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CENTRAL CONCEPT OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

Two papers submitted to the 20th International Geographical Congress, the presidential address by C. Troll (11) and the paper by P. James (6), served as a direct stimulus to put down the present paper. P. James' paper supports the author's lasting opinion that time dimension is of fundamental significance for studies of spatial integration. The idea of nation is one of the most important ideas of our era. Not only that the political division of the world is based on ethnical groups; but their present activities even reduce the influence of economic principle we would nearly consider the main spiritual force controlling mankind today.

This great political significance of the nation was certainly one of the reasons why the concept of nation has not been defined in a satisfactory way so far. The main reason, however, stems from the fact that regional differences in the historical development of mankind have been so large and irregular that it is evidently not possible to include them in one system, and express the idea of nation in a single definition. This opinion has once again been supported by recently published works of the Ethnographical Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, dealing with the state including the whole Earth. A uniform, quantitative processing could take into consideration only the language and administrative divisions (S. J. Bruck, 1).

Sociologists endeavour to define the concept of nation by means of historical and linguistical knowledge. The purpose of this paper is to show that even geography can contribute to this. Let us follow a preliminary definition: a nation is a geographical group of people speaking the same language, united by the consciousness of common past and aspirations and differing from other similar groups by certain social characteristics. We are going to attempt to make this definition slightly more accurate in the spirit of geographical ideas, respectively, notions. It is the principle of geographic diversity, the contradiction of geographical inertia and mobility, and the notion of a nodal region.

Extreme diversity is the fundamental property of complex unities of the anorganic surface of the Earth. It manifests itself by the statistical distribution of an extremely asymmetrical shape suggesting a hyperbola branch. The organic world, on the contrary, manifests itself by relative equality of individuals of the same species characterized by a statistical distribution more or less symmetrical (8). Mankind also manifests its equality of the same species. Variability in the human species, and especially its adaptability is greater than with other animals, especially when it concerns social
adaptability, and the latter is of greater interest for us here than the biological.

An elementary thesis follows from the above-mentioned facts: mankind has passed and passes through a differentiation according to the diversity of the Earth's surface. This differentiation is of two types: biological, and, even more so, sociological. The biological differentiation requires an isolated development during a long period, fifty thousand years at least, the result of which is represented by basic human races. The problem of human races is quite different from the problem of nation, and is not the subject of this paper. Let us mention only that the terms "race" and "nation" are often being mixed up, standing for each other in both English and French journalistic lingo. This confusion goes back as early as Tacitus, though his predecessor Herodot had found a more correct classification: his term "ethnos" represents rather a cultural and political unit, therefore, something quite different from "racePi.

Although the idea of nation was created on the basis of historiographic knowledge, the notion of nation cannot be reduced only on the basis of scriptures. Already since Strabo's times the idea of nation is involved in the idea of the so-called national character. As the idea of race, the idea of national character was similarly discredited, because either idea has been misused by politics. Since D. Humes's times the idea of national character has been undergoing the criticism of science. It seems that owing to the influence of historical development national character stability has weakened to such a degree that a new term of "mentality" instead of "character" has been suggested [4]. The latter suggestion came from the very nation that suffered most for its national character, and almost nothing was left to it of all attributes of nationhood but the national character and consciousness itself.

By way of illustrating different national characters let us mention different relations to foreign occupants, and to Christianization applied to nations relative as to language, such as, for instance, the Bavarians and Saxons, or the Czechs and Serbs. Especially instructive is the latter example as the Slavs in Bohemia, respectively in Serbia, have lived scarcely five hundred years as late as the 10th century. We cannot presuppose that a uniform "Slavic" national character would have differentiated in the course of only twenty generations owing to the influence of different living conditions existing in Bohemia and in Old Serbia. It is also remarkable that similar differences in the behaviour of Czechs and Serbs appeared even in the hard times of last war.

The national character is a complex of mental properties, especially emotional and volitional, very difficult to define and manifesting itself in behaviour of a special type. Different geographical types of behaviour can be created only by stabilizing specific mental properties acquired within a certain social and economic environment. In mental properties heredity probably plays a lesser rôle than in the physical ones, but neither here may we overlook genetics. The latter teaches us that it takes a relatively long time to stabilize such acquired properties, even with dominant characters. If, for instance, a type created by mutation represents, e. g., one per cent of cases to start with, it spreads over fifty per cent of the population only
after five hundred generations have elapsed, that is, with mankind, in ten thousand years. The most simple idiographic writings, however, originated about four thousand years later, and the written history of European nations began still later.

Historiography, however, shows us that the genetic concept of variability of human properties is much simpler than the real development of human populations. The latter are not only a passive subject to the influence of environmental conditions as biocoenosis of plants are. Many people are not satisfied with living conditions in their native land and leave it seeking better living conditions in as different foreign countries as possible, even very remote ones, and often use violence in doing so. Such an unlimited mobility is one of the important properties of mankind, differentiating it from other animals. Even the annual movements of birds, the most mobile of animals, take place along regular routes (5).

Ethnical differentiation, therefore, is of two types. The one originates from a long duration of a population in one area, adequately large, which naturally possesses other living conditions than any other analogous area. Let us call this type of ethnical differentiation conditioned by geographical inertia a primary differentiation. The other type, on the contrary, concerns mobility. Autochthonous population which acquired specific properties owing to the influence of a specific environment, is from time to time, since time immemorial, completed by allochthonous components arriving from as different countries as possible. These migrations are an exogenic factor of ethnogenesis causing similar derangements as mutations do in the development of a biological species. Due to biological coalescence between the domestic population and the immigrated, a secondary ethnical differentiation occurs. Its influence is weakened by the fact that men take greater part in migrations than women, and that male genes may be twice as changeable as female ones.

The secondary differentiation makes the process of ethnogenesis very complicated and variegated. But also the primary differentiation varies according to regions not only as to the combination of acquired properties but also as to the duration of the entire process. In areas with especially favourable living conditions, the human population exists much longer than in areas endowed more poorly by nature. Such a long duration of population is, however, significant for ethnogenesis only if biological continuity is possible. This can be presupposed for the pre-agrarian period only if the area is large enough to offer possibilities for an autochthonous population to find shelter making it safe from conquerors; in such times of general lack of foodstuffs the conquered population were probably killed. In the upper paleolith when people were hunting in groups, such relatively densely populated regions existed also in Europe. We consider them the main basis of primary ethnical differentiation.

Such regions, however, have since time immemorial served as a destination of migrations arriving from time to time which rather complicated the ethnical development. On the contrary, the development in regions endowed with worse natural conditions was simpler as the areas were of no attraction for migrations. On the other hand, they themselves were a basis for emigration, often warlike migrations; the women taken captive were probably the only allochthonous element. The second and main phase of ethnical differentiation
was due to the so-called agrarian revolution. Agriculture positively affected the biological continuation of population in two ways: partly, it facilitated the population's concentration, partly it allowed the autochthonous population to survive the foreign occupation; the subdued population became a welcome labour force when there was no longer any scarcity of food. Agriculture also was of extraordinary significance for the cultural development. It forced man partly to overcome the natural environment more accurately and more systematically, partly to develop new properties that widely differed from the animal ones more than the properties required for hunting animals had been. We therefore consider regional continuity of agriculture to be one of the most important conditions of the ethnical differentiation even if the duration of populations has shortened to a period shorter than ten thousand years.

Before further explanation let us show the process of ethnical differentiation by means of a graphical scheme. By way of utmost simplification we can see here illustrated a superposition of migrations, that is, a successive amalgamation of different populations. The growth and differentiation of a population owing to migrations (hypothetical scheme).

Population A lasting 5000 years, was penetrated by 7 migration waves c—l; younger population B (3750 years) was penetrated by 5 migration waves, e, f — h; the hatched surface represents autochthonous population A and B with either of which the phase lacking migrations lasted 500 years.
gamation of allochthonous population with the autochthonous. Hypothetical ethnical strata, one above the other, are illustrated here in the whole existence of a population, and no real ethnical strata succeeding one another in a statistical one century survey as J. Brunhes, 1925, has it in his textbook, further completed by C. Troll up to 1950 (11). Our diagram rather represents something similar as the illustration of stratigraphical succession in geology differing, however, in the fact that in the ethnical profile any other stratum, coalesces with the preceding strata, and that the whole complex grows. Two complexes have been drawn in the diagram, as follows:

A, that is, a population with autochthonous base (hatched stratum) which spreads over half the surveyed area endowed best. It is depicted with a larger polygon as it is more numerous, and lasts longer, as, for instance, two hundred generations (that is, since 3000 B. C.).

B, that is, a population with an allochthonous base which later on moved to the less well — endowed half of the surveyed area. The original "mother country" of B population showed still worse living conditions so that it had been populated later on and lasted, for instance, one hundred and fifty generations, that is, since 1750 B. C. It lived one fifth of this period apart from the surveyed area so that, on the graph, it is with one fifth of its height under the geographic basis.

Within the surveyed period of fifty centuries, both A and B populations were penetrated by migration waves, always after five centuries till 500 AD. On the graph, they are designed with letters c — in following the strata. In B population the oldest migration took place still in the old mother country, and was, therefore, of another ethnical composition than the simultaneous immigration e to A population; its is, therefore, differentiated, as e1. The autochthonous strata are still marked with capital letters A, respectively, B, for their genetic supremacy.

The hypothetical ethnical profile for A population has been transferred onto an analogous graph following historical chronology so that, in its conception, it agrees with the above mentioned diagram by J. Brunhes, 1925.

It is self-evident that the real conditions are much more complicated than shown in our graph. Any population living in a larger area, if it has very favourable living conditions at its disposal, shows not only different combinations of allochthonous components but also a slightly different autochthonous base in case it lies farther from the metropolitan area. And, what is more, no doubt, any allochthonous component shows different genetic energy.

In proportion to the native population numbers, the migration waves probably were the smaller the later they arrived — as far as the pre-capitalist era is concerned. By way of illustration, let us mention such a most recent wave to Europe. The number of Turks (Osman who arrived in Minor Asia in the 13th century and spread their language over a territory larger than France, has been estimated at from two to four thousand souls.

Our hypothetical scheme is not only to prove how the ethnogenic process is complicated: it is also to show the way how to carry out the quantification of the process. It is true that a relevant equation will never be able to use
concrete values but a mathematical generalization can point out the unknown chain of events.

We have so far operated with the notion of population. It is true that the population is a biological basis of a nation, but the nation is much more than the population in the biological sense. The nation is not only a creation of nature as J. J. Rousseau has it ("It is clear that nature itself has determined the number and greatness of nations"). A nation is an organized whole, it therefore has a certain centre of organization so that its territory is considered a nodal region of higher order. From the point of view of natural differentiation of mankind, it is, in fact, a region of the highest order. The nodal region of a higher order is composed of a great number of analogous geographical units of lower orders which are connected with the centre of the higher order through certain social and economic functions. We shall therefore correct our preliminary definition in the sense that we consider a nation to be a geographical group of communities and not individuals.

Both economic and social relations have conditioned the territorial organization with the smallest units from time immemorial. Already clans were integrated not only by the economic interests they shared, but also by governmental authority though masked with an ideology of a totem or a sacred place. The governmental authority takes irrational elements into consideration even in further stages of development. When Cleisthenes, founder of an ancient democracy in the 6th century B.C. wanted to weaken the religious influence of the clans, he transferred governmental authority to newly constituted tribes, giving them names of legendary heroes and imposing a particular hero cult symbolized by a statue in the market place.

It is natural that governmental authorities count to a considerable degree with irrational powers influencing the behaviour of people. In national ideologies, it is, above all, reverence to ancestors, affection for the native soil, and admiration of extraordinary deeds and creations. These forces even nowadays condition national sentiments. Geography does not deal with them, though it recognizes the fundamental significance of their objectivations. The most important is the metropolis but not only in view of irrational relations. When using the word "metropolis" we have in mind a very old town with prestige of historical dignity stemming from the fact that in the dawn of its historic past it was the centre of the State. In this conception, metropolis represents one of the forces that shape space relations and space contents and an areal differentiation of which it is one of the main subjects of modern geography (E. Ackerman, 1958). Our concept of metropolis is, therefore, near to the concept introduced into geography by J. Brunhes, 1920, and substantially differs from the notion of Metropolitan area used in the 1940 USA population census.

The State represents the highest degree of regional integrity, and we consider it a necessary conditions of ethncal individuation because the state is a necessary presupposition of language unification, and conditions the creation of a live idea of common history. The degree of national consciousness is, no doubt, determined by the duration of common history. That is why we consider metropolises to be centres of States dating back more than about a thousand years; in Europe, therefore, mostly to the times of feudalism and consolidation of Christianization. Only, this "Roman"
organization facilitated a deeper language unification. It is the States that carried out a political union of several tribal territories, that is, political formations called in Europe at that time either principalities, duchies, or, rarely, kingdoms. Regarding the then transportation possibilities, the action radius of their metropolises could not have been much longer than 100 km.

As far as such feudal countries are concerned, we regard as bearers of ethnical differentiation those which even after having been deprived of their political independence, conserved their personalities, being considered by their inhabitants mother lands more than other analogous wholes of common States. The best examples which can be drawn for such ethnical units are represented by Volkstämme in Germany. The founder of German ethnology says about them that their special ethnical personalities are more expressive than with other European nations (W. H. R i e h l, 1853). As late as H e g e l has it in his philosophy, the counterpoint to such "natural" ethnical unit (Sein) and a later nation (Soll) stand here as a condition of the historical development. German Volkstämme conserved their political significance as late as the 20th century. They are mentioned in the Preamble to the 1919 German Constitution, and even the present political division of the German Federal Republic is substantially based on their existence.

Such old ethnical units survive even in France, though France is not prejudiced with romantic historicism, having carried out the political unification of the nation almost three hundred years earlier than Germany. Large historical provinces conserve their personalities in the life of the nation despite all kinds of divisions of an administrative kind (2). They even manifest themselves in the political life (regionalism).

These two examples we have drawn suffice to show that the geographical bases of ethnical differentiation have lost their significance as States during further historical development. They could cope with their function only in the times of early feudalism when the economic power was mainly based on agriculture. Their significance for the ethnical differentiation could not however, be, lost as the conditions of the differentiation had not nearly changed in view of the new State affiliation. They at most changed, in that the irrational relations among people in industrial society had weakened in their significance, and, as a result, also internal conditions of ethnical solidarity.

The ethnical differentiation can concretely be traced best so far in Europe for which the best knowledge of the prehistorical past, in the Neolith above all, is available. It is true that the duration of agrarian settlement is much shorter in Europe than at the Mediterranean border of Asia, 5000, respectively, 9000 years, but geographical conditions for agriculture are, on the contrary, much more favourable in Europe. The oldest agrarian settlement is known to be that in the Jordan river basin, and that of Northern Zaa'b, that is, since 6000 B. C. at the border of the arid zone. In such regions rainfall variability is extraordinarily high so that we can scarcely presuppose here a continuity of agrarian settlement in areas properly small for ethnical individuation. On the other hand, most of Europe lies in the vegetation zone of mixed forest, respectively forest-steppe, such formations being the most favourable for the development of agriculture on the whole Earth.
Europe is also most suitable for ethnical differentiation studies as some time at the end of the third millennium was nearly all Europe was occupied by Eastern conquerors who forced on the European population their protoaryan language. Only in inaccessible valleys of the Caucasus, in the zone of coniferous forest, and at the extreme end of the Pyrenees has the native population preserved its vernacular language. As far as further development is concerned, it is very remarkable that the later ethnical differentiation in general agrees with the geographical distribution of the population in the Neolith when they did not form continuous areas so far. It looks as if old Neolithic “islands“ were emerging in the protoaryan transgression.

In the area for which the most modern cartographic compilation is available (12), most concentrations of Neolithic settlements roughly agree with the bases of primeval ethnical differentiation. They above all follow the axial belts of Neolithic Europe.

(a) The northern belt conditioned by the existence of periglacial loess sediments: from the large Kiev concentration westward to Volynia, the upper basin of the Dniester (Galicia), the Vistula (Little Poland), the Oder (Silesia), the Saale basin (Upper Saxony and Thuringia);

(b) The southern belt follows the Danube way: Lower Serbia, Pannonia, (Dunantúl), West Slovakia, Moravia, the Vienna region and that about Regensburg.

It is further remarkable how expressively are differentiated such Neolithic bases of the main Metropolitan regions of the French, German, Polish, and Russian nations: the centre of the Paris basin, the plains of the lower Neckar and Main (Franconia), the dry region between Varta and Notetch (Gniezno), and the inter-river Volga-Okha region. It is there that we can see the cradle of the Russian nation: its original population base, no doubt, is in connection with the most northern population of the Upper Palaeolith (O. Bader, 1984).

In Europe as well, there are, of course, large differences in the political development, and even there is it very difficult to reconstruct primary ethnical differentiations in view of the principles mentioned above. Our first attempt will be reduced to mere names of primary ethnical bases; the justification will be dealt with in a larger paper. Drawing examples of three relict nations we shall try to prove how difficult it is to carry out the classification. We
consider Wales and the region of the Basques to be special ethnical units and wonder whether Friesland may be ranged with them. The Friesians possess a strong national consciousness, it is true, as well as a language of their own but their metropolis Stovoren could not stand side by side with Utrecht. Similarly, Lusatia loses the character of an independent ethnical unit as the Slav population could not bring about the creation of a metropolis of their own. The intricacy and variability of the political development manifest themselves especially sharply on the territory lying between the mouth of the Vistula and Niemen: the medieval duchy of Prussia making an ethnical base but losing its individuality during further development.

In the European mixed forest zone (up to the Volga river) we can discern about 95 primary ethnical bases, disregarding its southern border as there, still under feudalism, the political organization of the Roman Empire and the Arabic Occupation were still surviving.

(1) The northern half of Italy: Tuscany, Liguria, Emilia, Venetia, Lombardia, Taurinia.

(2) The northern half of the Iberian Peninsula: Eskuara (the country of the Basques), Asturia, Galicia, Leon, Aragonia, Catalonia, Old Castil, Beira.

(3) France: 14—15 large provinces differing in dialects as A. D m a n g e o n has it [2].

(4) Great Britain and Ireland: (a) Wessex, Wales, Mercia, Northumbria, Scotland; (b) two ethnical bases according to ancient duality Leth Culnn and Leth Moga still existing as late as the 10th century in the institution of two high-kings (ardri).

(5) Coast-land of the Rhine and Maas: medieval Flanders, Lower Lorraine (Liège), medieval Friesland with Utrecht as metropolis.

(6) German speaking regions: (a) Lower Lotharingia (Cologne), Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, Hessen, Westphalia, Ostphalia, Thuringia, Upper Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, the neck of Jutland; (b) Switzerland, Danubian Austria, the stemduchy of Carinthia.

(7) Other Central Europe: (a) Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Silesia, the metropolitan region of Gnesen (Great Poland), the so-called Little Poland, (Sieratia), Mazovia, Pomerania; (b) Slovenia, Croatia, Pannonia (Dunantúl), Transylvania, Oltland, Muntenia, Moldovia.

(8) Northern Europe: (a) Jutland, Sealand-Scania, Götaland, Svealand, Eid-sivathing, Gulathing, Frostathing; (b) medieval Prussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia.

(9) Northern part of the Balkan Peninsula: (a) Bosnia, Zetta-Rashka, Low Serbia; (b) Albania, Macedonia, West Bulgaria, Old Bulgaria (Preslav).

(10) The Russian area: Galicia and 13 medieval principalities as L. N i e-d e r l e has them (9).

The present list will certainly be corrected and completed by the historians especially if they have the most modern maps of neolithic settlement available. But even this first attempt of ours can show that the primary ethnical differentiation in Europe was of substantially different statistical structure than that of political nations nowadays. It is true that the primary ethnical bases cannot be demarcated, but their sizes can be determined approximately.
at any rate. It can then be seen that there are no great differences as to
their areas so that their statistical distribution reminds us of the variability
of biological species. The average size varies here about 50 km².

This fact is remarkable as the areas of analogous territorial units in India —
as far as we can learn — are in the same size groups, such as for instance,
Sirhind, Doab, Audh, Magadha, Surashtra, Gujerat, Malva. It even seems
that similar circumstances existed also in northern China before political
unification took place in the third century B.C.: 9 states on the area of
about 750 thousand km². The area of 50 thousand km², even in the Ancient
Age, sufficed for a relatively highly developed State to be created [Lower
Egypt, Meroe, Athens, or the Peloponnesian Federation].

Let us summarize the principal results as follows:

(1) The ethnical differentiation in Europe is conditioned by a thousand-year
duration of agricultural population, integrated by the feudal State; it is the
very metropolis which is the geographical place of integration.

(2) The population base of the primary ethnical differentiation has been
created by a process lasting through 150 generations at least. During the
process the autochthonous population coalesces with allochthonous compo­
nents owing to migration waves taking place from time to time.

(3) The concept of a nation is therefore closely united with the territory
which is a permanent and relatively constant basis of ethnical differentiation;
the names of historical conquerors only remind us of transient changes.
Present-day nations originated from the political integration of primary
ethnical units.

(4) In the regions lacking an autochthonous agricultural population — that
is, in America, exclusive of the mountainous parts in the tropics, in Australia,
and the cold parts of the Soviet Union in Asia — ethnical differentiation
took place in a substantially different way. There are no nations of the
European type there.

(5) We consider the primary ethnical units population units of the highest
order; they are based genetically and manifest themselves as permanent
individualities. Even if the primary ethnical units are mostly of little political
significance, they are of permanent significance for the scientific classification
of mankind.

It goes without saying that the above-mentioned theses require to be
verified by more detailed studies worked out also in many countries.

Summary

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the definition of a nation
as an antithesis to geographical inertia and mobility and by means of the geo­
graphical conception of nodal regionalism. The author proceeds from the
biological conception of the population as well as from the conception of
the so-called national character as an indefinite complex of emotional­
volitional faculties. The ethnogenetic processes may also be elucidated by
means of a graphic chart representing two hypothetic populations inhabiting
two equally large areas yet having different living conditions. The study
itself is limited predominantly to Europe, only in comparisons of some results
also India and China have been considered as well. The results of the study are as follows:

1. The ethnical differentiation in Europe is due to the thousand years old tradition of agricultural population integrated by the feudal State. From the geographical point of view the place of integration is the metropolis.

2. The population basis of a primary ethnical differentiation is formed by a process lasting at least over 150 generations. In the course of this process the autochthonous population amalgamates with the allochthonous components which are due to occasional migrations.

3. The conception of a nation has a genetic bond to a territory which is a lasting and comparatively unchanging stage of ethnical differentiation; the names of historical conquerors represent only temporary changes of a comparatively slight importance. The present nations originated as a result of political amalgamations of primary ethnical units.

4. In areas with no autochthonous agricultural population — in America with the exception of the mountainous areas in the tropics, in Australia, and in the polar regions of the USSR in Asia — the ethnical differentiation proceeds in a considerably different manner. No nations of European character may be found here.

5. Primary ethnical units may also be considered population units of the highest order, being genetically founded and permanent individuals. In spite of the fact that a majority of them is only a slight political importance at the present yet their importance for the scientific classification of humanity has not decreased in the least.

References

Ré sumé

ÚSTŘEDNÍ POJEM POLITICKÉ GEOGRAFIE

Účelem je přispět k vymezení pojmu národa v duchu protikladu geografické inercie a mobility a pomocí geografického pojmu nodálního regionu. Dále se vychází z bio-
logickeho pojmu populace a z predstavy tzv. národního charakteru jakožto neurčitého souhrnu citově volních vlastností. Proces etnogeneze se objasňuje také pomocí grafického schématu, znázorňujícího dvě hypotetické populace obývající 2 stejně veliké oblasti, ale s rozdílnými životními podmínkami. Konkrétní sledování se omezuje na Evropu, i když při srovnání výsledků se v malé míře přihlíží i k Indii a Číně. Výsledkem studia jsou tyto teze:

1. Podmínkou etnické diferenciace v Evropě je tisícileté trvaní zemědělské populace integrované feudálním státem; geografickým místem integrace je metropole.

2. Populační základna primární etnické diferenciace se vytváří procesem trvajícím aspoň 150 generací. Při tomto procesu autochtonní obyvatelstvo splývá s alochtonními složkami, které byly přivedeny občasnými migracemi.

3. Pojem národa je tedy geneticky spojen s územím, jež je trvalým a poměrně neměnným jevištěm etnické diferenciace; jména historických dobyvatelů představují jen přechodné zněny poměrně malého významu. Dnešní národy vznikly politickým spojováním primárních etnických jednotek.


5. Primární etnické jednotky pokládáme také za populační jednotky nejvyššího řádu, jsou to geneticky založená a trvalá individua. I když většina jich má nyní jen nepatrný politický význam, nezmensil se jejich význam pro vědeckou klasifikaci lidstva.