Chapter 1

Introduction

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As Stuart Elden (2013, 3) writes in *The Birth of Territory*, 'it is generally assumed that territory is self-evident in meaning'. Because territories are typically understood as the bounded units that result from efforts by humans and their institutions to control space, most academic inquiry has failed to approach the concept directly. Instead, scholars have tended to focus either on the borders that define the limits of territories or on the processes of territoriality by which territories are constructed. Literatures in both areas have advanced considerably over the past few decades. Border studies, for instance, has advanced from the empirical study of why borders are where they are to conceptual work on how enforcing and crossing borders intersects with identity, citizenship, and governmentality (Jones 2016; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013; Newman and Paasi 1998; Paasi 1998). Studies of territoriality, similarly, have expanded from work that roots territorial behaviour in animal instincts to claim space (Ardrey 1966; Dyson-Hudson & Smith 1978), to research that associates changes in territorial practice with social change (Sack 1986; Soja 1971), to scholarship that conceptualises territorialisation as a social construct, a discursive strategy, or a process that is continually articulated amidst competing tendencies of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (Agnew 1994; Albert 1998; Gottman 1973; Kratochwil 1986; Ruggie 1993). However, in these literatures, whether one focuses on the borders that define territories or on the territorial behaviours and institutions that create them, attention is diverted from understanding how space is transformed into *territory*, a specifically modern innovation that, according to Elden (2013), must occur prior to its bounding.

Delving further, Elden identifies territory as a "political technology". Territory, for Elden (2013a), is a complex bundle of political, geographical, economic, strategic, legal, and technical relations that joins a particular perspective on *land*—wherein one conceives of land as a series of points whose difference and distance can be calculated with another on *terrain*—wherein Earth's substance is understood as a material resource that can provide

value, whether by providing a surface for mobility or elevations for surveillance or as a source of soil or minerals. Elden's formulation is provocative. Indeed, the political materialism that lies at the heart of his approach is taken up throughout this book. However, his choice of terms for the two fundamental aspects of territory—*land* and *terrain*—suggest limits to his perspective. In everyday usage, *land* is often understood as a synonym for solid earth and *terrain* is frequently used solely to refer to that earth's surface and its morphology. These assumed meanings pervade Elden's text, as Elden himself has subsequently acknowledged (Elden 2013, forthcoming a). This collection seeks to advance an understanding of territory beyond the geophysical limits implied by conventional understandings of *land* and *terrain*.

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THINKING BEYOND SOLID LAND

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In some respects, the landward (or terrestrial) bias underpinning histories of territory is not surprising, whether these histories focus on the development of territorialising practices (Sack 1986) or on the development of a political technology that links notions of *land* with those of *terrain* (Elden 2013). In writing of the seas, Steinberg (1999, 368) notes that the land-bias of the social sciences can be credited to the fact that watery spaces are not 'permanent spaces of sedentary habitation'. Much the same could be said of the skies, the underground, or marginal intersectional spaces such as tidal flats and swamps. In other words, we focus our attention on the land because this is where most of us reside. The assumed stability of land, as well as the way in which it is amenable to visible striation by humans, has led to its elevation as the paradigmatic space of partition and control (Schmitt 2006). Here, on solid earth, we can erect walls, build fences, insert checkpoints (Weizmann 2002). This assumed correspondence of territory with land is countered by anthropological research on cultures that have different systems for inserting the social into non-terrestrial matter—for instance, island societies that integrate water into their daily livelihoods and in the process produce more fluid notions of territory (Anderson and Peters 2014; Hastrup and Hastrup 2016). However, the use of these societies to support calls for alternative notions of spatial order illustrate that these are outside the modern world's terracentric normative ideal (Hau'ofa 2008; Stratford et al. 2011).

Challenging the land bias of our understanding of territory requires one to ask questions that cut to the core of received assumptions about both geopolitics and geophysics: Is territory always a process related to the classic element of "earth"? What other elements, or geophysical manifestations might territory and territorialising processes function through?

Where might these processes of territory occur? Are they always landed or—as Elden (2013) notes in alerting us to "volumes" of territory—might the making and contestation of territory occur at height and depth: in the skies or under the seas; in environments as varied as mudflats or ice islands, coasts or boats; and at edges or interfaces between spaces? And most crucially, if the concept of territory can be thought of beyond land, what might we learn of the concept applied to these settings; and of a process of territory that is (re)worked through elements other than earthly, solid matter? These questions are central to this book.

Modern social institutions are increasingly extending their geopolitical reach to what we might think of as "ungrounded" spaces whose properties differ from that of solid land. We need only think of recent instances of chemical warfare played out through the air; of contestation over deep-sea mining in our oceans; of debates concerned with the creation of artificial islands in the South China Sea. Indeed, these spaces "beyond *terra*" might include (but are not limited to) airspace, the underground, the ocean, the seabed, swamps, deserts, islands, and the polar regions: spaces notable for their indeterminacy, dynamism, and fluidity (Steinberg and Peters 2015). They have height and depth, are often difficult to apprehend, and frequently change form (Elden 2013; Gordillo 2014; Lash 2012). These properties challenge territorial norms that have been developed with reference to an idealised world of solid, static land masses, controlled at surface level. Put another way, if territory is realised through the qualities of *terrain*—the geophysical properties of territory—it is prudent to ask if territory may work not just through terrains of earthly matter, but also through liquid, aeriated, and "hybrid" matters (mud, swamps, or ice, for example). Investigations that explore the "ungrounded" workings of territory are needed to interpret the spatial politics of our changing world. Building upon a rich legacy of historical and anthropological work on the topic, as well as on more recent theoretical explorations, this book seeks to advance understandings of a key principle of political geography and international relations, adding a critical new dimension to conceptual thinking about territory.

This opening chapter sets the scene for this project of investigating, writing about, and developing ways of thinking territory beyond *terra*. To be clear, by highlighting the term *beyond*, we are not arguing for a theory or practice of territory that positions land as irrelevant to discussions of geopolitical power. Territory in relation to land remains relevant. Indeed, the chapter that follows is specifically about land, broken down into its constitutive grains of sand. However land, like the other three elements (air, water, and fire) and the environments and intersections in which they occur, is never static and never exists only at the surface (even if it is experienced that way). If *terra* implies static points arrayed on an

abstract surface, then earth too, an assemblage of shifting plates, lively molecules, and constitutive elements is also, always, "beyond *terra*".

As our explorations take us to conceptions of land beyond *terra* it also takes us to surfaces and spaces beyond land: oceans in which "places" are continuously re-formed; air that can never be fully contained; watercourses that obtain their value by transcending boundaries; wetlands, estuaries, and archipelagos that (in very different ways) challenge received fundamental divisions between land and water; frozen environments that undergo dramatic seasonal transformations of physical state. In approaching these environments, we ask how a consideration of politics in these spaces can inform our understanding of the challenges that are emerging in an increasingly dynamic world that renders contestable all of these spatial categories, as well as the ideal of solid, stable, surficial land against which they are each counterpoised.

For three reasons it is imperative that understandings of territory be extended beyond the facile surface of an earthly plane. First, a land-based perspective on territory limits our understanding of both power and nature. Increasingly, economic activity and political power are exercised in spaces that are neither static nor "grounded" surficial units of land. The extension of mechanisms of production, trade, and governance into the atmosphere, outer space, the ocean, and the underground, as well as on to the indeterminate spaces where these elements meet and change form, requires us to engage new ways of understanding the territorial practices by which power is constructed and contested.

Second, we now live in an era of unprecedented anthropogenic change that is altering the environment (Crutzen 2002; Crutzen and Störmer 2000; Whitehead 2014). The rise of geoengineering technologies, for example, allows for intentional manipulation of planetary and extra-planetary matter to create new territories (for example, land reclamation to create new, inhabitable islands, most notably in the South China Sea). Such developments are combined with unintentional geophysical transformation resulting from human-induced climate change (for instance, other islands disappearing into the ocean, most notably in the South Pacific). Together, these changes are opening up new frontiers for capital investment and state power, and mandate new ways of thinking of nature as always emergent, in creative tension with the human activities that turn landscapes and seascapes into resources and environments. Increasingly, the frontiers of human activity are beyond, or on the edge of, or cut across, continental land masses. Today's political technologies of territory, which emerged in the context of continental (and, specifically European) land masses, are inadequate for the spaces that increasingly are subjected to modern forms of governance. As

a result, these spaces—of sea, air, or ice, for example—are frequent venues of intense political struggle. In some cases, they are seized upon for their alterity in offering possibilities for alternate social futures; in others, they are normalised through creative adaptation. In all cases, however, they present challenges for both theorising and implementing the practice of territory as they remind us that territory can no longer be understood as occurring solely in an environment of static, surficial points on land.

Third, as scholarly attention has turned to territory, this literature has engaged with others the central concern of which is the material foundation of political power. Alternately called "geo-politics" by political geographers (Dittmer 2014; Dodds 2009) and "new materialism" by political theorists and international relations scholars (Coole and Frost 2010; *Millennium* 2013), advocates of this movement acknowledge that political institutions are not purely of human extent but rather emerge through continual engagements with the non-human and the more-than-human. Scholars who have merged such perspectives with the study of territory have typically focused on the land forms that constitute Earth's surface, as well as on the vectors of verticality that bring the Earth's surface in contact with the skies above and the subsurface beneath (Bridge 2013; Elden 2013). However, some of the most recent writings on territory have noted that to appreciate fully the ways in which territory is constructed and exercised attention must be directed to the complex, dynamic environment of a changing planet (Lehman 2013a; Steinberg and Peters 2015). Thus, the terrains of territory need to be understood as voluminous, elemental, fluid, and indeterminate: as spaces that challenge the "grounded", static world of solid surface (*terra*) that typically has informed political thought (Elden 2013; Squire 2016; Steinberg and Peters 2015). This conceptual shift directs attention to the material elements, environments, and edges that constitute the planet's surfaces, volumes, and atmospheres.

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MAPPING THE WAY AHEAD

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To extend thinking about territory beyond the limits of land, this book is divided into three parts. In Part I, the focus is on the four elements that classically are seen as constituting the planet's matter: earth, air, water, and fire. In each of the four chapters that constitute this part, authors discuss how efforts to construct territory out of one of these elements is alternately confounded and enabled by ontological perspectives that assume both determinate boundaries (within and between elements) and containable surfaces. In Chapter 2, Marijn Nieuwenhuis examines the materiality of sand to show that the territory of earthly *terra* is not fixed and

static but fluid and dynamic. The chapter analyses the relationship between sand and territory by considering two different ways in which sand is imagined, used, and experienced, drawing on case study examples from China: the Silk Road project, which is intended to reimagine and reinvent the old trade route between China and Europe, and the country's infamous dust storms, sometimes called 'yellow winds'. By investigating these examples, Nieuwenhuis demonstrates how territorial representations, experiences, and geo-politics relate to sand, and how the specific material make-up of sand opens up new spatial understandings that unhinge notions of territory from their association with properties of timelessness and immobility.

In Chapter 3 Weiqiang Lin examines air as both a tool and object of governance. This chapter unpacks the ways in which state actors have attempted to create specific territorial knowledges about the air in civil aviation. The chapter frames this discussion in an in-depth analysis of the various specialised laws governing navigation for air sovereignty, air traffic management, and air traffic services oversight. Lin demonstrates the unequal nature of air territory, and how elemental forces, idiosyncrasies, and recalcitrant natures of air interfere with and inform each of these endeavours in territory-making.

From the air to the seas, Jon Phillips takes on the task of thinking through the workings of territory in relation to water. In Chapter 4 he explores territorialising, de-territorialising, and re-territorialising processes that have occurred in relation to the control and use of resources located in waters adjacent to Ghana. The chapter analyses the establishment of two offshore zones for the protection of oil industry assets: the West Africa Gas Pipeline and an oil production vessel. These infrastructures, Phillips argues, rely on a historically contingent set of political relations that are shaped by human activity, non-human life, and the biophysical characteristics of the oceans, all of which complicate the exercise of control over space that is beyond *terra*.

In the final chapter of Part I, Chapter 5, Nigel Clark addresses fire. Blazing fire and its environmental effects, Clark contends, have little respect for the ordering devices and securing measures through which the logic of territory is performed. Drawing on the example of Indonesia and the member states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the chapter explores the work of the ten ASEAN countries and the Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution (2002), which came into being following the effects of land and forest fires. This chapter addresses the complex issues associated with fire as a force that simultaneously plays across the surficial boundaries between nation-states and the sub-surface junctures between geological epochs. The chapter *unearths* the complex ways in

which fire can be conceived as both a deterritorialising and "destratifying" force, and this poses profound challenges to conventional understandings of territory.

Part II takes up where Part I leaves off, working from the recognition that territory is not so much accomplished through control of individual elements but in *environments* where different elements interact with and transform each other. In a sense, it is posited that the space of territory is more-than-elemental. To this end, the four chapters of Part II investigate environments—mudflats, floodplains, cities, and ice islands—where elements come together and are separated in surprising ways that confound commonplace understandings of territory as surficial land. Earth as an element is ever-present in all of these environments, but narratives about the ways in which territory is being constructed simultaneously force us to think beyond the limits of an earth-informed understanding of territory.

In Chapter 6, Clayton Whitt shows how earth-based territory can be challenged by the material properties of specific environmental terrains: in this case the terrain of mud, where water and earth mix. Whitt draws on 13 months of fieldwork conducted in 2013 and 2014 in an agricultural village in the Bolivian highlands to explore how climate change is experienced as a fluid materiality and how this materiality translates into political disputes that challenge the perceived stability of territory. The chapter investigates these disputes in terms of the presence of mud, the absence of roads, and the removal of mud/earth for national road building projects elsewhere. It also considers the entanglements between the body and mud in these contestations, where resistance is instigated because of the impacts of mud (on the ability to move or work for example). Expanding on Elden's conceptualisation of territory as a political technology, the chapter draws attention to the subtle political effects of climate change that are mediated through material transformations of territorial terrains.

In Chapter 7, Stephanie Kane explores how the wellbeing and safety of inhabitants of Winnipeg, Canada depends upon the infrastructural logistics that govern the unstable boundaries between water and land at the confluence of two major flood-prone rivers. Employing the concept of the "technozone", a space of intersection spanning technology, culture, and nature, the chapter weaves together a series of threads to tell a richly critical story of how state power is extended and challenged by logistical and infrastructural projects that are, in turn, a consequence of territorial attempts to constrain, constrict, re-shape, and challenge the forces of nature over the landscape.

Also exploring the specificity of environments for challenging territorial knowledge, Ross Exo Adams focuses on the city. In Chapter 8, Adams argues that the conventional territorial norm of the landed state has always 1been beyond *terra*, due to the long-standing

influence of the sea on the land – or, what he calls the "maritimisation" of the land. Turning to the writings of nineteenth-century engineer Ildefonso Cerdá, Adams locates the city within maritime conceptions of network (*réseau*) and circulation. Adams thus uses his exploration of Cerdá's imaginative urban futures to open up new questions about the status of the city vis-à-vis both land and ocean.

In the final chapter of Part II, Johanne Bruun and Philip Steinberg turn to T-3, an Arctic ice island that was occupied by the US military during the Cold War. Chapter 9 first focuses on how the scientific research programme on T-3 brought an entire environment within reach of the United States, extending territorial control far beyond 'official' state boundaries and establishing a basis for its further extension. However, the chapter also offers a counter-narrative wherein the US government becomes concerned about the impact that this extension might have on the nation's interests as a global power. The chapter draws out the complexities encountered when one attempts to construct territory in environments that are neither solid land nor liquid water and in spaces that can be occupied but that can never be possessed.

Part III turns to the *edges* in which elements and environments meet and which pose specific challenges for the establishment of territory. In particular, a focus on edges leads to consideration of the negotiations and interpretations made by individual subjects as they encounter and construct territory. The chapters in this part explore contact points—bodies, boats, shores, and seabeds—wherein territory is simultaneously reproduced and challenged through engagements with the dynamic materiality of space. Elaine Stratford and Thérèse Murray begin this part with Chapter 10, where they explore the ways in which labour—indentured, and in the form of convicts and slaves—has been fundamental to the practice of territory. Existing on the very edges, characterised as sub-human, dysfunctional, or diminished, the bodies that constitute the labour-making of territory are shown to be mobilised manifestations of territories that are also entangled in the developmental push to keep territory for sovereign ends. Focusing on the *Waterloo*, a convict ship bound for Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) that shipwrecked in 1842, this chapter explores the process of drowning—both actual and metaphorical—as a way of making sense of bodies in the construction of territory beyond *terra*.

In Chapter 11, Kate Coddington moves to the edge of land and law to investigate Australia's attempts to regulate asylum seeker mobilities offshore. In focusing on the case of asylum seeker boats that are pushed back from Australian waters, she demonstrates how territory becomes fluid—existing beyond defined national space as boats become extensions

of national space when towed by Australian naval vessels through international waters; yet *beyond* territory as soon as they are abandoned off the coast of Indonesia. Exploring how territory is produced through asylum seeker mobilities within the Australian settler colonial context, the chapter argues that the pushed-back vessel represents a continuation of the colonial frontier spaces beyond Australia's continental borders.

In Chapter 12, Leah Gibbs shifts from the sea to the liminal shore zone, and from human to non-human life, to explore the complex interpretations of territory that occur when animals are enlisted in territorialising practices. Focusing on the threat of shark attacks in New South Wales, Australia, Gibbs analyses the Shark Meshing (Bather Protection) Program (SMP) as a method to govern near-shore ocean spaces adjacent to popular swimming beaches. She examines the contestation over territory in edge-spaces—between land and sea, between human and shark—where there is an assertion that sharks establish and defend territory in the near-shore ocean, which is likewise defined as an area of human territory. She shows how policies privilege anthropocentric territorialisation and how state government must negotiate federal and international agreements for the protection of marine environments and threatened species while enlisting nonhuman animals as territorialising agents in the shifting space of the shore-zone.

In Part III's final chapter, Rachael Squire focuses on underwater territory using a case study of the Sealab projects, a series of pioneering attempts to live and work on the continental shelf beneath the sea during the Cold War. Squire challenges the surficial nature of studies of territory, urging scholars to open up the very volumes of space through which politics are played out. While the sea is not permanently inhabited, she contends, labels of "habitable" versus "uninhabitable" further bifurcate the land/sea divide and conceal a host of embodied territorial practices that take place beneath the edges of surface, under the sea. By digging deeper, she suggests, we can unearth new understandings of territory as a three-dimensional construct that is immersive (Adey 2015) rather than calculable (Elden 2013).
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TERRITORIES BEYOND TERRITORY BEYOND *TERRA*

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The cover of this book depicts an aerial, seemingly extra-planetary environment with mountains and water—a landscape that is as diverse as it is fantastic. It speaks to a fantasy of multiplicity. Indeed, the diversity of the world's environments is not merely incidental to the proliferation of territories. Notwithstanding normative notions of territory that operate through a conceptual flattening of the universe's multiple environments, the construction of

territory has thrived on difference. Lauren Benton's (2010) historical analysis of the making of sovereignty, for example, beautifully examines the uneven creation of European territories in the spatial particularities of mountain regions, rivers, oceans, and islands. Given the ways in which territory leverages the multiplicity of nature, a limitless number of environments— physical and imaginary, material and atmospheric—could and *should* be studied.

And yet this book, like any, is necessarily limited in its scope. The constitutive concepts around which the book is organised – elements, environments, and edges – provide a framework for understanding territory's multiplicity, but they are just a framework. To conclude this introduction, and suggest further lines of inquiry for the inquisitive reader, we suggest three territories beyond *terra* that are particularly pertinent in the present age and that receive relatively little attention in this volume: mediated spaces, artificial spaces, and extra-planetary spaces.

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Mediated spaces

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When the first underwater cable was successfully laid across the Atlantic in 1866 to enable wired telecommunications between the United Kingdom and the United States, it was a feat that crossed territories in both the financing of the endeavour and the physical laying of the cable. Using Brunel's ship, the *SS Great Eastern*, several attempts to lay the cable failed when its' weight in relation to its strength and the depth of water caused it to snap. On one occasion, this happened over 1000km into the process (Gordon 2002). Cross-territorial mediated communication would not be easily achieved. In a media-saturated world, it is difficult to comprehend the dogged determination of this effort to span the Atlantic Ocean through a technology of communication that could send approximately eight words a minute from one side of the ocean to the other. Yet the eventual success of the project, and subsequent underwater cables that were laid following this, changed the way in which the world was connected (Malecki and Wei 2009).

People (particularly those in the Global North and South East Asia) still rely heavily on the submarine cable for reliable communications. Even as communication technologies have advanced, the cable structure inherited from the nineteenth century, whose infrastructure reflects patterns of colonial domination, remains relevant, shaping today's communication networks and the territories that these networks support (Starosielski 2015). Even as technologies and their "spray" 'transcend natural and political borders' (Keough 2010, 80), the geography of world communications reproduces a territorial tension that encompasses,

but is also more complex than, a simple neologism of mobile information crossing seemingly impermeable borders (Steinberg and McDowell 2003). Notwithstanding the considerable work that has already been done on the variegated geography of what McDowell et al. (2008) call the "infosphere", an expansion of this work that directly examines the world of electronic communications within the context of territory could assist in further exploring the limits of both territory and *terra* as conceptual frameworks (see also Adams et al. 2014; Graham 1998; Kitchin 1998). By seriously considering the *geo*politics of these technologies and asking how media create environments or territories beyond *terra*, one can challenge grounded conceptions of territory by linking people together in new formations, forging new political communities that contest traditional notions of territory as bounded land (see, for example, Peters 2017).

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Artificial spaces

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While the world of electronic communications is a virtual environment, this move beyond *terra* and into the virtual also suggests a further move into *artificial* environments. To be clear, we do not foresee an era where territory is constituted by a turn *away* from nature. Rather, we are pointing to a world where nature is increasingly mediated. When we break nature into the elemental or the molecular, as the contributing authors do in most of the chapters in this book, the division between the natural and the artificial becomes blurred (Anderson and Wylie 2009; McCormack 2007; Romero et al. 2017). We live in a world where we can manufacture "artificial" materials, but the underpinning constitution is still material, atomic nature. For instance, plastics are typically made from base elements such as hydrogen and carbon. Through the reconstitution of elements into new ("artificial") materials, new ("artificial") environments and, subsequently, new territories become possible. Think, for example, of the Great Pacific Garbage Patch or gyre, floating in the ocean, estimated to be twice the size of the US state of Texas (NOAA n.d.). Here, "trash" environments have formed as waste materials, discarded to the ocean, move from territorial boundaries to the open ocean, driven by ocean currents. Eventually, these forge new spaces of concern that ultimately may be managed as territories. Or, thinking of the term artificial as a *reproduction* of something "real", consider the combination of materials in the building of seasteads (Steinberg et al. 2012) or artificial islands (Woon and Dodds 2017), where societies are forming new, sometimes mobile territories of inhabitation offshore. What questions of territory beyond *terra* might these environments raise?

This problematisation of a received division between "artificial" and "natural" environments thus suggests that more attention needs to be directed to the substances that root *all* environments in underlying matter. Elements have a significant presence in this collection; indeed the chapters of Part I are each devoted to an investigation of one of the four classical elements—earth, air, water, and fire. However, each of these elements exists as a combination of base elements, and a close examination of those can go far in aiding our understanding of the ways in which elements are entangled with the lived experiences of environments. What of the politics bound-up with mercury or lead (in relation to poisoning, for example); or magnesium, calcium and others (in relation to health)? What of the character of these elements in respect of their usage for territorial politics where "strong" elements are embraced for defence or where "softer" elements create opportunities and vulnerabilities? What also of the different isotopic qualities of atomic elements, where the make-up of the element itself permits particular usages? In short, we ask how can we meld science, social science, politics, and geography to deepen our understandings of territory in contemporary times, and we ask how such elemental understandings may also help unlock historical practices of territory.

Moreover, while the base elements can independently act as useful materials through which to interrogate practices of territory, it would also be useful to think of combinations of elements fundamental to planetary life, where common (and also less common) substances have a particular molecular form (see McCormack 2007). As a classical element, water is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, for example. And the very air around us is a compound of oxygen and nitrogen, with also small amounts of argon and carbon dioxide. Earth may consist also not of compounds but *layers* of various elements. So, just as the classical elements often combine (for, as the chapters in this collection show, as air, fire, water, earth and so on entwine), so too do the atomic elements, creating with them different compounds vital, or threatening, to life. It may be prudent in exploring a territory beyond *terra* then, to also explore the "compound" politics of territory, where practices are played out through atomic combinations that are more-than, and *exceed* land alone (to borrow from Anderson and Wylie 2009).

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Extra-planetary spaces

While a conception of territory that exceeds land leads us to the elemental and the molecular (and to the ways in which these categories are mediated through notions of the 'natural' and the 'artificial'), it also leads us to the extra-terrestrial and the extra-planetary. As the book cover hints, a comprehensive consideration of territory beyond *terra* would require us to think extra-terrestrially, or at the very least vertically to the parts of the Earthly atmosphere that are mostly beyond current examination. The chapters in this book stay firmly on Earth, (as in planet Earth), notwithstanding ventures into airspace and the ocean's depths by Lin and Squire respectively. Extra-planetary territory connects with the earlier discussion of territory in virtual environments, since significant portions of the infosphere's environment is located in outer space. As others have begun to explore, efforts to control the limited space of geospatial orbit is characterised by efforts that alternately reproduce and push against the limits of territorial norms that were developed for *terra* (Beery 2014; Klinger 2015; Lehman 2016; MacDonald 2007).

Beyond the relatively near-Earth world of satellite communications, territory is being formed at still higher altitudes, for other purposes. An early extra-planetary construction of territory occurred in 1969, when the Apollo 11 mission planted an America flag on the moon. This flag-planting did not establish territory in the legal sense (the United Nations Outer Space Treaty would not allow it and the United States had no interest in extending its sovereign territory in such a way). Nonetheless, it raised questions related to territorial practices beyond planetary space (Platoff 1992). These questions remain as scholars consider in relation to spaces ever distant, and different, from *terra* how hypothetical extra-planetary activities such as moon mining (Cole 2017), asteroid mining (Rowan 2017), or the settlement of Mars (Tutton n.d.) would require constructions of territory (as a political technology, if not in the formal legal sense as sovereign, bounded space).

We conclude by highlighting these three environments—virtual spaces, artificial spaces, and extra-planetary spaces, as well as the complex interplay of the elements (classical and atomic)that underpin them—not to apologise for any limits in the book's scope but rather to stress that the book is necessarily a beginning. The construction of territory beyond *terra* is an exploratory endeavour, stretching the limits of political categories and institutions as it stretches the space of politics beyond the limits of land. When one frees territory from the constraints of *terra*, the sky is *not* the limit.