. Specific „when" only concretes our understanding but does not alter the causal relation. This lack of change has been criticized over the years by the likes of Ruggie[242], Buzan, Jones and Little[243] to name a few.

Although the element of time has been challenged, space has not. But whether space can be observed outside of time and time outside of space as well as if the two can be even observed separately[244] is an important question which deserves more quantity of research in greater detail. Thinking of space as layers of events that happen previously and which can affect action in the present and future is an interesting approach to ways how space completes meaning, but not the one which would be stressed here. With constraints geography and the possibilities it creates for state action, the crucial missing link is that within space multiplicity of phenomena happen. With research striving to explain causal relations with as few independent variables as possible, the tunnel-vision of such observations tends to either miss or disregard the effects one butterfly can have[245]. Especially in state-centric research, with states being forced to conduct a multiplicity of activities, the focus of the state never correlates with the focus of a scientific discipline which studies certain phenomena and processes. Thus spaces represent spatial demarcations of webs of phenomena and processes which complete and not only concrete the meaning and impact of causal processes. In the analogy of a restaurant, it is important to know what makes one restaurant fancy in order to understand why it completes meaning.

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[241] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010).
[242] John Gerard Ruggie, *Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis*, in, *Neorealism and Its Critics*, edited by Robert O. Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
[243] Barry Buzan, Charles Jones and Richard Little, *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
[244] Immanuel Wallerstein, The time of space and the space of time: the future of social science, *Political Geography,* Vol. 17, No. 1, (1998), 71-82.
[245] Edward N. Lorenz, *Predictability? Does the Flap of a Butterfly`s Wings in Brazil Set Off a Tornado in Texas?*, talk presented Dec. 29, AAAS Section on Environmental Sciences, New Approaches to Global Weather, GARP, Boston, 1972.

The „tangible" phenomena that define location i.e. attributes, need not be in the entirety of its „existence" be attached to a particular location. Take the Danube for an example. With its course going through 10 different countries from its spring in Germany to its delta between Romania and Ukraine it affects the locational aspects of each of those states. States through which the Danube passes do not constitute a coherent whole, either sovereign-vise or region-vise, just compare Austria and Moldova. Thus, a river of crucial importance of say Hungary or Serbia does not represent a coherent spatial whole although some authors have pointed out such perspectives[246]. What it does produce is a series of connected locations with different level of impact of such attribute on location in general.

In this way, location at the confluence of the river is better than the location at the spring of the river. For Germany, Danube is of not as much of importance as the Rhine being that Danube`s spring is in Germany. But the value of location in the case of the river need not follow such confluence-over-spring logic. In the Middle East, control of major water sources just as Euphrates and Tiger rivers add more value near the spring than at the confluence. With rivers being just one of the attributes that define the value of location, this example points that one attribute need not be entirely connected to one location but that it creates a series of connected locations in which one affects the other.

The previous example rests upon envision of location as being defined through an attribute of river. Far from being the only one, as the previous part of the thesis shows, using river systems as reference points for location does have some merit although diminished in today`s world compared to the past. But what are the attributes that define location? By observing previous research more than twenty different attributes were seen as defining location in just a portion of the entire population of Geopolitical Studies research (See Part II). This layered knowledge expanded upon for more than a century set forth multiple approaches to location leading to the question whether evidence provided by this layered knowledge and the previous discussion on different approaches can be proven false, and even more importantly what to do if they cannot be proven false?

This is the challenge. The dichotomy between some being „right" and all being „right" relates right back to what do you define as right. How do you conceptualize location? Thus, it is questionable whether falsifying each research is even possible being that completing the

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[246] Ancel J., *Geographie des Frontieres*, (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1938); quoted in Geoffrey Parker, Ratzel, the French School and the birth of Alternative Geopolitics, *Political Geography*, Vol 19. (2000), 960.

meaning rests upon more than one phenomenon. It is misleading to think that concept formation involves just couple of attributes. Although this might be the ideal for any scientist, reducing the complex phenomena into several words is a task next to the impossible. Similar to physics, and its quest for the theory of everything, being an equation no longer than a couple of inches, formulating parsimonious concepts which would provide the ultimate abstraction of reality is the dream. Yet, dreams, being dreams, are not necessarily possible in reality, nor are they able to adequately represent the necessary abstraction of reality in order for them to be of use. Because of the completeness of the meaning location provides and the connectedness of locations, location requires a complex set of attributes. This is perhaps the reason why location has been so elusive over the years and why there is a lack of consistency and internal coherence of a concept within other researches.

Although separated within this chapter, these three points are a result of a complex interplay which cannot be observed completely separate from one another. If attributes are not defined, understanding how location completes the meaning and how locations are connected remains elusive. Similarly defining attributes without thinking of completing the meaning and connectedness leads to a partial and distorted view of and impact of location. While the cornerstone of the research remains on attribute base used to define location, completeness and connectedness of location(s) is paramount to understand the full range of impact and value of location as well as the interrelationship between attributes defining it.

1.1.   Can we re-conceptualize Location as a single concept?

With the strive to re-conceptualize location, questioning whether such a task is possible, as the title of this chapter suggests, seems illogical. But circling back to the introductory part and the discussion about classic and radial concepts, their nature and application modifies the understanding of this question if observed from the radial perspective. Whether envisioned as classic or radial concept changes ways we imagine the concept, generalize it, assess the value of locations and approach comparative analysis with regards to location. Thus, the true purpose is not whether or not reconceptualization is plausible but whether or not it can be re-conceptualized in the classical manner.

Location is quite a tricky concept to wrap your head around if one seeks to use it in a rigorous manner stipulated by any scientific approach. Going beyond the theoretical „crucial points" stated in the previous chapter, operationalization, or better yet, conceptualization as the process of operationalization of a phenomena in an abstract form is faced with two additional issues related to the nature of location as a concept. Firstly, the difficulty of concepts like location is the fact that they do not have opposing concepts negating them i.e. no antonyms, which in turn makes it easier to define them[247]. This „definition-by-negation" makes it easier to frame the concept within the domain and to create a clear differentiation of that concept with regards to others.

There is nothing new in such a way to define something and for an example Huntington explains national identity formation and establishment through such relations[248]. With Up having Down, Left having Right and Strait having Back, location breaks such logic by not having a non-location. The space-boundness of majority of social phenomena provides the inability of thinking in non-spatial logic part from providing explanation for a small portion of such phenomena and only in recent times. Although not a factor determining the impossibility of conceptualizing location as an important and useful variable in Geopolitical Studies research it is an obstacle very much worth mentioning.

Secondly, location as a concept provides difficulty for understanding due to its relative nature. A cornerstone of problems and the key for problem resolution stems from this relative nature[249]. Connected to the discussion on „completeness" and „concreteness", location is always relative because it completes and concretes other concepts. By providing arguments for „completeness" over „concreteness" in the previous chapter, the question of relativeness, as a cornerstone primary attribute along with spatial area, becomes crucial in order for one to ask relative to what? Within the answer to this question lies the answer to determining the complete set of attributes that form location as a concept.

Basing this reconceptualization on the foundations of existing works, the much repeated statement must be said again. Authors assigned too much, too diverse set of attributes, used inconsistently among them, with those attributes being far from a logically coherent whole. This lack of coherency among attributes along with the lack of consistency represents the

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[247] For concepts without negation see Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1042

[248] Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000), 28.

[249] Online Geografski Rečnik, accessed on 10.06.2018., http://tadic.education/geografski-recnik/

main problem of this concept and the main reason why it ought to be re-conceptualized. Leaving consistency this time on the sideline, the problem of coherence is critical for the plausibility and merit of conceptualizing it as a single, classical concept. To make a logical coherent whole of both materialist and idealist attributes and reducing them to the most fundamental ones in order to satisfy classical approach`s high extension and low intension is an impossibility because it would divert the concept of location „too far" from what it represents in reality. This issue has been recognized relatively early in the history of the discipline, with Ellen Sample describing what location means as following: "location, therefore, means climate and plant life at one end of the scale, civilization and political status at the other[250]".

Seemingly, concept of location cannot avoid a high intension which although brings much fecundity to it, it also brings into question coherence and operationalization. If defined with such a fecund attribute set which by themselves possess different values the question of generalization of such a concept is problematic due to a vast number of possible variations which would enable precise empirical evidence needed for confirmation. Thus, operationalization of the concept of location in order to fulfill causal utility is virtually impossible in classical categories because it requires high values of both intension and extension arranged coherently and sufficiently differentiated from other concepts which more often than not exist as attributes to location. The only possible solution in order to remain in the line of thought of classical categories is stripping location to spatial metrics of longitude and latitude which strips the concept bare, heavily sacrificing fecundity and causal utility, devolving location to mere concreteness of other phenomena which has been shown to be mistaken.

Instead, if observed from the perspective of the radial approach, the majority of issues location is faced from the classical standpoint fit the prescriptions of the radial view. With the reversed intension/extension relation than the classical approach, radial view`s high intention/low extension in the primary category allows for rich and fecund attribute base. Although the materialist/idealist dichotomy among attributes can be a red flag for some it need not be the case[251]. The fecundity of location as an abstract and general concept does not

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[250] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 131.
[251] For an example Dalby and O` Tuathail see geopolitical studies as both materialist and representational Simon Dalby and Geraoid O Tuathail, *Introduction: Rethinking Geopolitics: towards a critical geopolitics*, in *Rethinking Geopolitics*, edited by Simon Dalby and Geraoid O Tuathail, (New York: Routledge, 1998), 3; also

mean that each individual case satisfies all the prescriptions of the concept. If one would take location either as a variable determining one state`s strategic potential or power or one part of the globe, due to the lack of uniformity of characteristics of space on Earth not all selected cases can completely correlate to the abstracted concept of location. For an example some states do not have sea access or have major rivers flowing through their territory. Also, some have control over strategic choke-points and isthmuses while others do not. For some idealist package of attributes play little value while for some like Israel they are of key concern.

Circling back to Lakoff`s example of the radial concept of mother, correlating to location, some mothers are married to fathers while others are not. That does not make them less of a mother but not a „true" mother in the primary category sense of the concept. With location it is the same situation with the primary concept of location can be observed trough secondary concepts which have decreased intension but are applicable to more cases. . By grouping attributes to make coherent wholes, secondary categories can be formed to satisfy internal coherence and to increase extension by decreasing intension through those groupings. In doing so, it can create a strong base which would allow for consistency in use, help avoid conceptual „stretching" and greatly improve the ability for comparative analysis both of location and of literature dealing with the concept.

2. Re-conceptualizing Location – the "Four secondary concepts" model

The advantages of the radial approach for conceptualizing location are not a proof of supremacy over the classical approach. Simply put, in some cases value of reasoning in a radial manner supersedes reasoning in the classical one allowing greater utility and avoiding conceptual stretching and lack of consistency. This is the case of the concept of location. Reconceptualization as any process of conceptualization ultimately has the same goal in mind, as Sartori puts it: "We do need, ultimately universal categories – concepts which are applicable to any time and place[252]". Yet, the plausibility of this goal is questionable due to change of phenomena and appearance of new ones which through the criterion of differentiation necessarily make changes in its neighboring concepts. Thus, this chapter and

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see John Agnew, *Hegemony: The New Shape of Global Power*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 42, 50.
[252] Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), 1035.

in turn reconceptualization of location will attempt to approach to the most possible extent to the goal stated by Sartori not by developing a model which is timeless and placeless but a model that factors in these changes and evolution[253][254]. By allowing for these considerations to be factored in, change of social phenomena, differentiation as well as the effects of interrelationship between Geopolitical Studies concepts can be treated as an intervening factor which does not change the core model but allows it to be time-applicable.

In much of what has been already observed in analyzing previous usages and conceptualizations of location, and taking into account the issue of internal coherence of attributes defining location, the secondary attribute grouping displayed in the final chapter of the second part will serve as the foundation of the radially re-conceptualized location. Each of the four groups of attributes has higher level of internal coherence compared to the existing conceptualizations. But each group gives only partial information needed for understanding the impact location has on states and their potential, power and security. This means that location should be seen in the line of Semple`s view of location as an overall category containing all secondary categories and their interrelationships. With having the full picture possible only through interrelationship of these secondary concepts some might question the utility of such an approach. Additionally with power of states existing in some secondary concepts of location as a defining attribute the ability of this model to successfully establish the necessary level of conceptual abstraction could raise additional eyebrows with again one concept being used to define another and vice-versa.

On the later objection, the interrelationship between concepts of Geopolitical Studies and the arguments for a systemic perspective observation of them stand here as well with the level of abstractional separation being possible to achieve. Location isn`t defined by power alone but by possession of power by other units of analysis. Location isn`t relative to power *per se* but to units of analysis and the „amount" of power (if measurable) they have. On the other hand, threat from such units of analysis and their location in the vicinity of the unit of analysis observed, necessarily affects security and strategic potential of such state (with certain state being a unit of analysis). Security for obvious reasons of potential threat and

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[253] On the role of both time and space in establishment of context see: Harvey Starr, On Geopolitics: Spaces and Places, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 57, (2013), 433-439; Immanuel Wallerstein, The time of space and the space of time: the future of social science, *Political Geography,* Vol. 17, No. 1, (1998), 71-82.
[254] On the importance of formulation of concepts outside the context of the epoch see Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 555.

power because it"s limiting the freedom of action due to constant possibility of being threatened and in need to allocate recourses towards such a threat.

An important distinction must be made regarding previous explanation. Mentioned vicinity (which in turn does represent one of the four secondary categories) should not be equated to distance of a close kind. Fundamental misunderstanding in impact that distance has in Geopolitical analysis and, following Walt[255], international relations studies brings to mind that sources of threat always comes from what is closer, thus modifying scale of research to the one of a region. It is perhaps because of this that Spykman and Sicker see regional location defined through other states and their power[256]. This distance trap is derived from misunderstanding of ways distance produces effects in the grand scheme of things and in correlation with other concepts. With Geopolitical Studies being primarily a political idea[257] (which does not mean forgoing all that is geographical) distance as a concept must be envisioned to serve purposes of the discipline.

Measuring distance in meters, kilometers, miles or other units of measure says very little knowing that a thousand years ago one hundred kilometers was a great distance while today people go such distance every day between work and home. Not wishing to equate it to mobility and technological development, "distance did not die[258]" by recent advancements in those fields. While the two reshape effects of distance, the core meaning of distance in Geopolitical Studies has remained the same and can be thought of as directly proportional to the amount of recourses, energy, force, call it what you will needed to effectively project and enforce will or influence over space. Higher the distance between two units the more recourse/energy/force will be needed to effectively reach that goal. Several millennia ago such vast distances were measured in hundreds of kilometers, today the whole world is a playground for some. Kilometers have increased but the core meaning of the concept remained the same.

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[255] Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).
[256] Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017); Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics Among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics*, (New York: iUniverse, 2010).
[257] Hans W. Weigert, *Generals and Geographers: The Twilight of Geopolitics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), 13.
[258] John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011), 318.

Although not elaborating in greater detail, Ratzel`s remark that great powers are those who can act on any location[259] point precisely to the interrelationship between location, distance and power. Thus, this interrelationship can help define the concept of great power by defining it as political entities able to effectively project influence over any distance, to any location[260]. With the reduction to the discussion on location relative to other units of analysis only to the regional scale, much information is missed with the effects units of greater distance can produce greater effects. With this stated, a counter argument must be given as well, with relatively few states being able to produce such effects, closer distance brings more actors into play and thus greater focus should be given to the immediate surroundings. In conclusion, distance should be observed as a separate but closely connected variable to location. This distance trap, although rightfully stresses the premier relevance of more proximate units of analysis, should not reduce locational analysis of other states to mere regional level because it could warp and distort any Geopolitical analysis.

Returning to the core subject matter of this part, within each of the following subchapters each secondary concept of location will be put forth, explained and assessed. Yet, it would be beneficial to start of the discussion on them in this introductory part through the prism of the criterion of Resonance. As seen in Collier and Mehon`s work on radial approach to conceptualizations, secondary categories are usually labeled by addition of an adjective and thus turning the primary category of democracy into participatory, liberal or popular democracy each containing some elements of democracy[261]. Similarly Lakoff derives genetic, birth and stepmother from the primary category of mother[262]. Whereas such an approach can be useful for concepts of mother or democracy it is questionable whether it would be of use for location. If we follow the labels used when existing literature was assessed we would get terms like geographic-materialist location whose resonance is questionable. In fact, insertion of an adjective to location could produce negative effects and produce confusion due to vast domain and everyday usage in multiple meanings.

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[259] Friedrich Ratzel, Studies in Political Areas. The Political Territory in Relation to Earth and Continent, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Nov., 1897), 300.
[260] This could be a very interesting topic for further research because it could help reshape thought and help develop more precise ways on defining Great Powers, understanding their role and empirically test the findings in the fields of Geopolitical Studies and International Relations.
[261] David Collier; James E. Mahon, Conceptual "Stretching" Revised: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (Dec., 1993), 850.
[262] George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

To avoid the trap of misunderstanding the message, a break from the general practice will be made and other terms will be used to label secondary categories of location, which although not generally used does have its examples. For an example, light can be assessed as a radial category, unlike the concept of mother which creates secondary categories by attaching an adjective to the primary category, variations of the specter of light is based upon different terms which do not represent different but secondary concepts in order to increase resonance of the main concept. Visible light, X rays, Radio waves, Microwaves all represent electromagnetic radiation of different wavelength which produce different properties and effects. Each of these terms for secondary categories resonates much more than if called electromagnetic radiation of this and this wavelength.

Thus, in the following chapters, firstly, primary attributes existing in each secondary category will be assessed. By enumerating and analyzing three attributes, spatial area, relativeness and fluidity, applicable to all secondary concepts foundations will be set to understand each secondary concept. Secondly, each of the four secondary concepts will be explained through their attributes and their effects. Correlating to the grouping but following the criterion of resonance geographic-materialist will be labeled Locality, geographic-idealist labeled Place, unit-materialist labeled Vicinity and unit-idealist Milieu.

Much of this abstract theoretical though and lines written would perhaps be better understood by those already in the subject matter of Geopolitical Studies by observing and connecting the already existing concept of shatterbelt to the model this paper is setting forth. Saul Cohen defines shatterbelt as being a "*strategically oriented regions that are both deeply divided internally and caught up in the competition between great powers of the geostrategic realms[263].*" His definition of shatterbelt includes four separate characteristics: a) it is strategically oriented; b) deeply divided internally; c) between competing great powers; and d) between competing realms. Shatterbelt can be thought of as a special case of values of each secondary concept the paper is setting forth observed through regional scale. It stipulates that a region has locality of great strategic value, with its place being negative in the sense that internal relationships between states comprising such place are conflictual; which is of interest of great powers, which want to include a portion or entirety of states from such place into their milieu.

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[263] Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 48.
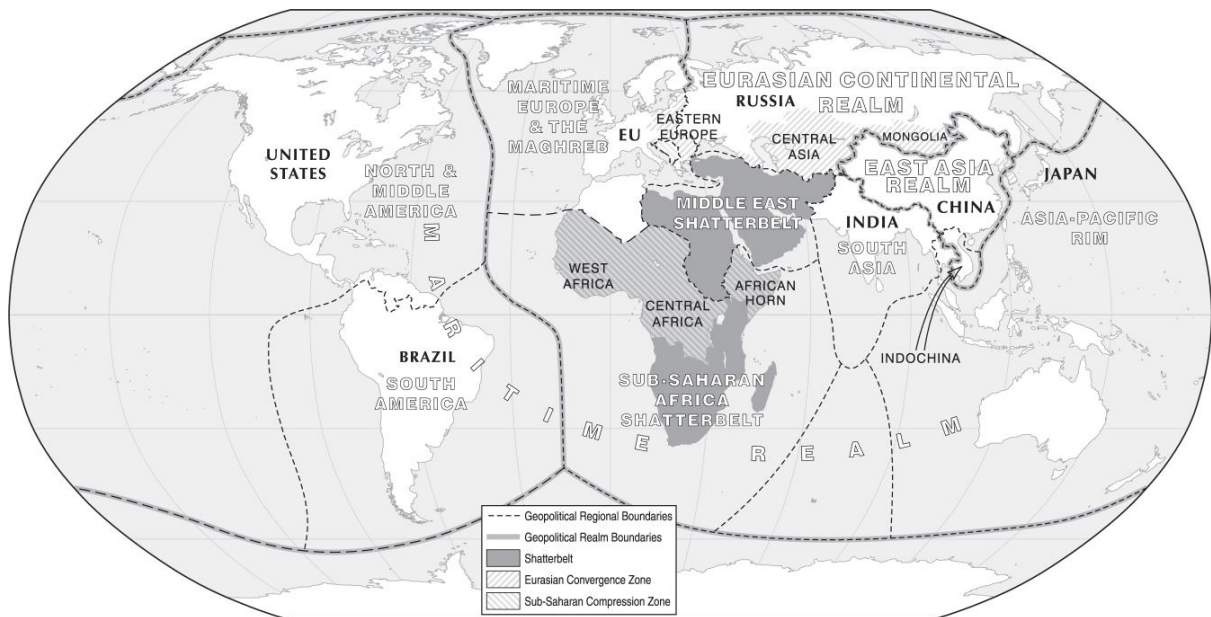
Map 2: Cohen`s division of the world during the Cold War[264]
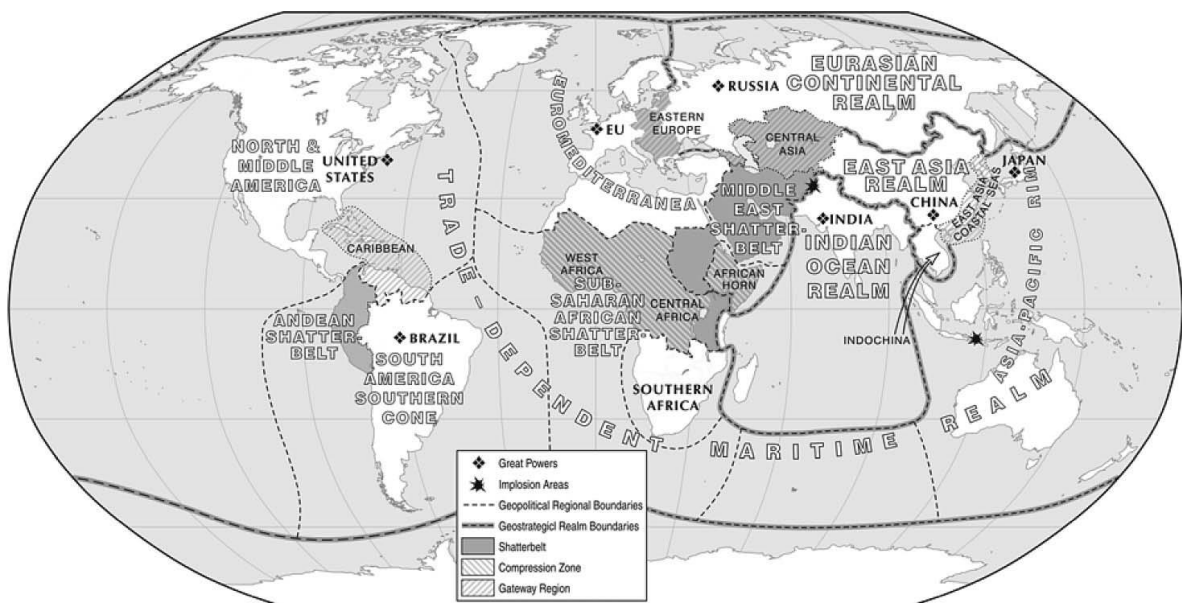
Map 1: Cohen`s division of the world after the Cold War[265]

Thus, although generalizable only to the analyses which have same negative values shatterbelt misses much in providing a better understanding of exactly how the location of states affects their destinies, provides them possibilities and constrains their activities.

[264] Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition, (London, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 45.
[265] Saul B. Cohen, Evaluating Systemic Geopolitics – A Twenty-First Century View, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, (2010), 164.

Additionally, it lacks specific and rigorous explanation of how shatterbelts are formed, when and how do they become gateway regions as well as borderline cases in the gray areas between. Going much further than providing only detailed explanation on shatterbelts, location affects state`s strategic potential but also its power and freedom of action in the processes unfolding in the international arena.

2.1. Primary attributes

Interestedly enough, analysis of the conceptualization of location by different authors unanimously pointed to an agreement on the foundational, primary attributes that constitute location. Although this represents but a bare minimum which in turn is virtually meaningless on its own it does represent a base on top of which concept of location can be re-conceptualized. Primary attributes which are present in all four secondary concepts are Spatial Area, Relativeness and Fluidity. The first two should be thought of as introductory attributes coming before all others. They are crucial for conceptual separation of location on the one hand and other concepts which could be used as independent variables in research. The third one is concluding, represents that location and in turn the value of it is subject of change and evolution through time.

The first attribute is that location represents a spatial area. The meaning of this attribute and in turn its role in the larger picture is that location represents a demarcated area of space within which events are happening. If we take space as the entirety, in the sense of all places human beings can reach and sustainably stay for a prolonged period of time, location represents a portion of such space. The variations of such statements can be twofold whether one observes it through the perspective of spatial area as a characteristic of units, or as spatial area where units interact. Spatial area as a characteristic of a unit need not be equated directly to states, although this represents the most obvious example. Houses and buildings could just as easily be regarded through such manner with them not being reducible to a single point. On the other side, spatial area can be the canvas where units meet and interact similar to a pitch in sports which is clearly demarcated. Being as it may, when reasoning on location

ultimately involves reasoning on a selected portion of the entirety of space and its relations to other portions of space[266] regardless if taken as a characteristic of a unit or as a „pitch".

Relativeness as a primary attribute of location serves to connect additional secondary attributes to constitute each separate secondary concept. What is interesting is that there exists an agreement that any location is relative. Even the stated dichotomy between absolute and relative location existing in geographical literature[267] are ultimately both relative[268]. The difference between absolute and relative location from geographical literature should not be observed by whether such concepts have the attribute of relativeness but from the perspective of the frame of reference used in locational reasoning. By absolute location and the relativeness of it, what differentiates it from relative location is that it is expressed through longitude and latitude. Thus, longitude and latitude represent a universal (for Earth`s standards) frame of reference. Although still arbitrary thanks to Greenwich having been chosen as the prime meridian, it takes Equator-Greenwich lines as points of reference for determining location. This is perhaps why geographers tend to conceive this as the absolute location in which location does not vary based upon the frame of reference. By having a frame of reference easily measurable, applicable and comparable for every case regardless of the unit of analysis it can provide us with information with natural rather than social science precision.

But this line of thought stands firmly in the „concreteness" view of location which provides leaving location bare "methodological orphan[269]" instead of an "analytic, descriptive concept[270]." Unlike absolute location, relative location expands and firmly confirms the value of relativeness as a cornerstone attribute of location. Relative location rests on a different reference frame for each individual case in which choosing a unit of analysis is central to determining the frame of reference. Yet, what is missing in elaborations on relative location is the set of attributes to which location is related. While some have made a general statement as being relative to other places[271] in the near/far sense, it still lacks specificity to be a useful and analytic concept, which probably led to the favoring of absolute over relative. Be it as it

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[266] Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 9.
[267] For an example: Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013); but also see other quoted pieces of literature.
[268] National Geographic, accessed on 17.06.2018, https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/location/
[269] F. Lukermann, The Concept of Location in Classical Geography, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Jun., 1961), 194.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Mark Boyle, *Human Geography: A Concise Introduction*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 4.

may, relativeness remains crucial in understanding how location is conceptualized and in which ways it produces causal effects.

Finally, and perhaps most controversially, the third primary attribute of location is its fluidity[272]. Similarly to the discussion on relativeness, fluidity as an attribute cannot be seen through envision of location as „concreteness" but only „completeness". Although there are several examples of states which literally moved from where they used to be, fluidity should not be equated with this in state-centric analyses. With even physical characteristics of Earth`s surface changing, fluidity is even more emphasized in the changes in social relationships of human geography. Additionally, changes in other concepts affect fluidity of location, not in the sense of differentiation but by changing their effects on phenomena and processes ultimately leading to changes in the values of location.

Much of what Spykman said that mountains do not change[273] holds merit in the sense that for the standards of human time measurement changes are miniscule over epochs. But even this quote which has been heavily criticized missed the following lines in which he raises the value of historical moment which is being observed[274]. Although mountain can be a formidable obstacle to those wishing to conquer you it is also a formidable obstacle to trade and military assistance. The fact that ministers come and go means that courses of human action change, thus changing the implication those mountains have for those actions[275]. Similarly, the value of sea access varies significantly through time, for once Mediterranean was the center of the world and its naval lines of communication of vital importance. But with the discoveries of the new world and vast wealth it held, shifted the value of the access to the sea and those communication routes diminishing such high importance of access to the Mediterranean.

Such fluidity observed only in physical geographic factors is not the only way fluidity causes effects. Intrinsically tied to action of active units[276] and their interaction with other

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[272] For the need of thinking about concepts in political geography in a fluid manner see Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 269.

[273] Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 41.

[274] Nicholas Spykman, Geography and Foreign Policy, I, *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.32, No. 1, (Feb., 1938), 43.

[275] Norrin Ripsman, Jeffrey Taliafferro, Steven Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*, (New York: Oxford University Press: 2016); Daniel Byman and Kenneth Pollack, Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In, *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring, 2001), pp. 107-146.

[276] Tjeri de Monbrijal, *Delanje i sistem sveta*, (Beograd: CLIO, 2006), 27-59; most notably 27-30

active units, fluidity is important to other secondary categories as well. May it be changes in boundaries that formulate places, through changes in people`s sense of place, shifts in power of states or acculturation which is changing the way we identify „Us"and „Others", all these factors which are constitutive of other secondary categories affect the fluidity of locations. With some being less fluid than others, ultimately location cannot be as static as some envision it to be, which circles us back to the discussion on Sartori`s goal of creating timeless concepts and the strive for finding the way to factor in change.

2.2. Locality

As a secondary concept, Locality, analog to the geographic-materialist type of location, includes the attribute basis that gives information on the natural landscape of some location and the knowledge of the influences of that specific landscape on political phenomena and processes. Just as logical as the term locality, the term landscape could be used. The choice between the two fell on locality over landscape by the resonance the two produce. While landscape has the appeal of a description of nature, like a painting of Van Gogh, locality points to interesting causal implications of use if observed through the broader scientific perspective.

The evolution of the term locality and its connection through different conceptualizations are explained very well in Nick Clarke`s article on the topic[277] although it stands more firmly in political geographic considerations of localism[278]. While some have frequently equated locality to local scale[279] for the better part of the twentieth century it was envisioned as differentiation of natural and human phenomena in a demarcated area[280]. By separation of human phenomena from the meaning lying behind the term, seeing locality through simply natural perspective can be substantiated by the fact that human phenomena are much strongly and more resonantly explained and assessed through different concepts like place and a deeper meaning can be acquired by borrowing the meaning of locality through physics.

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[277] Nick Clarke, Locality and localism: a view from British Human Geography, *Policy Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 5-6, (2013), 492-507.
[278] Ibid, 493.
[279] Ibid, 493.
[280] Ibid, 495.

Principle of locality in physics which states that objects can be influenced only by its immediate surroundings. This principle should not be either equated or generalized to the broader considerations or theoretical thought in Geopolitical studies but instead serves as an interesting analogy to the way in which we envision the effects of the physical geographic factors of location on units of analysis. For an example the flow of ideas, especially in today`s age of instant communication is an example of the inability to directly apply such a principle to social sciences (although it is even questionable whether such a thing is possible in physics as well due to the phenomena like quantum entanglement) but again this could also be countered with the argument that for an example the internet serves as a medium expanded to every corner of the our world and by let us say having a colony on Proxima Centauri could break such a statement (limits of the speed of light). Regardless of the debates and discussions in theoretical physics and quantum mechanics, the focus of this work on Geopolitical Studies makes such a discussion here redundant.

What is important is that again, this should not be equated with distance. By stating that immediate surroundings influence objects that does not mean that for an example construction of the Panama Canal did not influence India, for an example. Similarly to the discussion on the Danube and its course through Europe, observing the world through a set of connected locations means that influences do happen regardless of the distance. But they follow a domino logic in which one affects the other analog to falling dominoes. One location affects another and so on, and not that the first one immediately influences the „forty third" location in the chain. This is important for concreting the more general discussion on differentiation between distance and location through differentiating distance to the secondary category of locality.

With its long established usage in science, and especially geography, locality fits both empirical and general linguistic domain of the English language. Furthermore, by definition, it perfectly relates to the synonyms location, position and place[281] thus being easily relatable to location in common tongue to location while location still retaining more general acceptability allowing for the location supremacy over locality as primary over secondary conceptualization. As an encompassing term covering plurality of attributes of physical geography it goes well beyond the simple designations like sea/land giving much fecundity while retaining coherence. Its attribute basis is found in the following attributes: strategic

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[281] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 18.06.2018, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/locality

significance, Earth`s surface, Equator, topography, sea, land masses, narrow marine straits, narrow passage on continents, isthmuses, lines of communication, islands, climate, rivers, accessibility.

This deep set of attributes gives much fecundity to locality which supersedes the long established dominance of location being equated to the likes of having sea access or not. Take Russia for an example. Although having one of the longest coastlines in the world[282], majority of it is to the inaccessible Artic Ocean which is covered by ice. While this statement exists in Geopolitical Studies literature from its early days[283], it is questionable whether one can simply state that this is purely characteristic of the ocean it has access to without taking into consideration climate as well. This is because precisely effects of climate change are affecting the accessibility of Russian coastline. There is not just the ocean but climate as well. Although this statement can be dismissed by some by evoking common sense, establishment of generalizable rules and concepts with great extension must go beyond common sense in order to satisfy academic standards and rigor. As in the case of Russia similar example can be found in Brazil which similarly has a long coastline but whose accessibility is greatly reduced by the Brazilian Highlands and the Amazon Rainforest. Thus, there is not just ocean but mountains and dense forests as well. Also, Romanian and Bulgarian access to the sea, although important, is limited twice-fold, first by the Turkish straits and later, either by Gibraltar strait or Suez Canal. There is not just the access to the sea but the openness of such seas.

It is in this that the comparative advantage of establishing locality shows is true potential by focusing not on one or two physical geographic factors but many more allowing a proper understanding of how one`s place among the natural characteristics of the physical world shapes political processes and phenomena. With territory being one of the central tenet of a state, the space boundness of such units leave virtually universal extension (excluding some states like Vatican where territorial aspects are of far lesser importance) while still retaining a deep meaning which allows richer understanding of how states are affected by factors of physical location in the broader picture and interstate relations.

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[282] CIA World Factbook, accessed on 19.06.2018. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2060.html
[283] Halford J. Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), 421-437.

2.3. Place

There is not too much to be added with regards to place which has not been covered by existing work. The rise in interest of geographers for the role place plays in the grander scheme of things in recent decades have amounted a substantial body of literature unraveling the nature of this phenomenon. Yet, little has been done to further push this knowledge into the realm of Geopolitical Studies and to give a state-centric flavor in research on place. Although relatively vast literature exists there are still contradictions in ways in which place is observed amongst geographers and political geographers as seen in Lynn`s chapter on place[284]. Be it as it may, the most important questions, part from analysis of place through the criteria of conceptualization, needed to be answered within this chapter are: What is the relationship between place and location? In which ways do theoretical standpoints on place apply for state-centric analysis? And, what effects does place produce on states?

As one of the pioneer of research on place in the past several decades, Agnew`s view of location being a determinant of place[285] leads to a seemingly contradictory statement in relation to this research. By this, there exists a dichotomy within which the relation between location and place or to be more precise, two scenarios: location under place vs. location over place. With location being a determinant of place as Agnew`s work, with locale and sense of place[286] points to an observation of location stripped to its spatial area meaning holds no utility, simply a "site in space[287]", no different than the spatial area with an universal frame of reference to denote such site in space. Although emphasizing the role location plays in interactions and diffusions among places[288], its bareness neglects other aspects which can have a strong constraining effect on the ability to interact. Take for an example the Himalayas and the effects it had on the interaction between Chinese and Indian cultures for millennia. In this way, the lack of clarity of whether the effects of locality produce effects or not and its connection to general observation of place remain elusive. Similarly this could be said for

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[284] Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170.

[285] John Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

[286] Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 5-7.

[287] John Agnew, *Space and Place*, in, *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, edited by John Agnew and David Livingstone, (London, SAGE Publications, 2011), 326

[288] Ibid.

relationships between units of analysis with the example being found in Central Europe prior to[289], during[290] and after[291] of the Cold War.

This „location-under-place" view although seemingly contradictory to the position of „location-over-place" this research put forth they are not in a collision and impossible to reconcile because of the nature of primary attributes of location, existing in all secondary conceptualizations. It is only in the choice of the term that problems lay but the meaning of it is no different and intended to demarcate a portion of space from its totality. With spatial area existing as a primary attribute in conceptualizing location, the meaning behind this general statement is in fact shared in both conceptualizations. It is through reducing the complexity of location to observation of creation of distinct places which share a sense that their destinies are intertwined that spatial logic is shown in existing conceptualizations of place. Negation of such conceptualization has neither merit nor support for it, but incorporating it into the radial conceptual framework of location increases its utility because it provides explanation of the interrelationship between different phenomena to which location can be relative to, thus explaining with greater precision ways how where something is affects its behavior.

Perhaps the most interesting anecdote regarding the criterion of resonance is the fact that coining of the term place that covers the meaning lying behind this secondary concept was envisioned by the author of this work during the process of writing research proposal and before dwelling deeper into the Political Geographic and Human Geographic literature dealing with this concept with a very similar set of attributes. Unlike locality for which more thought had to be put into thinking on the right term to be applied, regarding place it is not the case. In addition to the existing literature on place its place in the empirical domain is practically cemented although the fact that there is not much state-centric literature the lack of the term in the empirical domain of such research requires a push which already has strong foundations thus expanding its causal utility.

As in the case of location, while the relevance of place for human and political geographic research exists, consensus on the attribute set which constitutes place (as it has been already established in literature) does not, but more or less it revolves on political, social, cultural,

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[289] For an example see: Joseph Partsch, *Central Europe*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1903); Friedrich Naumann, Central Europe, (London: P.S. King & Son, Limited, 1916).

[290] Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*, 2nd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 222-223.

[291] The Economist, *Where is Central Europe?,* last updated on 06.07.2000, accessed on 20.06.2018, https://www.economist.com/europe/2000/07/06/where-is-central-europe

historical and religious relationships between non-unified political and social entities. What is questionable is whether such divergent set of relationships constituting attribute base of place can be observed separately or not in the formation of places. This is especially true in the case of states with virtually widespread relationships of such kind existing between almost all states of the world today through their representatives in embassies.

The problematic of state relationships which in today`s age have reached the point of existence of communication and interaction, to a greater or lesser extent, between every state in the world opens additional issues which manifest in the differentiation of place and milieu. With both existing on the idealist side, the differentiation lies in the geographic and unit of analysis side. Within this chapter only the geographic will be explained leaving the unit of analysis side for the subsequent chapters. But an example of it can be found in East Asia, which can be observed as a place even though, according to Huntington, some states are a part of the Muslim civilization, others part of Budist, other part of Western and Sinic[292].

What constitutes place is the enumerated types of relationships and through these interactions, geographical „boundaries"emerge, establishing a spatial area within which such entities are directed more towards one another than towards entities existing outside such „bounds". Through these interrelationships specific *genre de vies*[293] emerge and with it the sense that such place exists. This creates a social space over physical space[294] producing effects onto social and political entities occupying such space, thus being "both the outcome and mediator of politics[295]". In turn, sense of the existence of such place serves as a binding force, similar to the role identity plays in establishing such social and political entities in the first place. What`s interesting is that one of the predominant and implicit light motifs of discussion on place is that they, almost by definition point to positive senses like „unity", „togetherness" and „closeness". This point should be discussed more, researched and severely challenged if unable to be proven true[296].

Additionally, with events unfolding, each event and each outcome of specific relationships between units existing within a specific place modify the sense of people not only of the

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[292] Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000).

[293] Paul Vidal de la Blache, *La France: Tableau Geographique*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1908).

[294] Theodore R. Schatzki, Spatial Ontology and Explanation, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Dec., 1991), 650-670.

[295] Colin Flint, *Introduction: Geography of War and Pease*, in, *Geography of War and Peace: From Death Camps to Diplomats*, edited by Colin Flint, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

[296] In the section of case studies an attention will be especially made to this point when discussing Balkan as a place and its effects on the Republic of Serbia as the unit of analysis.

existence of place but the characteristics of it as well. These changes even though not changing the „coordinates" of one place, change the effects place produces on states being there. It is precisely because of this that many authors tend to describe place as being layered[297]. With actions and events of people and their relationships within the bounds of place the fluidity of such place happens creating layers of what was before impacting not only what is now but what it be in the future. Of course the variability and fluidity of relationships and senses of existence can also lead to the changes in such boundaries.

The matter of whether such an approach can be applied to a state-centric analysis seems redundant because ultimately it comes down to the matter of scale and unit of analysis rather than to the applicability of the secondary concept of place to state analysis. Not wishing to absolute the statement that "states are people too[298]" much of what Wendt stated regarding the relation between individual and corporate agencies give merit to plausibility of application of the concept of place on states and the effects place plays in state behavior. With states being in relationships with other states just as people and social groups do, they give an idealist influx to the landscape in establishing social space, a bounded geographical structure serving as a setting and context for their action.

2.4. Vicinity

The thought on location in the purely geographic terms, either through observations in physical geography or human geography, can produce a distortion in our understanding of where something is, affects it. Although while explaining place, there were frequent mentions of existence of relationships between people living within the bounds of such place such, they should be thought of as more of the social imprints those relationships produce onto demarcated spatial area than the relationships themselves. This should not equate entirety of relationships to vicinity because it would blur the lines between vicinity and milieu. With states being a clear example of already mentioned active unit as described by Montbrial[299], actions of other states as well as the impact on the freedom of action of the state observed

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[297] Lynn A. Staeheli, *Place*, in , *A Companion to Political Geography*, edited by John Agnew, Katheryne Mitchell and Gearoid O Tuathail, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 158-170.
[298] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 215-224.
[299] Tjeri de Monbrijal, *Delanje i sistem sveta*, (Beograd: CLIO, 2006).

produce effects on states[300]. This statement should not be directly equated with the propositions of structural realism, of anarchical world and the struggle for self-preservation[301], just as it cannot be excluded from it. There are multiplicities of ways one state can affect others, with Spykman naming four: persuasion, coercion, barter and purchase[302] with armed conflict being the ultimate mean of conflict resolving and will implementing which needs not be the best option in every scenario[303].

In many ways the core of the discussion on the relations between power and location in the introductory chapter of this segment is the most relevant for vicinity. In addition so are the effects of distance. If this research were to dwell into the discussions on the meaning of the concept of power and its role in the relations between political units, it would be an endless paper. Throughout the years there have been many views and approaches to defining our understanding of the concept and role of power[304], with no ultimate and clear consensus on its nature and place. By taking the observation of power through the freedom of action one can understand why location determines power and power determines location. If you are nearer to the state with greater power you will have less freedom of action which affects negatively to your location.

By increasing your own power, relative to other states, your location is improved. While such a position of one concept explaining another has been criticized within this work, the centrality of the concept of power for international politics[305] makes it unavoidable to provide the level of separation of the two concepts more than it has been done here without reconceptualizing power. Be it as it may, the core attribute base of this secondary concept lies in other units of analysis seen through their material capabilities and power. For authors like Kjellen, this was the proper and central meaning of location indicated by the number of states bordering the state of observation and their power[306].

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[300] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 78.
[301] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010).
[302] Nicholas Spykman, *America`s Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 12.
[303] Ibid. 13
[304] Some include: Robert A. Dahl, The Concept of Power, *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul., 1957), 201-215; Džozef S, Naj, *Budućnost moći*, (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2012); Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010); Stefano Guzzini, *Power, Realism and Constructivism*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).
[305] John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 55.
[306] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 78-82.

The connectedness between this secondary concept and distance is the most central out of all other secondary concepts. With the effects of distance being manifested through needing more energy to be used to enforce will the further other state is, the amount of power creates a limited radius within which states can act without investing such amounts of energy which would either put them in jeopardy or unable them to sustain other tasks. With the development of air power, authors like Douhet[307] and Seversky[308] were the first to bring such discussion into question but even they talk about the limits[309] of implementing air power in line with the principle of parsimony. But again, this is a double edged sword with being far from others also produces the inability to project will due to the effects of distance, thus for some being afar is just as bad as for some being close[310]. While this statement was not made in support of projecting will, especially through coercive means, this statement holds merit in research how secludedness can, in some instances, produce just as negative effects as positive.

This represents not only the foundations for fecundity of vicinity but also discussion on resonance in determining the term vicinity to represent this secondary category of location. The thought on this choice was between the term vicinity and proximity. In doing so, the intervening effect of distance is clearly described with both terms resonating highly with distance. What is interesting, although both resonate highly with distance, they are not currently labeled in definitions as synonymous but only archaically[311]. While proximity is attributed by nearness in not just space but also time and relationship[312] vicinity by definition represents a spatial area with synonyms of place, locality, etc.[313] which more relates to the meaning behind a concept, thus having not only stronger resonance but also strong foothold in the linguistic domain. Additionally, introduction of proximity as the term behind this secondary concept could in fact have obstructions in the empirical domain due to usage of proximity as a variable in Walt`s balance-of-threat theory[314].

Although, as stated, the structural realist interpretation of interstate relations is not used as an axiom in this research holds significant merit to interpret much of the effects of vicinity

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[307] Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, (Washington: Air Force History and Museums Program, 1998).

[308] Alexander De Seversky, *Victory through Air Power*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942).

[309] Alexander De Seversky, *Victory through Air Power*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942), 112.

[310] Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, (Wroclaw: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016), 18-19.

[311] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 25.06.2018., https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/vicinity

[312] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 25.06.2018., https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/proximity

[313] Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on 25.06.2018., https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/vicinity

[314] Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

through such lens. With states never being sure on intentions of other states[315], material capabilities which constitute power and impact power relations can produce negative or positive effects on states` location. Breaking from the murky defining of locational value of being positive or negative, literature is perhaps the richest in describing specific variations of vicinity. In fact when one state is labeled a buffer-state it is a specific case of the value of vicinity for such state surrounded by two or more much more powerful states. Although implicitly having a negative connotation[316] this need not be necessarily regarded as such with a buffer-state being able to play-off it`s more powerful neighbors, thus improving its position and reconfirming possibilist stance.

Owing to its wide usage in International Relations, through the usages of concepts like buffer-state, vicinity is perhaps one of the most researched in the overall academic domain although not primarily from Geopolitical Studies but through the theoretical and empirical research from the realist camp of International relations. The linkages between the two have already been stressed[317] and the influxes of ideas from realism in International Relations to Geopolitical Studies are present. But to directly equate them is mistaken, and that is why realist assumptions are not taken axiomatic. With vicinity representing but a part of the equation of what constitutes location for Geopolitical Studies this is but a part of the puzzle which, directly concerning the topic of this research, must be conjoined with other secondary concepts in order to gain a proper and sufficient explanation. As an example to add to the value of the statement that conjoined effects of all secondary concepts are important to reach sufficient understanding of locational effects on states, with having favorable locality or favorable place no matter the strength of states surrounding you, such effects can be mitigated.

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[315] John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 31.

[316] Gyula Csurgai, *Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitical Analysis*, in *Geopolitics: Schools of Thought, Method of Analysis and Case,* (Geneva: Editions de Penthes, 2009), 53.

[317] Lucian Ashworth, Realism and the spirit of 1919: Halford Mackinder, geopolitics and the reality of the League of Nations, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 17, No. 2, (2011), 1-23; Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, chapter 2.1.1.

2.5. Milieu

The line of separation between milieu and vicinity lies in the division of material and idealist conceptions of location while between milieu and place lies in the geographic and unit of analysis conceptions. Unlike vicinity which focuses on material capabilities milieu represents the social environment in a way in which social and cultural relationships formulate social structures[318] and affect the behavior of states through social establishment of amity and enmity. While undoubtedly, processes of amity and enmity can impact the establishment of place[319] there exists a differentiation between the two with milieu does not formulating a social-spatial imprint onto the landscape which can be observed as the independent variable, but represents effects of social structure established by ideas of units and shared ideas among units.

Perhaps seen as the murkiest out of all, the slow and steady introduction of the attribute base formulating such meaning of location and in turn this secondary concept is not without its proponents and its merits. In his work on the concepts of Heartland and Rimland, Donald Meinig explicitly mentions the value and role cultural inclination of people has on the state orientation towards either to the land or to the sea[320]. Although Meinig also shows elements of mixture and incoherence by combining both locality and milieu, his „functional criteria" serve as a factor determining the location of a state. Without referring to the establishment of a bounded whole formulated through different kinds of relationships as described in place, it is the socio-cultural characteristics of a unit that connect them to other units to which they feel „kinship".

In a way, shifting of scales provides the most practical way of describing the differentiation between place and milieu. While regional scale shows full-fledged effects place produces, milieu is best represented through global scale because it lacks the geographical boundedness of place. Such „kinship" need not represent a geographical and locational continuity in a sense of connectedness of locations but scattered all around the globe. The spatiality of states and the lack of ability to shift their location serves both as a

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[318] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 141.
[319] Iver B. Nojman, *Upotrebe drugog: „Istok" u formiranju evropskog identiteta*, (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2011).
[320] Donald W. Meinig, Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (Sep., 1956), 556.

pillar of the effects of milieu and its observation through the spatial, locational perspective rather than observation through purely social structures, thus "the geography of imagination[321]", represents one of the determinants of location, the determination of milieu. While social structures are the necessary precondition of milieu, unlike people which can move and constantly be surrounded by their social kin, states are destined to have neighbors which may or may not opt to, and be accepted as a part of the same milieu. And being part of/labeled as a part of the „wrong"milieu is faced with an „appropriate" foreign policy[322].

Having said all of that, the choice of the term milieu to cover the meaning behind this conceptualization is intended to highlight the social environment[323] to which the state is a part of and, because of the fixed nature of states, the difficulties and opportunities if one is surrounded by states of same, similar or different social environment. It is no accident that the example of Cuba was used in earlier chapters where mentions of the lack of explicit naming of location was used because it perfectly sums up both the division between milieu and place but also the nature of what constitutes the secondary concept of milieu. In the world of ideological competition of the Cold War[324] which modified ancient Occidentalism and Orientalism into Capitalism and Communism[325], for Cuba, part of the „Eastern" domain surrounded by „Western" countries, being in such a location was/is anything but favorable and causes friction amongst states[326]. Thus, there is no problem that you are „x", „y"or „z" in as much that you are „x", „y" or „z" at that particular spot. If Cuba was located elsewhere, surrounded by other communist states the effects of milieu would be much more positive. In a sense, spatial distribution of units of analysis and the values and changes in idealist core and values that are an intrinsic part of what units of analysis i.e. states are produce locational effects.

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[321] Colin Gray and Geoffrey Sloan, *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 163.
[322] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 48.
[323] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/milieu
[324] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 37-44.
[325] Simon Dalby, Critical geopolitics: discourse, difference, and dissent, *Society and Space,* Vol. 9, (1993), 273; Simon Dalby, Geraoid O Tuathail and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 6; Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (Spring, 1992), 4.
[326] Hans W. Weigert, Henry Brodie, Edward W. Doherty, John R. Fernstrom, Eric Fischer and Dudley Kirk, *Principles of Political Geography*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), 205-206.

In many ways the fecundity of milieu stems from the characteristics that define the socio-cultural structure and indeed ways in which it is structured. What constitutes „Us‟, how „Us‟ is established and who are „Others‟, to simplify it in a binary fashion, is the necessary precondition to assessing how spatial distribution of units that constitute „Us‟ and units that constitute „Other‟ stand in relation to the unit we are observing. Thus, the production of geopolitical discourses[327] that dominate a certain epoch raise to the pedestal the central meaning that affects the formulation of different milieus[328]. This inter-subjective „image‟ is a subject of change as described by the work of Agnew and Corbridge[329]. Whether their proposed evolution of geopolitical discourses[330] in the past two centuries should be taken as valid or should changes be made is a matter for a separate research. Whether we can observe it merely binary or as Huntington sees it as a web of more or less animosity[331]. Whether civilizational, naturalized and ideological geopolitical discourses are in fact like described in Agnew and Corbridge`s research and is the next step the neo-civilizational geopolitical discourse[332] is a matter of debate just as whether culture and civilization have ever stopped being important. What does hold merit is that there exists a connection between socio-cultural differentiations between states conjoined with their spatial distribution in the sense of their security.

IV.   Where is the Republic of Serbia[333]?

Judging where the Republic of Serbia is will not be a short chapter. Although representing a major structural and methodological change in relation to the proposal, the nature of scientific inquiry and mist of knowing before researching forced the hand to shift from a small-n case study to a single case study. Not going further in abstract, theoretical reasons diverting from the core subject matter of the thesis explanation in the form of a short

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[327] On what are discourses in Geopolitical Studies literature refer to Simon Dalby, Geraoid O Tuathail and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 80.

[328] On the relationship between geopolitical discourses and „Us‟/‟Other‟ see Simon Dalby, Critical geopolitics: discourse, difference, and dissent, *Society and Space,* Vol. 9, (1993), 274.

[329] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

[330] Ibid, 46-77.

[331] See picture 9.1. Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000), 271.

[332] Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000), 19-42;

[333] Refference to Newman`s chapter titled "Where is Israel" in David Newman, *Citizenship, identity and location: the changing discourse of Israeli* geopolitics, in *Geopolitical Tradition: a century of Geopolitical Thought*, edited by Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 314-327.

resume of the previous segment must be given in order to clarify such a major restructuration. The uniqueness of places, specificities of identities, the diversities of landscapes and the challenges of defining one`s power, in an essence everything that gives the flavor of „completeness" renders providing a comparative analysis challenging, not in the sense of impossible or improbable to accomplish but in the sense of the magnitude of such and endeavor. Within each comparative analysis, numerous factors and variables must be attested, not solely on the nature of the characteristics of the unit of analysis but also its surrounding units, which are in line with the complexities of the social world.

To approach the subject matter in a reductionist, the smaller the better, way would be blasphemous from the perspective of everything postulated within this thesis. On the other side providing a detailed comparative analysis would require hundreds of pages of additional explanations and would miss the research goal of the thesis by dwelling too deep into Strategic Potential Analysis. By missing critical information which would solidify the picture and place of location as a variable, such a case study would provide a weak test of the model. One has to note that this does mean that this model cannot be of use in comparative analyses. Simply put, the capacity of the model to serve as the basis for comparative analysis need not mean it has to be a simple one nor that it can give all „the wisdom of the world" in several sentences. Although there is merit in simplicity and parsimony, it does not hold value if it sacrifices precision, fecundity and explanatory power, all of which this model highlights in the quest to understand one`s location.

Thus, single case study will leave significant room to evaluate not only the preconditions required to properly understand location, both holistically as well as each individual secondary concept, but also the surrounding factors without which it would be impossible to comprehend the value of location and its effects on state`s potential, security and power. To put it concretely, on the point where these four secondary concepts meet and formulate location in general lie the proper meaning of where the Republic of Serbia is and how such „where" affects the Republic of Serbia. Additionally, location of the Republic of Serbia cannot be understood without providing an analysis of its demographics, social, cultural, religious and political relations as well as the extent of its relative power in the international arena. In doing so, some brief foundations must be stated upon which secondary concepts will be based.

To start from the end of our enumerated points, the emphasis on action as the determent of the extent of power as well as the determent of the dynamics in the world arena, providing a differentiation between those who formulate the patterns of action of states and the rest of inhabitants of states is critical in understanding how action is formulated. Of course, relative material state potential and systemic constraints are key[334] but if a state has the ultimate freedom of action it has material potential to do so and are in a system whose constraints have less of an effect on them. By borrowing from Neoclassical Realism in International Relations[335] incorporated in the growing field of Neoclassical Geopolitics[336] the division between those who make decisions needed for action[337] and the rest of people is central. Although a key role of this division lies in the hands of the elites, the inclinations of the rest of people are to a certain degree of greater importance from the perspective of location due to the role of not only political but also social, cultural and religious relations for establishment of place and milieu.

The stated role of relative material state potential and systemic constraints in the grander scheme of things postulates to provide an overview of the factors constituting the structural place of the Republic of Serbia in the international arena. Again by basing such an approach to power, with the lack of effective control over the province of Kosovo basing any observation which would include „numbers" for Kosovo, regardless of the future outcomes in this dispute, would provide a distortion in observation. With its territory being 77.474 km^2 [338] and the population of 7.095.383 which is experiencing constant decline in recent years[339] it is around average in size and population in Europe and the World and has GDP of 38.37 billion dollars[340] also placing it` value around the World mean but on the bottom in Europe. The

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[334] Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, 56-61.

[335] Norrin Ripsman, Jeffrey Taliafferro, Steven Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*, (New York: Oxford University Press: 2016); Steven E. Lobell, Norrin Ripsman and Jeffrey Taliafferro, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[336] Nuno Morgado, *Theoretical fundaments and methodological guidelines in neoclassical geopolitics*, Paper presented at the 25th World Congress of Political Science, Brisbane, QSD, Australia, July 2018, available at: https://wc2018.ipsa.org/events/congress/wc2018/paper/theoretical-fundaments-and-methodological-guidelines-neoclassical.

[337] Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, 61-63.

[338] CIA World Factbook. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ri.html accessed on 03.07.2018. If Kosovo is included then territory is 88.363 km2 Slobodan Mišović, *Regionalna geografija*, (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2011), 42.

[339] Group of authors, *Statistical Yearbook of Republic of Serbia*, (Belgrade: Statistical Office of Republic of Serbia, 2016), 35&39.

[340] CIA World Factbook, last updated 12.07.2018, accessed on 13.07.2018, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ri.html

population is majority ethnic Serbs with 83,3 %, and other major ethnicities being Hungarian, Albanian and Bosniak[341] with religion-wise being predominantly Orthodox Christian. Finally regarding military power, Global Firepower Index places it at 78th place out of 136 countries with 40.075 active military personnel, 104 aircrafts, 805 combat tanks, 575 Armored Fighting Vehicles and 216 pieces of artillery[342]. With the value of small numbers[343] these numbers do not work in favor for Serbia in the sense of relevance and importance and all of these facts affect the location of the Republic of Serbia.

1. Locality of Serbia

The physical geographic landscape or a portion of space upon which the territory of the Republic of Serbia rests, is situated in the Northern Hemisphere, in the continent of Europe, in the Balkan Peninsula[344]. This fact is obvious to anyone with the elementary knowledge on reading maps and by its own represents the bare fact with little utility for Geopolitical analysis and by no means represents the locality of Serbia as defined by this reconceptualization. What it is, it is a starting point for the discussion on the physical-geographic locational effects it produces. As a pinnacle of these observations separation must be attested between the internal physical geographic characteristics of the territory and the more broad locational aspects through the prism of connectedness of locations. Although some might see this differentiation miniscule it has profound and separate categories of effects with one leaning to the outside (location) and the other to the inside (Raum[345]).

The previously mentioned location of Serbia in the Northern Hemisphere points to more than a simple fact when observed in correlation that exists between the distance from the Equator and climate. With climate being an important attribute giving locality its fecundity and also producing important effects on state (for an example for agriculture) determination of the distance from the Equator provides an assessment of climate (this fact is also intermediated by topography and elevation of the terrain). Such an assessment places the

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[341] Ibid.
[342] Global Firepower Index, accessed on 13.07.2018, https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=serbia
[343] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010), 131-138.
[344] Slobodan Mišović, *Regionalna geografija*, (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2011).
[345] Morgado, Nuno. "*Towards the New World Order? A Geopolitical Study of Neo-Eurasianism and Meridionalism*". PhD diss., Charles University, 2017, glossary lxviii.

Republic of Serbia in the northern temperate zone stretching between 23 27` and 66 33` north, additionally improved by the fact that Serbia rests in the middle of the northern temperate zone, allows for favorable living and working conditions[346] and thus increases its potential. On the other side of the coin, favorable climate does cannot provide a variable which could deter and restrain enemy forces during military conflict as is the case for Russia.

The Republic of Serbia is a landlocked state. With the lack of a sea access its ability to effectively communicate uninterruptedly with the outside world, namely through trade but also in the sense of strategic interaction, can be easily interrupted by other states blocking its exit to the outside world. This issue has been present since the restoration of Serbian statehood in 1878 with strives to acquire a sea outlet with good, natural harbors present before the First World War in order to be able to communicate uninterruptedly with the outside world[347]. The importance of sea access for Serbia was highlighted in its military campaigns during both the Balkan Wars and during the First World War, as well as being highlighted by Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points[348]. During the times when Serbia was a part of Yugoslavia, long Croatian coastline allowed for effective communication through those ports and to a certain extent, when in union with Montenegro, through Montenegro, but the dissolution of this union has lead again to Serbia being landlocked[349]. What is important to mention is that in both of these cases, as well as the proposed expansion of Serbia to the Albanian coast[350], the sea access would be to a double-enclosed sea as the choke-points of Otranto and either Gibraltar or Suez can block access to the open oceans.

To a certain point, two other attributes mitigate the landlocked nature of Serbia`s locality which are the Danube and the Morava river valley. Being the second longest river in Europe, after Volga, Danube`s course through Serbia is fully navigable in its 588 km course[351] allowing for a cheap mode of transport and connectivity with both Central Europe and with the Black Sea. The importance of the Danube for Serbia was recognized early on with Kjellen writing about the value of Belgrade as a Danube harbor which substitutes the lack of sea access for Serbia[352] and Cvijić`s description of character of Serbia being Danubian[353],

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[346] Slobodan Mišović, *Regionalna geografija*, (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2011), 28-29.
[347] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 211-220.
[348] See point 11 https://www.britannica.com/event/Fourteen-Points, Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed on 13.07.2018.
[349] Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 219.
[350] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 211-220.
[351] Slobodan Mišović, *Regionalna geografija*, (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2011), 89.
[352] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 57.

highlighting the importance of this river. Furthermore, it is on Serbian territory where some of the most important tributaries meet like Drava, Sava, Tisza (with Mures) and Morava rivers[354] creating a natural crossroad in communication. Combining this with the inclination of the terrain upon which Serbia rests has a natural tilt towards the Pannonian plain (except for the far southern part of Serbia which leans towards the south following the river basins of the Lepenac, Pčinja and Dragovštica rivers[355]) and towards this crossroad and Central Europe. Although Danube`s importance for determining the locality of Serbia is important it still, unlike the Rhine, flows into a double-enclosed Black sea with choke-points in the Bosporus and the Dardanelle and either Gibraltar or Suez.

This inclination towards the Pannonian plain leaves the impression of natural orientation of such spatial area more towards Central Europe than the rest of the Balkan Peninsula. This is mistaken due to the importance of the Morava river valley and its lines of communication interconnecting the rest of the Balkan Peninsula. The topography of the Balkans provides difficulties for establishing parsimonious lines of communication between the four corners of the Peninsula as well as communications between Pannonia, Asia Minor, Central and Eastern Europe because of blockage by mountain ranges of Dinaric Alps, Rhodope, Pindus and Balkan. These characteristics shape the central position of Serbia in the Balkans[356] with almost all communication needing to go over its area.

It is the morphology of the terrain and in turn the inability for parsimonious communication that highlights the value of the Morava River Valley combined with Vardar River Valley and Maritza River Valley as the main routes for communication in the Balkans. The importance of this river valley as the foundation of communication lines has been referred not only in works from local authors[357] but also from authors like Mackinder[358]. Such morphology of the terrain creates strong obstacles for communication between the coast and hinterland making this narrow passage communication line critical for transfer of goods and people not only between different points in the Balkans but also between Central Europe and Asia Minor and Levant.

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[353] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 164.
[354] To avoid confusion this relates to both Morava River in the Czech Republic as well as the river in Serbia.
[355] Slobodan Mišović, *Regionalna geografija*, (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2011), 88.
[356] Ibid, 31.
[357] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 87-119.
[358] Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1942), 34, 77, 114.

Furthermore, unlike other points in the Balkans where the watershed is separated by high mountains, watershed between Morava and Vardar valleys are divided by a relatively favorable terrain which correlates to the Preševo and Skopje valleys[359]. It is because of this fact that this area can be seen as central to for the North-South communication in the Balkans leading Cvijić to label it as the Balkan Core[360]. By conjoining this area with the adjust Morava-Maritza corridor area, crucial for the East-West communication, around the city of Niš, Cvijić has expanded the core of the Balkans dubbing the entire area "the Central Area", corresponding to the area between the cities of Sofia, Niš, Priština and Skopje which control allows for the control of the Balkans[361]. Thus, this Central Area represents the territory of strategic significance for control of South-Eastern Europe.

2. Place of Serbia

Providing assessments to the value of place as well as providing measurements to signify that a certain place is established is a daunting task which requires an in depth knowledge of history, social, cultural, religious, linguistic, political and economic relations. Not to mention the elusiveness of determinants that constitutes the sense of space which is even more troubling. The difficulty and elusiveness should not be confronted with a defeatist approach by relinquishing the possibility of „capturing"the essence of place in state-centric analyses as well as the effects it produces. Arguably, giving out on this possibility, gives out the probability of providing a stronger explanatory power and predictability of location in general by „running away" from these difficulties. The place of Serbia is one of the most important features which formulate the value of its location. But in order to support this statement arguments and facts must be provided albeit the fact that little to none explicit research dealing with the state-centric analyses of Balkans as a place.

As revealed, perhaps prematurely, in the previous paragraph, the place within which Serbia rests has a name, the Balkans. Balkans represents not only a geographical but also a historical whole[362], although there is no consensus on where it ends. In 1940, John Gunther

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[359] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 112-117.
[360] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 112.
[361] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 112.
[362] Marija Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, 2nd Edition, (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2006), 11.

described Balkans as being everything south from Czechoslovakia[363] which is hardly an appropriate designation today as the nature of fluidity shifts the geographically bounded structure of place. In fact it is questionable whether it was true even then. But this is not so relevant from today`s perspective as boundness of Balkans today is the matter of importance regardless from the fact that stuff of yesterday influenced the happenings of today and perhaps will shape events of tomorrow. What has been done so far in the study of the Balkans has eluded the perspective of Balkans as a place and its state-centric relevance has been subservient to the works of the likes of historiography[364] and critical approaches[365], with geopolitical studies works not fulfilling either high academic rigor[366] or broader picture part from the Bosnian War[367]. The works of Maria Todorova[368] and Milica Bakić and Robert Hayden[369] dwell deeper the issues surrounding the Balkans and its people though their works tend to observe it more through the lens of milieu than place probably because they are not envisioned for state-centric analysis. Both place and milieu have a flavor of inter-subjectivity though place sees it inside the geographically bounded area while milieu focuses on the relations between the totality of units regardless of geographical boundness[370]. Balkanism, in the sense of Todorova`s meaning, represents more stereotypes of other`s views of the Balkans rather than internal sense within the Balkans.

So where to go from this? How to geographically delimit the Balkans and the states there? And is there just one Balkans? A common geographical definition of being bordered by the Black, Aegean, Adriatic and Ionian seas as well as the Danube and Sava rivers in the north has been accepted in purely physical geographic terms but also disputed since at least the beginning of the 20th century because it lacks ethnographic (human) dimension[371]. But

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[363] Maria Todorova, The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (Summer, 1994), 453.

[364] For an example: Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers 1804-2011*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2012).

[365] Marija Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, 2nd Edition, (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2006).

[366] Robert Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography*, (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2013); Robert Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*, (New York: St. Martin"s Press, 1993); George Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, (New York: Doubleday, 2015).

[367] Gerard Toal and Carl Dahlman, Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and its Reversal, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Gearoid O Tuathail and Carl Dahlman, Broken Bosnia: The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return in Two Bosnian Places, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 95, No. 3, (2005), 644-662.

[368] Marija Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, 2nd Edition, (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2006),

[369] Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (Spring, 1992), 1-15.

[370] Maria Todorova clearly states this by focusing on the people of the Balkans and the West/East`s view on them. Marija Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, 2nd Edition, (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2006), 103-143.

[371] Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko Poluostrvo*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 18.

the human dimension is difficult to pinpoint from the perspective of state-centric analysis because borderlands of each state naturally incline more towards to neighboring states leaving each state`s place as gravitating towards itself and including surrounding states. Fortunately for the Balkans delimitation of place makes it easier than in the case of other places due to the fact that for more than half a millennium the „civilizational" borderline set up by Ottoman conquest and control made it be cut off from establishing cultural and social relations with the rest of Europe. On top of that, with sharing a common Orthodox Christian religion[372] and being it led to a sense of differentiation inside the Ottoman Empire establishing "Balkans as geopolitically distinct from the East[373]".

There is a matter here of question whether to include Croatia and Slovenia to this place with Croatians striving to envision themselves as a part of Central Europe[374]. But here Yugoslav legacy as well as virtually having the same language[375] (in the case of Slovenia quite similar)[376] provides an argument for their inclusion. Thus, delimitation of Balkans mostly follows physical-geographic delimitation of the Balkans with the inclusion of Romania although following Meinig`s work on the Mormon Culture[377] the strength of the effects of place are not felt uniformly in each part. With his conception of core, domain and sphere[378], Balkans can be divided into the core representing states which constitute the Serbo-Croatian linguistic area, Macedonia and to a certain degree Bulgaria and Albania; domain would include Slovenia and Romania while sphere would constitute Greece. The argumentation behind such statement lies more in historical relationships as well as culture and current popular culture than behind political and economic relations. This is for two reasons: firstly, economic development of the region is far weaker than economies of surrounding nearby regions making Balkan states gravitate economically more towards

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[372] Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (Spring, 1992), 11.

[373] Maria Todorova, The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (Summer, 1994), 455.

[374] Ivan Šimonović and Andrej Plenković, The Croatian European Story, *Croatian International Relations Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (April/June, 1996), 5-8. Interestingly enough one of the authors of this article Andrej Plenkovic is currently the Prime Minister of Croatia.

[375] For linguistic argumentation on the nature and relationship of languages that stemmed from what was Serbo-Croatian i.e. Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin, their linguistic sameness, as well as the political implications of such artificial divisions best refer to the „Declaration on the Common Language": http://jezicinacionalizmi.com/deklaracija/, accessed on: 14.07.2018.

[376] Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 297.

[377] Donald W. Meinig, The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Jun., 1965), 191-220.

[378] For a concise overview see Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action*, 6th edition, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 39-40.

outside the region; secondly, the conflict nature of that constitutes Balkans as a place[379] prevents larger-scale regional political relationship like in the case of Nordic countries or Visegrad Group.

This does not mean that there is absolutely no economic and political relationship, but that they cannot be taken as a clear determinant of place. Instead observations of popular culture provide much better view as well as self-identification of people. If we observe commercial popular culture like music for an example, it is increasingly more evident the use of ethnonym of Balkaners (*Balkanci*) and if we take the market model of media[380], this mutual identifier of people seems to resonate sufficiently for musicians to gain a larger market which would not be possible, and in turn would not be pursued. This statement receives little to no attention in the general academia in the Balkans[381] although observations by the author of people and popular culture do point that people from these countries feel sense of connection in some sense to each other. This could be a very interesting research which could further investigate the connections that constitute places but also the ways how identities are formed, sustained and effect that they produce. When combined with shared history, language connections and religion, this allows us to observe Balkans as a place.

The social imprint onto the landscape as a result of not only these relationships but the centuries of migrations and the territorial intermixing of peoples producing the lack of clear territorial demarcations between peoples, has historically been fueled by animosity and conflict between those states[382][383] leading to an „understanding" that any action by any state would be seen as threatening, regardless of the original intentions. They are by default threatening and a security risk even though the same relationship with others outside the place would not be met with the same stance. This leads to a reaction by default, but only towards those in the confine of the place. But to those outside of the confine, the reactions are different. Thus, it is neither in the relationships themselves nor in the relationships between

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[379] Colin Gray and Geoffrey Sloan, *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 169.

[380] Endru Hejvud, *Politika*, (Beograd: CLIO, 2004), 391-392.

[381] Observation in the Web of Science database with the key word being Balkans and focusing on sociological, anthropological, geographical, area studies, ethnic studies and political science disciplines provides no articles with this subject matter among cited works.

[382] For one of the earliest large studies on the Balkans and their conflicts see: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conducts of the Balkan Wars,* (Washington D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914).

[383] For more modern works see Robert Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography*, (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2013); Robert Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*, (New York: St. Martin"s Press, 1993); George Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, (New York: Doubleday, 2015); Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers 1804-2011*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2012).

two actors but in a spatial unity and its social imprint. Thus, within the Balkans the conflict nature of place represents a barrier to any action because of such „understanding" of action.

Such a view is perhaps best represented through the initiative to establish a customs union between Western Balkan states which has been met by distrust and lack of support[384]. With Serbia initiating such a union, regardless of the fact that all states having weak economies and in need of more investments, it is perceived as a threat to economies of other Western Balkans states due to Serbia having the strongest economy[385] of them all. What is paradoxical is the fact that all states strive to join the European Union were their economies would face far greater competition with significantly more „threat". With no state being able to „live in a vacuum", enclosed as a black box, the conflict nature of the Balkans and its barrier effects to action, conjoined by the envisioning of other states` action as threatening in a no different manner than by others in this place, Serbia`s ability to act and to develop is severely undermined by the idealist configuration of place within which it rests.

3. Vicinity of Serbia

Republic of Serbia represents a state which is among the top countries by the number of states it shares a land border with, with only China, Russia, Germany, Brazil and Democratic Republic of Congo having more neighbors than Serbia which shares this spot with a few other states having also 8 neighboring states[386]. This high number of neighbors produces its effects having to focus more energy and having less freedom of action due to higher level of dynamics and needing to pay attention to more numerous actors. Yet, observed merely

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[384] Branka Mihajlović, Prizivaju carinsku uniju Balkana, miniraju prethodne dogovore, *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, last updated 22.03.2017, accessed on 14.07.2018, https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/zapadni-balkan-carinska-unija/28383986.html; European Western Balkans, Rama: Pregovori sa EU do kraja godine, zajedničko tržište ne, last updated on 13.06.2017, accessed on 14.07.2018, https://europeanwesternbalkans.rs/rama-pregovori-sa-eu-kraja-godine-zajednicko-trziste-ne/; Ivica Petrović, Carinska Unija Balkana: "Solidna ideja na dugačkom štapu, *Deutsche Welle*, last updated on 25.04.2017, accessed on 14.07.2018. https://www.dw.com/hr/carinska-unija-balkana-solidna-ideja-na-dugom-%C5%A1tapu/a-38574286; SrĐan Janković, Crna Gora protiv carinske unije na Balkanu, Radio Slobodna Evropa, last updated on 28.06. 2017, accessed on 14.07.2018, https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/crna-gora-carinska-unija-odbaceno/28583994.html;
European Union Office in Kosovo, Hahn: We plan to endorse Western Balkans economic area, last updated on 08.06.2017, accessed on 14.07.2018, ttps://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kosovo_en/27753/Hahn:%20We%20plan%20to%20endorse%20Western%20Balkan%20regional%20economic%20area
[385] Igor Lasić, Zapadni Balkan: Teško ostvariva carinska unija, last updated on 25.04.2017, accessed on 14.07.2018, https://www.dw.com/hr/zapadni-balkan-te%C5%A1ko-ostvariva-carinska-unija/a-38575974
[386] Whether one counts Kosovo as being an independent state or not this does not change the number of neighbors with Serbian border with Albania being through Kosovo.

through numbers one can miss the capacity of the neighbors of Serbia to act and to restrict the freedom of action of Serbia. Through using the same index of measuring power like the one that has been done for Serbia it can be observed that there are four states more powerful than Serbia and 4 less powerful. More powerful are Romania, placed on 40th position, Hungary, placed on 57th position, Bulgaria, placed on 60th position and Croatia placed on 72nd position[387]. Less powerful are Albania, placed on 86th position, Macedonia, placed on 118th position, Montenegro, placed on 121st position, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, placed on 124th position[388]. With lack of dominant countries, in the sense of power, this implies that vicinity of Serbia does not affect it being a buffer state nor does it show a clear dominant state in its immediate surroundings.

Such observation on the local scale provides, following the effects of the concept of distance, have merit but the difference in relative power and the difference in relative power between Serbia and its neighbors requires observations not only on the local scale but also on the regional and global. On the regional level, countries of note include two other Balkan states, Greece which holds 28th position on the Global Firepower Index list of states by power and Turkey which holds 9th position as well as three additional states which historically have interest in the area where Serbia is located, Russia which holds 2nd position, France which holds 5th position and Germany which holds 10th position[389]. Excluding Great Britain from this list might be observed as debatable, but this position is observed through the current strive of Great Britain, following Brexit, to distance itself from the European Union.

With the vicinity to such centers of power which far exceed the power of Serbia the picture shifted from the local scale provides a much grimmer view of the value of this variable. The global view introduces two additional actors to the game being namely United States and China which hold 1st and 3rd place on the Global Firepower Index list. Although being furthest out of all enumerated states, the presence of the United States is perhaps the most felt through its military base, camp Bondsteel, in Kosovo through which they can directly act. On the other side Chinese presence is felt namely through soft power investments and are still far from being an active participant in the formulation of the value of Serbian vicinity.

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[387] Global Firepower Index, accessed on 14.07.2018, https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.asp
[388] Ibid.
[389] Ibid.

Through the antagonistic relations between namely Untied States, Germany and France on one side and Russia, Turkey and to a very slight degree of China on the other vicinity of Serbia does take a value resembling such of a buffer state as described by Kjellen of Belgium, Switzerland and Romania during his time[390] where competing interests and actions of more powerful states in the vicinity open greater possibilities for Serbia, being able to play both sides and thus achieve larger freedom of action. With first recognition of Serbia being a part of the Great Power politics and establishment of buffer-states[391] as well as Yugoslav politics during the Cold War, Serbia has continuity in conducting this kind of foreign politics, though it must be added that in both cases it has ended badly for it.

4. Milieu of Serbia

Where is Serbia relative to other peoples? That is the question that has been plaguing the thought in Serbia, both common and academic, for virtually almost a millennium. Just observe the alleged letter attributed to the founder and first Archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church St. Sava to a bishop named Irinej in the 13th century: "At first we [the Serbs] were confused. The East thought that we were West, while the West considered us to be East. Some of us misunderstood our place in this clash of currents, so they cried that we belong to neither side, and others that we belong exclusively to one side or the other. But I tell you Irinej, we are doomed by fate to be the East on the West and the West on the East, to acknowledge only heavenly Jerusalem beyond us, and there on earth – no one[392]."

At the first glance, this statement seems to reflect perfectly of the milieu of Serbia never being completely sure of where to side, to determine who are friends, who constitutes „Us‟; who are the „kin‟, and on the other side who are the enemies, who constitutes „Others‟, who are against our „kin‟. Although quoted in a highly cited work by Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden[393], it has been heavily challenged in Serbian academia with no evidence to support it, no reference to bishop Irinej in historiography as well as being contrary to St.

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[390] Rudolf Kjellen, *Država kao oblik života*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1943), 80.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (Spring, 1992), 1.
[393] As of 7 July 2018 according to the Web of Science database this work has been cited a total of 142 times.

Sava`s theological stances[394]. Nevertheless, it represents an introduction to the chapter as well as the main core of the Serbian milieu and the main characteristic of it having the lack of a stable orientation and formulation of with which units Serbia constitutes the *magna-*„Us".

With the setup of milieu through the processes of constituting amity and enmity vis-à-vis other states, factors of culture and cultural similarities provide leniency of states to observe some other states with more amity or more enmity. But the problematic of equating religion to culture and in turn religion with amity or enmity provide a distortion by oversimplification. With Serbia being predominantly Orthodox, authors, like Huntington for an example[395], tend to equate this fact by seeing Serbia as a state and culture of the East[396], more leaning towards Russia than Euro-Atlantic block. Although there is partial merit to this statement, with for an example the representation of milieu as amity of Serbs towards Russians, Bosniaks towards the Turks, Croats towards the Germans during the Yugoslav wars[397], the oversimplification of the issue and observation of a single temporal point leads to a distortion of the view and misunderstanding of the milieu Serbia is a part of.

Focus solely on cultural (read religious) factors as determinant of inclination of having more amity to some as well as more enmity towards others leaves out the larger picture and the role of dominant geopolitical discourses, as established by Agnew and Corbridge[398]. Historically, during the period of civilizational discourse (1815-1875)[399] such a distinction between Russia and Western Europe was less relevant for the larger picture of milieu, with Russia being included in the dominant European civilization[400]. In turn, the distinctiveness of Christians in the Balkans[401] from the Turks as the main „Other[402]", favored Principality of

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[394] Radivoj Radić, Sveti Sava to nije rekao, *Politika*, last updated on 15.07.2011, accessed on 15.07.2018. http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/184410/Sveti-Sava-to-nije-rekao

[395] Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000).

[396] Robert Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography*, (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2013), 144; or for an example Greece, *ibid*, 152.

[397] Samjuel P. Hantington, *Sukob civilizacija I preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, (Podgorica: CID, 2000), 28. Also Harm de Blij, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny and Globalization`s Rough Landscape*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 218.

[398] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003)

[399] Ibid, 52-56.

[400] Iver B. Nojman, *Upotrebe drugog: „Istok" u formiranju evropskog identiteta*, (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2011); Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2014); John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

[401] Maria Todorova, The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (Summer, 1994), 455.

Serbia which was able to use such support to ultimately gain independence in 1878. But the shift in geopolitical discourse to naturalized geopolitics[403], with the main differentiation between imperial and colonized peoples[404], was recognized in Serbia early on[405] with Serbia struggling to escape the trap of being in the colonized camp.

Inter-subjective nature of establishing who constitutes „Us" and who is in which „camp" during the impact of the geopolitical discourse of the time prevents a simple choice to where one wishes to be. In this way, religious similarities played a little role with both Catholic and Orthodox nations seeing it as a territory for expansion and on the other side non-Christian states, like Japan[406], were seen as equal to other imperial peoples. Such establishment thus favored very little to playing the card of amity of European powers towards Serbia but still it`s European, Christian character left it in a limbo between the imperial West and East which should be colonized. Similar fate was in stored to its southern and eastern neighbors, but the outlook of colonial Russia and Austro-Hungary, later on Nazi Germany, all of which lacked overseas colonies, made Serbian milieu quite difficult.

Later on, during the ideological geopolitics[407], Yugoslavia again was in the similar position during the divide between capitalism and communism. Although nominally a communist state, due to Tito-Stalin split, Yugoslavia (in turn so did Serbia) again existed in between two blocks, not being compatible with the World View of the capitalist world, thus not a part of „Us"; and not wishing to be part of Soviet dominated communist bloc. Having been able to find, through the Non-Aligned Movement[408], „kin" in the world changed little with it being the only country in Europe member of the Movement and surrounded by both communist and capitalist states. This made again Serbian position in between different „currents" difficult but manageable to sustain because it was able to play on the fringes of the

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[402] Iver B. Nojman, *Upotrebe drugog: „Istok" u formiranju evropskog identiteta*, (Beograd: Službeni Glasnik, 2011); John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 56.
[403] *Ibid*, 56-65.
[404] *Ibid*, 57.
[405] Ilija Garašanin, *Načertanije*, (Beograd: Udruženje srpskih izdavača, 2009), 118.
[406] Karl Haushofer, *Japan-Model Geopolitician,* in Andreas Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer: Geopolitics in Action*, (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1966), 29-38; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Limited, 1900), 148; Simon Dalby, Geraoid O Tuathail and Paul Routledge, *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 6.
[407] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 65-76.
[408] John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 71.

system which although worked favorably during the dominance of ideological political discourse, the collapse of the system led to the collapse of Yugoslavia.

During the entirety of the observed timeframe and during all three geopolitical discourses Serbia existed in between the binary divisions of the world. It is thus that the quoted statement at the beginning of the chapter reflexes the continuity of Serbian struggle with finding its milieu and feeling the effects of spatial distributions of different milieus. In addition, throughout the observed timeframe, the cultural appeal of Russia outweighed the appeal of other states with Russia having more amity of Serbia and its people than other states. But a reduction to this „Huntingtonian" World View misses a lot because it lacks providing an explanation to why enmity towards Russia existed during ideological geopolitics as well as during naturalized geopolitics. While cultural appeal is the foundation and a necessary precondition for establishing amity it doesn`t provide a full explanation.

What about today? Andrew and Corbridge`s explanations stop with ideological geopolitical discourse and makes only broader points regarding the world after. Huntington attempted to fill the gap with his Clash of Civilizations but as pointed out such a view is not enough. But, because of it existing as a foundation, to a certain degree, in the time when Clash of Civilizations was written it might have been a predominant variable in determining milieu, but NATO and European Union expansion towards countries culturally more proximate to Russia brought into question such a statement later on. Bulgaria, Greece and Romania are predominantly Orthodox yet they stay firm in the Euro-Atlantic bloc. Yet again, Serbia is divided between the two main currents, one being Russia and the other being U.S. and European Union. Although striving to become a member of European family and at least nominally sharing the same values, due to NATO operations during the Kosovo War created a relationship of animosity of Serbia and its people towards this alliance. On the other hand, the mentioned cultural proximity towards Russia prevents it establishing a view of enmity towards them, leaving Serbia yet again in a limbo. And with the spatial distribution of the „Euro-Atlantic" milieu firmly around Serbia, its milieu is quite unfavorable.

5. Location of Serbia

Providing an individual explanation of each secondary category of location allowed for an observation of each segment that constitutes the totality of location and the effects it produces. But remaining solely on those explanations misses the interconnections between them which produce the totality greater than the sum of its parts. To understand each individual part i.e. each individual secondary concept, is needed to achieve greater precision and understanding of location and its effects on states, but without conjoining these secondary categories the meaning and impact of the totality wouldn`t be achieved, thus negating the entirety of the process. As an example, Colin Flint approaches and discusses different representations of Okinawa and different observations of its location[409]. Although all observations have merit to it, without combining the observations one cannot see properly how location and different views of its location affect Okinawa. Thus, in the following paragraphs a combined observation of the effects of each secondary category will be presented in order to provide a full understanding of Serbian location and how such a location reflects on Serbian security, foreign policy and power.

The landlocked nature of Serbia`s locality requires it to lean upon its neighbors for the possibility of communicating with the outside world. This fact is quite problematic when observed in conjunction with vicinity and place because due to conflict relationship and nature of Balkans as a place and especially Western Balkans and interests of Greater Powers Serbia has been historically cut off. The most prominent example where vicinity and locality meet is the Customs War between Serbia and Austro-Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century. Only because of Turkish internal problems was Serbia able to exploit the Morava-Vardar Corridor and through the port of Thessaloniki export its goods. On the side of place, such a nature of the place where each state observes the other with animosity can easily lead to barriers in trade which for a landlocked country are crucial for export.

In turn even the conflictual nature of the Balkans as a place and the quests of such states for creating larger and stronger states are influenced by vicinity and milieu especially during the time of naturalized geopolitics. With states currently existing being at that time either already a part of Great Powers or being designated as a future part of such states the two solutions presented were either join forces or resort to fighting each other. Thus the impact of

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[409] Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 10.

vicinity and milieu did manifest itself in the establishment of place but the final designation of place served as a variable whether to join forces into a federation of some sort or resort to fighting in between. Even at times when those states joined forces like during the First Balkan War, it didn`t take long for fighting amongst themselves to reoccur. Thus, the combination of vicinity and place establishes Balkans as the ripe ground for *divide et impera* strategies which occurred quite often.

The strategic significance of the Morava-Vardar and the Morava-Maritza corridors for achieving control over the Balkans and as a gate between Central Europe and the Near East made Serbian territory a valuable prize which in combination with vicinity, milieu but also place, led to a series of wars over control of this territory. Although being designated as a favorable attribute because of control of communication and ability to have parsimonious communication towards the outside, thus somewhat mitigating its landlocked nature, it also produced negative effects because of such desire of others to control it. Without a fixed milieu and in turn „kin"on which Serbia could rely, it further complicated matters in its quest to defend its sovereignty but also in some cases to enable it to expand and enhance its power. Even if it was able to play-off its neighbors thus transforming unfavorable vicinity into somewhat manageable one, the lack of favorable milieu and place led to it being constantly in a position to defend its position and be vary of others. Thus, its freedom of action was constantly limited with being forced to allocate recourses and focus attention and actions to countering negative impact of location thus decreasing its power and enhancing security threats as well as forcing the focus of foreign policy onto these issues.

Yet, although what was can provide us with insights into what is, in order to provide an assessment, which is of merit and value to those reading this piece, focus must be placed on the description of current location of Serbia and the effects it has. Much of the facts still remain, with the nature of the place, uncertainty of milieu, characteristics of locality and the actors and their power of vicinity. But their interrelationship has changed. With the Euro-Atlantic milieu expanding over the past few decades and now almost completely encircle Serbia, Serbia`s indecisiveness and outlook towards both Euro-Atlantic and Russian milieu make its position unclear, whether a Trojan horse or „kin". Unlike the period of ideological geopolitics when the spatial distribution of states of the two milieus were both bordering Yugoslavia, today Serbia is surrounded by states of one milieu. Almost all countries

surrounding Serbia are members of North Atlantic Treaty Organization[410] and the rest strive to become members[411] unlike Serbia which because of the history in relations with NATO does not[412].

This leads to two points. Firstly, conflict nature of Serbian place and Serbia being virtually the only state not standing firmly and completely in the Euro-Atlantic milieu, the spillover effect where the animosity of place becomes a guideline for milieu, thus pushing Serbia towards Russia rather than being its own choice. Secondly, with the increase of enmity between the mentioned two milieus and the conflict nature of the Balkans, whether decided on which milieu it will choose or not, Serbia can easily be pushed into conflict because any intervening effect of milieu and vicinity over place might not be sufficient and let the effects of place run wild once more. The blessing of locality, is in the same time the biggest curse because Serbia`s strategically important locality, even if its landlocked, is required for anyone interested in having complete control over the Balkans (geographically) or preventing others from obtaining control can lead all interested parties to take a harder stance than in normal circumstances.

Thus, the location of Serbia represents a highly unfavorable factor and variable for determining Serbia`s power, potential and security. Giving a slight predominance in importance to idealist secondary categories then to materialist ones, as long as Serbia does not make a decision, accepted by its peers, and chooses the milieu and on the other hand doesn`t attempt to establish relations with other states in order to attempt to form a new place for itself its location is destined to remain unfavorable. With relatively little it can do in order to increase its relative material power, thus improving its vicinity, the dominance of idealist factors will continue to provide effects on power potential and security by requiring significant allocation of resources to mitigate the effects of location as well as limiting the freedom of Serbia to act.

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[410] Those countries are Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Albania. List of NATO member countries, last updated 04.01.2018. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/nato_countries.htm accessed on 16.07.2018.
[411] NATO Relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, last updated on 11.07.2018. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_48830.htm accesed on 16.07.2018; NATO Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina, last updated on 23.06.2017 http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49127.htm accessed on 16.07.2018.
[412] NATO Relations with Serbia, last updated on 11.12.2018, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50100.htm accessed on 16.07.2018.

V. Conclusion

If anything, the hope that this research will impact the current state of knowledge in the field of Geopolitical Studies is twofold and goes beyond the research goal set forth in the introductory chapter. Firstly, the hope is that it will lead to further reassessment and re-questioning of the long established concepts and variables in Geopolitical Studies research. Secondly, through reassessment and re-questioning to seek novelty and evolution of the discipline and to break the shackles attributed to Geopolitical Studies of being static. Thus, on the broader perspective, it is much more important to continue with this line of research by re-questioning the basis of Geopolitical Studies and its other concepts in order to establish more rigorous, precise and explanatory concepts as the basis for variables in causal research, than the impact this research on its own has.

The most important answer given by this research is the fact that there exists a deep lack of consistence and coherence in one of the most fundamental variable for Geopolitical Studies so much so that it is almost felt like researches need not explicitly state the meaning of the concept due to a supposed belief that it is common knowledge. This brings into question decades of works and applications of different theoretical approaches in research due to the fact of supposed sameness when in fact there are profound differences in what is meant by this concept and in how it produces effects as a variable. This research should be built upon with similar research that would strive to reassess and re-question other key concepts and factors that formulate Geopolitical Studies reasoning and analyses by accepting criticism already existing and providing additional self-criticism. The concept of location is just one piece of a puzzle in the larger picture that constitutes Geopolitical Studies concepts and variables and thus without a more holistic attempt to re-question the basis of Geopolitical Studies, this research`s merit is of a far lesser extent.

The mentioned criticism as the basis for novelty and evolution should not be seen in an antagonistic light with one needing to be better than the other and in turn the only one observed. By this, we are putting into the spotlight the materialist-idealist debate which seems to be more the question of weighing which is more important not which is the only one important. In such a scenario, conceptualizations that strive to create an abstraction of the same (or very similar) phenomenon in reality become antagonistic and opposing interpretations instead of being complementary. Regardless of which position you drop,

materialist or idealist, much is lost in understanding the world through Geopolitical Studies lens and the conjoining of these two views, as well as that such conjoining is not a blasphemy, is crucial for understanding the presented re-conceptualized model for location. This view is by no chance a novelty in the field with some actually seeing Geopolitical Studies existing in between realism and constructivism of International Relations[413], but providing an operationalization of this view is something rarer and much needed in the field of today.

This was the goal of the reconceptualization. Creating a coherent conceptual toolkit, that avoids conceptual „stretching", corresponding to the nature of the phenomenon which radial approach allows for, provides the plausibility of complementarity of quite divergent approaches in Geopolitical Studies. Finding adequate terms that will stick within both the empirical and linguistic domain and be used consistently is always more of a lucky guess than a precise prediction and we are well aware that challenges to the terms selected can and most definitely will be made. It is welcomed! This research is not intended to provide a self-explaining prophesy of a simplistic relation that provides complete knowledge. Of course, further research is needed and the propositions set forth by this paper through empirical testing as well as theoretical refinement. To state that a single example of the location of the Republic of Serbia is sufficient and good enough to provide validity for the model is just as mistaken as simplistic approaches to complex phenomena that form the world around us.

Whether future researchers decide to merit more or less some secondary concepts it would at least drop down the debate from mentioned meta-theoretical arguments to the value and role testable variables. Even if sticking firmly with one theoretical paradigm, this model allows for one to drop the debate between paradigms, for specific case studies, down from abstract debates to validity of a concrete variable and its effects. So if someone sees idealist secondary concepts of greater relevance this model allows for concrete „how" and „why"they are of greater relevance.

What is interesting is that this model, with four secondary concepts, points to the influences that constitute Geopolitical Studies. Stemming from Geography and International Relations, the division into locality, place, vicinity and milieu can correlate to the influences of physical geography, human geography, realism and social constructivism, pointing to

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[413] Virginie Mamadouh, Geopolitics, International Relations and Political Geography: the Politics of Geopolitical Discourse, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (2006), 353.

Geopolitical Studies being a more encompassing and holistic discipline. Although Geopolitical Studies are primarily a political idea (in the sense of more leaning to political studies rather than geographical studies) [414], this line of thought could be more attributed to the premier study of political units and political phenomena and processes.

Although these secondary concepts have been separated on the level of theoretical abstraction their interplay is constantly present in reality, requiring conjoined observation in order to fully understand locational effects on states. It is this fact that forced the decision to make deep structural changes to the thesis and focus on a single case study rather than a comparative case study analysis. As already said, such a decision should not be understood as the inability of the model to be used for comparative analysis but that other variables and factors also provide their effects and that for such an analysis many other facts must be added, which if added here would break the limits of pragmatism and make this work several hundreds of pages long. Being just a part of the equation when approaching Geopolitical analysis reconceptualized location is not an all explaining variable and even understanding location requires understanding and observing other variables.

But, regardless of the presentation, this model is not without some problems. There is an implicit deep issue with this conceptualization of location because seemingly it sees location is everything. On the other hand one can also say that location is nothing. This double problem of this conceptualization stems from the same fact that location encompasses such a variety of secondary attributes that is so easy and so logical to either discard everything else for the sake of location or to discard location in favor of analysis of secondary attributes. This in turn makes location not immune to the reductionist/holist dichotomy and problematic underlying such a view. To ask whether one should even deal with location when they can deal with its attributes which constitute separate variables has just as much merit in critique to it as asking whether there is anything more to Geopolitical Studies part from location.

Regarding the first point, hopefully, this criticism has be sufficiently well addressed by providing advocating for a more holistic view where without observing the totality of interaction in a demarcated spatial area one cannot achieve a complete understanding. The previously mentioned example of Belgium and its location at the confluence of the Rhine may be favorable due to its impact as a line of communication but it also led to it being

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[414] Hans W. Weigert, *Generals and Geographers: The Twilight of Geopolitics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), 13.

invaded multiple times. If location isn`t observed in conjunction with other factors as state power but also state interests and defined lines of action, no proper value of location can be deemed. You can never say in absolute terms about the value of location. It can be better or worse but ultimately never best and worst.

Regarding the second point, that Geopolitical Studies can be equated with researching on location, such a stance would observe Geopolitical Studies as a study solely of interaction of black-box units without consideration of the internal factors of those units and their interrelationship with the outside world. Not wishing to diminish the importance of the variable of location it Geopolitical Studies research, such an ultimate stance regarding location would lead to a deterministic view rather than the view of possibilism. Even the most favorable location means little without the dynamics of other variables enumerated in the chapter on Geopolitical concepts as well as the dynamics of those directing the action of units.

As a final remark, with the works of major authors that set the foundations of Geopolitical Studies, like *Rudolf Kjellen*, *Friedrich Ratzel*, *Karl Haushofer* and *Paul Vidal de la Blache*, never (or a long time ago in limited print) been translated to English[415], students are thought mostly from the interpretation of the interpretation. One has to wonder, if something was lost in those interpretations. Being that in the world today, those involved with academic profession are not asked if they know English, but which language in addition to English they know, translation of these works to English is much needed for the evolution of the discipline.

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[415] Nuno Morgado, *Theoretical fundaments and methodological guidelines in neoclassical geopolitics*, Paper presented at the 25th World Congress of Political Science, Brisbane, QSD, Australia, July 2018, available at: https://wc2018.ipsa.org/events/congress/wc2018/paper/theoretical-fundaments-and-methodological-guidelines-neoclassical, 2.

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Appendix

No	Author	Title	Name of the concept	Attributes										
				Attribute 1	Attribute 2	Attribute 3	Attribute 4	Attribute 5	Attribute 6	Attribute 7	Attribute 8	Attribute 9	Attribute 10	Attribute 11
1	Alfred T. Mahan	Influence of Sea power Upon History	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Sea	Land masses	Neighboring state	Narrow marine straits	Lines of communication	Islands			
2	Alfred T. Mahan	Problem of Asia	/	Spatial area	Relative	Sea	Lines of communication	Narrow marine straits	Islands	Climate	Other civilizations			
3	Colin Flint	Introduction to Geopolitics	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Physical characteristics	Sense of people of its existence	Connected to other places						
4	David Newman (edited by: Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson)	Citizenship, Identity and Location: The changing discourse of Israeli geopolitics (in Geopolitical Traditions)	Location/ Place	Spatial area	Relative	Geopolitical imagination	Both internally and externally	Other states	Regionally	Culturally	Geographically			
5	Donald Meining	Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Culture	Sea	Land masses	Economic orientation					
6	Ellen C. Semple	Influences of Geographic Environment	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Other civilizations	Continental region	Natural features (topography, sea)	Neighbors	Economic centres				
7	Francis Sempa	Geopolitics - From Cold War to the 21st Century	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Neighbors	Sea	Land masses	Equator					

No	Author	Title	Name of the concept	Attributes										
				Attribute 1	Attribute 2	Attribute 3	Attribute 4	Attribute 5	Attribute 6	Attribute 7	Attribute 8	Attribute 9	Attribute 10	Attribute 11
8	Geraoid O Tuathail	The Geopolitics Reader	/	Spatial area	Relative	Intersubjective geopolitical imagination								
9	Gyula Csurgai	Constant and Variable Factors of Geopolitics	Location /Position	Spatial area	Relative	Lines of communication	Important regions	Sea and harbors	Neighbors	Natural resources				
10	Halford Mackinder	Democratic Ideals and Reality	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Topography	Sea	Land masses	Rivers					
11	Halford Mackinder	The Geographical Pivot of History	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Topography	Sea	Land masses	Rivers					
12	Halford Mackinder	The Round World and the winning of Peace	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Topography	Sea	Land masses	Lines of communication					
13	Hans Weigert et al.	Principles of Political Geography	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Sea	Neighbors	Narrow marine straits	Narrow passage on continents	Isthmuses	Islands	Political /ideological/ cultural and other differences		
14	Harm de Blij	Human Geography: People, Place and Culture	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Earth`s surface								
			Place	Spatial area	Relative	Unique physical characteristics	Unique human characteristics							
15	Harm de Blij	The Power of Place	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Sea	Land masses	Demography	Religion	Linguistics	Economy	Social factors		

No	Author	Title	Name of the concept	Attributes										
				Attribute 1	Attribute 2	Attribute 3	Attribute 4	Attribute 5	Attribute 6	Attribute 7	Attribute 8	Attribute 9	Attribute 10	Attribute 11
16	James Fairgrieve	Geography and World Power	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Spatial metric	Equator	Connected to other places	Social organization					
17	John Agnew	Space and Place (in Handbook of Geographical Knowledge)	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Spatial metric	Social setting	Sense of people of its existence	Specific to one area	Connected to other places				
18	John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge	Mastering Space	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Geopolitical imagination	Other cultures/civilizations							
19	Lynn A. Staeheli (edited by John Agnew) Place (in A Companion to Political Geography)		Place as physical location	Spatial area	Relative	Physical characteristics	Material characteristics	Particular space	Other locations					
			Place as social/cultural location	Spatial area	Relative	Cultural relationship	Social relationship	Economic relationship	Political relationship	Of people				
			Place as context	Spatial area	Relative	Cultural relationship	Social relationship	Economic relationship	Political relationship	Specific to one area				
			Place as constructed over time	Spatial area	Relative	Layered	Historical imagining	Historical reimagining	Cultural relationship	Social relationship	Economic relationship	Political relationship	Of people	
			Place as process	Spatial area	Relative	Cultural relationship	Social relationship	Economic relationship	Political relationship	Of people	Specific to one area	Physical characteristics	Other places	Sense of people of its existence
20	Mark Boyle	Human Geography	Absolute location	Spatial area	Relative	Longitude/latitude								

No	Author	Title	Name of the concept	Attributes										
				Attribute 1	Attribute 2	Attribute 3	Attribute 4	Attribute 5	Attribute 6	Attribute 7	Attribute 8	Attribute 9	Attribute 10	Attribute 11
		Human Geography Human Geography	Relative location	Spatial area	Relative	Other places								
			Place	Spatial area	Relative	Cultural relationship	Social relationship							
21	Martin Sicker	Geography and Politics Among Nations	World location	Spatial area	Relative	Land masses	Oceans	Sea lines of communications	Longitude/ latitude	Centres of cultural diffusion and military power	Other civilizations			
			Regional position	Spatial area	Relative	Neighboring lands	Lines of communication	Neighboring state	Landlocked/island/both sea and land	Strength of neighboring states				
22	Michael, Kuby; John Harner and Patricia Gober	Human Geography in Action	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Unique physical characteristics	Unique human characteristics	Culture						
			Location	Spatial area	Relative	Longitude/latitude	Proximity to related "things"							
23	Nicholas J. Spykman	America`s Strategy in World Politics	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Oceans	Equator	Land masses	Neighbors	Important economic zone	Important political zone	Important military zone		
24	Nicholas J. Spykman	Geography and Foreign Policy I	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Oceans	Equator	Land masses	Neighbors	Lines of communication	Centres of civilization and power			
25	Nicholas J. Spykman	Geography and Foreign Policy II	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Neighbors" strength	Regional topography	Closed/ open sea	Lines of communication	Major civilizations				
26	Nicholas J. Spykman & A. Rollins	Geographic Objectives in Foreign Policy	Location	Spatial area	Relative	Neighbors" strength	Oceans	Land masses						

No	Author	Title	Name of the concept	Attributes										
				Attribute 1	Attribute 2	Attribute 3	Attribute 4	Attribute 5	Attribute 6	Attribute 7	Attribute 8	Attribute 9	Attribute 10	Attribute 11
		I												
27	Paul Vidal de la Blache	Principles of Human Geography	Location/ Place/ Position	Spatial area	Relative	Layered	Land/sea	Lines of communications	Narrow straits	Islands	Other civilizations			
28	Phil Kelly	Classical Geopolitics	Location/ Position	Spatial area	Relative	Neighbors	Natural resources	Centrality within the region	Strategic significance	Land and sea lines of communication				
29	Rudolph Kjellen	State as a Living Organism	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Other states	Other cultures	World trade	Equator	Topography				
30	Samuel Huntington	The Clash of Civilizations	Position	Spatial area	Relative	Cultural relationship	Other civilizations							
31	Saul Cohen	Geography and Politics in a World Divided	Place	Spatial area	Relative	Association of political units	Lines of communication	Economic cores	Ideological characteristics	Natural resources	Accessibility	Cultural characteristics	Strategic significance	Geopolitical imagination
32	Saul Cohen	Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations	Place/ Geographical setting	Bounded (fluidly)	Spatial area	Relative	Land/sea	Culture	Civilizations	Political institutions	Ecumene			
33	Simon Dalby	Critical Geopolitics, Discourse, Difference	/	Spatial area	Relative	Intersubjective geopolitical imagination	"Others"							
34	Simon Dalby and Gerard O Toal	Rethinking Geopolitics	/	Spatial area	Relative	Intersubjective geopolitical imagination								