

HARM J. DE BLIJ / PETER O. MULLER / FIFTH EDITION

# GEOGRAPHY

## REGIONS AND CONCEPTS

**5<sup>th</sup> E D I T I O N**

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# **GEOGRAPHY**

## **REGIONS AND CONCEPTS**

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

*Cover photograph:*  
Flower fields in Lompoc, California.  
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# PREFACE

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The fifth edition of *Geography: Regions and Concepts* retains the structure and contents of its predecessor but introduces numerous additions and updates in the cartography, text, and supplemental materials. Nearly every map has been revised, with population symbols updated to 1990 based on demographic projections. Moreover, all map contents have been catalogued and listed alphabetically in our new *gazetteer* or geographical index; this new reference system, in conjunction with our extensive base-map coverage of each geographic realm plus our collection of global maps of major human and physical phenomena, amounts to nothing less than an *atlas* of the world's key places.

The text additions continue the directions we took in the previous edition. The introductory chapter now has a major essay too: a global-scale overview of *core-periphery relationships* in connection with our discussion of developed and underdeveloped countries. Our concern with world geographical problems has been expanded in new boxes and chapter sections that cover tropical deforestation (Chapter 4), Third World urbanization (Chapter 5), hunger in the (northern) African Transition Zone (Chapter 6), the changing social geography of the European city (Chapter 1), the geography of cocaine in South America (Chapter 5), and the application of the insurgent-state

model to Central America (Chapter 4). Additions of similar length have been made where we felt gaps existed: India's wet monsoon (Chapter 8), Soviet energy developments (Chapter 2), Amazonia's booming frontiers (Brazil vignette), China's Special Economic Zones (Chapter 9), and the newest principles governing the political geography of the oceans (Chapter 10). We have also expanded our coverage of individual countries (in recognition of this increasingly popular approach to the teaching of world geography), and intend to continue this in future editions; among the country profiles added here are the seven Central American republics, South Africa (entirely rewritten as a separate vignette following Chapter 7), Libya, Madagascar, Nepal, and most of the states of Southeast Asia.

As for supplementary materials, three major additions were made: (1) Appendix B, an essay entitled *Opportunities in Geography* that focuses on the discipline of geography, the training of a professional geographer, and career options; (2) substantially expanded bibliographies; and (3) pronunciation guides for each chapter and vignette. The *Opportunities* essay is self-explanatory, and is meant to assist instructors in answering their students' oft-asked question, "What can one do with geography?" The References and Further Readings section at the end of each chapter and vig-

nette was enlarged for two reasons. First, we wish to better convey to readers the richness of the (often interdisciplinary) literature on the geography of each major region; lest the most basic works become eclipsed in such a lengthy listing, we have starred the key introductory books. Our second reason is that we believe more and more students will be making use of the bibliography as a research tool to undertake writing assignments in the subject. At our university, for instance, research papers are required in the Honors sections of the World Regional Geography course. Research papers are again becoming a vital part of the learning experience, and "writing courses" may soon become widespread in American higher education. Accordingly, we have prepared more comprehensive bibliographies with fuller citations that facilitate entry into the computerized card catalogues of today's college and university libraries.

The pronunciation guides—located at the end of each chapter and vignette—should significantly enhance the overall presentation. In choosing words for inclusion (largely place names), we decided not to list words that were pronounced the way they were written unless we thought mispronunciation was likely. Although we strove for authenticity throughout, we aimed for Americanized rather than native-lan-

## VIII PREFACE

guage pronunciations. For many words, our initial guide was the 1984 edition of *Webster's New Geographical Dictionary*. In choosing the phonetic presentation system, we kept things as simple as possible by avoiding a formalized symbol system that would have required constant decoding. Therefore, we employed a syllabic phonetic-spelling system with stress syllables italicized (for example, we pronounce our surnames *duh-blay* and *mull-uh*). The most frequently used vowel sounds would translate as follows: *ah* as in father; *oh* as in tone; *au* as in out; and *uh* as in banana.

The population figures used in the text are our projections for 1988 (unless otherwise indicated), and are consistent with the national demographic data displayed in Appendix A. The chief source that we used as a basis for developing our projections was the 1986 *World Population Data Sheet* published by the Population Reference Bureau, Inc. The source of urban population figures, which entail a far greater problem in reliability and com-

parability, was *Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth*, a 1980 publication of the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs; 1988 estimates are used throughout the text, and they represent *metropolitan-area totals* unless otherwise specified.

Besides the aims that have characterized this book since its initial publication in 1971, we have been guided by an additional purpose during the preparation of this edition: increasing the international awareness of U.S. college and university students. In recent years, a great deal has been said and written about the inadequate geographical and international knowledge of the American people. We believe the study of world regional geography is an ideal way to combat that ignorance.

Finally, to the student reader about to embark on the exploration of world geography, we leave you with the following exhortations offered by the author, James Michener, in his 1970 article in *Social Education* (pp. 764-766):

*The more I work in the social-studies field the more convinced I become that geography is the foundation of all. . . . When I begin work on a new area—something I have been called upon to do rather frequently in my adult life—I invariably start with the best geography I can find. This takes precedence over everything else, even history, because I need to ground myself in the fundamentals which have governed and in a sense limited human development. . . . If I were a young man with any talent for expressing myself, and if I wanted to make myself indispensable to my society, I would devote eight or ten years to the real mastery of one of the earth's major regions. I would learn languages, the religions, the customs, the value systems, the history, the nationalisms, **and above all the geography** [emphasis added], and when that was completed I would be in a position to write about that region, and I would be invaluable to my nation, for I would be the bridge of understanding to the alien culture. We have seen how crucial such bridges can be.*

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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In the course of this latest revision, we were fortunate to receive advice and assistance from many people.

One of the rewards associated with the publication of a book of this kind is the correspondence and other feedback that it generates. Over the years, we have heard from colleagues, students, and lay readers. Geographers, economists, political scientists, education specialists, and others have written us, almost always with helpful suggestions, often with fascinating enclosures. We have responded personally to every such letter, and our editor has communicated with many of our correspondents as well. We have, moreover, considered every suggestion made—and many who wrote or transmitted their reactions through other channels will see their recommendations in print in the current edition. The list that follows is merely representative of a group of colleagues across North America to whom we are grateful for taking the time to share their thoughts and opinions with us.

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At the University of Miami's Department of Geography, we are indebted to everyone for their support. Our faculty colleagues—Tom Boswell, Don Capone, Jim DeMeo, Ira Sheskin, Dick

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From beginning to end, the preparation of this handsome fifth edition has benefited from the professionalism of the staff at John Wiley. Ellen Brown and Linda Muriello supervised the production of this book with great efficiency and good humor, making us feel as though we were the only authors with whom they were working. Madelyn Lesure was the designer of this new edition, and deserves much of the credit for the physical appearance of the final product. We are also indebted to our three (!) map coordinators—Gigi Ghriskey,

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And finally, no matter how many times we compose these acknowledgments, we always come back to realizing the enormous contributions made by our wives, Bonnie and Nancy. In so many ways they are our silent co-authors, willing at a moment's notice to offer just the right encouragement or editorial advice to keep us going.

August 21, 1987    **Harm J. de Blij**  
                                  Coconut Grove,  
                                  Florida

**Peter O. Muller**  
                                  Coral Gables,  
                                  Florida

# CONTENTS

## Introduction 1

### WORLD REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY: PHYSICAL AND HUMAN FOUNDATIONS

Regional Concepts and Classifications  
Geographic Scale  
Concepts of Culture and Landscape  
Changing Natural Environments

Pleistocene Influences  
Water Cycles  
Climatic Regions

**Model Box 1** The Hypothetical Continent and Models  
in Geography

Vegetation Regimes  
Soil Distribution

World Population and Urbanization Patterns  
Politics and Geography  
Geography of Economic Development

**Opening Essay** Core–Periphery Regional  
Relationships

Geographic Realms of the World  
Regional Studies in Contemporary Geography  
Map Reading and Interpretation

## Part One

### DEVELOPED REALMS 57

#### Chapter 1 59

#### RESILIENT EUROPE: CONFRONTING NEW CHALLENGES

**Systematic Essay 1** Population Geography

Landscape and Rivalries  
Heritage of Order  
Empires, Rebirths, and Revolutions  
Modern Geographic Dimensions

**Model Box 2** The Von Thünen Model

Contemporary Europe  
Regions of Europe

The British Isles

Western Europe  
Nordic Europe  
Mediterranean Europe  
Eastern Europe

European Supranationalism and Unification

### Vignette

#### AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND: EUROPEAN OUTPOST 132

Migration and Transfer  
Economic Activities and Urbanization  
Population Policies  
Politico-Geographical Structures  
New Zealand

#### Chapter 2 151

#### THE SOVIET UNION: MOVING THE MONOLITH

**Systematic Essay 2** Climatology

A World Superpower  
The European Heritage  
Physiography  
The Modern Soviet State and Its Centrally Controlled  
Economy  
Regions of the Soviet Realm  
Soviet Heartlands and Boundaries  
The Changing Geography of the 1980s

#### Chapter 3 191

#### NORTH AMERICA: THE POSTINDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION

**Systematic Essay 3** Urban Geography

Two Highly Advanced Countries  
Physical Geography and Human Environmental  
Impacts  
Population in Time and Space

Settling Rural America  
Industrial Urbanization

**Model Box 3** Central Place Theory

Contemporary Postindustrial America  
Cultural Geography

Environmental Perception and Spatial Behavior  
 Changing Geography of Economic Activity  
 The Postindustrial Revolution  
 Regions of the North American Realm  
 The Emerging "Nine Nations" of North America

### Vignette

#### PRODIGIOUS JAPAN: TRIUMPH OF TECHNOLOGY 248

Imperial Japan  
 Modernization in the Context of Limited Assets  
 Japan's Spatial Organization  
 Japan in the Postindustrial Era

## Part Two

### UNDERDEVELOPED REALMS 267

#### Chapter 4 269

#### MIDDLE AMERICA: COLLISION OF CULTURES

##### Systematic Essay 4 Historical Geography

Legacy of Mesoamerica  
 Collision of Cultures  
 Mainland and Rimland  
 Political Differentiation  
 Caribbean Patterns  
     Tourism: The Irritant Industry  
     The African Heritage  
 Troubled Mexico  
 Central America's Besieged Republics

#### Chapter 5 309

#### SOUTH AMERICA: TRADITION AND TRANSITION

##### Systematic Essay 5 Economic Geography

The Human Sequence  
 Culture Areas  
 Third World Urbanization  
 The Republics: Regional Geography  
     The Caribbean North  
     The Andean West  
     The Mid-latitude South

### Vignette

#### EMERGING BRAZIL: POTENTIALS AND PROBLEMS 346

Regions  
 Population Dynamics  
 Development Problems

#### Chapter 6 361

#### NORTH AFRICA/SOUTHWEST ASIA: FUNDAMENTALISM VERSUS MODERNIZATION

##### Systematic Essay 6 Cultural Geography

A Greatness Past  
 Decline and Rebirth

##### Model Box 4 Spatial Diffusion Principles

Boundaries and Barriers  
 Arabian Oil Bonanza  
 Regions and States  
     Egypt and the Nile Basin  
     The Western Maghreb  
     The Middle East  
     The Arabian Peninsula  
     The Non-Arab Northern Tier  
     The African Transition Zone

#### Chapter 7 415

#### SUBSAHARAN AFRICA: ADVERSITIES AND ADVERSARIES

##### Systematic Essay 7 Medical Geography

The Environmental Base  
 Continental Drift  
 Environmental Hazards and Diseases  
 Agricultural Predominance  
 Africa's Past  
 The Colonial Legacy

##### Model Box 5 Colonial Sequence of Transport Development

##### Contemporary African Regions

West Africa  
 East Africa  
 Equatorial Africa  
 Southern Africa

### Vignette

#### SOUTH AFRICA: CHALLENGE AND CHANGE 464

Human Patterns  
 Physical Setting  
 Economic Activities  
 Political Geography  
 Mounting Challenges

#### Chapter 8 475

#### SOUTH ASIA: RESURGENT REGIONALISM

##### Systematic Essay 8 Geomorphology

Physiographic Regions  
 The Human Sequence  
 Federal India  
 India's Economic Geography and Development

Demographic Crisis  
 Bangladesh  
 Pakistan  
 Sri Lanka  
 Nepal and Bhutan

---

**Chapter 9** **517**

---

**THE CHINESE WORLD: PITFALLS OF PROGRESS**

**Systematic Essay 9** The Geography of Development

China in Today's World  
 Evolution of the State  
 A Century of Convulsion  
 Regions of China  
     Physiographic Regions  
     Human Regional Geography  
 The New China  
 Taiwan  
 Korea

---

**Chapter 10** **567**

---

**SOUTHEAST ASIA: BETWEEN THE GIANTS**

**Systematic Essay 10** Political Geography

Population Patterns  
 Indochina  
 Ethnic Mosaic  
 European Colonial Frameworks  
 Territorial Morphology  
     Compact Kampuchea  
     Prorupt Burma and Thailand  
     Elongated Vietnam  
     Fragmented Malaysia, Indonesia, and  
     the Philippines  
 Land and Sea  
 Antarctica

**Vignette**

**THE PACIFIC WORLD: ISLAND REGIONS** **604**

Melanesia  
 Micronesia  
 Polynesia

**Appendix A: World Demographic Data** 611

**Appendix B: Opportunities in Geography** 615

**Glossary** 623

**Photo Credits** 637

**List of Maps** 639

**Geographical Index (Gazetteer)** 641

**Index** 655

# WORLD REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY: PHYSICAL AND HUMAN FOUNDATIONS

## IDEAS AND CONCEPTS

regional concepts  
scale  
culture  
cultural landscape  
natural environments  
pleistocene cycles  
climatic regions  
models in geography  
population concentrations  
urbanization  
development  
core-periphery relationships  
world geographic realms  
regional and systematic  
geography  
map reading and interpretation

This is a book about the world's great realms, surveyed and discussed in geographical perspective. Each of the major geographic realms of the human world (such as Europe, North America, or South Asia) possesses

a special combination of cultural, environmental, historical, economic, and organizational qualities. These characteristic properties are imprinted on the landscape, giving each region its own flavor and social milieu. Geographers take a particular interest in the way people have decided to arrange and order their living space. The street pattern of a traditional Arab town differs markedly from the layout of a Chinese place of similar size. The fields and farms of Subsaharan Africa look quite unlike those of the Soviet Union. Thus, the study of world realms also provides the opportunity to examine the concepts and ideas that form the basis of the modern field of geography. These are our twin objectives.

## CONCEPTS OF REGIONS

Modern scientific concepts can often be complicated mathematical constructions, but we use others, almost without realizing it, in our everyday conversation. Among the most fundamental concepts of geography are those involving the identification, classification, and analysis of regions. When we refer to some part of our country (the Midwest, for example), or to a distant area of the world (such as the Middle East), or even to a

section of the metropolitan area in which we may live (the inner central city, for instance), we employ a regional concept. We reveal our perception of distant or local space, our mental image of the region to which reference is made.

Everyone has some idea of what the word **region** means, and we use the regional concept frequently in its broadest sense as a frame of reference. But regional concepts are anything but simple. Take just one implication of a regional name just used: the Midwest. If the Midwest is indeed a region of the United States, then it must have limits. Those limits, however, are open to debate. In his book *North America*, John Paterson states that the Midwest includes the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, "but in the cultural sense it can also be said to include much of the area of heavy industry in Pennsylvania and West Virginia." Compare this definition to that of Otis Starkey, J. Lewis Robinson, and Crane Miller, who define the Midwest in their book *The Anglo-American Realm* as consisting of "most of the west North Central states [North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri] to which have been added the western parts of Wisconsin and Illinois."

These two perceptions of the

**FIGURE 1-1** Regional boundary: the edge of the Nile Valley in central Egypt.

## 2 INTRODUCTION

Midwest as an American region obviously differ. Does this invalidate the whole idea of an American Midwest? Not necessarily: the apparent conflict arises from the use of different *criteria* to give specific meaning to a regional term that has long been a part of American cultural life. Your own personal impression of the Midwest as a region is based on certain properties you have reason to consider important. When you add to your information base, you may modify your definition. Regionalization is the geographer's means of classification or taxonomy, and regions, like all classes, have their bases in established criteria. Classification schemes are open to change as new knowledge emerges, and so are regional definitions. A 1985 study of the Midwest underscores this. James Shortridge surveyed college students in 32 states and discovered a sizable majority shared the perception of Starkey and his co-authors that favored a more westerly delimitation of the region that excluded Michigan and Ohio. This finding was consistent with other definitional variables and is probably related to the continuing overall shift of the population of the United States toward the west (and the southern-tier Sunbelt).

Regions obviously have **location**. Various means can be employed to identify a region's position on the globe, as the authors quoted above did when they enumerated the states that form part of their conception of the American Midwest. Often a region's name reveals much about its location. During the Vietnam War (1964–1975) the name *Indochina* became familiar to us; it is a regional appellation that identifies an area in Southeast Asia that has received cultural infusions from India and human migrations from China. Sometimes we have a particular land-

scape in mind when we designate a region—for example, the Amazon Basin or the Rocky Mountains. It would also be possible, of course, to denote a region's location by reference to the earth's grid system and to record its latitude and longitude. That would give us the extent of its **absolute location**, but such a numerical index would not have much practical value. Location attains relevance only when it relates to other locations. Hence, many regional names give reference to other regions (*Middle America*, *Eastern Europe*, *Equatorial Africa*). This indicates a region's **relative location**, a much more meaningful and practical criterion.

Regions also have **area**. Again, this appears to be so obvious that it hardly requires emphasis, but some difficult problems are involved here. For example, certain regions are identified as the (San Francisco) Bay Area, the Greater New York Area, or Chicagoland. Everyone would probably agree that each of these areas is focused on a few internal urban concentrations, but what are the limits or boundaries of such metropolitan-centered regions? In quite another context, we use such terms as the *Corn Belt*—an agricultural region in the central United States—and the *Sunbelt*—a broad zone across the southern United States that attracts a growing number of migrants (and employers) who seek to escape the rigors of northern winters. The geographical or **spatial** extent of a region, whether Bay Area or Corn Belt, Midwest or Middle East, cannot be established and defined without reference to its specific areal contents.

An overriding characteristic of a region's contents may be its *homogeneity* or sameness. Sometimes the landscape leaves no doubt where one region ends and another begins: in Egypt, the

break between the green, irrigated, cultivated lands adjacent to the Nile River and the desert beyond is razor-sharp and all-pervading (Fig. 1–1). On the map, the line representing that break is without question a regional boundary. Everything changes beyond that line—population density, vegetation, soil quality, land use. But regional distinctions are usually not always so clear. The example of the U.S. Corn Belt (mapped in Fig. 3–25) provides a good contrast. Traveling northward from Kentucky into Illinois or Indiana, you would undoubtedly be struck by the increasing number of cornfields. Since not all farmland is under corn, even within the Corn Belt, the difference between what you saw in Kentucky and Illinois is a matter of degree. Therefore, in order to define a Corn Belt and represent it on a map, it would be necessary to establish a criterion—for instance, 50 percent or more of all the cultivated land must be devoted to growing corn. The line so drawn would delimit an agricultural region, but on the landscape it would be far less evident than the border enclosing Egypt's Nile Valley farmlands.

It is possible, of course, to increase the number of ingredients so that more than one condition must be satisfied before the region is delimited. To define a particular cultural region such criteria as the use of a certain language, adherence to a specific religion, perhaps even the spatial variations of architectural, artistic, and other traditions might be simultaneously employed. Maps of the cultural geography of Canada, including those showing religious affiliation, dominant language spoken, land division, and settlement patterns, reveal the reality of Quebec as a discrete region within the greater Canadian framework.

A region can also be conceptualized as a **system**. Certain regions are marked not by internal uniformity but by a particular activity—or perhaps a set of integrated activities—that interconnects its various parts. This is how it is possible to perceive the Bay Area and similar metropolitan entities as true regions. A large city-suburban complex has a substantial surrounding area for which it supplies goods and services, from which it buys farm products, and with which it interacts in numerous ways. The metropolitan city's manufacturers distribute their products wholesale to regional subsidiaries. Its newspapers sell in the nearby smaller towns. Maps showing the orientation of road traffic, the sources and destinations of telephone calls, the readership of newspapers, the audiences of television stations, and other activities confirm the close relationship between the metropolis and its tributary region or *hinterland*. Here again, we have a region; this time it is not characterized by homogeneity but, instead, by a structured, urban-centered system of interaction that produces a *nodal* or *functional region*. This type of region is discussed further in the box on regional terminology.

### Classifying Regions

Given the various qualities and properties of regions, their differences in dimensions and complexity, is it possible to establish a *hierarchy*, a ranking of regions based on some combination of their characteristics? Some geographers have proposed such systems of classification, and although none of the results has gained general acceptance, it is interesting to see how they confronted this often frustrating

## Regional Terminology

The internal uniformity of a homogeneous region can be expressed by human (cultural, economic) as well as natural (physical) criteria. A country constitutes such a political region, for within its boundaries certain conditions of nationality, law, government, and political tradition prevail throughout. Similarly, a natural region such as the Rocky Mountains or the Mississippi Delta is expressed by the dominance of a particular physical landscape. Quebec and the Corn Belt are uniform cultural and agricultural regions, respectively. Regions marked by this internal homogeneity are classified as **formal regions**.

Regions conceptualized as *spatial systems*—such as those centered on an urban core, an activity node, or a focus of regional interaction—are identified collectively as **functional regions**. Thus, the formal region might be viewed as static, uniform, and immobile; the functional region is seen to be dynamic, structurally active, and continuously shaped by forces that modify it.

This distinction between formal and functional regions is still debated among geographers. A formal region's evenness, some argue, is also the result of the operation of shaping forces; perhaps formal regions are less affected by change, more durable, and, therefore, more visible, but they may not be fundamentally different from functional regions. And on the landscape itself, both regional types may often be recognized simultaneously: in Fig. 1-2—which shows a small Iowa town within the heart of the Corn Belt—we can observe both the functional ties (roads, storage elevators) between the town and its surrounding farms as well as the formal-region homogeneity of the agricultural spatial pattern (evenly dispersed farmsteads, repetition of field size and land uses) beyond the edge of the built-up area in the foreground. Some contributions to the continuing discussion of regional terminology in the current geographical literature are cited in the bibliography at the end of this introductory chapter.

**FIGURE 1-2** Regional ties around the town of Garden City, Iowa.



## 4 INTRODUCTION

problem. In a book entitled *Introduction to World Geography*, Robert Fuson suggests a comprehensive, seven-level regional hierarchy that would divide the earth into the European and non-European world and, subsequently, into realms, landscapes, superregions, regions, districts, and subregions. This system is complicated and quite difficult to apply consistently, but it underscores the elusive nature of the problem.

Cultural geographers frequently employ a three-tier system. The *culture realm* (sometimes *culture world*) identifies the largest and most complex area that can be described as being unified by common cultural traditions. For example, North or "Anglo" America (Canada and the United States) constitutes such a culture realm; Middle and South America form an additional pair of cultural realms that comprise "Latin" America. Each of these culture realms, in turn, consists of an assemblage of *culture regions*. Within the "Latin" American realms, Mexico is such a culture region, the Central American republics comprise a second region, Brazil a third, and so on. Within the European culture realm, Mediterranean Europe and Eastern Europe rank as separate culture regions. These regions, in turn, consist of *subregions*. Canada is a region within the North American realm; French-speaking Quebec is a subregion within Canada. Similarly, the Balkan states form a subregion within Eastern Europe.

Note that the regional and subregional areas tend to be identified as countries or groups of countries, which can become misleading. The country names are used because of their convenience and familiarity, but their boundaries do not necessarily coincide with those of the regions or subregions in question. Mexico's regional properties spill over

into the southwestern margins of the North American realm. The Sahel—a distinct subregion of West Africa—extends across parts of several of that region's countries. Thus, in a world context, realms and regions are not bounded by sharply defined limits—instead, they are separated by *transition zones* that are in many places quite broad. But if we must mark regional boundaries on maps, we should take advantage of the existing politico-geographical "grid" of countries. This has the advantage of comparative simplicity, as we will see later in this chapter when we discuss the framework of *geographic realms* to be used in this book.

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### CONCEPTS OF SCALE

Regions can be conceptualized in various forms and at different levels of generalization or *scale*, which is defined as the ratio of map distance to actual ground distance.

Consider the four maps in Fig. 1–3. On the first map (upper left) most of the North American realm is shown, but very little spatial information can be provided, although the political boundary between Canada and the United States is shown. On the second map (upper right), eastern and central Canada are depicted in sufficient detail to permit display of the provinces, several cities, and some physical features (Manitoba's major lakes) not shown on the first map. The third map (lower left) shows the main surface communications of Quebec and immediate surroundings, the relative location of Montreal, and the St. Lawrence and Hudson/James Bay drainage systems. The fourth map (lower right) reveals the metropolitan layout of Mon-

treau and environs in considerable detail.

Each of the four maps has a scale designation, which can be shown as a *bar graph* (in miles and kilometers in this case) and as a fraction—1:103,000,000 on the first map. The fraction is a ratio indicating that one unit of distance on the map (one inch or one centimeter) represents 103 million such units on the ground. The smaller the fraction (i.e., the larger the number in the denominator), the smaller the scale of the map. Clearly, this *representative fraction* on the first map (1:103,000,000) is the smallest of the four and that of the fourth map (1:1,000,000) is the largest. Comparing maps number 1 and number 3, we find that on the *linear scale*, number 3 has a representative fraction that is more than four times larger than number 1. When it comes to *areal representation*, however, 1:24,000,000 is more than 16 times larger than 1:103,000,000 because the linear difference prevails in both dimensions (the *length and breadth of the map*).

In a book that surveys world realms, it is obviously necessary to operate at relatively smaller scales. When studying regions or subregions in greater detail, our ability to specify criteria and to "filter" the factors we employ increases as we work at larger scales. On occasion that method will be used, for example when urban centers are the topic of concern (as suggested by Montreal in Fig. 1–3). But most of the time our view will be the more macroscopic and general—the small-scale view of the world's geographic realms.

Besides scale, maps exhibit a number of other basic properties. Because familiarity with them simplifies the task of reading and interpreting the maps in this book, these properties are discussed in the box that closes this chapter (pp. 51–53).

## EFFECT OF SCALE

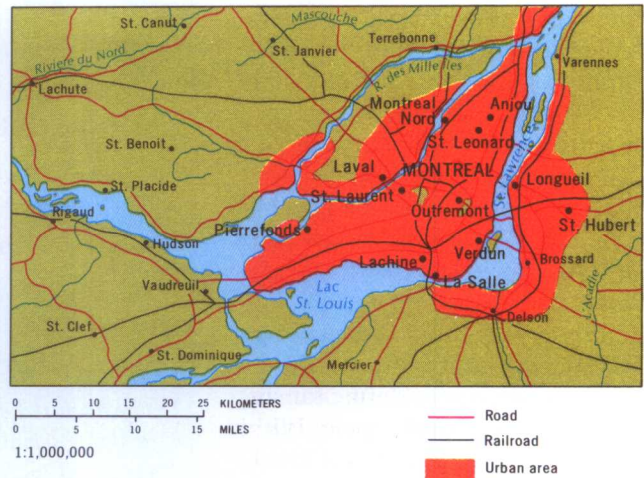
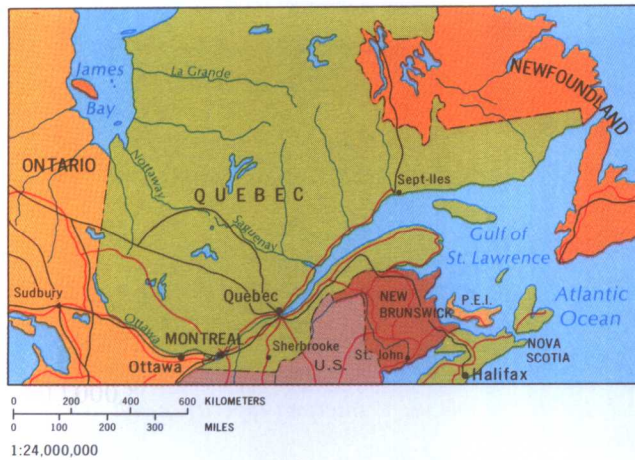
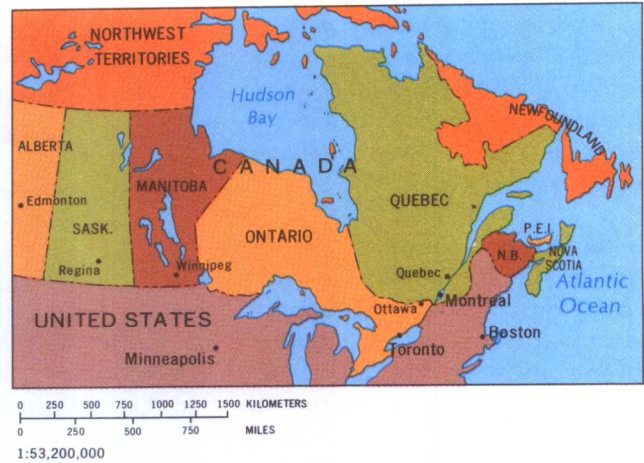
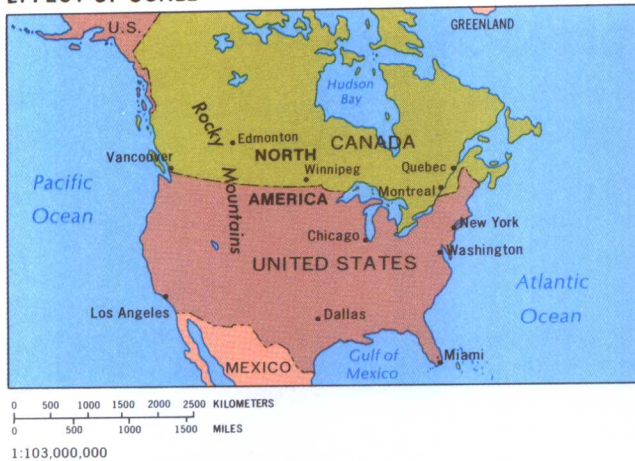


FIGURE I-3

## CONCEPTS OF CULTURE

The realms and regions to be discussed in the chapters that follow are, in part, defined by humanity's *cultures*. Geographers approach the study of culture from several vantage points, and one of these, the analysis of *cultural landscape*, is central to our regional concern. Therefore, we should look rather closely at the concept of culture. The word **culture** is not always used consistently in the English language, which can lead to some difficulties in establishing its scientific meaning. When we speak of a "cultured" individual we tend to mean someone with refined tastes in music and the arts, a highly educated, well-read person who knows and appreci-

ates the "best" attributes of his or her society. But as a scientific term, culture refers not only to the music, literature, and arts of a society, but also to all the other features of its way of life: prevailing modes of dress, routine living habits, food preferences, the architecture of houses as well as public buildings, the layout of fields and farms, and systems of education, government, and law. Thus, culture is an all-encompassing term that identifies not only the mosaic of lifestyles of a people, but also their prevailing values and beliefs.

This is not to suggest that anthropologists and other social scientists haven't had problems treating the concept of culture. If you read some of the basic literature in anthropology, you will

find that anthropologists have had as much difficulty with definitions of the culture concept as geographers have had with the regional concept. A culture may be the total way of life of a people—but is it their *actual* way of life ("the way the game is played") or the standards by which they give evidence of *wanting* to live through their statements of beliefs and values ("the rules of the game")? There are strong differences of opinion on this, and as a result the various definitions have become quite complicated.

Anthropologist E. Adamson Hoebel says in his *Anthropology: The Study of Man* that culture is

*the integrated system of learned behavior patterns which are characteristic of the members of a society and which are*

*not the result of biological inheritance . . . culture is not genetically predetermined; it is noninstinctive . . . [culture] is wholly the result of social invention and is transmitted and maintained solely through communication and learning.*

This definition raises still another question: how is culture carried over from the one generation to the next? Is this entirely a matter of learning, as Hoebel insists, or are certain aspects of a culture indeed instinctive and, in fact, a matter of genetics? This larger question is the concern of sociobiologists and not cultural geographers, although some of its side issues such as *territoriality* (an allegedly human instinct for territorial possessiveness) and *proxemics* (individual and collective preferences for nearness or distance in different societies) clearly have important spatial dimensions.

But even without these theoretical concerns, the culture concept remains difficult to define satisfactorily. In 1952, anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn published a lengthy paper that identified no fewer than 160 definitions—all of them different—and from these they distilled their own:

*Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts . . . the essential core of culture consists of traditional (that is, historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.*

Some of the definitions from which this one was synthesized, together with a few more recent ones, appear in the box on culture concepts.

## The Culture Concept

Below are several definitions of the concept of culture as developed by some prominent social scientists:

*That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.*

**Edward B. Tylor (1871)**

*The sum total of the knowledge, attitudes, and habitual behavior patterns shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.*

**Ralph Linton (1940)**

*The mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values—and the behavior they induce.*

**Alfred L. Kroeber (1948)**

*The man-made part of the environment.*

**Melville J. Herskovits (1955)**

*A way of life which members of a group learn, live by, and pass on to future generations.*

**Ann E. Larimore et al. (1963)**

*The learned patterns of thought and behavior characteristics of a population or society.*

**Marvin Harris (1971)**

*The acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behavior.*

**James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy (1975)**

*The sum of the morally forceful understandings acquired by learning and shared with the members of the group to which the learner belongs.*

**Marc J. Swartz and David K. Jordan (1976)**

For our purposes it is sufficient to stipulate that culture consists of a people's beliefs (religious, political), institutions (legal, governmental), and technology (skills, equipment). This notion is a good deal broader than that adopted by many contemporary anthropologists, who now prefer to restrict the concept to the interpretation of human experience and behavior as products of systems of symbolic meaning. It is also important to keep in mind that definitions of this kind are never final and absolute; rather, they are arbitrary

and designed for a particular theoretical purpose. The culture concept is defined to facilitate the explanation of human behavior. Anthropologists today tend to focus on what people know, on codes and values, on the "rules of the game." This was not always the case, as the box listing of definitions shows. Sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, and historians have different requirements and would construct contrasting "operational" definitions. The same is true of cultural geographers. Geographers would