

CULTURE, SOCIETY AND LANDSCAPE:

Towards a Conceptual Framework for the
Discipline of Human Geography

By

Ronald A. Essers, B.A.

Master's Thesis Submitted to the
Department of Geography,
University of Manitoba,
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

August

1990



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-71909-5

Canada

CULTURE, SOCIETY, AND LANDSCAPE:
TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE
DISCIPLINE OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

BY

RONALD A. ESSERS

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

(c) 1990

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this
thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm
this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this
thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither
the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed
or otherwise reproduced without the author's written
permission.

ABSTRACT

Human geography has developed as a discipline with an inherent and pervasive lack of certainty regarding central concerns and goals. An identity problem related to a weakly clarified subject matter has given rise to an underdeveloped corpus of theory. Over-emphasis on methodological issues has plagued the discipline, perpetuating the identity crisis.

The eclectic nature of human geography is revealed via an examination of the discipline's history, scope and purpose. The relationship between human geography and other social sciences is strengthened by a sharing of a central interest in culture and society. This common focus, however, simultaneously weakens the disciplinary distinctiveness of human geography.

The interaction of culture and society with landscape forms a more definitive focus for the discipline. A conceptual framework based on these concepts can bind together the loose collection of diverse interests that currently comprise human geography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to deeply thank the Department of Geography, University of Manitoba for the patient support and guidance which greatly aided in the production of this thesis. I am especially grateful to Professor William Norton for his insightful suggestions and direction, without which this thesis could not have been written; Balfour Spence, a doctoral student with whom I found our lengthy discussions both stimulating and illuminating; and my family and friends who gave me constant moral support throughout my program. I would also like to thank Ms. Wendy Golding for her kind assistance with word processing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS	vi
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	 1
Preliminary Assertions	2
Thesis Objectives	5
Thesis Organization	5
Thesis Limitations	9
Thesis Justification	11
	13
CHAPTER TWO: HUMAN GEOGRAPHY AS A DISCIPLINE	
Geography's Institutionalization as a University Discipline	16
Geography's Development as a Discipline - Leading Individuals	
and Programmatic Statements: 1870 - 1970	20
Paradigm Change	30
Summary Remarks	32
Anthropology and Sociology	34
Method Versus Subject Matter	39
The Human-Land View	43
Regionalism	46
Spatial Analysis	47
Summary Remarks	49

	Page
CHAPTER THREE: THEORY AND DISCIPLINARY INTEGRATION	52
The Functions of and Need for Theory	54
Eclectic Versus Indigenous Theoretical Sources	63
Theories Used in Human Geography	70
Economic Theory	70
Behavioural Theory	73
Landscape Theory	76
Social Theory and Disciplinary Integration	82
Summary Remarks	89
CHAPTER FOUR: CULTURE, SOCIETY AND LANDSCAPE - TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	91
Introductory Remarks	92
The Proposed Procedure	94
Culture, Society and Landscape - Problems Involving the Usage of the Terms	95
Culture, Society and Landscape: Historical Development and Definitions	100
Culture	102
Society	104
Landscape	106
Towards a Conceptual Framework	110
Suggested Applications of the Proposed Framework	122
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	128
BIBLIOGRAPHY	138

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS

TABLES

	Page
2.1: SUMMARY OF LEADING GEOGRAPHERS' STATEMENTS REGARDING THE THE SCOPE, NATURE AND PURPOSE OF GEOGRAPHY: 1880 - 1969	21
3.1: LEVELS OF THEORY	55

FIGURES

1.1: DIAGRAM OF THESIS STRUCTURE	6
2.1: A GENERAL PLAN FOR INQUIRY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES	41
2.2: EVOLUTION OF THE THREE DOMINANT PARADIGMS IN GEOGRAPHY	44
3.1: SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION: THE HYPOTHETICO-DEDUCTIVE METHOD	57
3.2: SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF THE ROLE OF THEORY IN EXPLANATION	68
4.1: EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPTS OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY	101
4.2: MODEL OF A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIOCULTURAL-LANDSCAPE INTERACTION	119

MAPS

2.1: DEGEER'S MAP OF WORLD REGIONS	26
------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

Preliminary Assertions

"Many geographers are confounded by the problem of defining the distinctive character of geography"
(Guelke, 1989, 123).

"The state of human geography is a reflection of a maze of diverse interests...Geography has had incredible difficulty in defining its central subject matter"
(Dear, 1988, 262-263).

"...there is a crisis in geography today...Geographers more than [professionals of] any other discipline keep worrying about the value of what they do"
(Taylor, 1985, 93).

One of the most difficult and persistent problems facing human geography has been the inability to specifically identify a central domain of inquiry which is distinct from that of other disciplines. From the time of institutionalization as a university discipline to the present (1990), human geography has been characterized by a plethora of diverse interests which appear to have lacked a unifying theme. Today, many geographers would argue that space and spatial relationships constitute the central focus of interest in the discipline. As true as this may be, an almost infinite variety of divergent research directions under the general rubric of space has predominated.

Human geographers are interested in virtually every aspect of human interaction with space. For example, research in the discipline has

been conducted on consumer behaviour, industrial location, population dynamics, poverty, gender and political systems. If human phenomena occur in a spatial dimension, human geographers are ready to claim them as a part of their subject matter. Due to the obvious fact that all human activity takes place in both a spatial and temporal context, human geographers are interested in virtually any conceivable human act. This fact, alone, renders a clearly delimited set of subject matter, other than abstract space, problematic for the discipline.

Without human activity to interact with, space lacks significant meaning and is, by itself, an insufficient concept to comprise a disciplinary subject matter. It could be argued that all the social sciences study some aspect of human behaviour, which necessarily includes spatial considerations. What precisely makes human geography distinctive if other disciplines also consider space as a factor constituting human behaviour?

This identity problem has precipitated a lack of confidence both from within and outside human geography. The scope, nature and ultimate purpose of the discipline have been under a perpetual state of scrutiny. Many highly regarded academic institutions, such as the University of Chicago, Yale and Harvard, have found it necessary to discontinue their departments of geography. These institutions (and their sources of funding) have negatively evaluated geography's potential contribution to the advancement of knowledge. A virtual barrage of programmatic statements has characterized the development of

human geography, which has sought to define and redefine the scope, nature and purpose of the discipline. A lack of confidence has been indicated. At the time of institutionalization as a university discipline, human geography was admonished as a poorly qualified subject for "real and profound research" by older, more established disciplines (Taylor, 1985, 99). As an examination of the discipline's development reveals, only a part of human geography's essence has been captured.

The lack of certainty and confidence in regards to the subject matter of human geography has not only created a problem of identity, but also one of intellectual incoherence. An intellectually healthy discipline requires a body of theory within which research can be meaningfully organized and conducted. In human geography, the problem of a lack of a specific set of subject matter has given rise to the more fundamentally problematic issue of a weakly developed theoretical corpus. Theory partially functions as a binding mechanism in which different research directions can be placed within an organized and meaningful frame. It is argued that human geography requires theory to an especially significant degree due to its pronounced need to organize and integrate its myriad of diverse interests.

Thus, a circular conundrum plagues the discipline. The lack of a clearly delimited subject matter has precipitated a weakly developed corpus of theory. Conversely, the weakness of theory development has perpetuated the absence of a central, unifying theme in human geography. How can a discipline construct theory if it does not know

its own subject matter? How can a subject matter be made to be more clearly understood without a body of theory in which it can be organized and given greater significance?

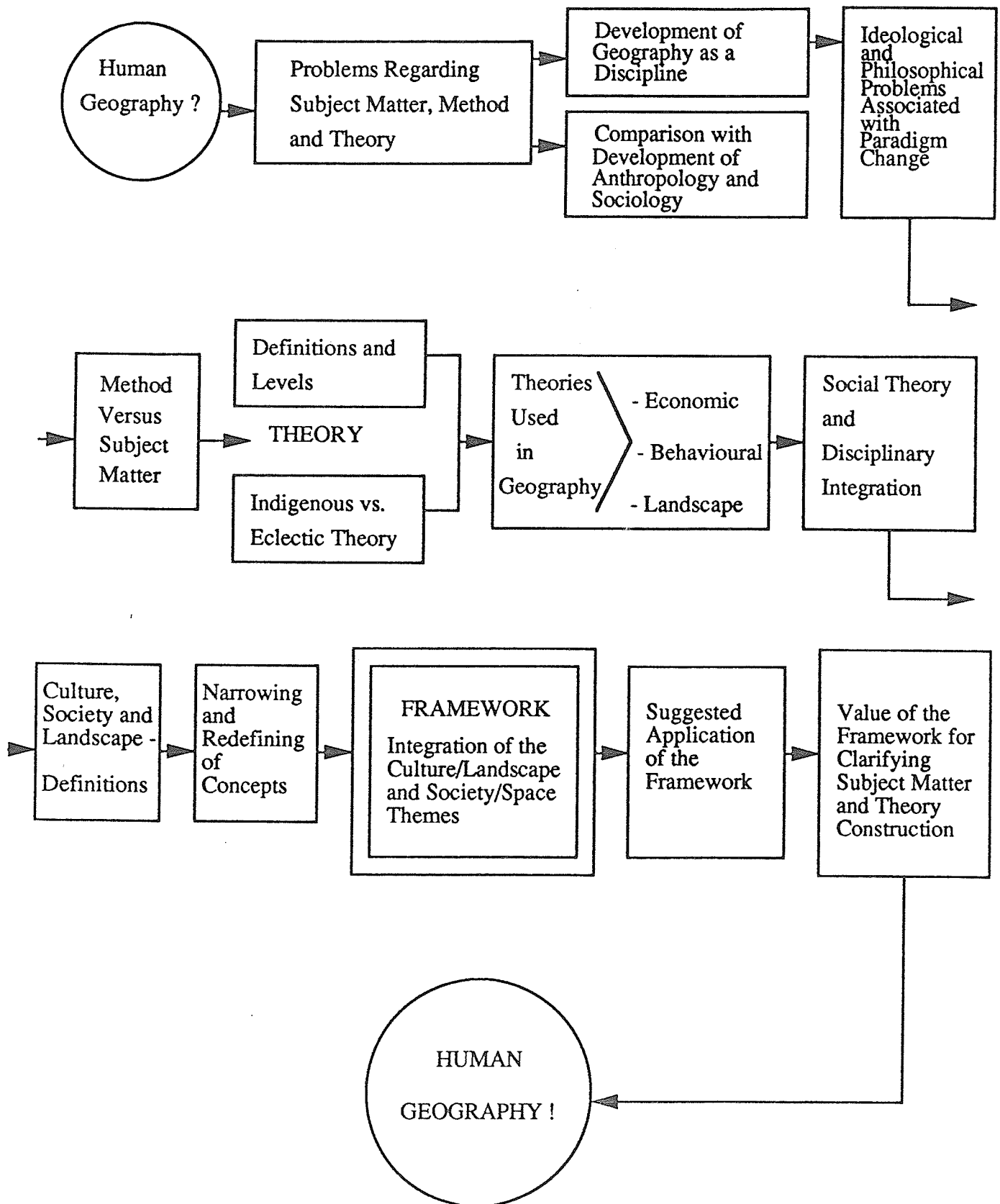
Thesis Objectives

The above assertions and questions have important implications for human geography. Clearly, the discipline requires some kind of binding structure - a cohesive, unifying center. This thesis suggests and attempts to construct a conceptual framework that can potentially bridge some of the gaps that plague the discipline. Specifically, these gaps include the nebulous quality of human geography's subject matter, an over-emphasis on methodological issues and a weakly developed body of theory. The main purposes of the framework are to attempt to suggest and clarify the central aims of the discipline and to supply an organized structure in which a variety of research directions can be given greater coherence and unity. It is believed that a conceptual framework based on more narrowly redefined concepts of culture, society and landscape can help work towards the attainment of these objectives.

Thesis Organization

The task of constructing the conceptual framework is attempted through a series of logical stages. (Figure 1.1 illustrates the progression of ideas and issues discussed in this thesis). Chapter Two

FIGURE 1.1 :
DIAGRAM OF THESIS STRUCTURE



focusses on the development of human geography as an institutionalized university discipline. In the first Section of Chapter Two, factors precipitating geography's inception into the modern university structure are examined. The second Section of Chapter Two discusses some of the important individuals and their assessments of the scope, nature and purpose of discipline as it has developed since the time of institutionalization. The third Section of Chapter Two compares some of the relevant aspects of both anthropology and sociology in the context of how these disciplines developed. This comparative analysis is required in order to avoid an artificial intellectual isolation of human geography. The comparison of the social and intellectual environments in which these disciplines developed helps to explain human geography's relative weakness in theory construction and a lack of a specific subject matter. Anthropology and sociology are deliberately chosen because they are related disciplines, both to each other and to human geography. More importantly, their respective subject matters of culture and society are argued to be relevant to a more narrowly delimited subject matter for human geography. Culture and society, with landscape, comprise the essential elements of the proposed framework. The fourth and final Section of the second Chapter argues that, in human geography, the lack of a specific set of subject matter and a weakly developed body of theory have been both precipitated and perpetuated by over-emphasis and over-reliance on method. This assertion is justified via an examination of the three dominant research paradigms in the history of human geography.

Chapter Three more fully evaluates the functions of and need for theory in human geography. The first Section of Chapter Three discusses some of the definitions and levels of theory in conjunction with a critical evaluation of the appropriate type of theory for human geography. Included in this Section is a consideration of the value of the eclectic borrowing of theory and viability of a purely indigenous geographic body of theory. The second Section of Chapter Three provides some examples of theories that have been used in the discipline, evaluating some of their strengths and weaknesses. A brief overview of theories employed by the sub-disciplines of economic and behavioural geography and an analysis of Sauer's landscape school are used to illustrate how human geography has failed to integrate a diversity of interests. Finally, the third Section of Chapter Three discusses the origins, strengths and weaknesses of social theory. In a geographical context, this Section critically examines the potential value of current social theory in regards to disciplinary integration and subject matter clarification.

Chapter Four works specifically towards the articulation of a conceptual framework for human geography. In this framework, culture, society and landscape are suggested to be the fundamental concepts on which an appropriate and viable human geographic subject matter can be based. The first Section of the fourth Chapter focusses on the history, development and definitions of the central terms, culture, society and landscape. In the second Section of Chapter Four, these terms are more narrowly redefined in a human geographic context,

drawing on the salient qualities of the concepts. A framework is then proposed which integrates the concepts of culture and society and the culture-landscape and society-space themes. The third and final Section of Chapter Four suggests some possible applications of the conceptual framework to selected sub-disciplines of human geography.

Chapter Five concludes the thesis with the evaluation of the framework in regards to clarifying subject matter and facilitating theory construction in the discipline. Included in this evaluation is a brief overview of the current state of human geography. Other work has been conducted in the last decade which is relevant to and augmented by this thesis. In order to fully evaluate the proposed framework, it is necessary to place this thesis within the context of these other, related works.

Thesis Limitations

It must be acknowledged from the outset that there are several basis limitations to this thesis. Limitations involving the scope of the thesis include the places, periods of time, sources of information and levels of theory used to substantiate the assertions made. The geographic areas discussed are confined to Europe and North America in the context of human geography's history and development. Due to language limitations on the part of the author, Anglo-American geography predominates the discussions concerning the discipline's development. This is also largely the case in respect to the

comparison between social and intellectual environments and theoretical progress of human geography and other, related disciplines. However, German, French and Swedish contributions are often discussed in these contexts, but are referred to in translated sources. A valid justification for the limitation of these discussions to these geographic areas is that human geography was initially institutionalized in Europe and, subsequently, many significant intellectual advancements in the discipline were accomplished in Europe and North America.

In regards to the period of time in which this thesis is concerned, the primary focus is immediately prior to geography's institutionalization as a university discipline in the 1870's until and including the present. Although geographic thought can be traced almost as far back in time as the history of civilization itself, the problems discussed in this thesis have become most evident in the time frame stated. Much of the early history and the classical period of geography are not directly relevant to the aims of this thesis.

It is recognized that this thesis relies to a large extent on interpretation. There always exists a danger of becoming indoctrinated or dogmatized by popularly accepted views and interpretations of a discipline's historical development. Dominant individuals have tended to influence many acolytic scholars. This thesis approaches secondary sources of information with due caution. Frequently, original works are used to substantiate assertions. Reliable secondary sources are employed when this is impossible due to language or other limitations.

In regards to theoretical limitations, it is believed that it is neither practical nor possible at the present time to achieve the scientifically defined 'highest' level of theory in a human geographic context. Positivism and the related scientific method are not always realistically applicable to the explanation of certain aspects of human behaviour. Symbolic, perceptual and subjective aspects of landscape evolution, for example, do not easily lend themselves to the formulation of universal laws.

An attempt is made to elucidate a theoretical direction of thought that can potentially lead to both a clearer understanding of the subject matter of human geography and the facilitation of theory at a realistic and appropriate level. The goal of this thesis is not to articulate law-yielding theory, but to suggest a general frame in which a variety of geographic interests can be organized and more meaningfully researched. The ultimate goal is to open new doors and to strengthen conceptual avenues of thought that need to be more fully developed in order to eventually achieve a higher level of theory. Therefore, this thesis can function as a stepping stone.

Thesis Justification

This thesis is realistically limited. Clearer and narrower definitions of culture, society and landscape are offered and operationalized. An attempt is made to integrate and reconstruct a

more clearly articulated conceptual basis for human geographic inquiry. A more clearly delimited subject matter based on more definitive concepts of culture, society and landscape can work towards this goal.

The potential value of this type of work is significant. As this thesis demonstrates, geographers require a focus for the vast diversity of unrelated interests. Efforts to ameliorate this problem in the last decade have failed to provide a framework in which such a focus can be achieved. The discipline needs a conceptual framework in which greater cohesion and, ultimately, theoretical progress can be accomplished. Human geography can therefore potentially benefit greatly as a discipline through the type of work that this thesis attempts to initiate.

CHAPTER TWO:

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY AS A DISCIPLINE

In this Chapter, two of the three fundamental problems identified in the Introduction are more clearly illustrated and the assertions regarding them are justified. Specifically, these problems are that human geography has persistently exhibited an inability to delimit a subject matter and that method has received considerably more emphasis than has subject matter clarification. The third problem, which involves the discipline's need for increased theory development is approached in Chapters Three and Four. It is recognized at this stage of the thesis, however, that the three problems are inextricably related to one another.

In order to justify these assertions, an examination of the social and intellectual environments in which human geography developed as an institutionalized university discipline is required. The development of human geography has been related to and, in part, conditioned by that of other social sciences. As disciplines, human geography, anthropology, sociology and other social sciences developed in mutual intellectual influence, as opposed to isolation. Factors influencing human geography's development include how, why and when it was institutionalized as a university discipline, the impact of dominant individuals and the development of other, related disciplines.

This Chapter is divided into four interrelated Sections. The first discusses some of the principal factors that contributed to the discipline's institutionalization into the universities of Europe. This Section helps to explain the origin and nature of the discipline's

identity problem. The second Section examines the definitions of the scope, nature and purpose of human geography made by leading geographers at and since the time of the discipline's institutionalization. This Section substantiates the fact that human geography has experienced difficulty in the identification of a central subject matter. Also included in this Section is a critical examination of paradigm change within the discipline, which briefly discusses some associated ideological and philosophical problems. The third Section of this Chapter briefly compares the development of anthropology and sociology to that of human geography in the specific context of subject matter, method and theory. This Section logically leads to the fourth and final Section of this Chapter, which discusses the fundamental problem of method versus subject matter. Over-emphasis on method is believed to be one of the major causes of human geography's identity crisis. This assertion is justified by a more detailed examination of the three dominant paradigms in human geography. This examination clearly demonstrates the discipline's weakness in subject matter specificity.

Before discussing these relevant issues, it is necessary to provide a definition of the central term, 'subject matter'. In the context of this thesis, the term denotes specific qualities which include the domain of inquiry, the scope of interest and, most importantly, the set of facts, events and objects in which a discipline is primarily interested. Subject matter, in this thesis, refers to a central disciplinary focus of interest consisting of a specific set of facts,

events, and objects. For example, by comparison, the discipline of psychology might claim its subject matter to consist of individual human behaviour, focussing on the causes of specific behavioural patterns; sociology might assert that society is its proper domain of inquiry, with emphasis on the explanation of the behaviour of social (predominantly urban) groups; while anthropology might argue that facts, event and objects concerning mankind and culture comprise the center of interest.

Geography's Institutionalization as a University Discipline

What, then, is the subject matter central to the discipline of human geography? For centuries before institutionalization in 1874, a major portion of geography's subject matter was relatively clear, namely the mapping and description of places. This subject matter was understandable in light of the fact that there was more limited knowledge about the places of the earth in these times. However, as knowledge and technology progressed over time, geographers began to feel that this subject matter was intellectually limited and they contemplated what more could be accomplished.

By the early 1840's, guided by the classical holism of founding fathers such as Humboldt and Ritter, geography had diversified into a great variety of interests which included both physical and human sciences, such as biology and archaeology, in addition to the

traditional mapping and description of the earth. During this period, other disciplines, such as anthropology and sociology, were also developing and nearing the time of their institutionalization in the universities of Europe. As these other fields of inquiry were maturing, a considerable amount of the subject matter that geography had claimed was gradually being seen by professionals of other disciplines as more properly belonging to them.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, knowledge became increasingly subdivided and classified. This trend marked the gradual decline of the classical period which was, as mentioned, characterized by a holistic approach. Geography was victimized by the gradual stripping of subject matter which had included, for example, medical science and the field observation of artifacts (Godlewska, 1989,209). The professional interests of archaeologists, biologists, chemists and medical doctors claimed away much of geography's *raison d'etre*.

Thus, when geography was institutionalized, it was already suffering from a depleted disciplinary domain of inquiry. The question can be posed how geography came to be a university discipline in spite of this pre-existing state of malaise. As are all disciplines, geography is a social institution whose contribution to society has been evaluated and changed in different places at different times. Geography's creation as an institutionalized university discipline was the result of the particular goals of a group of individuals who possessed the resources to achieve them (Taylor, 1985,95). Modern

geography, with which this thesis is primarily concerned, is described by James and Martin (1981,134) and Taylor (1985,96) as being established contemporaneously with the modern university system in late nineteenth century Germany. This system produced an interplay of teaching and research within narrow specialisms (as opposed to the holism characteristic of the preceding classical period).

In 1874, Keiser Wilhelm I of the newly created Germany declared that all Royal Universities must create chairs of geography. Immediately following this mandate, Prussian beaurocrats became responsible for the creation of modern geography. According to Taylor (1985,99), the goal of these individuals was that the 'new' geography serve the purposes of an expanding capitalistic and militaristic state. The institutionalization of geography was promoted in order to fulfil two basic functions. Germany wished to set an example as the self-proclaimed 'leading' nation in Europe as an educated, modern society and, more pragmatically, wished to obtain a fair share of colonies in the new age of imperialism (Taylor, 1985,99). At this time, Germany, France and other European powers saw geographical knowledge as useful to achieving the goals of nationalism and imperialism.

These circumstances which contributed to geography's institutionalization as a discipline immediately resulted in controversy. Professionals of older, more established disciplines, such as economics, questioned the intellectual origins of the new

discipline. Geography was placed in the uncomfortable position of having to identify and justify itself to the professional community immediately following institutionalization.

James and Martin (1981,143) stated that geography was faced with three major tasks in order to distinguish itself from other disciplines. The first task was to collect information regarding still unknown parts of the earth and to present it in a useful form. The second task was the traditional study of particular places in the world, either for the intrinsic value of knowledge or for the practical needs of governments, the military and businessmen who required clear description of facts and conditions relevant to particular purposes. Lastly, was the intellectual task of formulating concepts, including empirical generalizations. As a professional group, geographers aspired to achieve more than the mere description of unique situations.

From a professional viewpoint, however, geography as a newly created discipline lacked a paradigm, or central model, in which a curriculum could be organized and taught. The individuals who were appointed to university positions had been trained in history, botany, geology and a variety of other fields in accord with the trend of the preceding age of classical holism, but lacked professional training in the new, 'modern' geography. Due to the absence of professional experience and established guidelines, newly appointed professors effectively had to promulgate their own ideas regarding the scope,

nature and purpose of the new discipline.

Geography's Development as a Discipline -

Leading Individuals and Programmatic

Statements: 1880 - 1970

As the discipline spread to universities throughout Europe and North America, attempts were made to answer the question, "What is geography?". In this Section, a number of leading individuals' statements concerning the scope, nature and goals of geography are examined. The object of the following discussion is to illustrate both how the discipline developed and the perpetual lack of a clearly defined subject matter. As the discussion progresses, definitions of the salient aspects of geographic thought and the emerging paradigms are identified. Some ideological and philosophical problems associated with paradigm change are also briefly examined at the end of this Section.

The organization of this Section is largely based on the areas of origin of the geographers discussed and is chronological only in this context (see Table 2.1). However, in order to exemplify certain concepts within the appropriate context, it is necessary to refer to geographers from other areas at specific points of the discussion. For example, during the discussion of some of the German geographers, an example is used from an American geographer. The reason for doing this is that geographic ideas did not develop in geographic isolation and at

TABLE 2.1 :

21

**SUMMARY OF LEADING GEOGRAPHERS' STATEMENTS
REGARDING THE SCOPE, NATURE AND PURPOSE OF
GEOGRAPHY : 1880 - 1969**

Year	Country/Individual	Summary of Statements
	GERMANY	
1880	Richthofen	- study of regions, humans' relation to physical geography, interrelationship of the earth's diverse phenomena
1900	Ratzel	- study of cultural differences, relationship of biology to social development
1910	Schluter	- 'landschaft', or landscape as central to geography
1920	Hettner	- chorology, the studying and comparing of regions
	FRANCE	
1900	Vidal	- possibilism, genre de vie - reciprocal between humans and land, focus on cultural variables in the delimitation of regions
	SWEDEN	
1920	De Geer	- delimiting and mapping physical regions
	ENGLAND	
1900	Mackinder	- political aspects of man-land relations
1965	Chorley and Haggett	- mathematical spatial modelling
1969	Harvey	- theory development
	UNITED STATES	
1900	Davis	- primary focus on physical geography, explanations of causal relationships between variety of earth's phenomena
1920	Huntington	- environmental determinism
1925	Sauer	- study of material aspects of landscape
1930	Bowman	- regionalism, geopolitics, human perception
1940	Hartshorne	- areal differentiation (regionalism)
1955	Schaefer	- explanations of spatial patterns

N.B. : The dates shown only approximate the times of the statements. The individuals listed represent only some of the main leading geographers of the countries in which they published. The table does not continue beyond 1969 primarily because it is believed that since that time, no programmatic statement has been made that is either commonly accepted, proven or not simply a critical reaction to previous statements.

certain points of this Section, they are more clearly understood by discussing some of them out of the immediate area being examined. Although an attempt is made to condense the main ideas of geography's development in a short space, it is more practical, in general, to present the following discussion in more of an areal, as opposed to a purely chronological, context.

Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, a geologist by training, was a major leading figure in the introduction of geography in the German universities. In 1883, at his inaugural lecture, he stated that the distinctive purpose of geography was to focus on the diversity of phenomena that occur in interrelationship on the face of the earth (James and Martin, 1981,167). The ultimate goal of geography, at this stage, was the study of human's relationship to physical geography. The study of this relationship was both the goal and the nature of the new geography. The scope of the discipline, according to Richthofen, was to form generalizations regarding the unique features of particular regions.

The term, 'chorology' was applied at this time (1880's) as the appropriate geographic method. Chorology was conceptually derived from the Kantian process of classification (Holt-Jensen, 1980,15). Kant was a major proponent of the division and classification of various fields of inquiry in the eighteenth century. He referred to geography as being 'the chorological science' in his scheme of logical classification of knowledge (James and Martin, 1981,111). Richthofen

applied chorology by dividing the earth into four types of regions; *Erdteile*, major divisions of the earth; *Länder*, major regions; *Landschaften*, landscapes or smaller regions; and *Ortlichkeiten*, localities. The human-land theme and regional method quickly gained popularity and spread to other countries in Europe and North America, later to develop into two of the three major paradigms in human geography.

Freidrich Ratzel was an important figure in geography's development and diffusion and is considered by some to be the father of the concept of environmental determinism. He elaborated on many of Darwin's concepts, applying biological principles to human societies from the late 1880's to near the turn of the nineteenth century. Ratzel's particular interests were tracing and explaining the influences of the physical environment on human social development. Scholars, such as Gerland, were uncomfortable about attempting to apply the laws of physical science consistently to human societies and the enormous diversity of subject matter that this approach would entail (Hartshorne, 1939,89). However, the mechanistic reasoning that the physical environment causes human behaviour and influences social development gained widespread popularity and quickly diffused throughout Great Britain and the United States.

An important implication to be noted is that environmental determinism defined geography as a more physical, as opposed to human, science. An example from a leading American environmental determinist, Ellsworth Huntington more clearly illustrates this fact. Huntington

(1920,1) defined the subject matter of geography as the differences between people in different parts of the world. In other words, geography is studied through humans' relation to the environment. However, it is the way that Huntington defined the nature of this relationship that rendered geography to be a primarily physical science. In the first chapters of his book, Principles of Human Geography, subtitles such as 'Mans Response to Geographic Surroundings', 'How Geographic Surroundings Influence Occupations' and 'Why Man's Higher Needs Depend on Geography' all imply man's passive role in responding to the physical environment. Huntington used the term, 'geography' to mean physical geography.

The key leading figure in the French school of geography was Paul Vidal de la Blache, who criticized the overly simplistic and mechanistic rationale of environmental determinism. In the very early 1900's Vidal's concept of culture, or 'genre de vie', explicitly recognized that regions should be delimited according to cultural, as well as physical, variables.

The French school of geography achieved an historically rare balance between physical and human geography. Vidal's concept of possibilism stated that humans play a more active role in their relationship with the environment. Unlike environmental determinism, possibilism recognized a reciprocal relationship in which cultures have the ability to change the environment rather than merely respond to physical variables. It should be noted that the French school strongly supported the study of regions in order to understand the human-land

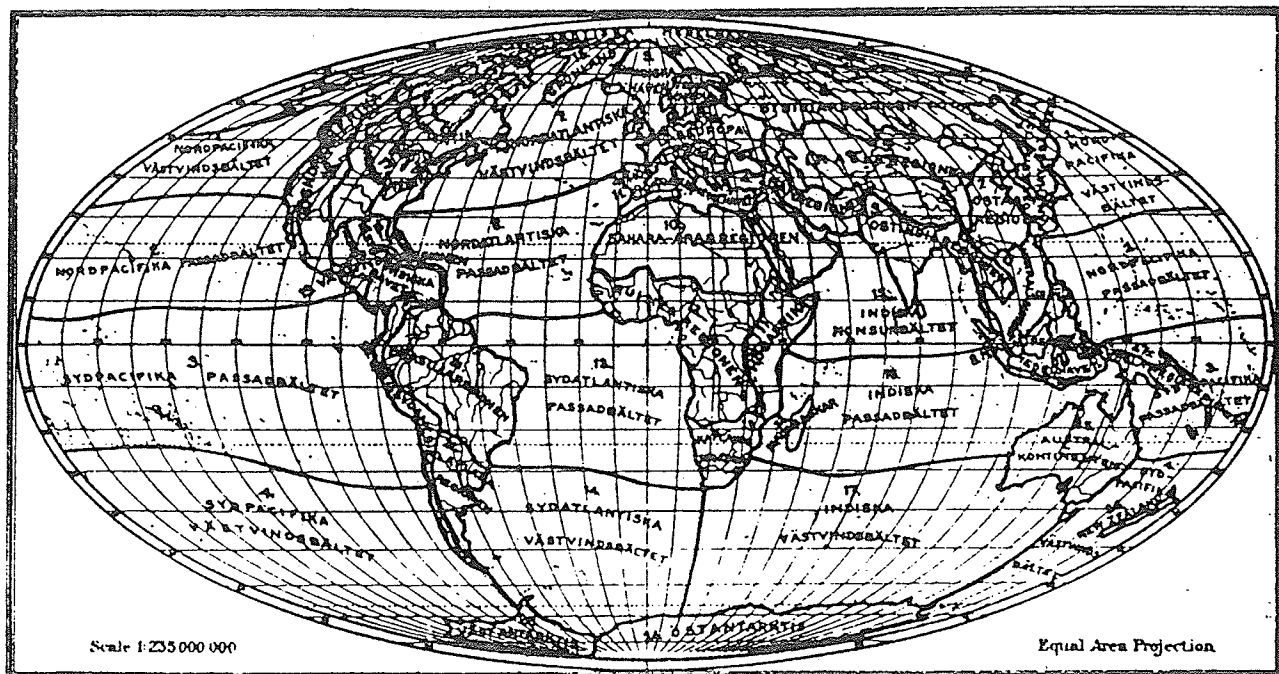
relationship.

In the early 1920's, German leading figure, Alfred Hettner more fully elaborated on Richthofen's concept of chorology. Hettner's view of the nature, scope and purpose of geography significantly strengthened the already popular regional paradigm. According to Hartshorne (1959,15), Hettner stated that "the goal of the chorological view is...to comprehend the earth's surface as a whole in its actual arrangements of continents, larger and smaller regions".

The Swedish geographer, Sten de Geer attempted to divide the earth into major regions in 1923. He defined geography as "the science of the present-day distribution of phenomena on the surface of the earth" (de Geer, 1923,10). According to de Geer, mapping these regions was the ultimate aim of geography. Map 2.1 shows de Geer's attempt to accomplish this goal. The criteria for the divisions in his map included the continents and continental subdivision of both the New and Old Worlds, as defined by major physical regions. For example, Saharan Africa and the Amazon Basin of South America comprised two of the twenty-seven terrestrial areas. He also divided the oceans into seventeen maritime regions, based on climatic zones, wind belts and major currents. As did most geographers of his time, de Geer emphasized the definition of geography as a physical, regional science.

It is important to note that thus far in geography's development, very little consideration was given to the factor of time. This was

DE GEER'S MAP OF WORLD REGIONS



partly due to the Kantian division of knowledge in which the discipline of history was thought of as more appropriately suited to a temporal subject matter. Emphasis was made, rather, on the 'present-day' distribution of phenomena in a purely spatial context. One branch of geography that developed from and built on the regional method was the landscape school of Carl Sauer in Berkeley, California. Sauer explicitly recognized the importance of the temporal dimension in understanding present forms. Employing and combining Hettner's concept of chorology and the earlier 'landschaft' concept of Otto Schlüter from 1906, Sauer made a programmatic statement in his Morphology of Landscape (1925,46). He stated that the cultural landscape is the result of the action of the culture group (the agent), through time, on the physical environment (the medium). Landscape was suggested by Sauer (1925,25) to be the unit of study, or subject matter of geography.

In Great Britain, geography was established as a discipline following pressure exerted by the Royal Geographic Society in order to keep pace with other countries in Europe (James and Martin, 1981,201). Halford J. Mackinder was appointed reader at Oxford in 1887, marking the establishment of geography in English universities. Mackinder defined geography as the field of study which traces the interaction of humans and their physical environment. He was interested in the political aspects of the discipline, believing that political geography must be built on and subsequent to physical geography. Mackinder's heartland theory, which attempted to explain the effects of the

physical environment on the world's politically controlled areas, was his most famous contribution.

Mackinder's ideas had a significant impact in both Europe and North America. As the economic and political strength of Germany and the United States mounted in the early decades of the twentieth century, geography was seen as an important tool. Bowman's (1928) New World: Problems in Political Geography outlined the increasing world role for the United States. In Germany, Haushofer expanded on Mackinder's and Ratzel's concepts, applying the term, 'lebensraum', or living space, to justify German expansion into Eastern Europe (Short, 1982,31). The creation of the concept of geopolitics is credited to Mackinder, but the powers that applied it obviously had other goals besides the advancement of knowledge.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, geographers around the world were concerned about the nature of the whole subject of geography. Perhaps the single most influential figure in early American geography was William Morris Davis. Like Richthofen, Davis was trained primarily as a geologist and strongly supported the definition of geography as a physical and regional science. According to Davis (1909,5), the ultimate goal of the geographic discipline was to arrive at generalizations through the explanation of casual relationships between phenomena. Davis did not directly attempt to delimit geography's subject matter. However, he influenced many other American geographers towards the then popular cause and effect trend of

thought.

The American scholar, Isaiah Bowman was strongly influenced by the ideas of both Davis and Mackinder. Although he elaborated on Mackinder's concept of geopolitics in his work outlining the increasing world role of the United States, he was also concerned with the scope and nature of the parent discipline. Bowman's (1934) Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences was written during the time he was Director of the American Geographical Society. The book outlined the importance of synthesis in regards to subject matter, emphasizing the need for explanation that transcends mere description. Bowman (1934,4) stated that the basis of geographic inquiry involves a specific group of facts and a specific method. Similarly to his predecessors, Bowman neglected to elucidate what precisely comprises the specific group of facts and elaborated more on the regional method.

Although Bowman's view of geography reflected the commonly accepted mode of thought of his time, it was nevertheless, uncharacteristically anti-deterministic. He stressed a reciprocal relationship between man and the environment. Facts of the earth condition, rather than determine, human behaviour (Bowman, 1934,5). He also recognized important human factors in the explanation of the human-land relationship. "The appearances, possibilities and uses of the earth change as does knowledge and awareness of new facts" (Bowman, 1934,224). Unlike many of the geographers before him, Bowman stressed that reality is as much a part of subjective human perception as it is

a set of external, objective facts. This view appears more related to Vidal's possibilism than to the cause and effect reasoning characteristic of early American geography.

Paradigm Change

By the end of the first half of the twentieth century, the regional paradigm had gained enormous popularity within the discipline. This tradition, along with an emphasis on human-land relations, had been with geography both before and since its institutionalization. In the mid-1950's, however, a shift of emphasis began to take place. Dissatisfaction with the failure of the regional paradigm to elucidate the specific nature and subject matter of geography drew increasing criticism. A new view based on the concept of space began to grow in popularity. Schaefer (1955,227) stated that geography is concerned with the explanation of spatial patterns, distributions and laws that govern certain features of the earth's surface. An increasing emphasis on positivism and scientific methodology entailing quantification and the derivation of scientific laws occurred in geography in the late 1950's and throughout the 1960's. The employment of mathematical models and statistical analysis increased in proportion to a general trend in the social sciences. This trend was partly precipitated by major technological advancements of the time, such as the electronic computer. A quest for explanation aiming at the construction of high-level theory pinnacleed in the late 1960's, exemplified by Harvey's (1969) programmatic Explanation in Geography.

Some ideological and philosophical problems arose with the emerging

spatial analytical paradigm's predilection towards quantitative methodology. Certain methods that lent themselves well to quantification, such as questionnaires in which the data obtained could be coded and statistically analyzed, had a tendency to lack insight. Aggregated results, although compiled from individuals, tended to lose the individuality of the respondents, merely availing numerical description lacking in significant meaning (Johnston, 1987,12). The professional community defined the categories in which research was conducted; that is, if the objects of study could be quantified and statistically analyzed, then the research was justified. Since positivism implies scientific supremacy over subjective, extraneous influences, a propensity to treat human beings mechanistically can, and did, result. As Johnston (1987,12) phrased it, the positivistic approach to science views humans as "programmed respondents to stimuli". This, unfortunately, has been a major characteristic of the methodology employed by the spatial analytical paradigm.

Another valid criticism of spatial analysis is that space, by itself, yields no meaning or process understanding. Because of this and the fact that space is not a concept that can be intellectually monopolized by any one discipline, the concept of space alone can not be used to distinguish geography from other disciplines. Bennett (1985,222) went as far as to suggest that the positivist approach used in spatial analysis has even further weakened the core of geography's identity. Positivism has also increased the trend of specializations and splintered sub-divisions, further separating human and physical

factors.

Thus, by the early 1970's, positivism and the scientific method in human geography were criticized on ideological, philosophical and humanistic grounds. The relegation of virtually any geographic fact, event or object to quantification and statistical analysis effectively dehumanizes the 'human' part of the equation of human geography. Critical, radical and humanistic approaches have received considerable attention since the domination of spatial analysis, representing alternative ideologies. Today, at the beginning of the 1990's, human geography is divided by conflicting viewpoints, each seeking to convert opposing intellectual factions. It should be acknowledged, however, that many of the approaches which have followed spatial analysis, such as idealism and structuration, are seen by some geographers to be lacking in clarity and have yet to be of proven, long-term value.

Summary Remarks

This brief history of geography as a university discipline reveals certain salient problems. In spite of the difficulty in drawing an accurate intellectual history and the perhaps inevitable bias involved with the selection of individuals to represent the basic ideas of the discipline, a few conclusions can be made. A pervasive need for leading geographers to define and redefine geography through programmatic statements is evident. Paradigm change in human geography reflects dissatisfaction with and a lack of clarity pertaining to previous views. Disagreement and controversy are not indicative of an

unhealthy discipline. However, the particular nature of them within human geography is a direct reflection of a real, underlying identity problem. Subject matter has not been clearly or consistently delimited throughout the history of the discipline.

As discussed, the scope, nature and purpose of geography at the time of its institutionalization created an intellectual vacuum that was only partly ameliorated by nationalistic interests. Academically, geography was hard-pressed to identify a scope of interest from the outset. Today, human geography is largely a product of a series of decisions made by particular individuals who occupied positions of authority. The discipline has been not so much what geographers did, but what they were obliged to do (Gregory, 1978,18). In addition to this fact, universities are subject to the direction of subsidies granted by funding agencies. Gregory (1978,20) validly remarked that a serious need arises to make 'acceptable' contributions in order to continue to receive the needed funds. It can be dangerous to attempt to draw an intellectual history without recognition of such limitations. However, whether or not the history of the discipline only reflects intellectual pursuits, the problem of a lack of a clear subject matter still exists.

The identity problem has been illustrated by establishing the lack of a distinctive subject matter. One of the principal causes of this problem lies in an historically pervasive over-emphasis and

over-reliance on method. It is argued that method has in fact been used to indentify human geography and to attempt to delimit subject matter. Before focussing on this important issue, a comparative consideration of the development of two other social sciences is discussed.

Anthropology and Sociology

This brief comparative analysis illustrates three basic points. Firstly, anthropology and sociology are selected to be compared to human geography in order to demonstrate the existence of common intellectual links in which these disciplines developed. Secondly, human geography's lack of clarity vis-a-vis subject matter is further illustrated through a comparative analysis of these other disciplines. Thirdly, the concepts of culture and society, which can be considered to be the central focii of interest in anthropology and sociology, respectively, are argued later in this thesis to comprise two of the three fundamental elements of the proposed framework.

As is the case with human geography the historical roots of both anthropology and sociology reach much further back in time than their institutionalization as university disciplines. Substantial contributions in all three disciplines come from the Greek civilization. These disciplines also have in common a claimed set of subject matter that overlaps with that of the others. Eclecticism is a quality of all the social sciences, not just of human geography.

The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968,305) defines the subject matter of anthropology as "mankind in its full historical and geographical sweep of societies". Anthropology emerged as a distinct field of inquiry in the first half of the nineteenth century. The dominant approach was that of cultural evolutionism, using comparative methodology. The comparative method involved the analysis of a series of stages. It was derived from and closely related to the Darwinian thinking that influenced early geographers such as Ratzel. The cultural evolutionist paradigm drew criticism by the early 1900's, being gradually replaced by an emphasis on historical processes of diffusion and migration. In France, during the 1920's and 1930's, structural functionalism, which focussed on the psychological explanation of social facts and structures, grew to dominate anthropological thought.

Current trends in anthropology are to revive some of the older theoretical traditions amidst a plethora of more recent theories. A considerable amount of borrowing from social theory characterizes contemporary anthropology, although the discipline possesses a rich and varied theoretical tradition. One example of current anthropological theory is based on the inherently contradictory nature of social life. Barrett (1984,51) argued that the founding fathers of social and cultural anthropology, such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Boas, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, conceptualized every single theoretical issue and that, since them, very little progress has been made. Adopting the

Marxist approach commonly used in the social sciences in the 1980's, Barrett employed the dialectic in his study of causal mechanisms that conceal and neutralize inherent social contradictions. A choice between contradictions is always present, but is governed and conditioned by power institutions.

Barrett (1984,151) proposed three categories of social life - rules, roles and attributes. An example of rule contradiction would be 'turn the other cheek' versus 'an eye for an eye'. Role contradiction is exemplified by family relationships such as 'husband versus father', or 'wife versus mother'. Attribute contradiction could include 'beautiful versus intelligent'. Individual perceptions, attitudes and goals, however, play important roles in determining the meaning of these contradictions. The point being illustrated is that there is clearly a borrowing from sociological theory in this anthropological work.

In regards to the relationship between anthropology and human geography, the best example of mutual influence occurred at Berkeley between Carl Sauer's landscape and Alfred Kroeber's cultural anthropological schools in the 1920's. Both individuals worked contemporaneously at the same university and knew each other. They shared a focus on culture as the primary factor determining human behaviour.

Although a considerably eclectic discipline, anthropology's primary

concern, like that of most of the social sciences, is with human social and cultural behaviour. However, far less controversy regarding subject matter has occurred in the history of anthropology compared to that of human geography. It is believed that, as a result, a richer theoretical tradition is evident.

Unlike anthropology, sociology developed quite differently from human geography, especially in regards to methodology. For much of its history as an institutionalized university discipline, sociology has been characterized by empirically based scientific positivism. This tradition was originally promulgated by dominant individuals, notably Emile Durkheim. Sociology's consistent reliance on a particular method has not, like geography, reflected an inability to delimit subject matter. To the contrary, sociology has been confident as to its appropriate scale of analysis for subject matter to consist of social groups. Aggregates based on groups lend themselves more amenable to meaningful statistical analysis than do the individual facts, events and objects that often comprise the subject matter of human geography.

The mutual influences in which sociology and human geography developed are difficult to trace without second-hand interpretation. However, there did exist a certain level of interaction between the early schools of these disciplines which is important to note. Durkheim and Vidal are considered by many to be the founding fathers of their respective schools of thought in sociology and human geography. Both figures lived in France at the same time during most of their

lives. Their careers were similar in many respects, including influences, experiences and institutional environments. Students of each were required to take the other's courses (Andrews, 1984,318). Both aimed at the explanation of human society in relation to the natural environment. Although these two leading individuals strongly disagreed on matters of approach and ideology, they co-existed in an environment of mutual influence.

The same argument applies to the institutionalization of the social sciences as university disciplines. Rather than being intellectually isolated from one another, the development of each influenced that of the others. The key point to be drawn in this context is that in spite of the eclectic nature of the various social sciences' subject matters, human geography has suffered more than the others in terms of subject matter clarity. Due to anthropology's and sociology's less pronounced difficulty in delimiting subject matter, theory construction has been easier for these disciplines than in human geography. The theories of founding fathers such as Marx, Weber, Spencer, Comte and Durkheim are consistently referred to and employed throughout the development of both anthropology and sociology. Psychology has also developed with a strong theoretical tradition, such as the work of Freud. This was not the case with the early development of human geography. It was not until relatively recently in Anglo-American geography that Marxian theory, for example, has been used. Perhaps the initial neglect of a strong theoretical basis inherited from social scientific forbears helps to explain human geography's relative slowness in theory

development. However, as the next Section illustrates, the discipline's problems of subject matter and theory construction are more rooted in an historically pervasive over-emphasis on method. Unlike other disciplines, human geography has attempted to identify itself through the methods it has employed rather than through a distinct set of subject matter.

Method Versus Subject Matter

It has been demonstrated that the social sciences developed in relation to one another. However, other disciplines are more able to clearly identify their subject matter and are stronger in theory than human geography. The implication is that in order to construct theory, subject matter must firstly be clearly delimited. In human geography, therefore, theory construction is problematic due to the identity crisis. The discipline has tended to disguise its nebulous subject matter by the methods it has employed. Furthermore, the subject matter of human geography has tended to be determined by method. This problem, as will be shown, helps to explain human geography's relative weakness as a discipline.

At this stage it is necessary to provide a definition of the term, 'method'. In this thesis, method refers to the procedures of research, or research techniques, involving the manners in which information is collected and analyzed. More specifically, methods are tools with which subject matter is organized and tested. This flexible definition

includes, but transcends, the rigidity of scientific positivism and refers to any manner in which a subject matter can be studied.

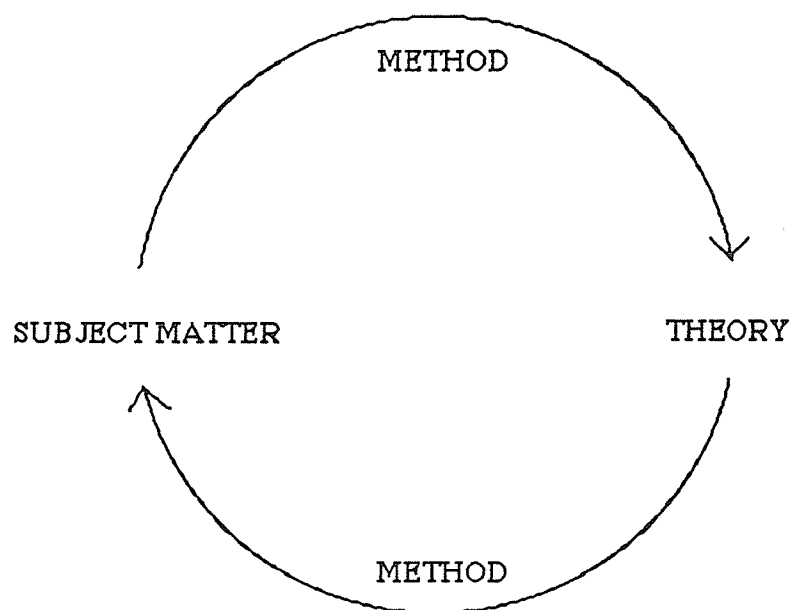
The aims of methods are to help organize and study subject matter within a theoretical framework, **not** to determine the objects of study. It is the theoretical framework itself which circularly provides significant meaning for the facts events and objects that constitute a discipline's center of interest. As Figure 2.1 illustrates, a general plan for conducting inquiry in the social sciences is to first know subject matter, then to employ appropriate methods of studying it and to derive and employ theory. Conversely, theory helps to organize and give meaning to subject matter via the methods of studying and testing.

A Dictionary of Philosophy (1984,230) defined methodology as entailing the procedures, tools and aims of a discipline, including the ways in which a discipline is organized. This definition certainly holds true in the case of human geography. The focus on methodological issues has sought to explain the distinctive character of the discipline via method. Despite this emphasis, however, the problem involving the definition of subject matter has prevailed.

It is argued in this Section that method has dominated over and has been used to determine the subject matter of human geography. A comparative analysis of the major paradigms in human geography is used to illustrate and substantiate this argument. A paradigm is commonly used in the social sciences to denote a kind of super-model or theory

FIGURE 2.1 :

A GENERAL PLAN FOR INQUIRY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES



that guides scientific research. Kuhn, who is credited for the formulation of the concept of paradigms, defined them as models or exemplars for scientific activity (Holt-Jensen, 1980,38). In human geography, paradigms have been used to determine method and, in turn, subject matter.

In the second Section of this Chapter, which dealt with human geography's development as a discipline, three major paradigms (also referred to as traditions or views) can be identified. The first is the human-land tradition, the second is the regional view and the third is the spatial analytical paradigm. Although a possible fourth view exists, based on critical, radical and humanistic approaches, it is interpreted as a general criticism of positivism and is not treated as a distinctly new or well-established paradigm in this thesis. It should be noted that the three traditions identified are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. Most problems in human geography can be placed in an overlapping context between the paradigms. An example would be agricultural land use, in which a consideration of the relationship between humans and the environment, particular areas and an analysis of spatial variables, such as distance, are all important factors in the understanding and explanation of the phenomenon.

The primary question addressed pertaining to the fundamental nature of these paradigms is whether subject matter or method is the main focus. If it is determined that the dominant schools of thought in human geography have been primarily constructed on an emphasis on

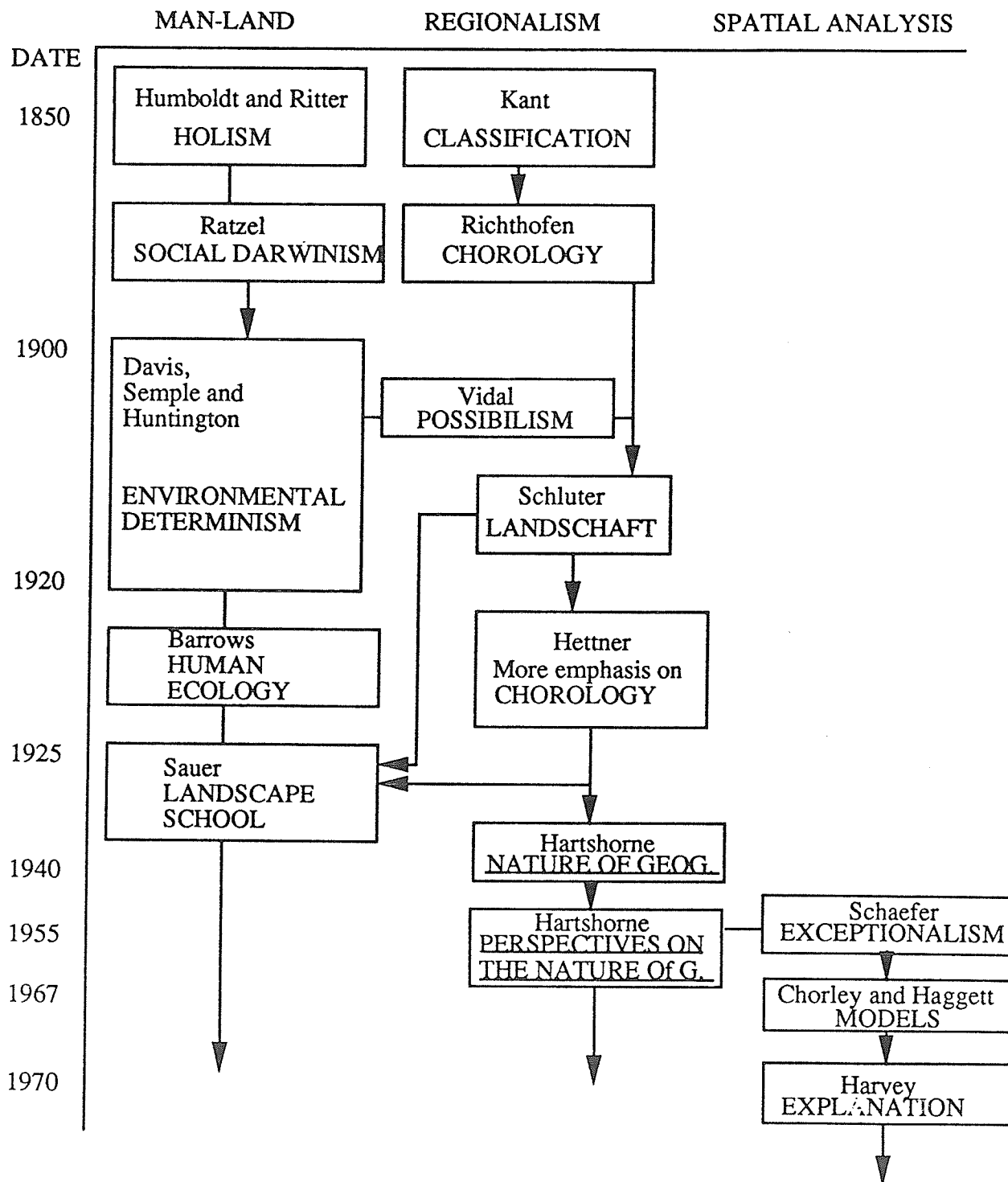
method as opposed to subject matter, it can further be demonstrated how method has been used to delimit subject matter. Figure 2.2. briefly sketches the evolution of the three paradigms, combining the following discussion and the historical overview from the second Section of this Chapter.

The Human-Land View

This tradition emerged early in human geography's development and focusses on the relationship between humans and the physical environment. Humboldt and Ritter had stressed the unity of humans and nature, but soon after the discipline's institutionalization and well into the twentieth century, the human-land view was characterized by the dominance of physical geography and in the United States, especially, by the environmental determinism of Davis, Semple and Huntington (Taaffe, 1974,5). By the mid-1920's, the view of the human-land relationship began to evolve into one of reciprocity. Barrow's human ecology in 1923 is an example. The other extreme of the human-land view placed humans and culture as the dominant factor in the relationship. Sauer's landscape school, which was influenced by Kroeber's superorganic concept of cultural determinism in anthropology, reflects this view of the human-land relationship.

The human-land tradition initially possessed a self-evident body of subject matter, but method was weakly defined. As work progressed, the strict definition of the term, 'environment' proved to be increasingly limiting. All the social sciences studied some aspect of the total

FIGURE 2.2 :
EVOLUTION OF THE THREE DOMINANT PARADIGMS IN GEOGRAPHY



Source : Modified from Taaffe (1974)

environment. During the early decades of geography's institutional history, disciplines were scrambling for specialized domains of inquiry that were conducive to the new university structure. Exceptionalism and diversification were encouraged. By the early 1900's environmental features which influenced decisions involving settlement and transportation were seen by professional communities as most properly comprising the intellectual property of geography. This subject matter was, nevertheless, still very eclectic in nature.

As previously discussed, the environmental determinist thesis stated that human social and cultural behaviour are caused by environmental factors. This fundamentally mechanistic reasoning was the popular mode of thought for several decades at least until the mid-to-late 1920's. It functionally supplied a uniform hypothesis, providing some measure of significance and organization to geography's vast diversity of subject matter. Both physical and human geography were effectively unified by the neat and tidy structure of cause and effect thinking. This was perhaps the only time in the entire history of the discipline that such a claim could be made.

Huntington (1920,2) defined human geography as the study of the relationship of the physiographic environment to human activity, stating that the discipline could be studied in a variety of ways. This statement seems to render the discipline to be pure subject matter, but methodologically vacuous. However, it is argued that the underlying aim of any type of determinism is mechanistic,

cause-and-effect explanation. Using the definition provided earlier in this Section, cause-and-effect thinking is in itself a type of methodology, guiding and organizing the inquiry of a discipline. The subject matter which is clearly delimited by environmental determinism - human and land - is essentially derived from the method it employs. Cause and effect methodology limits the subject matter of human geography to a focus on, or the primacy of, one aspect of a reciprocal relationship, thereby defining the appropriate domain of inquiry. The concept that the physical environment causes human behaviour subordinates the 'human' part of geography to the physical.

Regionalism

Another important tradition which evolved in human geography was the chorological, areal differentiation view, better known as regionalism. This paradigm was developed from the ideas of Kant, Richthofen, Hettner and other European and later American geographers. Its primary concern was the classification of places according to regional similarities and differences. Platt, James and Hartshorne were among the more prolific American regional geographers who became disenchanted with the equation of the terms 'environment' and 'geography' (Taaffe, 1974,6).

Hartshorne's programmatic The Nature of Geography (1939) clearly illustrated the centrality of method and consequent weakness of subject matter specificity. He perceived a problem with data selection because of the vast multitude of different phenomena associated with places.

Thus, Hartshorne (1939,xii) stated "it is important to find the most intelligent and useful method of dividing the world into regions". Geography, according to Hartshorne (1939,468) does not have a distinct set of phenomena as a center of interest. He later stated that the scope and nature of geography can only be resolved to general agreement by following established methods (Hartshorne, 1955,184). James (1972,184) agreed with this statement by arguing that geography, as a chorological science, should be defined by method rather than subject matter. According to Hartshorne, Hettner also believed that geography could only be unified by method.

Therefore, the objects of study have been determined by the procedure of areal differentiation in the regionalist paradigm. The act of classifying regions on any particular basis is, by the definition provided in this Section, a method. The fundamental weakness of regional geography lies in the inability to construct theory and to make meaningful generalizations. It has failed to identify a specific set of facts, events and objects which are needed in order to construct theory. Over-reliance on method can, therefore, lead to an intellectual vacuum.

Spatial Analysis

During the mid-to-late 1950's, technological advancements, such as the computer, helped to promote a general trend in the social sciences which emphasized science and mathematics. This trend has had a significant impact on human geography. James and Martin (1981,407)

defined the nature of a new paradigm in the discipline as the accumulation of knowledge through a concern with space and spatial interaction. This view evolved, in part, from the theoretical weakness and intellectual shortcomings of regionalism, just as the emergence of regionalism had partially indicated dissatisfaction with the faulty thinking of environmental determinism. Chorley and Haggett (1967,34) called for a new paradigm based on mathematical models that would unify the discipline and distinguish it from others.

Production of cumulative generalizations was facilitated and theory construction was enhanced in the newly emerging spatial analytical paradigm. As well, a greater emphasis on interdisciplinary cooperation was promoted. On the negative side, however, increasing use of quantification and mathematical abstraction brought the danger of dehumanization. Spatial modelling took up a disproportionately high percentage of research activity. The development of a great number of techniques to measure spatial phenomena and to apply statistical analysis created difficulty in discerning potentially significant findings from the insignificant (Taaffe, 1974,10).

If it could be measured and made amenable to statistical analysis, the subject matter of human geography was quantified. Johnston (1982,125) validly criticized the over-use and manipulation of data through statistics as the most popular aspect of the positivist approach used in spatial analysis. The manipulation of data, or the mere act of quantification itself, is a research technique, or method,

which has helped geographers to define their objects of study. In other words, if the subject matter was suitable to statistical analysis, then it was deemed a valid object of study. In this manner, method determined subject matter.

As mentioned, newer viewpoints have challenged the spatial analytical paradigm in the 1970's and 1980's, largely arising from dissatisfaction with the dehumanizing aspects of quantification and statistics. The methods of positivism not only tend to relegate humans to mere numbers, but are often unable to explain unique or perceptual phenomena. Aggregated averages tell the geographer very little, for example, about how individuals might behave in a situation involving, say, natural hazards. The question of an appropriate scale of analysis has also cast considerable doubt on the universal applicability of statistical techniques.

Newer approaches such as idealism, marxism and structuration have yet to prove themselves in regards to long-term popularity or viability as alternatives to positivism in human geography. However, a significant amount of attention is currently being given to social theory, which can potentially integrate the central subject matters of space and society. This direction receives fuller emphasis in the following Chapters.

Summary Remarks

This brief analysis of the three dominant paradigms in geographic

thought clearly illustrates that subject matter has been overshadowed and, in essence, determined by method. Several factors help to explain why this has occurred. Since geography's institutionalization as a university discipline, geographers have not been comfortable about the vast diversity of their subject matter. Unity of method has historically been a much more easily obtained goal than has a clearly defined and unified subject matter. This identity crisis was initially caused by the reasons surrounding the institutionalization of the discipline.

The identity crisis only grew deeper as each paradigm drew increasing criticism, leading to the evolution of another. As geography balkanized into specialized sub-disciplines, attempts were made to minimize the vastness of subject matter. In effect, however, the unity of the discipline was increasingly disrupted. Environmental determinism, upon being discredited for the monocausal, unidirectional thinking that led to social ills such as racism, created a seemingly permanent schism between human and physical geography (Guelke, 1989,124). The regional paradigm's theoretical weakness hampered subject matter integration. Spatial analysis further eroded the links between human and physical geography by focussing on purely spatial aspects, with no defense of a unified discipline (Guelke, 1989,124).

Human geography today is characterized by a maze of diverse interests, the only partial common ground being a tenacious propensity towards positivism. Recent convergent and divergent trends within the

discipline have produced a crisis even greater than the identity problem - that of protecting a disciplinary core which may have already evaporated (Dear, 1988,265). The state of human geography today is much like that of schizophrenia (Johnston, 1988,194)!

The intellectual shortcomings of human geography are partly due to its failure to provide an integrative framework for subject matter. Thus, a reliance on method has dominated. Method, as defined and illustrated, is clearly unable to provide either a distinct identity or integrative framework for a subject matter. The value of theory construction in this context receives fuller attention in the following Chapters.

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORY AND DISCIPLINARY INTEGRATION

It has been argued that a weakly defined subject matter has precipitated a relative weakness of theory construction in human geography. In order to construct meaningful theory, the subject matter of the discipline needs to be clarified well beyond the current, nebulous state. This Chapter focusses on the integral characteristics and functions of theory in order to predicate a basis for suggesting a clearer set of subject matter for human geography. Once it is determined what theory can accomplish, the task of delimiting an appropriate subject matter is facilitated. Furthermore, upon more clearly delimiting a scope of interest for the discipline, more meaningful theory can be constructed.

Three interrelated Sections comprise this Chapter. The first Section concentrates on the need for and functions of theory in human geography. This Section includes specific definitions of the relevant terms and various theoretical levels. Following this discussion, the appropriate level of theory for the discipline is critically evaluated. A comparative consideration of eclectic and indigenous theoretical sources is then offered. In spite of what is believed to be the necessarily eclectic nature of human geography, a distinct subject matter is sought which is geographically constituted.

The second Section discusses some of the various theories that have been used in discipline, evaluating some of their strengths and weaknesses. Particular emphasis is given to landscape theory, which will later help lead to the construction of the conceptual framework.

The purpose of this process is to exemplify the concepts discussed in the first Section of this Chapter and to construct a foundation that will link them to the third Section.

The third and final Section of this Chapter argues for disciplinary integration. Social theory is used as the primary focus in order to illustrate the potential usefulness of an overlapping theoretical approach. The origins, strengths and weaknesses of social theory are discussed in order to provide a basis for subject matter integration and clarification as well as an appropriate level of theory in human geography.

The Functions of and Need for Theory

It is necessary to provide a consistent and functional definition of the term, 'theory', in the context of this thesis. This task requires an element of synthesis due to the existence of a variety of definitions and levels of theory. Three basis categories, or levels of theory are identified in this Section (see Table 3.1) - meta, meso and micro. Various definitions of theory are discussed in conjunction with each category.

The most commonly accepted definition of theory within the social sciences is positivistic in origin and ideology. As mentioned, scientific positivism assumes an objective and detached superiority

TABLE 3.1 :
LEVELS OF THEORY

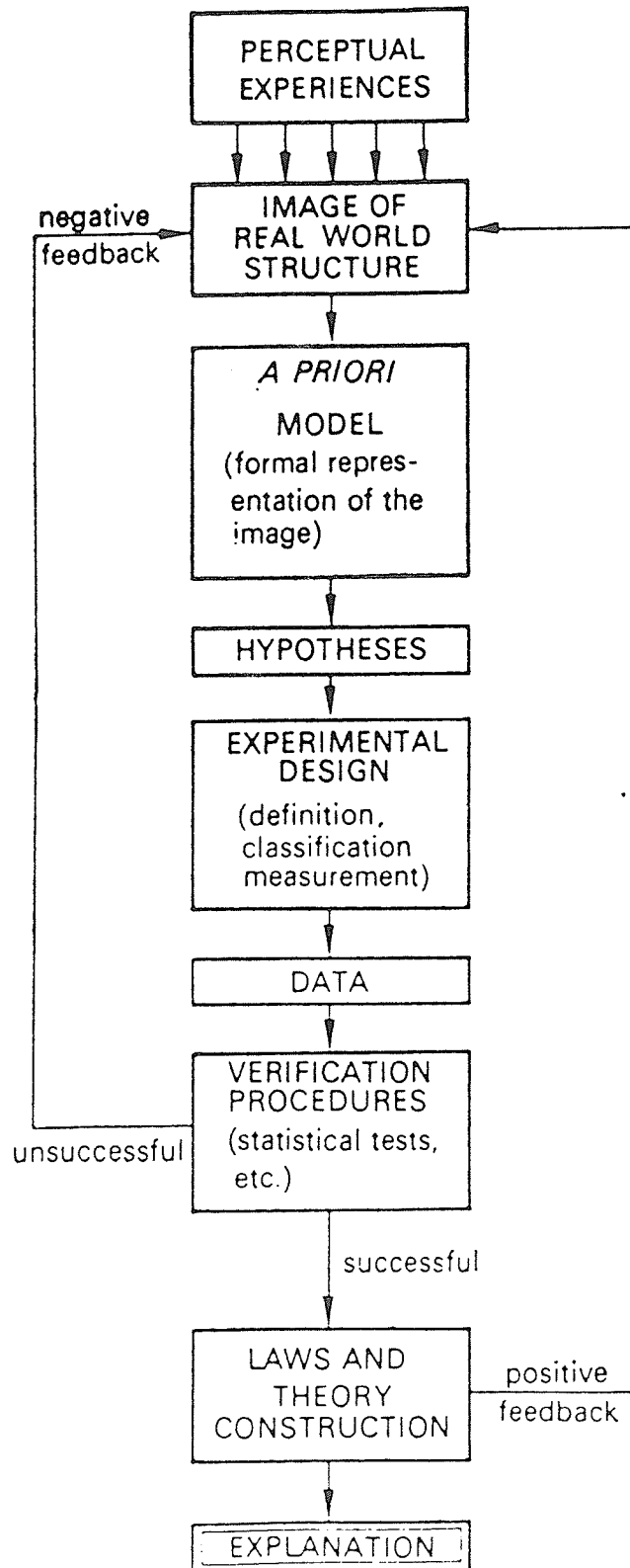
LEVEL	PURPOSE
Meta	<p>law-yielding, universal generalizations</p> <p>example : gravity model</p> $I = \frac{P_1 \cdot P_2}{d^2}$
Meso	<p>organizational, conceptual frameworks</p> <p>example : Sauer's landscape (ls) statement</p> <p> culture group (agent) \rightarrow natural ls (medium) \downarrow through time = the cultural ls (result) </p>
Micro	<p>low-level generalizations, based on perception and intuition</p> <p>example : environmental determinism</p> <p>"mountain men are lazy"</p>

over subjective approaches and is primarily concerned with empirical generalizations. It should be noted, however, that **any** approach which is preferred by a majority of professionals is prone to a certain level of subjective bias. Positivism is simply relatively more objective than other approaches.

Scientific theory, as defined by the positivist ideal, characteristically involves the setting up of hypothesis to explain observed reality. The hypothetico-deductive, or scientific method seeks to explain primary causes by deduction and testing of hypothesis (Holt-Jensen, 1980,20). In scientific theory, a hypothesis must be testable, or made amenable to experimentation. A hypothesis is a proposition whose truth or falsity is capable of being determined (Harvey, 1969,100). The ultimate aim of scientific hypothesis is not only to deduce, but also to predict patterns or generalizations. Figure 3.1 shows Harvey's (1969,34) diagram of this route to scientific explanation. Once a hypothesis is predicted, strict quantitative measurement and statistical analysis is employed to test it. If the tests are successful, the hypothesis becomes a generalization. Successful repetition of the tests graduates the generalization to the status of a **law**, which is defined by Harvey (1969,105) as an empirically and universally true generalization. Scientific theory consists of a series of related laws (Johnston, 1983,72). Once the theory is articulated, it is retested and reconfirmed in the real world (positive feedback). This highest level of theory is referred to in this thesis as 'meta-theory', which aims at the highest level of

FIGURE 3.1 :

SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION : THE HYPOTHETICO-DEDUCTIVE METHOD 57



explanation - the deriving of universal laws, entailing the repeatability of empirical facts and methodological assumptions (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969,436).

Some methodological problems regarding the application of scientific meta-theory can be identified in human geography. If the data cannot be quantified and statistically analyzed, the results of tests are considered to be invalid. In other words, the construction of scientific meta-theory is inextricably linked to positivist methodology. Johnston (1987,22) acknowledged that a major shortcoming of the positivist approach to the study of society is the primary concern with strictly empirical (measurable) findings. Social behaviour, which is asserted to comprise a part of human geography's scope of interest, cannot be understood exclusively by the application of 'scientific' principles. As discussed, individual perception and behaviour do not always comprise a subject matter compatible with the methods of positivism. An intuitive, subjective, understanding or 'verstehen' is often required in order to arrive at meaningful explanations. Behaviour, in general, can be a problematic subject matter in the social sciences because it is not an empirically based set of facts, events or objects, but a transforming, dynamic and complex process. These qualities render behaviour difficult to be observed in a purely 'scientific' manner.

In order to more clearly illustrate the above assertions, an example from B.F. Skinner is useful. Skinner, although primarily known

as a behaviourist in the discipline of psychology, was concerned with the scientific applicability of a subject matter based on behaviour. His view was merely one of many, but his concern with this relevant philosophical issue is important to note. Skinner (1965,22) identified some important limiting factors in the construction of scientific meta-theory based on the subject matter of behaviour. Science imposes limitations, such as isolating certain events at the expense of others. Behaviour is necessarily unique in individuals, whereas science is concerned with the general and prediction. The study of the behaviour of groups will not always yield accurate predictions of individual behaviour. The use of the scientific method in the study of human behaviour raises the objection that behaviour is an anomalous subject matter. Predictions about it can actually alter it because the observed and the observer often interact. The extraordinary complexity of behaviour renders the formulation of laws most difficult. Scientific analysis can be impractical unless conditions can be brought under some kind of control. Behaviour, which is the result of a complex variety of processes, such as institutions, goals and constraints, is not easily reproduced in the laboratory.

Skinner optimistically believed that these valid limitations were not insurmountable, but were merely a reflection of the youthful stage of development of science at that time (1965). However, twenty-five years have passed and in spite of the technological advancements that have been made since then, difficulty in attempting to derive scientific laws involving human behaviour has persisted.

Popper (1965,40) argued for the application of the hypothetico - deductive method of theory construction to both the natural and social sciences. However, he acknowledged that a fundamental difference in degree, or level, must be recognized. Quantitative measurement suffers a reduction in significance, interpretability and testability in the social, as opposed to the natural sciences. Therefore, the appropriate level of theory for the study of society and social behaviour cannot be meta-ranged. The various social sciences study limited aspects of human behaviour. Theory aimed at all-inclusive explanation is not only unrealistic, but unobtainable.

One of the primary functions of theory is generalization - to increase the significance of knowledge. This function is consistent regardless of the theoretical level. The opposite level of theory to the meta-range can be referred to as micro-theory. It seeks to generalize, but not with the aim of formulating universal laws. Micro-theory is best applied to unique situations. For example, in the environmental determinist thesis, statements such as 'mountain men are lazy' reflect an attempt at low-level generalization. Large-scale explanations and predictions are not the aims of this theoretical level and, therefore, micro-theory does not necessarily lead to a strengthened disciplinary core. For this basic reason, micro-theory does not receive notable emphasis in this thesis.

There are other functions of theory besides the generation of laws which are more appropriately applied in the social sciences and, in

particular, human geography. Theory also consists of a set of interrelated principles, statements and definitions which serve to conceptually organize the world in a systematic way. The formulation of logical and conceptual frameworks and models helps to fulfil this organizational function of theory within a discipline and is referred to in this thesis as *meso-theory*. Although theory is concerned with generalization and explanation, it is also concerned with the manner in which a discipline's domain of inquiry is organized. It is the organization of facts, events and objects within a conceptual framework in which this specific definition of *meso-theory* is most realistically applied.

An example of generalized explanation which is not necessarily empirically based is model construction. One of the functions of models is to imply new ways in which to define, represent and analyze the phenomena that constitute a subject matter. Models may not even lead to empirical findings, but can help to create new conceptual frameworks in which to outline the bounds of possibilities, organize and integrate skewed empirical knowledge, clarify the meaning of what is known, suggest the viability of research for different issues and help to identify important questions that will direct future research (Couclelis, 1986,96). Given the fact that the subject matter of human geography is so vast and varied, the organizational and suggestive functions of theory are of considerable value and importance.

Furthermore, this type of mid-ranged or *meso-theory* has to precede

meta-theory in the discipline. Human geography needs to learn to walk before it can run. It is overly ambitious to expect theory to act as a panacea to problems associated with human behaviour. The fundamental usefulness of theory in the study of human behaviour lies in the ability to integrate loosely related facts and concepts. Theory is important in providing organizational and suggestive avenues of research. These qualities are needed in human geography.

Given the above argument, a synthesized definition of theory in the context of this thesis is now clarified. As stated, theory is an attempt at generalization, explanation and, ultimately, prediction. However, the level of ability to generalize and predict varies and depends on the nature of a discipline's subject matter. It has been suggested in this Section that the subject matter of human geography partly includes society and social behaviour. Spatial implications of social behaviour are arguably at the heart of human geographic inquiry. It has also been argued that rigid scientific methodology and theory cannot capture, generalize or predict the full spectrum of such an enormous and diverse subject matter. It is believed that the true value of theory in human geography lies in the realm of organization, explanation and mid-range generalization. This statement does not assert a need to completely omit the possibility of achieving high-level generalization and prediction, but to limit their application to more appropriate subject matters. In other words, since the various social sciences tend to select only limited aspects of social behaviour as their domains of inquiry, meta-theory must be

correspondingly limited in application.

The explanatory power of theory partly lies in the ability to define a framework in which facts, events and objects can be fitted and to supply a cohesive quality to a discipline. Theory helps to define the essence of a discipline's inquiry with much greater precision than does a loose collection of facts, events and objects. Harvey (1969,74) further strengthened this view by stating that theory forms the hallmark of a discipline, helping to identify relevant subject matter. The best explanations are provided by theory, without which a discipline cannot know its own identity (Harvey, 1969,486).

One last aspect regarding the value of theory is pragmatically based and relates to a discipline as it is perceived by professional academic communities. As Morrill (1987,535) realistically stated, "If geography is a meaningful part of seeking knowledge, it must create a body of theory which is recognized as being significant by others". It is essential to create a corpus of theory to explain fundamental geographic concepts and to place them within an organized context. However, as this thesis emphasizes, this task cannot be accomplished without first knowing the fundamental subject matter.

Eclectic Versus Indigenous

Theoretical Sources

Difficulty involving theory construction has occurred in human

geography not only because of an over-reliance on method, but because of the very nature of the discipline's subject matter. The enormous diversity of human geography's scope of interest necessarily entails subject matter overlap with other disciplines. In other words, human geography cannot hold an intellectual monopoly on subject matter, but studies a wide variety of phenomena that are claimed by other disciplines as their centers of interest. According to Morrill (1987,536), geography's distinctiveness is the ability to synthesize a variety of subject matters. It is questionable that this is a sufficient explanation. The discipline of history can also claim this allegedly distinctive quality of subject matter integration. As well, it is believed that in spite of an eclectic array of interests, there is a distinct subject matter in which human geography is primarily interested.

Many geographers have argued that the concepts of environment, place and space and a specialized expertise in places constitute a distinctive focus in human geography (Sack, 1980; Abler, 1987; Morrill, 1987). However, this subject matter necessarily entails overlap with the interests of other disciplines. A plethora of phenomena is associated with environment and places. Space is a meaningless abstraction without interaction with facts, events and objects. No intellectual monopoly can logically be claimed in respect to these domains of inquiry.

Nevertheless, a distinctly geographical 'imagination' has been

argued for by many geographers throughout the twentieth century (Wright, 1947; Lowenthal, 1961; Norton, 1989a). The curiosity involving yet unknown aspects of places and peoples has stimulated a geographical imagination since geography's historical, as opposed to institutional, beginnings. Wright (1947,4) wrote of the concept of 'terra incognitae in the minds and hearts of men' as the stimulus of the geographical imagination. This curiosity includes aesthetic, intuitive and cognitive processes in addition to strictly visible stimuli. Wright concluded that geography is distinctive because of the distinct curiosity that geographers possess.

According to Lowenthal (1961,245), the geographical imagination is less broadly focussed than is the general curiosity of mankind. Anyone who observes the earth around them is, in a way, a geographer, but no one - even the most professional geographer - has surveyed every possible aspect of an area. Each square kilometer can be seen by an almost infinite number of perspectives (Lowenthal, 1961,246). Even today, there exists a multitude of unknowns. The geographical imagination still thrives.

The most recent and perhaps most useful attempt to identify a distinctly geographical imagination was made by Norton (1989a), when he not only suggested a salient subject matter for the discipline, but placed his analysis within an what is believed to be an appropriately interdisciplinary context. The geographical imagination recognizes that the lives of individuals are intimately linked to space and place

(Norton, 1989a,190). To illustrate this connection, examples from other disciplines, including history, architecture and sociology, were given with specific geographical applications of the principle. An especially significant point recognized by Norton is the currently shared interest of sociology and human geography to integrate the concepts of society and space.

The roles played by space and place are crucial to the understanding of the world. The terms, however, are not easily defined in a consensual manner and are perhaps too general or unclear to comprise a distinct subject matter. Norton (1989a,191) suggested the potential use of space and place as an instrument of the geographical imagination to help prove that **landscape** is the most appropriate singular subject matter in human geography. A distinctly geographical subject matter cannot be solely comprised of socio-spatial interaction, but more specifically of the result of that interaction - landscape creation and change.

Even though landscape may be a distinctly geographical focus of interest, the study of it requires the consideration of a variety of factors which create and interact with it. Norton (1989a) neglected to discuss the difficulty involving the definition of the term, 'landscape' itself, which can take on different meanings and levels of significance between disciplines. This point requires further elaboration and will be addressed in the following Chapter. It is presently asserted that even though landscape is the single most

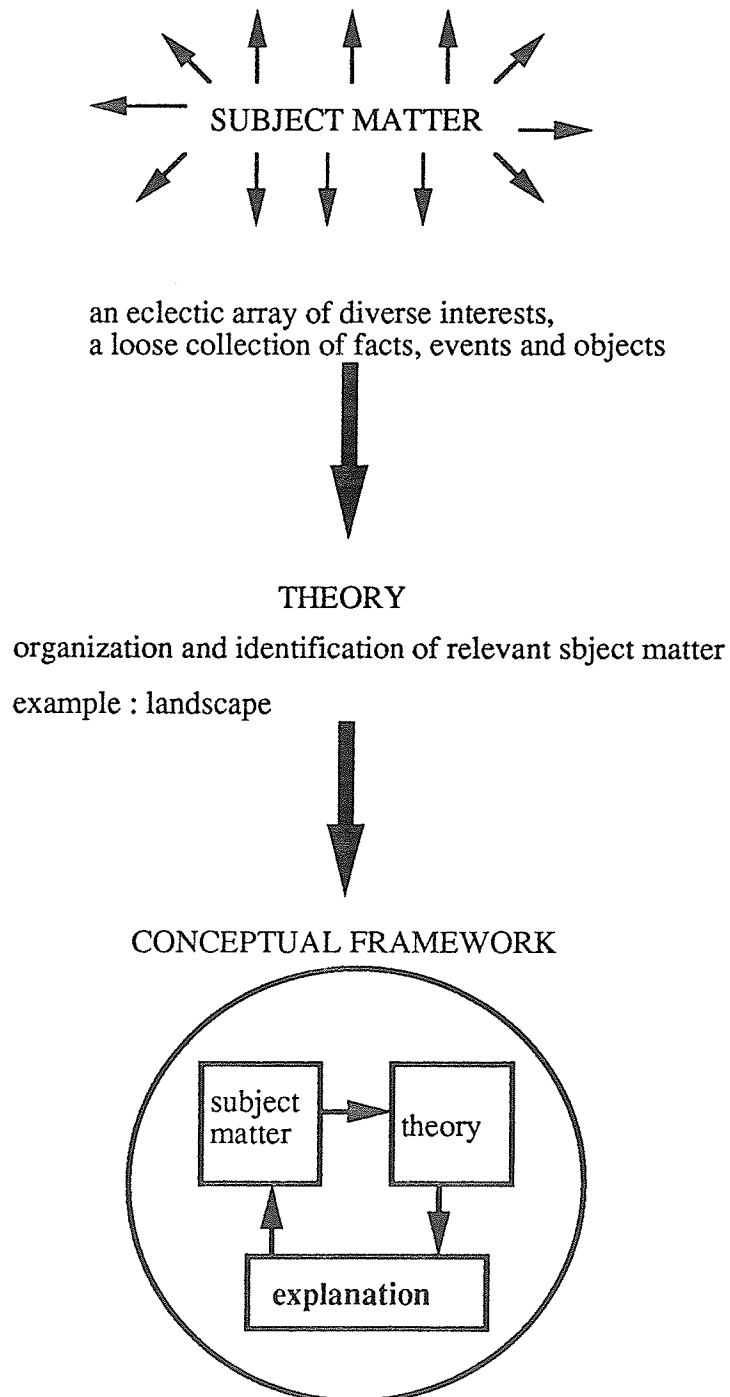
promising concept to comprise a human geographic subject matter, an interdisciplinary approach is nevertheless required in order to understand the complex factors and processes that create and interact with landscape.

Once a salient, distinctive subject matter is identified and clarified, then theory construction can be facilitated at the appropriate level discussed. Theory can then fulfil its function of organization of subject matter, which in turn aids in clearer and more meaningful explanations of facts, events and objects within a coherent conceptual framework. Figure 3.2 illustrates a simplified model of this process.

The circularity of the above reasoning may appear somewhat contradictory and requires clarification. How can theory be the sole avenue in which a subject matter is clarified if in order to originally construct theory, subject matter must already be clearly delimited? The answer is simplified only in the context of the **nature** of the subject matter. If the center of interest is necessarily eclectic, as is the case in human geography, simply knowing what it is does not constitute a sound basis for integration and clearer identification. However, the organization and clarification precipitated by a conceptual framework in which facts, events and objects can be placed in a meaningful context helps to more clearly identify both the center of interest and a particular point of view. By providing an organized focus, a conceptual framework helps to clarify and integrate subject

FIGURE 3.2 :

SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF THE ROLE OF THEORY IN EXPLANATION



matter and can therefore lead to more meaningful explanations.

Another question which may be raised regarding the above reasoning involves the apparent contradiction of attempting to isolate a distinctly geographical perspective while simultaneously recognizing the necessarily eclectic nature of human geography's subject matter. Knowledge itself is necessarily overlapping. The deliberate selection of subsets of knowledge to conform to the currently existing artificial boundaries that divide various disciplines is a characteristic of an epistemological crisis which extends beyond geography to all the social sciences. Theory is an attempt at generalized explanation. If theory transcends the artificially imposed divisions between disciplines (and sub-disciplines), is it not of benefit to the advancement of knowledge? Perhaps this somewhat idealistic query may help to justify the need for human geography to borrow subject matter and theory from other disciplines, but does it help to explain the distinctiveness of human geography? Furthermore, is it important that the discipline be so singularly different from others in order to make valid and useful contributions to knowledge? Ideally, the answer may be no; however, given the constraints imposed by the university structure, professional communities and funding agencies, it is expected that human geography provide a distinct and meaningful contribution in order to meet the needs of society.

Due to institutional realities, efforts have been and must continue to be made to isolate and define the essence of human geography,

despite the emphasized recognition of the discipline's inevitably eclectic nature. This thesis attempts to accomplish this task via what is believed to be a necessarily eclectic approach. Because the subject matter of human geography is eclectic, a theoretical approach based on eclectic sources must be synthesized.

Theories Used In Human Geography

The theories discussed in this Section are specifically chosen as examples to illustrate three basic characteristics. Firstly, theories borrowed from other disciplines are a reflection of the eclectic nature of various fields of inquiry. Secondly, an attempt is made to demonstrate how effectively these theories fulfil the functions of organizing and more clearly delimiting subject matter in human geography. Thirdly, a critical evaluation is made to determine if some indication of a distinctly geographical perspective viably exists. The goals of this procedure are ultimately to extract a salient essence and to delimit a more succinct subject matter than a loose collection of facts, events and objects. Three categories of theories are identified - economic, behavioural and landscape - but these classes are not intended to be exhaustive.

Economic Theory

A considerable amount of theory and model construction in human geography has been intellectually borrowed from the discipline of economics. Of all the social sciences, with the exception of history, economics was the earliest to become well-established as a university

discipline - over fifty years before geography (Norton, 1989a,187). Perhaps because of a longer period of institutional development and experience and a more specific subject matter, economics has been able to formulate more sophisticated representations of generalized processes and high-level theory than some of the other social sciences. Examples of the geographic application of economic theory include von Thünen's agricultural land use theory and Lösch's theory of industrial location. A great deal of research has been conducted in the attempt to apply economic principles to the understanding and explanation of human behaviour. Morrill's (1979) Spatial Organization of the Landscape is an example of the attempted application of Christaller's and Thunen's theories of spatial order, based on economic theory, to the modelling of idealized landscapes.

Economic theory often employs normative assumptions, such as rational consumer behaviour. It is assumed that under ideal conditions, humans will behave in a manner conducive to the maximization of profits and the minimization of expenditures. In other words, maximum **efficiency** is assumed to be a characteristic of normal human behaviour. Geographical factors, such as distance, play an important role in determining, for example, shopping market locations and preference of patronage. Urban spatial organization theories that involve the relationship of industrial location to income group zones reflect an economic orientation to explanation. The social theory of Marx, such as work place and alienation, possesses economic implications by assuming that man cannot be emotionally fulfilled

without control over the manner in which he earns a living.

The underlying rationale of economic geography is mechanistic and deterministic - economic factors cause a behaviour effect. The concept of 'economic man' permeates the sub-discipline. Strong reliance on positivistic ideology and quantitative methodology are characteristics of economic geography. However, in spite of some of the dehumanizing aspects of these characteristics, economic theory has been perhaps the most sophisticated and advanced that has been used in human geography to date. The reason for this may lie in the ability of economic theory to more clearly identify a salient subject matter and to arrive at more generalized explanations and predictions than do other types of theory used in human geography. Through theories involving the relationship between space, economic factors and human behaviour, a subject matter based on how humans use the earth is clarified. In turn, referring back to Figure 2.1 (p. 41), the theories are tested using specific methods and result in a more clearly delimited subject matter.

It must be acknowledged, however, that not only economic but cultural variables significantly affect the ways in which humans view and use the earth. Economic geography, for the most part, appears to superimpose a preconceived 'developed' cultural value judgment on underlying assumptions. For example, the postulate that under ideal conditions the normal behaviour of a rational consumer is the maximization of efficiency does not necessarily apply to all culture groups. Some socialist societies are known to be economically

inefficient by Western standards. The Bushmen of the Kalahari in Botswana and the Inuit of Northern Canada, until relatively recently, have found the concepts of money and profits quite alien. Their world view and cultural and social values, goals and needs, do not seem geared towards the Western concept of economic development.

Behavioural Theory

As is the case with economic geography, the sub-discipline of behavioural geography borrows theories from other disciplines. This is especially true from psychology, which possesses a rich theoretical tradition. A more individually based scale of analysis than in economic geography is the focus. However, in behavioural geography, theory based on aggregates is the ultimate goal. Humanistic approaches are often employed, as is understandable regarding problems which concern individual perception and behaviour. In spite of these qualities, positivism and quantitative methodology have nevertheless dominated in the sub-discipline.

In regards to specific theories that have been used in behavioural geography, eclecticism is inevitable and pervasive. Sell, Taylor and Zube (1984), for example, elucidated a theoretical framework for the study of landscape perception. An organizational structure incorporating four diverse research paradigms was advocated in their study - evaluation of experts, empirical testing, the cognitive meaning to individuals and the experienced meaning of interaction. This integrational approach encompasses both conceptual and applied

interests, providing a model of landscape perception as a function of the interaction between humans and landscape. As well, what were essentially isolated research paradigms could be holistically integrated.

Cadwallader (1981) attempted to apply the gravity model borrowed from physics to explain consumer spatial behaviour. Rather than yielding any specific empirical results, his study focussed primarily on the potential usefulness of the model in a predictive capacity. He concluded that eclectic borrowing is an intellectually useful endeavour and that the subject matter of human geography can be further clarified as consisting of spatial behaviour.

One of the most promising approaches towards theory development in behavioural geography is transactionalism. The philosophy behind this approach is distinguished from and opposed to that of constructivism. One of the postulates of constructivist theory is that in order to understand reality, one must conceptually stop the time-space process in order to isolate and define events (Aitken and Bjorkland, 1988,55). Techniques that are commonly used in behavioural geography, such as the semantic differential and the repertory grid, are designed to elicit responses to questions which are consistent with constructivist philosophy. According to the transactional approach, reality can only be understood within the time-space continuum, without attempting to conceptually stop it. Transactionalism regards the human-land relationship as an inherently dynamic system in which people and the

environment are both cause and effect. This reflects a truly non-deterministic view.

One disadvantage of a transactionalist over a constructivist view is the extreme difficulty involved with the study of the changing transactions between humans and land. Despite this difficulty which, for example, includes measurement and generalization, the approach appears to be one of the most promising and realistic avenues of behavioural geographic inquiry for two basic reasons. Firstly, it seems to identify an eclectic, but nevertheless specific, set of subject matter consisting of human behaviour and landscape relations. Secondly, it recognizes the importance of the temporal, as well as spatial, dimension, which further exemplifies the need for an eclectic approach in human geography. Again, space by itself yields little understanding of the ongoing, dynamic processes that constitute human-land relations.

The primary advantage of behavioural approaches in human geography is the recognition of the fact that understanding human-land relations requires more than the examination of the physical, material landscape. Symbolic processes are fundamental aspects of human perception and behaviour. Humans create and interact with landscape. The experience of different individuals in different culture groups interacts with physical factors in the dynamic process of landscape creation and change.

Landscape Theory

In the context of attempting to isolate a distinct subject matter in human geography, landscape theory is of great potential value. Landscape, as will be discussed, is a difficult term to define in a consensual manner. However, if there exists one primary focus of human geographers that is not specifically shared with any other professional group, it is landscape. As has been established, a major theme in human geographic thought has been the relationship between people and land. This theme has provided a relatively clear, but vast and varied subject matter. The specific forms that result from human-land interaction are landscapes - be they viewed from an economic, behavioural or a variety of other perspectives.

The implication of the above argument is that the concept of landscape has permeated human geographic thought throughout the discipline's development. The question must be raised, therefore, as to why the landscape concept has not achieved universal consensus as the central focus of human geography. An attempt to answer this question is partially provided through an examination of Sauer's landscape school in the context of how and why it developed as a separate, as opposed to integrated, school of thought within the discipline.

The longest enduring and perhaps best known theory involving landscape originated from the landscape school of Carl Sauer at Berkeley, California in the mid-1920's. The intellectual roots of

Sauer's concept of landscape were closely linked to chorology and regionalism. Combining Hettner's definition of geography as the study of areas and Schluter's concept of 'landschaft', Sauer (1925,25) identified a subject matter in geography as consisting of a distinct association of physical and cultural forms. He defined landscape as the system of interrelated parts that result from the processes of development, change and completion within the context of human-land relations (Sauer, 1925,27).

As previously referred to, Sauer's programmatic statement in 1925 defined geography as the study of how the culture group, or agent, acts on the natural landscape, the medium, through time to create the cultural landscape, the result. Castelli (1980,19) symbolically expressed this statement as:

$$L_{cp} = \sum_{t_1}^{tp} f (Ln_1 + Cu)_t$$

Where: the present cultural landscape (L_{cp})

is the summation of the functions of the

natural landscape (Ln_1) at time one (t_1)

when it was first occupied by the cultural

group (Cu) to the present (tp).

This simple symbolic expression attempts to describe how a single culture group acts on the physical environment, through time, to create the cultural landscape. Castelli (1980,21) built on his own model of Sauer's programmatic statement by considering the interaction between

two culture groups and the resulting cultural landscape:

$$L_{cp} = \sum f (Ln + Cu_1)_t + \sum_{t_3}^{tp} f (Ln + Cu_1 + Cu_2)_t$$

Where the present cultural landscape (L_{cp}) is the sum of the functions of the natural landscape (Ln), the host culture (Cu_1) as it appears at a given time (t) plus the functions of the natural landscape (Ln), the host culture (Cu_1) and the introduced culture (Cu_2) from the time of introduction (t_3) to the present (tp).

Sauer's statement was originally only intended as an explanation of geography's scope, nature and purpose, as opposed to a theory geared towards generalization and prediction. However, it involved a system of statements that renders it conducive to these integral functions of theory. Sauer's statement, in effect, can also serve to conceptually organize the subject matter of the discipline. Despite Sauer's non-theoretical intentions, others, such as Castelli, have taken his statement further by attempting to generalize and predict, in addition to delimiting and organizing subject matter. Therefore, following the definitions provided in this thesis, Sauer's statement is useful in a meso-theoretical capacity.

Given this reasoning, then, why has the landscape school developed as a separate and isolated branch of human geography? If the landscape concept offers a distinct and viable explanation of the essence of

human geography, why has it not been generally accepted as a basis for inquiry? Several factors help to explain the failure of Sauer's theory to gain universal acceptance within the parent discipline. Firstly, Sauer's concept of landscape creation was closely related to the relatively limited concept of culture that was popular in anthropology during the first half of the twentieth century. At Berkeley, close intellectual ties were formed between Sauer and the cultural anthropologist, Alfred Kroeber during the 1920's (James and Martin, 1981,327). The deterministic superorganic concept of culture was a characteristic of Sauer's thinking. It is possible that the intellectual borrowing from an outside discipline may have initially isolated the landscape school from the popular view of environmental determinism held by most geographers in the 1920's. According to Lowenthal (1961,245), new theories that do not fit in well with established views were resisted.

A second factor to explain the landscape school's lack of general acceptance in the broader discipline of human geography involves the unclear nature of the term, 'landscape' itself. The German concept of 'landschaft' could refer to both a distinct area or the general appearance of the land (Smith, 1989,107). Geographers were also confused as to the distinction between landscape and region. Therefore, a logical foundation for geographic inquiry could not be provided by a concept which had not as yet been either clearly defined or consensually understood.

A third factor involved the impetus of dominant individuals within the discipline. As previously discussed, certain leading figures tended to influence the general acceptance of new concepts. Sauer's statement can be considered in part to be a critical reaction to the environmental determinist thesis. New views, such as the landscape school, often emerge as a result of criticism of previous views. For example, humanistic and radical approaches were partially born out of dissatisfaction with positivism. Hartshorne was an extremely influential geographer who was particularly critical of Sauer's landscape concept. According to Smith (1989,108), Hartshorne was responsible for the 'assassination' of landscape because of its inherent ambiguity as a term. This unfortunately influential viewpoint ignored the potential richness of the concept by focussing primarily on definitional problems. The landscape concept has great potential to link the concepts of space and culture. However, from the 1920's to well beyond the mid-twentieth century, this potential was widely rejected because it was the linking of culture and place that had led to social ills, such as racism, promoted by environmental determinism.

The last and most important factor explaining the landscape concept's failure to gain universal acceptance was that it became increasingly apparent to geographers, as time progressed, that Sauer's theory neglected to explain the impact made by **symbolic** processes on landscape evolution. A primary focus of the landscape school was the physical, material forms of culture. This incomplete explanation of

the cultural landscape drew increasing criticism. Behaviour, the active ingredient in landscape creation, is in part molded by dynamic factors, such as perceptions, attitudes, goals, beliefs and institutions, none of which are easily rendered visible and measurable. These symbolic aspects of cultural behaviour are integral factors which influence the ways humans create, use, and perceive landscapes. The landscape school's omission of the symbolic helps to explain the limited popularity of the theory outside of the relatively isolated sub-discipline of cultural geography.

However, it is believed that Sauer's theory is valuable by identifying culture and landscape as constituting a valid and useful set of subject matter in human geography. This aspect of his work needs to be built on and made more central to the discipline. Difficulties in providing clear and commonly accepted definitions still impede progress. This issue will be addressed in more detail in the following Chapter.

In spite of the potential focus that culture and landscape can provide to human geography, this subject matter is still too vast and varied. By themselves, these concepts have failed to integrate the plethora of diverse interests that have persisted in the discipline. In order to achieve the potential cohesion that the culture-landscape theme offers, an even yet more general framework is believed to be required.

Social Theory and Disciplinary Integration

During the course of the 1980's a need for disciplinary integration has become increasingly acknowledged by geographers and professionals of other social sciences. The identity crisis is not indigenous to geography, but is simply more pronounced in it due to the particularly unclear nature of subject matter. An epistemological crisis exists within and between the various social sciences because of the related nature of their subject matters within the rigid system of disciplinary separation in universities. It has become increasingly recognized that knowledge transcends artificially imposed disciplinary boundaries. This realization constitutes part of the recent trend of post-modernism, of which current social theory is a useful example.

Before evaluating the usefulness of social theory in a human geographic context, an examination of its origins and implications is required. It is beyond the scope and ability of this thesis to accomplish this task in great detail. The sources used in the following discussion of social theory's development are specifically selected only to provide a very basic representation of the nature and usefulness of the theory. They are not intended to be exhaustively representative, but rather are used to clarify the basic meaning, purpose and potential application of the concept.

A clear definition of social theory is difficult to elucidate. It is one of those nebulous, umbrella terms which includes an eclectic

array of concepts aimed at the understanding, explanation and changing of society. In a great deal of literature, such as that by Cohen (1968), Goode (1973), Szacki (1979) and Giddens (1982,1984,1987), social theory, as a term, is implicitly, not specifically, defined by its application. It could be argued in general that 'social theory is what sociologists do' - a quip which contains the same questionable level of specificity as 'geography is what geographers do'. Founding fathers of the social sciences, such as Marx, Comte and Spencer could be considered social theorists, as their fundamental aims were to understand and explain social processes. An example of social theory in application is attempting to answer questions such as:

'Why does an industrialized society have a
professionalizing trend?'

To answer this, other questions must first be asked, such as:

'How do societies view and evaluate socio-
cultural factors such as goals, constraints,
institutions and power?' (Goode, 1973,346).

In regards to the origins of the term, Szacki (1979,5) argued that theory regarding society was born in Greece, where a permanent state of social crisis existed. However, the construction of modern social theory began to intensify when factors such as industrialization, cross-cultural contacts, social mobility and differentiation and instability of religious beliefs and political systems occurred in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In short, social theory has historically been inspired and created by social change.

The purposes of social theory, according to Cohen (1968,236), are to explain, or suggest ways of explaining the characteristics of social phenomena, to provide analytical methods for studying complex social processes and to aid in the construction of models to explain social structures and systems. The nature of this type of theory is not necessarily purely 'scientific' as defined by positivism, but explanatory on a level of generalized understanding.

It is this meso-level of theory which is deemed by this thesis to be appropriate for human geography. Social theory cannot always provide the means for testing hypotheses and formulating laws. However, it is fundamentally useful in providing a generalized explanation of phenomena that can lead to a frame in which various studies can be placed in a meaningful and organized context. Szacki (1979,478) concurred that not only human geography, but sociology and anthropology as well, possess the fundamental weakness of the inability to integrate various conceptual orientations within a common, single framework. Human geography is by no means alone in the need for the integrative function of theory.

The term, 'social theory' is most often used interchangeably with the term 'sociological theory'. Unlike many sociologists, however, Giddens distinguishes between the two terms. He believes that social,

as opposed to sociological, theory spans all the social sciences. "It [social theory] is a body of theory shared in common by all the disciplines concerned with the behaviour of human beings" (Giddens, 1982,5). The primary task of social theory is to provide concepts regarding the nature of human social activity, which encompasses the subject matters of every social science.

Another useful distinction made by Giddens is in regards to the appropriate level of theory in the social, as opposed to the natural, sciences. Social theory is not positivistic because humans, as social agents, are knowledgeable and capable of incorporating theory within their actions (Giddens, 1982,15). As discussed, positivism tends to separate and elevate itself in a pretext of invulnerable objectivity. Social theory, on the other hand, cannot yield scientific laws because in the social sciences, laws hold true only in specific conditions which are historically contingent. In this context, therefore, theory is explanation, that is, it answers the questions 'how?' and 'why?', but not the formulation of laws.

Giddens's primary contribution to social theory and its important implications for human geography is his theory of structuration. A conceptual division is made between humans and society in structuration theory in order to reflect what is referred to as "the duality of structure" (Giddens, 1984,xxi). The structure of social institutions that exist depends on the reproduction of social behaviour through both time and space. 'Structure' refers to the rules and resources implied

by social reproduction. The 'duality' of structure implies that underlying social structures are both the medium and the outcome. Structuration is different from structural sociology in that structures not only form constraints, but also enable behaviour. (Giddens, 1987,169).

Subject matter overlap is a major characteristic of structuration theory. Giddens' contribution towards elucidating the value of this is worth noting.

"Spatial patterns are as important to social theory as are temporal...sociology can learn from geography about the importance of regionalization and associated techniques of studying it, a sense of place and the fact that social practices take place in certain locales" (Giddens, 1984,366).

On the other hand, geography can learn from sociology that without social practices, space lacks meaning. As discussed, a distinct science with space, alone, as a subject matter is unrealistic. Likewise, a sociology without spatial considerations is incomplete. An important argument presented by Giddens' (1984) The Constitution of Society is that space not only mediates, constrains and enables social behaviour, but actively constitutes it (Albas, 1990, personal communication).

The key point to be made is that no valid social science can exist

without consideration of human behaviour in both a time and a space context. This statement strongly indicates that the nature of the various social sciences' subject matters is necessarily overlapping. The most valuable aspect of social theory which applies to human geography is the integration of the fundamental subject matters of time, space and society.

There are, however, some problems associated with the application of social theory to human geography. Social theory is currently at a stage of development which is to many geographers too new, confusing or of unproven, long-term value. Laden with post-modernist neologisms and excessive esoteric jargon, much literature from social theory can be difficult to understand and communicate to others. Much of the underlying intellectual inspiration of current social theory is critical, radical or Marxist in origin. It can be argued that a significant proportion of work being conducted that is termed 'social theory' is, in reality, **socialist** theory - the principal goal being social reform and change, as opposed to disciplinary integration. If the underlying rationale of some social theory is the expulsion of a particular political point of view, one might question the priority of the authors. In other words, it is believed that in the social sciences, or any intellectual pursuit for that matter, the advancement of knowledge should be the ultimate goal. However, it is also acknowledged that not only social theoretical, but other social science literature periodically disguise intellectual pursuits with political propaganda.

Another important criticism of social theory is that it tends to neglect an inclusion of the concept of culture. It is believed that part of the reason for this unfortunate state of affairs is the very nature of disciplinary division and specialization. To the sociologist, society is a sufficiently broad and all-inclusive concept. Similarly, to the anthropologist, the culture concept tends to overlook any need for emphasis on the concept of society. Artificial division and subsequent separate development of disciplines help to explain the emphasis given to singular concepts by various fields of inquiry. In the next Chapter, it is argued that for human geography, both the concept of culture and society are important to include in meaningful explanations. It will further be argued that in a specific geographical context, the two concepts are similar and capable of being combined.

Regardless of these critical observations, an eclectic, interdisciplinary approach is advocated as the only presently viable amelioration of geography's identity problem. The apparent contradiction of attempting to extract the distinct by delving in integration renders the total solution to the problem most difficult. However, all the social sciences suffer from the same conundrum. In order to advance knowledge in the social sciences, it would appear that artificial disciplinary boundaries need to be broken down. This is as true for sociology and anthropology as it is for human geography. Social theory, without political overtones, is potentially capable of accomplishing this goal and is therefore of value to pursue further.

Summary Remarks

As has been shown, human geography has been unable to clearly identify its own distinctive subject matter, which has given rise to problems in theory construction. It has been established that human geography is a necessarily eclectic discipline. Since theory must be predicated on subject matter, it follows logically that theory in human geography must also be eclectically formulated.

If there exists a distinctly geographical set of phenomena at the discipline's center of interest, it is comprised of, but exceeds, the concepts of culture and landscape. Culture, alone, is a trans-disciplinary concept and space must also be recognized as an important factor in other disciplines. Landscape is perhaps the only single aspect of human geography that is not a primary focus of any other social science. However, even the landscape concept is insufficient to stand on its own as difficulties in definitions and general agreement are pervasive. Not only cultural factors, but social processes are reflected by landscape creation and change. Because of the problems discussed in the previous Section, social theory, alone, also falls short of the ability to more accurately identify an appropriate subject matter for human geography.

The next Chapter argues that the concepts of culture and society, as they relate to landscape evolution, comprise the most viable subject matter for human geography. The prescribed approach is related to the

integration advocated by social theory, synthesizing the subject matters and theories of various social sciences. It is believed that progressively less sharply defined boundaries between disciplines are required in order to advance knowledge in human geography and to give the discipline the coherence it needs to obtain this ultimate objective.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CULTURE, SOCIETY AND LANDSCAPE - TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introductory Remarks

Due to the vast diversity of subject matter, the discipline of human geography requires an integrating and organizing framework at the meso-level of theory discussed in the previous Chapter. It has been established that, in order to construct a conceptual framework that is capable of achieving the clarification and organization the discipline needs, a distinct set of subject matter must first be delimited. The primary aims of this Chapter are to suggest a more definitive subject matter for human geography and to use it to help construct a conceptual framework which incorporates the ideas presented by the models in the previous Chapters. A more general goal of ameliorating the problems caused by divergent interests within the presently balkanized discipline is also sought. It is believed, in effect, that once a subject matter is delimited and a conceptual framework which provides clarification and organization is constructed, disciplinary cohesion, greater understanding of central concerns and better explanations can ultimately be achieved.

In this Chapter, culture, society and landscape are viewed as the most suitable phenomena to comprise a more succinct subject matter than currently exists in human geography. Not only cultural and social geography, but other sub-disciplines of human geography can achieve the above goals from narrower definitions and application of these terms within an organized framework. Much more specific definitions of culture, society and landscape are offered. However, a more general

framework which incorporates the concepts implied by the definition of the terms is required. Narrower definitions of the terms are not tantamount to elucidating a more appropriate subject matter for human geography because they are not inseparable from the factors that precipitate them. Cultural and social processes and behaviour and time are important factors to consider in order to understand and explain landscape evolution. In other words, it is the entire framework itself, rather than the constituent parts, that forms an appropriate basis for inquiry in the discipline.

In the previous Chapter's discussion of current social theory, it was argued that social structures (rules and resources) interact with space to create landscapes. This socio-spatial view is further argued in this Chapter to be conceptually similar to the culture-landscape view in a human geographical context. It is also postulated that these two approaches are related due to the intrinsic similarity of the concepts that constitute them. In human geography, society can be a closely paralled concept to culture, once the terms are more narrowly and consistently defined and operationalized. Both sets of subject matter can aid in the explanation of landscape evolution and are, therefore, potentially useful to combine in a single conceptual framework. The next Section indicates a procedure by which the above tasks can be accomplished and the assertions regarding them justified.

The Proposed Procedure

In order to demonstrate the validity of the above statements and to construct a conceptual framework based on them, narrower and more succinct definitions of the central terms of culture, society and landscape are first required. One of the primary reasons these phenomena have failed to constitute a central focus of interest in human geography is the problem of overly general and disparate definitions of them within and between related disciplines. Selected definitions that currently exist of culture, society and landscape are discussed in necessary conjunction with the historical development of the concepts involving these phenomena. Salient aspects of the culture and society concepts are then combined and a revised definition is constructed and operationalized. Certain distinctions which have been made between the terms are also discussed and evaluated. The aim of this procedure is to illustrate the usefulness of and to lay a foundation for the redefinition of the central terms in order to construct a conceptual framework which helps to explain landscape evolution.

The proposed conceptual framework attempts to integrate cultural and social explanations of landscape. As was discussed in the previous Chapter, sociology and social theory are capable of working towards the integration of the concepts of space and society as they pertain to landscape evolution. However, it was noted that social theory tends to neglect the inclusion of cultural variables in explanations of social structures in space and time. This Chapter attempts to integrate the

socio-spatial and culture-landscape themes in order to construct a revised sociocultural-landscape framework.

Once the key terms are narrowed in scope, then compared, combined and redefined in a human geographical context, an organizational frame can be constructed that is more capable of clarifying and solidifying the appropriate domain of inquiry in the discipline. Examples of the potential application of this framework in various sub-disciplines of human geography are offered in order to substantiate its feasibility. The greater cohesion that can result from the framework can then set the stage for theoretical progress in the discipline. Once the subject matter is more clearly delimited, theory construction will be facilitated. The discipline can then have a clearer picture of fundamental objectives within a general, unifying frame.

**Culture, Society and Landscape -
Problems Involving the Usage
of the Terms**

Before evaluating and comparing some of the presently existing definitions of these terms, a preliminary discussion of some of the problems regarding them is required. Culture, society and landscape are terms which contain inherent difficulty in definition and, thus, application. They are very broad, imprecise and ambiguous terms and have not yielded universally accepted meanings either in everyday language or within or between the various disciplines that employ them.

People use these terms freely and with conviction as to their meaning in everyday language. For example, it is commonly acceptable to say 'That person is a patron of culture', 'A responsible citizen must contribute to society' or 'What an attractive landscape!' Although these expressions are easily understood by most people, if they were individually asked to define the central terms in question, a plethora of different responses would probably be offered. To some, culture refers to the arts, as in theatre, music and painting. To others, a person is 'cultured' if he or she is widely educated or sophisticated. Some laymen would equate culture with nationality or ethnicity. One might attempt to explain aspects of another's behaviour by stating 'It's their culture'. Another commonly occurring interpretation of culture is connoted by political and historical movements. A specific cultural identity sought by Basque separatists and a 'distinct society' which was sought to be recognized for French Canadians in the Meech Lake Accord reflect a meaning of culture which is politically, historically and geographically based.

It is evident that culture can mean all of and more than the above interpretations. The terms, society and landscape also contain a broad and general variety of meanings. To many people, society simply implies the realm of commonly accepted rules and behaviour of the majority. Society can also refer to an elite or private group, club or governing organization, such as the Law Society. The term is so vague that some people, if put to the task, would be unable to offer a succinct definition of society at all.

Landscape is a term which lacks precision and consensus as to its meaning, although to a somewhat lesser degree than the terms, culture and society. To many people, landscape denotes a typically rural, inland setting (as opposed to seascape) that attracts artists to paint it. Characteristics of this commonly used meaning of the term would include rolling plains, trees, lakes and attractive horizons. 'Landscaping' is often equated with the aesthetic grooming of land or decorating of property, such as the attractive complementation of gardens, statues and driveways.

The above discussion reflects some of the layman's usage of the terms in question. However, even in the more objective scientific disciplines, differences in their definition and application are inherent and pervasive. The terms culture and society especially suffer from imprecision and lack of consensus both within and between disciplines. This is one of the main reasons why extensive difficulty has occurred in the use of the terms as exclusively central foci of interest in the social sciences. For example, in the field of anthropology, a vast array of disparate interests under the broad subject of people and culture is typical. The consensual definition of culture has been problematic in the anthropological discipline, which claims a central interest in this vague concept.

Similarly in sociology, an interest is pursued in an enormous variety of phenomena, such as workplace and alienation, class stratification, crime in the inner city and the politics of sexuality.

These often unrelated types of topics, among many others, fall under the general rubric of 'society', but fail to yield an easily understood definition of this central term.

In regards to the term, 'landscape', the landscape architect, for example, adheres to a completely different conception of the term than does the geographer. In cultural geography, landscape usually refers to the impact and imprint of human activity on the natural environment; whereas the landscape architect thinks of landscape in a more specific, decorative manner. As discussed in the previous Chapter, even within the sub-discipline of cultural geography, confusion between the terms, landscape and region has created problems. As is the case with the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, if a central concept (landscape, as opposed to culture or society) constitutes the core of inquiry in human geography, the plethora of divergent interests has certainly not convincingly and consensually defined it.

Difficulty involving the terms has also occurred on a methodological level. Culture, for example, is a problematic subject matter because of the intrinsic unsuitability to various kinds of scientific research methods. In the positivistic approach, the study of culture is particularly difficult. In terms of their traits, cultures are very often quite different from one another. Unique cases render predictions difficult and the formulation of laws virtually impossible. On the other hand, not all cultural traits are different between groups. Shared traits, such as language, are obviously

characteristics of all cultures. Different cultures can share the same language and use the same resources, especially in an age of increasing technological diffusion and communication. These factors render an ideographic approach, which focusses on unique cases, increasingly difficult.

However, the single greatest problem regarding the definition, application and methods of studying culture, society and landscape is the overly general nature and interpretation of their meanings. This problem has contributed greatly to the failure of related disciplines to integrate diverse research directions within a common, unifying framework. Culture, society and landscape have also failed to precipitate disciplinary cohesion due to the segregating trend caused by the artificially imposed divisions between related disciplines. The ambiguous culture concept is employed by anthropology in part to justify the field's existence as a discipline and to differentiate it from others. Sociology has also promoted this tendency with the equally imprecise concept of society.

It is believed that disciplinary integration is both a major requirement and consequence of the use of these terms as primary foci of interest. If it can be demonstrated that culture and society and social behaviour are related phenomena, it would effectively weaken the boundaries between the disciplines that study them. A sound basis for disciplinary integration would be strengthened by promoting the centrality of more narrowly redefined concepts of culture and society.

For human geography, in which it is argued that culture and society play a similar, mutually complementary role in the creation of and interaction with landscape, disciplinary integration is both applicable and appropriate because the central concepts are, by their nature, interdisciplinary.

Culture, Society and Landscape:

Historical Development and Definitions

It is necessary to offer succinct and operational definitions of the terms before a conceptual framework can be constructed. This task is attempted via a synthesis of basic similarities that exist between various definitions of the terms in the context of their historical development. (Figure 4.1 illustrates the progression of ideas and conceptual focii of the terms, culture and society, based on the following discussion.) However, it is believed that more than a synthesis is required. Universally accepted definitions of culture, society and landscape have been most elusive throughout the history of the social sciences. The aim of this Section is to more precisely narrow the parameters of overly general definitions in a geographical context. Once the salient aspects of the terms are identified, narrower, reconstructed definitions are offered. The argument will then be drawn that in the context of landscape, the similar concepts of culture and society can be combined in a single conceptual framework.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPTS OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY

CULTURE			SOCIETY		
TIME	Conceptual Focus	Type of Explanation	TIME	Conceptual Focus	Type of Explanation
Greek and Arab Civ's.	human superiority to other animals	of intellect	18th Cent.	utilitarian (the Enlightenment)	intellect used for individualistic ends
Late 19th Century	ethnography (Tylor)	pluralistic and relativistic, very general	19th Cent.	economic (Marx)	competition for resources, conflict
First half 20th Century	cultural patterns material aspects (Kroeber)	includes all types of behaviour of man as a member of society cultural determinism	early 20th Cent.	organismic (Comte, Durkheim)	social determinism society as an entity unto itself
1950's	structural symbolic aspects (Radcliffe-Brown)	more emphasis on social structures than cultural patterns	1960's	psychological and social psychological symbolic interactionism (Cooley and Mead)	self-conceptions redefined according to others' perspectives
1960's	culture as learned behaviour (White)	behavioral, psychological	1970's	systems	society as a self-creating and self-regulating process - similar to organismic explanation
1970's - 1980's	culture as a factor causing behaviour (Norton)	narrower redefinition	1980's	structuration (Giddens, Dear and Wolch)	socio-spatial interaction, social reproduction in space and time

Culture

The culture concept has had an enormous influence in the social sciences. It can be regarded as their very foundation, being as fundamentally important to history, anthropology, politics, economics, psychology, sociology and geography as gravity is to physics (Langness, 1974,2). Culture transcends esoteric academic interests and is a major basis for education in understanding the human-land relationship. The idea of culture is a way of understanding human variation - a tool for the study of human nature. Langness (1974,154) recognized the lack of a commonly accepted definition of culture, but noted that the most important criteria are shared behaviour and ideas that are cumulative, systematic and transmitted from generation to generation extragenetically.

The culture concept has had a long and interesting history, dating back at least to the Greek civilization. In the fourteenth century, A.D., the Arab historian, Ibn Khaldun, was quoted as referring to the concept of culture to "explain man's superiority of intellect from other animals" (Langness, 1974,1). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the French school of geography viewed culture as 'genre de vie', or total way of life. This view, similar to many that followed and preceded it, reflected a very general, all-inclusive interpretation of the concept.

Perhaps the most famous definition of culture used in the social

sciences was made in 1871 by E.B. Tylor, when he stated that culture was "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969,95). This extremely general, pluralistic and relativistic conception of culture was maintained in American ethnographic anthropology by Boas and Malinowski up until the mid-twentieth century (Singer, 1968,527). This interpretation drew criticism and was challenged by the growing social anthropological school of Radcliffe-Brown in England, where the focus was on social structures as opposed to the cultural patterns emphasized by ethnographic anthropology. In cultural pattern theory, material, visible forms of culture, such as artifacts, were of primary importance; whereas in the structural approach, more symbolic factors, such as morals and institutions, were emphasized. In social anthropology, culture was seen as a symbolically assimilated social process, whereas in cultural anthropology, of which Kroeber was a representative, culture was viewed as a self-creating entity unto itself.

There were many parallels between these two dominant approaches. Both pattern and structural theories of culture attempted to arrive at a general holism, covering all aspects of culture and society. Basically, they both tried to explain the same phenomenon, but focussed on different factors. One main difference between them was the academic environments of North America and Great Britain. In the United States, the cultural pattern view dominated; a more social

structural focus existed in England. This has also been the case within the development of human geography in the twentieth century, which further exemplifies the related processes of development between disciplines.

More recent definitions of culture stem from the behavioural approach, which has attempted to unify the ethnographic and structural themes. Culture, in this newer approach, was defined in terms of learned behaviour. However, behavioural learning theories have been unsuccessful in accounting for the specific types of learning associated with important features of culture, such as language and kinship systems. Social anthropologists, such as Geertz, who were influenced by sociologists, such as Durkheim and Parsons, have attempted to synthesize aspects of pattern and structural theories (Singer, 1968,530). Conceptions of culture based on cognition have shown some promise through the investigation of cross-cultural contacts. Behavioural theories of culture are as limited in productivity by their excessive generality as any of the previous theories. As yet, no one has been able to formulate a universally accepted definition of the extremely complex concept of human culture.

Society

As is the case with the culture concept in anthropology, the concept of society has also been formulated in a variety of ways in the discipline of sociology. One popular definition from the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences is "an independent or self-sufficient group

characterized by distinctive internal organization, culture, territoriality and sexual recruitment". Theodorson and Theodorson (1969,398) define a society as a group of people with an at least somewhat distinct culture who occupy a particular territorial area, have a feeling of uniqueness and regard themselves as a distinguishable entity. A society can be seen as a special type of group of people with a comprehensive social system, including all of the basic social institutions (family, laws, schools and governments) required to meet basic human needs. Sociologists, such as Park, who emphasized a human ecological approach, defined society as a level of human organization based on communication and culture (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969,398).

Historically, the concept of society has been permeated by ideological implications. The concept has changed and adapted as society itself has transformed. According to Marx, society exists in the concrete relations between social groups (Mayhew, 1968,580). Conflict theory states that humans are organisms that compete with one another for resources. This theory mirrors an economic orientation to the explanation of society. In the utilitarian view, each person uses his or her reasoning ability to accomplish individualistic goals, reflecting the liberal thinking of the Enlightenment. Organismic conceptions of Comte and Durkheim consider society as an entity unto itself which is self-created, self-sustained and self-perpetuated.

More contemporary views include systems and psychological

approaches. In social psychology, the symbolic interactionist approach of Cooley and Mead regard society as a symbolically regulated process. Humans acquire a 'social personality' when they communicate symbolically. As people adopt others' perspectives of themselves, they redefine their own self-conceptions and behave in what they perceive to be appropriate ways. As is the case with culture, the concept of society has changed over time along with the transitional character of both mankind's ecological horizons and the various disciplines that study it.

Landscape

The term, landscape, is vague and ambiguous, although comparatively narrower and more definitive than the terms, culture and society. The historical roots of the concept in geography can be traced back to at least Richthofen, who was primarily concerned with areal differentiation, or chorology (regionalism). Hettner had stressed that regional features reflect basic patterns of the physical earth. Schlüter, on the other hand, focussed on the interrelationship of those features which gave regions a distinctive appearance. Employing an historical approach which explicitly recognized that processes occur through time as well as space, Schlüter advocated the centrality of a landscape concept, partially defining it as "things on the surface of the earth" (James and Martin, 1981,177). He identified a physical landscape, **Urlandschaft** and traced the sequence of changes that resulted in a landscape created by human culture, **Kulturlandschaft**.

Carl Sauer was evidently significantly influenced by Schlüter's ideas. In The Morphology of Landscape (1925,46), he stated that "the cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group". As previously referred to, Sauer had defined the term landscape as denoting the unit concept of geography, characterizing the peculiar geographic association of facts. Although they attempted to describe the same phenomenon, Sauer and Schlüter offered vague and different definitions of landscape. Basically, however, they both spoke of the term as referring to particular types of regions that could be visually distinguished from one another. The focus of this interpretation of landscape was on the material, visible forms of culture and has had a long-reaching influence in American cultural geography.

Other geographers have argued for a more symbolically oriented interpretation of the landscape concept (Tuan, 1977; Cosgrove, 1984; Norton, 1989b). From a symbolic viewpoint, landscapes are not merely what they visually appear to be, but have different meanings to different individuals in various culture groups. Tuan (1977,185) believed that in some cultures, the present experience that people have of a place is bound in the recorded features of the landscape. In other words, the present experience of a culture is inextricably linked to an historically and symbolically preserved record that is landscape. For example, in Australian Aboriginal culture, in which an individual owns a cave or a mountain, a deed of an ancestor or culture hero is remembered in close association with those particular features of the

landscape.

In other cultures, different values and beliefs create a symbolic view of the past as a burden. Pygmies of the Congo rainforest have a relatively weakly developed sense of time and tend to live exclusively in the present (Tuan, 1977,189). Due to the harsh, unchanging nature of the rainforest's environment, few cultural artifacts, which are symbolically laden, are transmitted from generation to generation due to their vulnerability to rapid disintegration.

In Europe, stone has historically dominated as the most commonly used building material; whereas in China, wood has been used more. Even though the Chinese civilization is the more ancient of the two, their landscapes reflect fewer visible, ancient material structures than the West, as stone far outlives wood. Therefore, the European landscapes are more materially based than are the Chinese (Tuan, 1977,191). Tuan concluded these interesting conjectures by pointing out that abstract space lacks significance until it becomes a place imbued with the meaning given to it by cultural factors, which are both materially and symbolically constituted.

Cosgrove (1984,1) argued that landscape is 'a way of seeing' that has its own history, but can only be understood as part of a wider history of society and economics. He advocated that, in order to understand landscape, a specific human - land approach is required that explicitly recognizes the relationship between society and land. For

example, the social transition from feudalism to capitalism, as modes of production, contributed to the creation of different landscapes. As Europeans achieved dominance over the world economy, changing social relations between individuals and groups manifested themselves in the emergence of new landscapes.

The term, landscape, is difficult to define because it is in some ways much more and in other ways much less than a type of area, or region. Cosgrove (1984,13) proposed an interesting and quite useful definition of landscape as a part of an area, or region, that is representative of an actually undivided whole. Included in Cosgrove's definition is the subsequent human mediation of the experienced world - a way of seeing.

Great difficulty in articulating and advocating the centrality of landscape in human geography results from the concept's inability to mediate between the subjective and objective and individual and collective perceptions.

"Landscapes can be deceptive. Sometimes a landscape seems to be less a setting for the lives of its inhabitants than a curtain behind which struggles achievements and accidents take place. For those who, with the inhabitants, are behind the curtains, landmarks are no longer geographical, but also biographical and personal".

(Berger, 1976,13)

Landscape, as it applies to the definitions discussed in a geographical context, is not the primary focus of any other discipline outside of human geography. However, it is not strictly confined to geographical interests. Norton (1989b,138) stated that landscapes, which possess a material and symbolic value, reflect and express both cultural and social variables. Because many of the social sciences are interested in culture and society, they can therefore benefit from the study of landscape. Cultural and social factors interact spatially and temporally with the environment. Landscape is potentially useful by interlocking the concepts of space, culture and society (Smith, 1989,108). The various disciplines that study cultural and social processes and behaviour can increase their knowledge through the study of landscape evolution. Culture, society and landscape are not concepts which can be intellectually monopolized by any one discipline, but they are open to a variety of interpretations. However, if given narrower and operationalized definitions of these central concepts, they can potentially provide a more definitive focus for the discipline of human geography.

Towards a Conceptual Framework

It is argued that these concepts are interrelated and, as is human geography itself, interdisciplinary by their nature. All the social sciences are interested in understanding and explaining human behaviour, but focus on different aspects. If the concepts of culture, society and landscape are to prove to be conducive to the attainment of

greater understanding and better explanations, they need to be made to be more clearly understood and operationalized themselves. Narrower and clearer definitions can help work towards this goal.

In regards to the culture concept, the diversity of interests and lack of a focus that have characterized the various disciplines that have attempted to employ it can partially be attributed to overly general definitions. Mikesell (1977,460) pointed to the fact that the range of issues examined in cultural geography has been so diverse that most cultural geographers have adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards the meaning of culture. Sauer's general and broadly focussed landscape school viewed culture in a similar manner to the commonly accepted pluralistic conception of culture that was characteristic of American cultural anthropology during the first half of the twentieth century. Norton (1984,147) went as far as to assert that overly general interpretations of culture actively promoted the diversity of interests and a lack of a focus in cultural geography.

Many social scientists, including White (1959,227) approached the culture concept as a means of distinguishing humans' unique role in nature. This view includes an interpretation of culture as being comprised of, but an abstraction from, learned behaviour. Culture is not as general a term as is behaviour, but rather just one factor which causes it. Because of this fact, culture must be treated in a narrower manner than behaviour. As it affects behaviour in the context of landscape creation, culture is an extremely important factor to be

considered in human geography. This is not only true in cultural, but also in other sub-disciplines of human geography, because most study some aspect of landscape - be it industrial, agricultural, rural or urban.

Not only does culture actively contribute to the creation of landscape, but through symbolic interaction, landscape also affects and modifies culture. Norton (1984,147) noted that "culture is both cause and effect and interacts with the environment". A clearer, narrower definition of culture as a factor causing behaviour which creates and interacts with the landscape helps work towards a framework in which human geographical studies can be more meaningfully conducted.

The concept of culture further needs to be more narrowly redefined in human geography as a factor causing behaviour that creates and interacts with landscape and consists of symbolic, extragenetic communication. This definition is similar to a more narrowly redefined concept of society. It is argued that in the context of human geography, the two concepts are related and have much in common. Both can be seen as referring to specific types of groups of people that are distinct in some ways from other groups. Shared traits, such as institutions, beliefs, values, goals and behavioural constraints are characteristics of both cultural and social groups. In addition, cultural and social traits are both communicated extragenetically from generation to generation by means of symboling, of which language is the most obvious example. Both culture and society distinguish humans from other animals and have an equally important role in terms of

landscape evolution.

Landscape can be defined as the human impact and imprint on the land - a result and cause of sociocultural processes that create places out of space in the environment and imbue them with meaning. No other animal possesses the distinctly human characteristic of landscape. Although ants and bees may possess instinctual social behaviour, it is genetically transmitted, not symbolically learned. These creatures may indeed have a superior intelligence compared to other insects, but they are obviously incapable of creating distinct and different landscapes within their own species. Unlike humans, they lack the necessary cultural and social capacity for landscape creation. A 'human' geography without landscape is as meaningless as a physical geography without the natural environment.

Given the significant similarities between the concepts, what is the fundamental difference between culture and society as they pertain to landscape? It is believed that any distinguishable difference is in the context of academic environment and the subsequent encouragement of separate disciplinary development to conform to the modern university system. It is asserted that the concepts of culture and society have undergone an artificially induced divergence since the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries. Recently, however, increasing recognition of the artificial nature of the divisions between disciplines and the related nature of their subject matters has given rise to a more interdisciplinary outlook. This convergent trend can

aid in working towards the elucidation of narrower and more functional definitions of the terms, culture, society and landscape.

Nevertheless, many professional academics maintain an emphasis on distinguishing between the terms, culture and society. An interesting debate between a leading anthropologist, Alfred Kroeber and a leading sociologist, Talcott Parsons involving the two concepts is worth noting. Kroeber, who believed culture was an entity unto itself, partially defined it as a factor causing behaviour, while Parsons defined society as a more specific relational system of interaction between individuals and groups (Kroeber and Parsons, 1958,283). An important analytical distinction for the sake of greater precision was suggested. However, both authors agreed that as disciplines, anthropology and sociology have tended to place a supremacy of one of the two concepts over the other. To the anthropologist, society is seen as merely one aspect of culture. Conversely, to the sociologist, all cultural phenomena are viewed as derivative outgrowths of social systems (Kroeber and Parsons, 1958,282). It can be argued that debates of this kind accomplish very little. They not only obscure the related nature of culture and society, but can impede the advancement of knowledge by denying the feasibility of a common sociocultural theme.

Kroeber and Parsons did, however, arrive at a truce by having advocated the equality of importance of the two terms. They acknowledged that the recognition of the intrinsic interrelationship between the terms could add at least as much to analytical insight as

would the artificial separation of the terms. It is believed that more can be accomplished by uniting already related concepts than by attempting to isolate, or segregate them. The separation of the culture and society concepts can not be logically based on an empirically distinct set of phenomena. The two subject matters have been delimited and distinguished to conform within currently existing disciplinary boundaries.

House (1981) also attempted to draw a distinction between culture and social structures in terms of explanation. The main difference is that cultural explanations see persisting patterns of behaviour as emanating from shared beliefs and values, whereas structural explanations only assert the existence of situational contingencies that motivate behaviour (House, 1981,543). However, structural explanations still require a consideration of culturally shared beliefs and values. In cultural explanations, people learn behaviour from their parents, teachers and peers who influence their beliefs and values. Structural explanations view shared beliefs and values as consequences of engaging in behaviour patterns in **response** to pre-existing external constraints and contingencies.

Two examples of the explanatory distinction between cultural and structural approaches were offered by House (1981, 543-545). The first was that schools transmit culturally shared beliefs and values from generation to generation. Schools, however, can also serve as an organizational structure to produce a labour force for a capitalistic

society. It can be argued that, in this example, schools are both culturally and socially created institutions. The distinction is made only to accord with different analytical foci, but the phenomenon being described is the same in both approaches.

The second example also illustrates that the distinction between cultural and social explanations is based only on aspects of, rather than the whole, phenomenon. In the context of poverty, cultural explanations view the children of the poor as recreating their parents' cultural patterns. Parents only pass on what they know to their children, reflecting an emphasis on shared beliefs and values. Structural explanations emphasize persisting patterns of social organization. New generations resemble preceding ones only because they confront the same structural conditions. As children, people may share the same beliefs and values, but as adults, they become respondents to the structure which, in this example, is the lack of opportunity precipitated by the specific social system of capitalism. Again, the same phenomenon - poverty - is being described; only the analytical emphasis is different.

In summary, then, the analytical distinction which has been made between cultural and structural approaches is that the former views behaviour as emanating from a self-creating and self-perpetuating entity that is culture; whereas the latter views behaviour as a response to persisting social structures. Both forms of explanation necessarily entail elements of the other and are complementary, as

opposed to incompatible.

The study of, or primary focus on, society has tended to emphasize structural and to neglect both cultural and spatial types of explanations. In human geography and sociology, the socio-spatial view, of which Giddens' theory of structuration is an example, has not tended to emphasize cultural aspects, but has focussed primarily on social structures. It is argued that social structures are persisting patterns, which include values, beliefs, goals, and institutions, and are as culturally as they are socially constituted. Structures, or patterns, are inseparately bound to space and time. The primary focus of interest in human geography is the interaction of sociocultural behaviour with space and time, which creates places imbued with meaning.

It has been argued that culture and society are factors which, in a similar capacity, influence human behaviour. In human geography, the specific behaviour of interest is that which results in landscape emergence and change. Culture and society interact with space, through time, to create landscape. The processes involved with landscape evolution are historically rooted, presently embedded and have future implications which can sometimes be generalized or even predicted. The study of sociocultural processes involved with landscape evolution comprises a more succinct and viable subject matter than currently exists in human geography. The narrower definition of culture-society, as a single concept, or process influencing behaviour that is

symbolically, as opposed to genetically, communicated, sustained and reproduced simplifies and unifies the disparate and divergent themes that presently comprise the subject matter of the discipline.

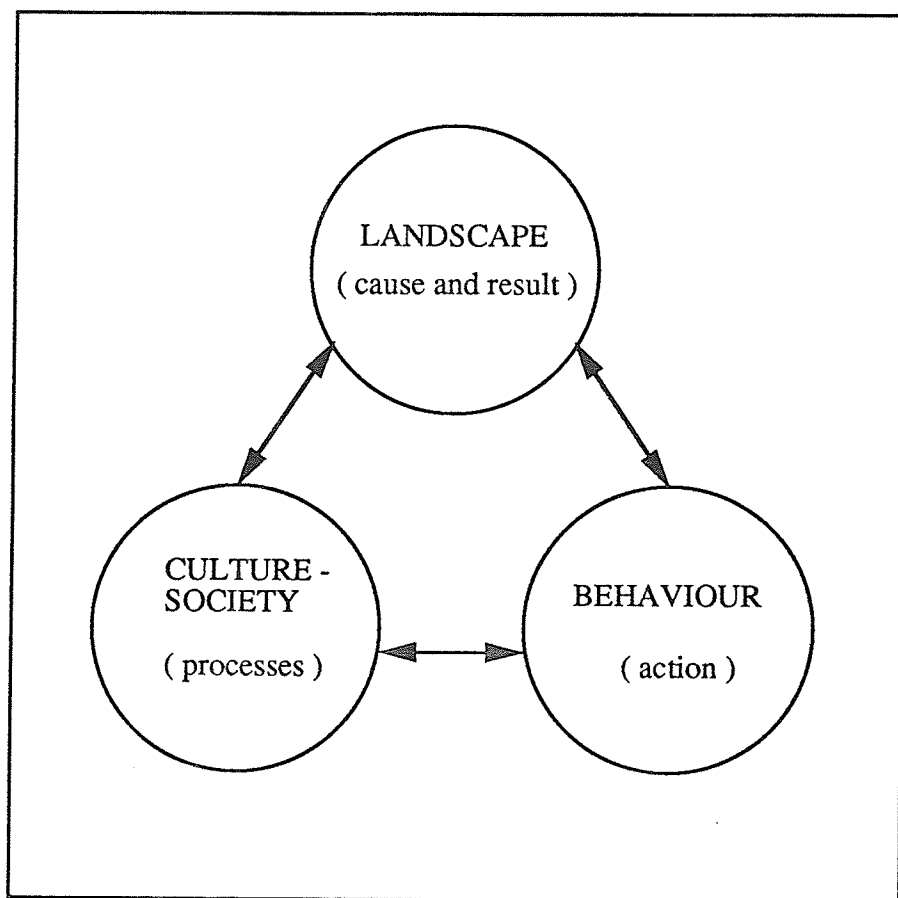
Landscape is more clearly defined and conceptualized, therefore, as the **cause and effect** of sociocultural interaction with space over time. In other words, space is transformed into landscape through time by means of sociocultural behaviour, or **action**, which is itself transformed by interaction with landscape. This redefined concept of landscape is useful because it not only bridges the gaps between the concepts of space and society, but also incorporates cultural and temporal components.

The framework illustrated by Figure 4.2 represents sociocultural interaction. Different sociocultural groups behave differently, perceive their environments differently and use and evaluate their resources differently from one another. Answers to questions of how and why sociocultural groups behave as they do help explain how and why landscapes evolve as they do.

In the introductory Chapter, it was stated that most geographers are reasonably comfortable in asserting that human geography is a discipline which is primarily concerned with spatial relationships and interaction. However, as has been shown throughout this thesis, space by itself is not a sufficiently meaningful concept to comprise a center of interest without consideration of the sociocultural processes and

FIGURE 4.2 :

MODEL OF A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIOCULTURAL- LANDSCAPE INTERACTION



behavioural action by which this significance is created. It is acknowledged that in the proposed framework illustrated by Figure 4.2, space and time are not explicitly shown. Although this may appear to be a rather unorthodox omission, it is emphasized that the specifically redefined concept of landscape used in the framework effectively incorporates these integral dimensions in a geographic context.

Sack (1980,3) made a useful point in regards to the relationship between space and landscape. Noting that two of the three major emphasis in human geography have been the human - land and spatial relationships approaches, he drew an interesting parallel between them. Simply stated, space and place are dependent on the interaction between human and the physical environment. However, even space itself is evaluated and used differently by different sociocultural groups at different times. It is the **meaning** given to space by culture-society that is as much a central concern to human geography as is space by itself.

Society and space undergo an interrelationship similar to that of culture and landscape. As is the case with culture, space also cannot be understood without consideration of society and the social processes that provide meaning for space. Dear and Wolch (1989,4) referred to this symbolically rooted relationship as 'the socio-spatial dialectic' - each one is dependent on and related to the other. More specifically, the relationship between human action and space is that social behaviour is constituted, constrained and mediated by space. It

is now further argued that cultural processes and behaviour undergo the same 'dialectic' with space in terms of landscape emergence. In other words, landscapes evolve the way they do because cultural, as well as social, behaviour is also constituted, constrained and mediated by space.

Given the similarity between culture and society, the socio-spatial and culture-landscape views can be paralled and conceptually converged in a human geographic context. It is evident upon viewing the discussion of the development of the various definitions of culture and society that an historically pervasive tendency has occurred for one of the two terms to be incorporated within the other's general meaning. Any distinction made between them, other than for strictly analytical reasons, has been extremely vague.

Tylor's (1871) definition of culture included various characteristics of man as a member of society. He used the term, society, not as a subservient adjective, but as being virtually synonymous with culture. Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) had defined society as an entailing a distinct culture, which further exemplifies the interchangeable nature of the terms' meaning. Many of the definitions discussed seemed to attempt to use one of the two terms to actually help explain the meaning of the other, with no obvious distinction offered. Therefore, in human geography, due to the intrinsic similarity of the central terms, the socio-spatial and culture-landscape themes are also similar. Landscape is the link in understanding the relationship between

culture, society, space and time.

Referring back to the conceptual framework described by Figure 4.2, the imprint of sociocultural behaviour, or action is revealed by landscape, which, in turn, reflects and affects sociocultural processes. In other words, sociocultural processes result in and are affected by behaviour, which is the active ingredient in landscape emergence. Landscape reflects the materially and symbolically embedded aspects of culture-society through time and space, conversely impacting on both sociocultural processes and behaviour.

The circular continuity of this framework appears as a closed system in Figure 4.2. Nevertheless, it is a dynamic, non-deterministic model of the ongoing evolution of the relationship between humans and the environment. This model attempts to depict a perpetual interrelationship between culture-society and landscape. Despite the fact that this perhaps overly simple diagram attempts to explain a very complex phenomenon, it implies and allows for susceptibility to inherent change through space and time. Culture-society has changed throughout history in different places on the earth. There is every indication that this will continue to be the case in the future of our complex and ever-changing world.

Suggested Applications of the Proposed Framework

It has been asserted that the suggested subject matter and related

conceptual framework involving culture, society and landscape can serve as binding mechanisms for all the sub-disciplines of human geography. Although the primary aim of this thesis is to suggest avenues of thought rather to empirically apply them, it is necessary to offer some examples of how the ideas presented in this thesis might apply to some of the various sub-disciplines of human geography. Some potential applications of the framework have been implied by the evaluation of some of the theories used in human geography in Chapter Three. In this Section, further clarification of these potential applications is offered in regards to economic, population and behavioural geography. It is recognized that these branches of human geography are interrelated and, therefore, the suggested applications of the framework effectively build on one another. It has been shown that the divisions between disciplines and between the sub-disciplines of human geography are essentially artificial. It follows logically that if the framework applies well to one branch of human geography, it is relevant and applicable to the others.

It is acknowledged that these suggested applications of the framework are not intended to create a distinctly new idea. Some of the concepts used have been recognized by many geographers. It is believed, however, that this Section effectively combines a variety of viewpoints and criticisms which are important and relevant. In other words, although cultural and social impact on landscape is recognized in a wide variety of geographic literature, it is believed that the centrality of a sociocultural/landscape theme has not been clearly

formulated. This point will be further clarified in the next Chapter.

One of the most important underlying premises of the proposed framework is that in every sub-discipline of human geography, landscape can be a common, central focus of interest. It is believed that balkanized, divergent specializations have contributed to the obscuring of the centrality of landscape. In effect, the various sub-disciplines of human geography have tended to focus only on certain aspects of culture, society and landscape, neglecting to include other integral aspects.

In economic geography, landscapes are studied from the perspective of spatial interaction between humans and resources. Christaller's central place theory, Von Thunen's agricultural land use theory and Losch's industrial location theory are used to attempt to depict certain aspects of landscapes in a predictive capacity. In central place theory, for example, humans distribute themselves and move through space in accord with the economic principle that human behaviour is oriented towards the maximization of efficiency. The spatial implication of Christaller's theory is the maximization of efficiency in terms of distance. Given normative assumptions, such as rational consumer behaviour, landscapes should evolve in a certain pattern - a spatial hierarchy - as humans distribute themselves spatially according to economic principles.

Christaller's work, as previously discussed has been of great value

to human geographic theory construction. However, different sociocultural groups view and evaluate their environments, which are partially comprised of resources and space, differently in different places and times. Central place theory superimposes a Western cultural value judgment on the concept of rational consumer behaviour. The various cultural patterns and social structures that exist in different groups need to be more fully emphasized in the construction of economic geographic theory. From an agricultural perspective, Western culture-society inherits a view of the environment very much different from the Far East. The Protestant work ethic encourages the exploitation of resources, whereas the Buddhist philosophy views resources, such as forests, as being in a relationship of unity with humans, perceiving the destruction of trees to be morally wrong. Because of the significant disparity between the perceptions of the two sociocultural groups, the evolution of their landscapes have differed accordingly. In India, until relatively recently, the existence of beef farms in the landscape was unthinkable; whereas in the American Great Plains, the absence of beef farms would have seemed equally preposterous. Therefore, if the goal of economic geography is to understand human interaction with the environment, much more than economic 'efficiency' is required as a central focus of interest.

Important implications for population geography are also revealed by the potential application of the sociocultural-landscape framework. In sociocultural groups that have achieved the greatest maximum efficiency (using the Western definition of the concept), the

demographic transition has been the most advanced. Countries such as Sweden, West Germany and Canada have undergone dramatic declines in crude birth rates in the last generation, partly as a result of a diminished perceived need for large nuclear families. In some developing nations, such as Kenya, birth rates remain characteristically high. It might be thought from this line of reasoning that Kenya's relative poverty influences the desire to have more children per family in order to procure greater security for the older group members. However, Kenya is a relatively affluent country in comparison to the majority of others in Sub-Saharan Africa, yet its crude birth rate is among the world's highest with a population doubling time of less than seventeen years. Sociocultural perceptions and behaviour play major roles in influencing Kenya's and other countries' demographic patterns. Shared values, beliefs and goals, which are both culturally and structurally transmitted from generation to generation, play important roles in the reproduction of sociocultural behaviour. It is again argued that different landscapes are created by the various realities that different sociocultural groups possess and transmit of their environments. Neither economic nor demographic factors are purely causal; they are also the results of shared and reproduced sociocultural patterns and structures of different groups.

The same argument applies equally well to the sub-discipline of behavioural geography. Factors such as cognitive processes and perceptions lend themselves well to the concepts suggested by the

framework. Sociocultural phenomena, such as consumer spatial behaviour and residential desirability possess the fundamental cultural and social criteria in which the framework is primarily concerned. Different sociocultural groups have their own particular view of their worlds. Where they choose to live (or are forced to live by constraints imposed upon them by other groups) or where they choose to shop (or are constrained from shopping by external contingencies) are factors which express and reflect the sociocultural interrelationship. Landscapes, both rural and urban, are manifested from these interactions, or, as was discussed in the previous Chapter, by the changing transactions between humans and the environment.

It is fully recognized that these suggested applications of the sociocultural-landscape framework are limited. It was not intended by this thesis to actually apply the framework, but to suggest or help guide ways of thinking. These examples were not meant to introduce profoundly new ideas as recognition of sociocultural impact on landscape creation can be found in past work. The primary objective of the three examples is specifically to demonstrate how various sub-disciplines of human geography can benefit from a more central interest in culture, society and landscape and to elucidate this centrality for the parent discipline.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented a number of assertions and arguments which possess important implications for the current and future state of human geography. Problems involving the discipline's lack of a clearly defined set of subject matter, an over-reliance on method and a need for a stronger theoretical corpus have been identified. The assertion of these fundamental problems have been justified via an examination of the discipline's historical development in relation to other social sciences.

In regards to the weakly specified set of facts, events and objects which constitute the subject matter, or central focus of the discipline, several factors were discussed in order to substantiate this problem. These factors included the nature and purpose of geography's institutionalization as a university discipline, the diverse and changing nature in which leading, influential individuals defined the discipline's scope, nature and goals, and the necessary eclecticism of primary concerns. Most importantly, the identity crisis which was identified and demonstrated has been both precipitated and perpetuated by an over-emphasis on method.

It was asserted and demonstrated that method has been essentially relied on as a surrogate for the subject matter of human geography. The three dominant paradigms in the discipline reflect how method has been used to determine domains of inquiry. Because of the tendency for human geography to concentrate primarily on method rather than subject matter clarification, theory construction became increasingly

difficult.

The importance of theory in human geography was discussed in conjunction with a critical evaluation of the appropriate organizational level of theory for the discipline. It was argued that due to the necessarily eclectic nature of the subject matter of human geography, theory in the discipline must also be eclectically formulated. The conclusion was drawn, therefore, that subject matter clarification is inextricably related to the ability to construct theory. The relative strength of theory in other disciplines reflects their clearer understanding of their subject matter, substantiating this conclusion.

Once these assertions were demonstrated and justified, the primary task of clarifying a subject matter for human geography became paramount. It was made increasingly clear that without an organizational structure in which human geography's vast diversity of interests could be given coherence and unity, subject matter clarification would be impossible. Drawing on the argument that culture, society and landscape have comprised the most common, salient concepts that have interested geographers throughout the discipline's history, a conceptual framework was constructed. Narrower, synthesized redefinitions of the central terms aided in the elucidation of the framework which, in compact form, attempted to incorporate all the integral factors of interest to human geography. These factors included sociocultural processes and behaviour through space and time,

in interaction with landscape.

It is believed that the above goals have been accomplished. However, several limitations to these accomplishments need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the drawing of an accurate intellectual history of any academic discipline - especially of human geography, which has experienced so much controversy - is difficult to achieve without relying at some point or to some degree on interpretation. Vulnerability to criticism, incorrect assessments and invalid conclusions is a pervasive, inherent danger that needs to be recognized. It is possible that the views and arguments presented in this thesis will provoke heated opposition from readers. However, universally accepted views have rarely, if ever, characterized the history of human geography.

Secondly, the meso-level of theory advocated by this thesis is certainly limited in the context of the ability to generalize and predict. These qualities of theory, as has been demonstrated, are important in any academic discipline. Human geography nevertheless first needs an organized structure for the myriad of diverse interests before meta-theory can begin to be constructed.

Thirdly, the framework itself, which attempts to address the identified problems, is limited as a potential solution. It was conceptualized and constructed in a merely suggestive capacity. The intention of the framework was not to solve the problems, but to help

guide and work towards ways of thinking about them that may eventually lead to their amelioration.

The fourth limitation is that social theory has been suggested as useful in helping to articulate the conceptual framework. As acknowledged, this thesis claims very limited familiarity and expertise in this newer approach. The mere usage of these 'uncharted waters' renders the framework experimental and, thus, open to criticism and debate. It is believed, however, that certain aspects of social theory, especially the integrating of space and society, were used justifiably and effectively to work towards the construction of the framework.

Lastly, the fundamental assertion of human geography being a discipline has not been directly addressed. The discussions involving geography's institutionalization, development and paradigms implicitly illustrated how human and physical geography had initially split and subsequently diverged, but no defense of human geography as a discipline was directly made. It is believed that, given the plethora of sub-disciplines that are offered as courses in many universities' curricula and the broad range of literature using the term, 'human geography', a distinct discipline is at least strongly implied. As was the case with the limited suggested applications of the conceptual framework, a discussion of a viable and separate human geographic discipline is considered to be beyond the intended scope of this thesis. The use of the term, 'human geography' has referred more to

how things are, rather than the way things should be. For all intents and purposes, it was appropriate to discuss human geography as a discipline, keeping in mind the fact that the divisions between disciplines are, in fact, artificial.

In spite of these recognized and perhaps inevitable limitations, it is believed that the accomplishments of this thesis possess some important implications. It was established that problems involving subject matter, method and theory in human geography are responsible for a perpetual state of doubt regarding the discipline's value to the advancement of knowledge. Although some of the reasons for these problems are rooted in artificially imposed constraints involving the modern university structure, it has nevertheless been established that they need to be addressed in order to give human geography the confidence and coherence it is perceived to require.

The above statements do not assert that human geography currently lacks value. It is emphasized that, to the contrary, because of the discipline's diversity of interests in the integral elements of interest to all social science, it is perhaps a discipline of greatest value. Human geography studies so many interesting phenomena. A more holistic approach to knowledge is precisely what is needed in order to ameliorate the epistemological crisis which plagues all the social sciences. If any one discipline is the most advanced towards accomplishing this ultimate goal, it is human geography, in spite of some of the problems inherited from the time of its

institutionalization. .

The discipline simply needs to be more organized in order to achieve its enormous potential. The proposed conceptual framework based on the more narrowly defined and synthesized concepts of culture, society and landscape is believed to be capable of clarifying and organizing an appropriate basis of inquiry in human geography. Then more meaningful and higher-level theory can be constructed. In order for human geography to obtain greater coherence and unity, theory construction is of paramount importance.

Geographers have always been interested in man-land relations. Culture, society and landscape perfectly encompass the diversity of interests that have characterized the development of human geography. Therefore, the framework based on these concepts is of great potential value for relieving the uncertainty regarding the discipline's nebulous subject matter and can eventually lead to stronger theory construction. The sociocultural-landscape framework not only bridges the gap between the discipline's subject matter and theory, but also between the sub-disciplines of human geography. It has been demonstrated that the landscape concept, as redefined and reconstructed in this thesis, incorporates the dimensions of space and time in relation to the material and symbolic manifestations of human behavioural interaction with the physical environment. Given this potentially useful and valuable interpretation, geographers can use the landscape concept to eventually reglue the schism between human and physical geography that

has grown so deep as a result of the identity crisis.

It was briefly mentioned in the last Section of the previous Chapter that other work has been conducted in the last decade which attempts to integrate cultural and social explanations of landscape and to apply them to the various sub-disciplines of human geography. Collections of relevant materials include: Geography Matters (Massey and Allen, eds., 1984), which contains chapters which attempt to link social and economic geography in a spatial context; Environmental Perception and Behaviour (Saarinen, Seamon and Sell, eds., 1984), which includes articles involving the application of social structural and cultural perception to behavioural geography; Social Relations and Spatial Structures (Gregory and Urry, eds., 1985), which outlines the links between the social and the spatial and The Power of Geography (Dear and Wolch, eds., 1989), which contains chapters which further exemplify the links between various sociocultural phenomena and space.

In terms of disciplinary integration between the social sciences, Giddens' (1984) The Constitution of Society is a good example of literature which clearly demonstrates the artificiality of divisions imposed between disciplines. "There are no logical or methodological differences between human geography and sociology" (Giddens, 1984, 368).

In spite of what is believed to be the profoundly useful nature of human geography, much of the last decade's literature reflects the discipline's lack of a focus. Two recent books - The Power of

Geography (Dear and Wolch, eds., 1989) and Maps of Meaning (Jackson, 1989) - clearly illustrate the current state of human geography. In the latter, following two chapters outlining the importance of culture and society in geography, the book diverges to topics such as politics, sexuality, racism and other issues which appear only loosely related to any central theme. The final chapter of the book then returns rather abruptly to the culture-landscape interrelationship. Although this book seems to correspond well to the aims of this thesis in regards to social and cultural integration, it appears to lack a clearly articulated central theme.

The Power of Geography contains some very useful material that is quite similar to the aims of this thesis, as well. However, there is also a sense of disunity about the variety of topics explored in the book. One of the chapters discusses the spatial organization of nineteenth century lunatic asylums. It is rather confusing how this topic can be fitted into a general frame. The "socio-spatial reproduction of madness" is a confusing concept, to say the least!

Herein lies the principal aim of this thesis. It appears that current efforts to unify subject matter in human geography have not succeeded. A clear articulation in these recent works of a central, unifying theme has not been accomplished. Culture, society and landscape have been stated as comprising a central subject matter in the discipline, but a conceptual framework which clarifies the centrality of these concepts has been elusive in past work. It is

believed that this thesis is therefore of value in integrating these past, diverse works and can help in working towards cohesion and unity in human geography.

This is obviously a very ambitious goal. Again, it must be emphasized that this thesis is an experimental suggestive stepping stone. The intention is to inspire future work on this important question of cohesion and unity in the discipline, not to immediately solve a presently insoluble problem. As human geography now stands,

"There is no normal science, no consensus over a disciplinary matrix, no agreement over the right exemplars. Human geography is a conglomerate of small communities, with which many individuals are only weakly linked. No change in this situation seems likely".
(Johnston, 1983,220)

However, change is always possible. Internal debate and disagreement are not necessarily indicative of an identity problem which desperately needs to be solved. Advancements of knowledge rarely, if ever, can occur without change and the evolution of new ideas. This thesis has attempted to inspire new thought. It is strongly hoped and anticipated that the ideas presented in this thesis will help guide future work and will be built on in order for human geography to continue to thrive as a meaningful and coherent field of inquiry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abler, R. "What Shall We Say? To Whom Shall we Speak?" Annals, Association of American Geographers, 77, 1987. pp. 511-524.
- A Dictionary of Philosophy. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1984.
- Aitken, S.C. and Bjorklund, E.M. "Transactional and Transformational Theories in Behavioural Geography". The Professional Geographer, 40(1), 1988. pp. 54-64.
- Albas, D. Personal Communication, January, 1990.
- Andrews, H. "The Durkheimians and Human Geography. Some Contextual Problems in the Sociology of Knowledge". Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, N.S. 9, 1984. pp. 315-336.
- Barrett, S.R. The Rebirth of Anthropological Theory. University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Bennett, R.J. "Quantification and Relevance". In R.J. Johnston (ed.) The Future of Geography. Methuen, London, 1985. pp. 211-224.
- Berger, J. A Fortunate Man. Writers and Readers, London, 1976.
- Bowman, I. New World: Problems in Political Geography. Harrap, New York, 1928.
- Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences. Charles Scribner and Sons, New York, 1934.

- Cadwallader, M. "Towards a Cognitive Gravity Model: The Case of Consumer Spatial Behaviour". Regional Studies, 15(4), 1981. pp. 275-284.
- Castelli, J.R. Basques in the Western United States: A Functional Approach for the Determination of Cultural Presence in the Geographic Landscape. Arno Press, New York, 1980.
- Cohen, P.S. Modern Social Theory. Heinemann, London, 1968.
- Cosgrove, D. Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape. Barnes and Noble, Totowa, New Jersey, 1984.
- Couclelis, H. "A Theoretical Framework for Alternative Models of Spatial Decision and Behaviour". Annals, Association of American Geographers, 76(1), 1986. pp. 95-113.
- Davis, W.M. Geographical Essays. Dover Publications, New York, 1909.
- Dear, M. "The Post-Modern Challenge: Reconstructing Human Geography". Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, N.S. 13, 1988. pp. 262-274.
- DeGeer, S. "On the Definition, Method and Classification of Geography". Geografiska Annaler, 5, 1923. pp. 1-39.
- Giddens, A. Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982.

- The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984.
 - Social Theory and Modern Sociology. Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Godlewska, A. "Tradition, Crisis and New Paradigms in the Modern French Discipline of Geography" Annals, Association of American Geographers, 79(2), 1989. pp. 192-213.
- Goode, W.J. Exploration in Social Theory. Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Gregory, D. Ideology, Science and Human Geography. Hutchinson, London, 1978.
- Guelke, L. "Intellectual Coherence and the Foundation of Geography".
The Professional Geographer, 41(2), 1989. pp. 123-130.
- Hartshorne, R. The Nature of Geography. Association of American Geographers, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1939.
- Perspectives on the Nature of Geography. Rand McNally, Chicago, 1959.
- Harvey, D. Explanation in Geography. Edward Arnold ,London, 1969.

- Holt-Jensen, A. Geography: Its History and Concepts. Barnes and Noble, Totawa, New Jersey, 1980.
- House, J.S. "Social Structures and Personality". In M. Rosenberg and R. Turner (eds.) Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives. American Sociological Association, New York, 1981. pp. 525-561.
- Huntington, E. Principles of Human Geography. John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1920.
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vols. 1 and 15, Cromwell, Collier and MacMillan, New York, 1968.
- Jackson, P. Maps of Meaning. Unwin Hyman, London, 1989.
- James, P.E. All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas. Odyssey Press, Indianapolis, 1972.
- James, P.E. and Martin, G.J. All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas (2nd ed.) John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1981.
- Johnston, R.J. "On the Nature of Human Geography". Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, N.S. 7, 1982. pp. 123-125.
- Geography and Geographers: Anglo-American Human Geography Since 1945. Edward Arnold, London, 1983.
- "Theory and Methodology in Social Geography". In M. Pacione (ed.) Social Geography: Progress and Prospect. Croom Helm, Kent, 1987. pp. 1-30.

- "Writing Geographically". In J. Eyles (ed.) Research in Human Geography. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988.
- Kroeber, A.L. and Parson, T. "The Concepts of Culture and Social Systems". American Sociological Review, 23 1958. pp. 282-283.
- Langness, L.L. The Study of Culture. Chandler and Sharp, San Francisco, 1974.
- Lowenthal, D. "Geography, Experience and Imagination". Annals, Association of American Geographers, 51(3), 1961. pp. 241-260.
- Massey, D. and Allen, J. (eds.) Geography Matters. University of Cambridge, 1984.
- Mayhew, L.H. "Society". International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, 14, Cromwell Collier and MacMillan, New York, 1968. pp. 577-586.
- Mikesell, M.W. "Cultural Geography" Progress in Human Geography, 1, 1977, pp. 460-464.
- Morrill, R. On the Spatial Organization of the Landscape. Lund Series in Geography, University of Lund, 1979.
- "A Theoretical Imperative". Annals, Association of American Geographers, 77(4), 1987. pp. 535-541.
- Norton, W. "The Meaning of Culture in Cultural Geography". Journal of Geography, 83(4), 1984. pp. 145-148.

- "Human Geography and the Geographical Imagination". Journal of Geography, 88(5), 1989a. pp. 181-192.
 - Explorations in the Understanding of Landscape: A Cultural Geography. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1989b.
- Popper, K.B. "Unity of Method in the Natural and Social Sciences". In D. Braybrooke (ed.) Philosophical Problems of the Social Sciences. MacMillan, New York, 1965. pp. 32-41.
- Sack, R.D. Conceptions of Space in Social Thought. University of Minnesota Press, 1980.
- Sauer, C.O. "The Morphology of Landscape". University of California Publications in Geography. 2(2), 1925. pp. 19-54.
- Schaefer, F.K. "Exceptionalism in Geography: A Methodological Examination". Annals, Association of American Geographers. 43, 1953. pp. 226-249.
- Sell, J.L., Taylor, J.G. and Zube, E.H. "Towards a Theoretical Framework for Landscape Perception". In T.F. Saarinen, D. Seamon and J.L. Sell (eds.) Environmental Perception and Behaviour: An Inventory and Prospect. University of Chicago, 1984. pp. 61-83.
- Short, J.R. An Introduction to Political Geography. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.

Singer, M. "The Concept of Culture". International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 3, Cromwell, Collier and MacMillan, New York, 1968. pp. 527-543.

Skinner, B.F. "Is a Science of Human Behaviour Possible?" In D. Braybrooke (ed.) Philisophical Problems of the Social Sciences. MacMillan, New York, 1965. pp. 19-26.

Smith, N. "Geography as Museum: Private History and Conservative Idealism in 'The Nature of Geography'". In S.N. Entrikin and S.D. Brunn (eds.) Reflection on Richard Hartshorne's 'The Nature of Geography': Occasional Publications of the Association of American Geographers, 1989. pp. 91-120.

Szacki, J. The History of Sociological Thought. Greenwood Press, Westport, Conneticut, 1979.

Taaffe, E.J. "The Spatial View in Context". Annals, Association of American Geographers. 64, 1974, pp. 1-16.

Taylor, P.J. "The Value of a Geographic Perspective". In R.J. Johnston (ed.) The Future of Geography. Methuen, New York, 1985. pp. 92-110.

Theodorson, G.A. and Theodorson, A.G. A Modern Dictionary of Sociology. Cromwell, New York, 1969.

Tuan, Y.F. Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience. University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

- White, L.A. "The Concept of Culture". American Anthropologist. 61, 1959. pp. 225-227
- Wolch, J. and Dear, M. "How Territory Shapes Social Life". In J. Wolch and M. Dear (eds.) The Power of Geography. Unwin Hyman, London, 1989. pp. 1-19.
- Wright, J.K. "Terra Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography". Annals, Association of American Geographers. 37(1), 1947. pp. 1-15.