

## CULTURAL AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

### Paul Claval

*Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, France.*

**Keywords:** communication, culture, environment, factorial ecology, landscape, Marxism, naturalism, neo-positivism, phenomenology, positivism, society, techniques, urban ecology

### Contents

#### 1. Introduction

##### 1.1. Birth and Development of Cultural and Social Studies in Geography between 1880 and 1950

###### 1.1.1. Cultural Geography as a Study of Landscapes

###### 1.1.2. Cultural Geography as the Study of Genres de Vie

###### 1.1.3. The Early Forms of Social Geography

##### 1.2. The Impact of the "New" Geography on Cultural and Social Studies: from the 1950s to the early 1970s

###### 1.2.1. The Time of Social Ecologies

###### 1.2.2. The Social Geography of Rural Areas

###### 1.2.3. Relevance and the Growing Success of Marxist Social Analysis

###### 1.2.4. Cultural Geography: Decline and Unsuccessful Re-orientations

##### 1.3. The Contemporary Situation

###### 1.3.1. The Renewal of Cultural Geography

###### 1.3.2. New Directions of Research in Cultural Geography

###### 1.3.3. New Conceptions of Social Geography

#### 2. The Cultural Approach and the New Epistemological Bases of Geography

#### 3. Conclusion

#### Bibliography

#### Biographical Sketch

### Summary

The interest in cultural and social problems developed in human geography from the end of the nineteenth century. For half a century, the emphasis was more on culture, its impact on landscape, the role of techniques, the notion of *genre de vie* than on social structures and hierarchies. With the neo-positivist orientations of the *new geography* of the 1960s, the interest for culture receded and social themes became increasingly important. During the last generation, the role of culture appears central in the reconstruction of geography which was born from the new concerns with the lived experience of space and social justice. The social and cultural aspects of geography appear increasingly intertwined.

### 1. Introduction

In a way, cultural and social geography is as old as human geography. The term social geography was introduced, as an equivalent to human geography, in the 1880s (Dunbar,

1977). Friedrich Ratzel, the father of modern *Anthropogeographie*, stressed the opposition between *Natur-* and *Kulturvölker*, that meant that culture was a fundamental dimension of the field he was creating (Ratzel, 1882-1891).

The studies dealing with the social and cultural aspects of human distributions played a significant role during the first half of the twentieth century. Cultural geography and social geography were then generally considered as independent sectors of the discipline. The curiosity for the role of cultural factors in geography was stronger than the interest for social distributions. During the last fifty years, the situation deeply changed. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, social geography appeared as a research frontier for the whole discipline. Simultaneously, cultural studies experienced a crisis which was partly linked with the modernization of cultures, and partly linked with the new ambitions of geographers. Since the early 1970s, the development of critical and phenomenological approaches has strengthened the two subfields. They have ceased to appear as independent.

The paper will analyze rapidly the birth and development of cultural and social studies in geography between 1880 and 1950, and the impact of the "new" geography on both fields during the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. It will cover with more detail contemporary evolution.

### **1.1. Birth and Development of Cultural and Social Studies in Geography between 1880 and 1950**

Human geography appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. Its birth was linked with the development of evolutionism: human groups had to be analyzed along perspectives similar to those used for other live beings; the influence of environment on the nature of humans, and the social constructions they were responsible for, had to be evaluated. As a result, human geography was more considered a natural science than a social one. Such a view reduced quite evidently its interest for human cultures and social structures but did not prevent its development.

In the prevalent evolutionist perspective, it soon appeared that human groups differed from animal ones because they were not completely governed by their instincts; they had developed sets of techniques, know-how, knowledge, which acted as a buffer between them and the environment. Hence the opposition between *Naturvölker*, which lacked efficient means of protection against the harshness of nature, and *Kulturvölker*, which had developed a full array of tools for harnessing natural forces and using them (Ratzel, 1882-1891).

#### **1.1.1. Cultural Geography as a Study of Landscapes**

Because human geography was essentially conceived as a natural science dealing with the relations of human groups with their environments, cultural studies were mainly concerned with man/milieu relationships until mid twentieth century. This perspective was conducive to an emphasis on a few topics.

How did the environment shape human distributions, human behavior and the human organization of space? The old hippocratic hypothesis was still alive at the end of the

nineteenth century (Claval, 1988-a), but it soon appeared that other influences played a more decisive role. People had to live on the resources of the milieus they inhabited. It was mainly through the constraints generated in this way that environment controlled human life. It meant that geographers had to focus on the material cultures of the groups they studied, the way they got rid of the natural vegetation and fauna, substituted cultivated ecological pyramids to the natural ones, were struck by endemics linked with the local living environment, or epidemics born out of human or animal mobility.

In Germany, this interest for the cultural bases of human life was expressed by the development of landscape studies: they showed how human groups had transformed and organized natural environments and built cultural landscapes out of them. The emphasis was on deforestation (Schlüter, 1899), the introduction of cultivated plants and domestic animals (Hahn, 1896; 1909; 1914), the field systems and the ways they were operated (Meitzen, 1895): the culture of civilized groups was equated with farming and cattle-raising, while hunting, fishing and food collecting were considered as the productive bases of primitive ones. Urban and industrial landscapes showed how social life was conducive to other forms of man/milieu relationships, thanks to the mobility of goods and persons and the relaxation of many local ecological constraints. Geographers did not display, however, as much interest for urban realities as rural ones.

The analysis of cultural landscapes was mainly conceived in functional terms: field structures, for instance, were thought as a way to translate into a spatial form the imperative of crop rotation and the combination of agriculture and cattle raising within communities (Claval, 1995-a). Geographers grew increasingly conscious, however, of the existence of inherited features in the landscape: a part of them reflected past functional organizations.

Thanks to Carl Sauer, American geographers imported many ideas from Germany, and more particularly the idea of cultural geography as a study of landscapes (Sauer, 1925; Leighly, 1963). Sauer was the first to conceive cultural geography as a subfield within human geography and to use the term as such. His approach of landscape analysis differed from his German models in one way: he stressed more than them the role of human beings in transforming the biological components of vegetation, the nature of soils, and the forms of erosion. He had a keen interest in landscapes as biological realities shaped by human action. For him, a cultural geographer had first to hold a good knowledge of botany!

The interest in the live components of landscapes had other consequences. From the 1890s in Germany, geographers tried to explain the origin and dispersal of agriculture and cattle-raising. The leading figure in that field was Eduard Hahn (Hahn, 1909; 1914). He was the first to underscore the fundamental duality of agricultural systems: one was based on ploughing, the production of grain and the association of farming and cattle raising; the other relied on hoeing and the use of cuttings for plant reproduction. Hahn showed in this way that the problem of agriculture origin and dispersal was a double one. Geographers had to discover the hearths of the two revolutions which transformed mesolithic hunters/gatherers into neolithic farmers.

Carl Sauer was also fascinated by the problem of agriculture origins and dispersal

(Sauer, 1952). He believed that geographers had to analyze the responsibility of human cultures for the disruption of natural equilibria and the subsequent development of erosion (Sauer, 1938).

### 1.1.2. Cultural Geography as the Study of *Genres de Vie*

Another approach for the study of man/milieu relationships in a cultural perspective developed in parallel to the landscape school. It flourished mainly in France. Instead of focusing on landscapes, French geographers considered that their main task was to explain the distribution of populations. Human densities differed because natural environments changed from place to place, but also because different social groups did not use the same array of techniques when exploiting the same environment. Hence the emphasis on *genres de vie*. As developed by Vidal de la Blache (1902; 1911), the notion was a complex one. 1- It had an ecological foundation: *genres de vie* grew out of the choice of crops and forms of cattle-raising adapted to specific environments. 2- It had a technical dimension, since farming and cattle-raising were based on specific cultivated plants and domestic animals, involved the use of specific tools and relied on the development of specific know-how concerning crop rotation, field use, and so on. 3- It had a social dimension, since it analyzed the work schedule of the group, and the way it was intertwined with other social activities (Claval, 1988-b).

The *genre de vie* approach gave French geography its capacity to enter deeply into the relations locally woven between human groups and their environments. Because of its emphasis on techniques, it was conducive to the study of historical sequences in land occupation. Since it was a study of all human activities, it provided a new way to conceive social studies (Claval, 1998).

Jean Brunhes was responsible for the crossbreeding of the French *genre de vie* analysis and the German style of landscape studies. He was especially keen on the role of techniques in the structuring of ways of life; they imprinted cultural marks on landscapes (Brunhes, 1904; Brunhes and Deffontaines, 1920-1926; Brunhes and Vallaux, 1921). Pierre Deffontaines followed his path (Deffontaines, 1933). In the 1930s and 1940s, he developed a strong school of cultural geography in France: his main interests were the adaptation of man to harsh environments, and human agency in shaping the landscapes of civilized regions. He developed religious geography (Deffontaines, 1948).

Pierre Gourou represented another development of the idea of way of life (Gourou, 1973). As Vidal de la Blache, he started from human densities. When they differed within the same milieu, he considered that cultural factors played a key role: this was a vidalian theme. For him, however, the techniques upon which *genres de vie* were built were both material and social. In this way, he always associated the study of cultures with a social approach. He was very sensitive to the material and social bases of great cultures- for instance the Chinese and its derivatives such as the Vietnamese (Gourou, 1936; 1940).

### 1.1.3. The Early Forms of Social Geography

The expression “social geography” appeared at the same time as “human geography”, and for a generation or so it was just an equivalent for it (Dunbar, 1977). It was because of the *genre de vie* approach that an interest for social organization developed.

When exploring the foundations of regional specificities, French geographers discovered, in the early 1900s, that *genres de vie* did not rely only on technical bases. They also reflected social conditions. When working on Western Brittany, Camille Vallaux showed that the local agriculture was linked both with specific ways of combining tillage and the exploitation of rough pastures, and a hierarchic social structure which gave landowners a strict control over their farmers (Vallaux, 1907). In his work on Pays de Caux, Jules Sion went further (Sion, 1908). This plateau was a wealthy cropland, where cottage industry developed from the sixteenth century: it relied on the transformation of the flax locally grown, and agricultural surpluses, which allowed for the existence of a large group of part-time farmers or day’s laborers among whom the weavers were recruited. Since the commercialization of linen was highly profitable, a local bourgeoisie developed. It was responsible for the substitution of cotton to flax at the end of the eighteenth century, for the harnessing of the local streams, the building of small factories and later the use of coal imported from Britain.

Studies such as those of Camille Vallaux or Jules Sion remained exceptional for a long time. André Cholley tried to systematize this type of approach in rural zones in the early 1930s (Cholley, 1930). In fact, social studies developed mainly in urban areas. In this field, most of them were initiated in the United States by the school of social ecology of Chicago, in the 1920s: Park and Burgess had been struck by the diverse social fabric of the great inland capital of the United States (Burgess, 1924; Park, 1960). Out of the Loop and its high-rise buildings, the whole city was made of low houses. Its uniformity was an illusion: each neighborhood harbored a specific community. When mapped, the urban area appeared as a set of concentric rings, with a predominance of low-income recent migrants in the inner area, middle-income blue collars in the second ring, and high-income white collars on the edge.

Further studies showed that the social fabric of Chicago was more complex than this initial model showed. The students of Park and Burgess were the first to stress the fact: the black population was concentrated in ghettos from which it was unable to escape (Wirth, 1928). Close to the Loop, there remained a wealthy "Golden Coast", where high-income groups congregated close to the lake (Zorbaugh, 1929). Other students in the group stressed the originality of the urban way of life (Wirth, 1938) as opposed to rural ones (Redfield, 1940). The specificities of peasant and folk populations became a widely accepted commonplace among sociologists. Concerning the Chicago urban area, an economist, Homer Hoyt, discovered that the concentric pattern of social distribution was not the only one: a radial structure was also present. From one sector to the next, the differences resulted from higher or lower income levels (Hoyt, 1933).

Geographers did not participate in this research orientation until the beginning of the 1940s, when Edward Ullman and Chauncy D. Harris proved that a third pattern of social distribution existed in the Chicago area: this agglomeration was made of a cluster of

communities, each with its own ethnic or religious specificities (Harris and Ullman, 1945).

## **1.2. The Impact of the "New" Geography on Cultural and Social Studies: from the 1950s to the early 1970s**

Geography changed deeply in the 1950s and 1960s. It ceased to be considered mainly as a natural science. It became increasingly a social science. The process was best exemplified by the emergence of a "new geography" during the 1960s, but the transformation started earlier and its consequences were still important in the 1970s, especially at the beginning of the decade.

As long as geographers were natural scientists, they lacked tools for dealing with cultural and social facts. Thanks to the new epistemological turn, they could rely on ideas developed either by sociologists, anthropologists or economists. Since the majority of them accepted the neo-positivist conception of scientific enquiry, they remained, however, more interested into the observable dimension of social and cultural data, or the analysis of rational behavior, than into their lived dimension.

### **1.2.1. The Time of Social Ecologies**

The Chicago school of Urban studies had been mainly centered on sociology and secondarily on anthropology. With the discovery of the complexity of social patterns in urban areas, problems of methodology became increasingly important. What was the most significant, the ring structure of Park and Burgess, the sector organization of Hoyt or the kaleidoscope of Ullman and Harris?

Psychologists had to confront the same type of problem when interpreting the tests they had built in order to measure intelligence. The majority of the data collected were redundant. They reflected the variations of a few factors, among which the factor G (intelligence) was evidently the most significant. In order to evaluate its influence, psychologists and statisticians developed the techniques of factorial analysis. Sociologists chose to rely on factorial analysis to map social areas (Shevky and Bell, 1955; Anderson and Egeland 1961).

It was a time when Chicago geographers became increasingly present in urban studies. Thanks to Brian J. L. Berry, they shifted from the study of central places at the level of urban networks to intra-urban networks of central places (Berry, 1964). By the end of the 1960s, they decided to use computing facilities to speed up the factorial analysis of social groupings within urban areas (Berry and Rees, 1969; Berry and Horton, 1970). It allowed them to show that each of the three models developed in the 1930s and 1940s explained a part of reality (Murdie, 1969): the concentric model was linked with the structure of families and the presence or absence of children; the sector model resulted from a biased knowledge of urban organization, that was conducive to the choice of a location on the same radial axis when people decided to move to a new house; the mosaic model expressed the strength of cultural and social proximity networks within ethnic or religious communities (Berry, 1971; Berry and Smith, 1972).

According to cities and countries, the weight of factors changed. The social geography of cities was conducive to some general findings, but also to the idea that, depending on countries and cultures, some diversity in the patterns of social distribution existed.

This form of social geography was certainly interesting, but it presented evident weaknesses. It relied exclusively on census data. It described the social geography of the city when people were at home, at night, but ignored what happened during the day.

### **1.2.2. The Social Geography of Rural Areas**

During the 1960s, social geography was mainly developed to picture urban and industrial areas. The interest in rural social structures, which was evident among many French geographers at the beginning of the twentieth century, had disappeared. The transformation of rural areas was very rapid. Spheres of relations changed scale: social life ceased to be mainly local.

The analytical tools for this type of situation were provided by anthropologists: Robert Redfield had been fascinated, since the early 1940s, by the folk societies he met in rural Mexico (Redfield, 1940; 1947; 1956). Their members did not behave in the same way than the farmers of the American Middle West. The market was for them a nearby locality where prices varied normally within limits set up by customs. Their main problem was to reduce the social impact of the instability encapsulated into their production system.

The specificities of the folk societies of Mexico were similar to those of peasant societies all over the world. The acceleration of modernization was ruining this form of social organization. During the 1960s and the 1970s, the final stage of Western peasantries became one of the central themes for sociologists (in France: Mendras, 1970), historians (Weber, 1983) and geographers (Franklin, 1969).

Rural areas did not disappear, but their societies took new forms. Many research projects were consequently devoted to the exploration of social life in areas where farming had often ceased to be the dominant activity. There, the generalization of car ownership and telephone equipment offered new possibilities of access to forms of sociability until then reserved to urban areas: hence the proliferation of studies on suburban areas, rural areas, the urbanized countryside, and on the impact of leisure and tourism on these areas (Berry, 1976). In Germany, Hartke used the spread of fallow land as an indicator of the sociological urbanization of rural areas (Hartke, 1956).

### **1.2.3. Relevance and the Growing Success of Marxist Social Analysis**

Geographers grew increasingly uncomfortable with the publications the new geography produced. Their studies were based on a functional approach. They explained how society worked, but did not offer critical perspectives on what was wrong in our world. The existence of social inequalities appeared increasingly as a moral scandal. The spatial distribution of social groups began to be systematically interpreted in terms of unequal power between classes and domination of the strongest over the weakest, that

is, along a Marxist perspective (Harvey, 1973).

Between 1968 and 1972, social studies became one of the most popular frontiers of geographical research. Thanks to William Bunge, new ways of analyzing segregations appeared, as exemplified by his study of Fitzgerald, one of the worst black ghettos in Detroit (Bunge, 1971).

During the 1960s and early 1970s, the scope of social geography had become much wider. However, some of its limitations remained: it relied heavily on the data provided by the censuses; it was more interested in social distributions at night than in their daylight equivalents; it was more focused on social hierarchies than on social life and processes.

-  
-  
-

TO ACCESS ALL THE 21 PAGES OF THIS CHAPTER,  
Visit: <http://www.eolss.net/Eolss-sampleAllChapter.aspx>

### Bibliography

Berque, Augustin, 1990, *Médiance. De milieux en paysages*, Montpellier, Reclus. [Man/milieu relationship in a phenomenological perspective]

Berque, Augustin, 1995, *Les Raisons du paysage, de la Chine antique aux environnements de synthèse*, Paris, Hazan. [Art and landscape as human creation]

Berque, Augustin, 2000, *Ecoumène. Introduction à l'étude des milieux humains*, Paris, Belin. [The foundations of the idea of human milieux]

Berry, Brian J. L., 1964, "Cities as systems within systems of cities", *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, vol. 13, p. 147-164. [The first study of cities analyzed as systems]

Berry, Brian J. L. (ed.), 1971, "Comparative factorial ecology", *Economic Geography*, vol. 47, p. 209-367. [The use of factorial analysis in urban studies]

Berry, Brian J. L., 1976, *Urbanization and Counterurbanization*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications. [Was there a fundamental break in the trend towards urbanization?]

Berry, Brian J. L., Horton, Frank E., 1970, *Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall. [A useful synthesis of the "New Geography" approach to urban studies]

Berry, Brian J. L., Rees, Philip, 1969, "The factorial ecology of Calcutta", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 74, p. 445-491. [The first factorial ecology of a non-Western city]

Berry, Brian J. L., Smith, Katherine S. (eds.), 1972, *City Classification Handbook: Methods and Applications*, New York, John Wiley. [Factorial ecology as a tool for urban classification]

Bonnemaison, Joël, 1981, "Voyage autour du territoire", *L'Espace géographique*, vol. 10, n° 4, p. 119-125. [How to combine geographical and ethnological approaches to understand territory?]

Bonnemaison, Joël, 1992, "Le territoire enchanté: croyance et territorialités en Mélanésie", *Géographie et Cultures*, vol. 1, n° 3, p. 71-89. [Ten years of research on territory]

- Brunhes, Jean, 1902, *L'Irrigation. Ses conditions géographiques, ses modes et son organisation dans la Péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, Masson. [Law as a cultural factor]
- Brunhes, Jean, Deffontaines, Pierre, 1920-1926, *Géographie humaine de la France*, Paris, Plon, 2 vol. [An early cultural perspective on France]
- Brunhes, Jean, Vallaux, Camille, 1921, *Géographie de l'histoire*, Paris, Alcan. [Geography, history and culture]
- Bunge, William, 1971, *Fitzgerald. Geography of a Revolution*, Cambridge (Mas.), Schenkman. [The first radical monograph on a ghetto]
- Burgess, Ernest W., 1924, "The growth of a city. An introduction to a research project", *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, vol. 18, p. 85-97. [American sociology discovers the first model of the city]
- Cholley, André, 1931, "Essai d'une carte de représentation de l'habitat rural", *Congrès International de Géographie de Paris*, Paris, A. Colin, p. 122-123. [The social dimension in cartography]
- Claval, Paul, 1973, *Principes de géographie sociale*, Paris, M.-Th. Genin. [The first French synthesis on social geography]
- Claval, Paul, 1978, *Espace et pouvoir*, Paris, PUF; [A Weberian approach to political geography]
- Claval, Paul, 1980, *Les Mythes fondateurs des sciences sociales*, Paris, PUF. [A critique of the epistemological foundations of social sciences]
- Claval, Paul, 1988-a, "Les géographes français et le monde méditerranéen", *Annales de Géographie*, vol. 97, n° 542, p. 385-403. [How French geographers developed their intellectual tools]
- Claval, Paul, 1988-b, "Les trois niveaux d'analyse des genres de vie", in: G. Bahrenberg *et alia* (eds.), *Geographie des Menschen. Dietrich Bartels zur Gedanken*, Bremen, Bremer Beitrage zur Geographie und Raumplanung, Heft 11, p. 73-85. [The ecological, social and cultural dimensions of the "genre de vie"]
- Claval, Paul, 1995-a, "L'analyse des paysages", *Géographie et Cultures*, vol. 4, n° 13, p. 55-74. [A review of geographers on landscape]
- Claval, Paul, 1995-b, *La Géographie culturelle*, Paris, Nathan. [The cultural approach in the mid 90s]
- Claval, Paul, 1998, *Histoire de la Géographie française de 1870 à nos jours*, Paris, Nathan. [Social, cultural, political and landscape curiosities in French geography]
- Claval, Paul, 1999, "Qu'apporte l'approche culturelle à la géographie", *Géographie et cultures*, vol. 8, p. n° 31, p. 5-24. [The cultural approach as responsible for the cultural turn]
- Claval, Paul, 2001-a, "The geographical study of myth", *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, vol. 55, n° 3, p. 138-151. [How to analyse in a geographic way myths, religions and ideologies]
- Claval, Paul, 2001-b, "The cultural approach and geography - the perspective of communication", *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, vol. 55, n° 3, p. 126-137. [The cultural approach and communication]
- Claval, Paul, 2001-c, *Epistémologie de la géographie*, Paris, Nathan. [The naturalist, neo-positivist and postmodern conceptions fo geography]
- Coates, B. E., Johnston, R. J., Knox, P. L., 1977, *Geography and Inequality*, London, Oxford University Press. [A good example of the emerging care for injustice in social geography]
- Cosgrove, Denis, 1984, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape*, London, Croom Helm. [A critical view over the landscape approach]
- Dardel, Eric, 1952, *L'Homme et la Terre*, Paris, PUF. [How geography discoverdd phenomenology]
- Deffontaines, Pierre, 1933, *L'Homme et la forêt*, Paris, Gallimard. [An example of the cultural approach in the 30s]
- Deffontaines, Pierre, 1948, *Géographie et religions*, Paris, Gallimard. [The achievements and difficulties of the cultural approach in the 40s]

Di Meo, 1991, *L'Homme, la société, l'espace*, Paris, Anthropos. [A structurationist interpretation of social geography]

Driver, Felix, 1985, "Power, space and the body: a critical assessment of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 3, p. 425-446. [Foucault's impact on geography]

Driver, Felix, 1988, "Moral geographies, social sciences and the urban environment in mid-nineteenth century England", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 13, p. 275-287. [How to build a more critical social geography ?]

Dunbar, G. S., 1977, "Some early occurrences of the term 'social geography'", *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 93, n° 1, p. 15-20. [Social geography as an early synonym of human geography]

Duncan, James S., 1980, "The superorganic in American cultural geography », *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 70, p. 181-198. [A fierce criticism of Sauer's tradition]

Duncan, James S., 1990, *The City as Text: the Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. [The irruption of linguistics in geography]

Franklin, Harvey, 1969, *The European Peasantry. The Final Stage*, London, Methuen. [Peasantry as an historical category]

Frémont, A., Chevalier, J., Hérim, R., Renard, J., 1983, *Géographie sociale*, Paris, Masson. [A classical presentation of French social geography]

Giddens, Anthony, 1981, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, Londres, Macmillan. [How to free marxism from its chains ?]

Giddens, Anthony, 1984, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Basingstoke, Polity Press. [Sociology discovers space]

Gourou, Pierre, 1936, *Les Paysans du delta tonkinois. Etude de géographie humaine*, Paris, Editions d'Art et d'Histoire. [Culture and social organization as fundamental geographical factors]

Gourou, Pierre, 1940, *La Terre et l'homme en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, A. Colin. [The cultural and social bases of the Chinese civilization]

Gourou, Pierre, 1973, *Pour une Géographie humaine*, Paris, Flammarion. [Gourou's ideas about human geography]

Gregory, Derek, 1994, *Geographical Imaginations*, Oxford, Blackwell. [A postmodern view of geography]

Hägerstrand, Torstein, 1970, "What about people in regional science?" *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, vol. 24, p. 7-21. [To start from the individual !]

Hahn, Eduard, 1896, *Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot. [Domestication as a fundamental cultural geography]

Hahn, Eduard, 1909, *Die Entstehung der Pflug-Kultur*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter. [The genesis of agricultural techniques in the Middle East]

Hahn, Eduard, 1914, *Von der Hacke zum Pfluge*, Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer. [The dichotomy between two types of farming activities]

Harries, K. D., 1974, *The Geography of Crime and Justice*, New York, McGraw-Hill. [A social geography of unrest and deviant behaviors]

Harris, C. D., Ullman, E., 1945, "The nature of cities", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, vol. 242, p. 7-17. [The third model of the American city]

Hartke, Wolfgang, 1956, "Die 'Soziabrache' als Phänomenon der geographischen Differenzierung der Landschaft", *Erdkunde*, vol. 10, n° 4, p. 257-269. [German geography introduces a social dimension in the study of cultural landscapes]

.Harvey, David, 1973, *Social Justice and the City*, London, Arnold. [The irruption of a critical perspective in geography]

Hoyt, Homer, 1933, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*, Chicago, Chicago University Press. [The second model of the American city]

Jackson, John B., 1984, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, New Haven, Yale University Press. [A democratic view of landscape geography]

Jones, Emrys, Eyle, John, 1977, *An Introduction to Social Geography*, London, Oxford University Press. [A classical view of British social geography]

Leighly, John (ed.), 1963, *Land and Life: a Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, Berkely, University of California Press. [The essentials of Sauer]

Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel, 1975, *Montailou, village occitan. De 1294 à 1324*, Paris, Gallimard. [From mega- to micro-approaches in the social sciences]

Lewis, Martin W., Wigen, Kären E., 1997, *The Myths of Continents: a Critique of Metageography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press. [How geography is built with words]

Mann, Michael, 1986, *The Sources of Social Power. Tome 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to A. D. 1760*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. [A combined social, cultural and political approach to history]

Meitzen, August, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slaven*, Berlin, Hertz, 4 vol. [German geography relates ethnicity and rural landscapes]

Mendras, Henry, 1967, *La Fin des paysans*, Paris, SEDEIS. [A view on the historicity of peasantry]

Murdie, Robert A., 1969, *Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1961. An Essay on the Social Geography of the City*, Chicago, Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Research Paper n° 116. [The best example of factorial analysis used in a temporal perspective]

Olwig, Kenneth R., 1996, "Recovering the substantial nature of landscape", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 86, p. 630-653. [Landscape and local community: origins – and future ?]

Olwig, Kenneth R., 2001, "Landscape as a contested topic of place, community and self", in: Adams, Paul et al. (eds.), *Textures of Place: Geographies of Imagination, Experience, and Paradox*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p. 95-119. [Variations on the theme of landscape and community]

Park, Robert E., 1960, *Human Communities. The City and Human Ecology*, Glencoe, The Free Press. [The essentials of Park]

Peet, R., 1975, "The Geography of Crime: a Political Critique", *Professional Geographer*, vol. 27, p. 277-280. [Introducing disorder and the subversion of the society in social geography]

Philo, Chris, 1992, "Foucault's geography", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 10, p. 137-161. [Sight, power and control]

Pitte, Jean-Robert, 1991, *Gastronomie française. Histoire et géographie d'une passion*, Paris, Fayard. [How to introduce the body as a geographic theme through the analysis of senses]

Planhol, Xavier de, 1979, "Forces économiques et composantes culturelles dans les structures commerciales des villes islamiques", *L'Espace géographique*, vol. 8, n° 4, p. 315-322. [A critical view of the cultural geography of Moslem cities]

Planhol, Xavier de, 1984, "La cour, la place, le parvis: éléments pour une morphologie sociale comparée des villes islamiques et ouest-européennes", in: Paul Claval (ed.), *Géographie historique des villes de l'Europe occidentale*, Paris, Publications du Département de Géographie de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, n° 12, vol. 1. [The social and cultural significance of morphological urban features]

Ratzel, Friedrich, 1882-1891, *Anthropogeographie oder Grundzüge der Anwendung der Erdkunde auf die Geschichte*, Stuttgart, Engelhorn, 2 vol. [How human geography was based on a cultural perspective]

Redfield, Robert, 1940, "The Folk society and culture", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 45, p. 731-742. [The links between culture and social forms]

- Redfield, Robert, 1947, "The Folk Society", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 52, p. 293-308. [The peasant societies of Latin America as examples of social and cultural formations]
- Redfield, Robert, 1956, *Peasant Society and Culture*, Chicago, Chicago University Press. [From the idea of folk society to a reflection on peasantry]
- Rolph, Edward, 1970, "An enquiry on the relations between geography and phenomenology", *Canadian Geographer*, vol. 14, p. 193-201. [A rediscovery of Dardel and of phenomenology]
- Richardson, M., 1981, "On the 'superorganic in American cultural geography'. Commentary of Duncan's paper", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 71, p. 284-287. [A commentary of Duncan's critical views on American cultural geography which was also a methodological program]
- Roger, Alain, 1997, *Court Traité du paysage*, Paris, Gallimard. [Philosophy and landscape]
- Said, Edward, 1978, *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage. [How the post-colonial perspective was born]
- Sauer, C. O., 1925, "The morphology of landscape", *University of California Publications in Geography*, vol. 2, p. 19-53. [The founding text of American cultural geography]
- Sauer, C. O., 1938, "Theme of plant and animal destruction in economic history", *Journal of Farm Economics*, vol. 20, 765-775. [The role of life in cultural geography]
- Sauer, C. O., 1941, "The Personality of Mexico", *American Geographical Review*, vol. 31, p. 353-364. [Culture, it is also the personality of countries]
- Sauer, C. O., 1952, *Agricultural Origins and Dispersals*, New York, American Geographical Society. [A review of one of the founding themes of cultural geography]
- Sautter, Gilles, 1979, "Le paysage comme connivence", *Hérodote*, n° 16, 1979, p. 40-67. [From a functionalist to a subjective perspective in landscape analysis]
- Schlüter, Otto, 1899, "Bermerkungen zur Siedelungsgeographie", *Geographisch Zeitschrift*, vol. 5, p. 65-84. [The origins of German studies on the cultural landscape]
- Shevky, W, Bell, E., 1955, *Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application and Computational Procedures*, Stanford, Stanford University Press. [The link between the Chicago School of Urban sociology of the 20s and 30s and the Chicago school of urban geography of the 60s]
- Sion, Jules, 1908, *Les Paysans de Normandie orientale*, Paris, A. Colin. [How to explain history and forms of settlements through an analysis of social evolution]
- Smith, David M., 1973, *The Geography of Social Well-being in the United States*, New York, McGraw-Hill. [Another dimension of social analysis in the 70s]
- Smith, David M., 1977, *Human Geography. A Welfare Approach*, London, Arnold. [The theoretical foundations of the welfare approach in social geograph ]
- Trochet, Jean-René, 1998, *Géographie historique. Hommes et territoires dans les sociétés traditionnelles*, Paris, Nathan. [The past relations between territorial control and social structures]
- Vallaux, Camille, 1907, *La Basse-Bretagne. Etude de géographie humaine*, Paris, A. Colin. [How geography reflects the particularities of law and land tenure]
- Vidal de la Blache, Paul, 1902, "Les conditions géographiques des faits sociaux", *Annales de Géographie*, vol. 11, p. 13-23. [The foundations of French human geography]
- Vidal de la Blache, Paul, 1903, *Tableau de la géographie de la France*, Paris, Hachette. [The foundations of French regional approach]
- Vidal de la Blache, Paul, 1911, "Les genres de vie dans la géographie humaine", *Annales de Géographie*, vol. 20, n° 111, p. 193-212; n° 112, p. 289-304. [The fundamental article on the notion of genre de vie]
- Weber; Eugen, 1983, *La Fin des terroirs. La modernisation de la France rurale*, Paris, Fayard. [The oddness of peasantry and its disappearance in the contemporary world]

Weber, Max, 1905, *Die protestantische Ethik und die Geist der Kapitalismus*; éd. française, 1963, *L'Éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme*, Paris, Plon. [The fundamental text on the relations between culture and social forms]

Werlen, Benno, 1988, *Gesellschaft, Handlung und Raum*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner. [A refoundation of human geography based on the more recent development in phenomenology and social reflection]

Wirth, Eugen, 1974, "Zum Problem des Bazars (sùq, çarsi)", *Der Islam*, p. 203-260; 1975, p. 6-46. [A critical view on the cultural geography of Moslem city]

Wirth, Eugen, 1993, "Esquisse d'une conception de la ville islamique", *Géographie et Cultures*, vol. 2, n° 5, p. 71-90. [idem]

Wirth, Louis, 1928, *The Ghetto*, Chicago, Chicago University Press. [Social scientists discover the worst aspects of social distributions]

Wirth, Louis, 1938, "Urbanism as a way of life", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, p. 1-24. [How morphology explains social and cultural differentiation]

Zorbaugh, H.W.; 1929, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Chicago, Chicago University Press. [How cities are divided into poor and wealthy neighborhoods]

### **Biographical Sketch**

Born in 1932, **Paul Claval** graduated from the University of Toulouse and taught in the Universities of Besançon and Paris-Sorbonne. His main interest was on the history and epistemology of geography, and its relations with other social sciences: he focused on geography and economics in the 1960s, geography, sociology and political sciences between 1970 and 1985, and geography and anthropology since 1985. His most recent book is on *L'épistémologie de la géographie*.