AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

Space, place and politics

Martin Jones, Rhys Jones and Michael Woods

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2004
by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2004.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Jones, Martin
An introduction to political geography: space, place and politics / Martin Jones, Rhys Jones, Michael Woods.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Political geography. I. Jones, Rhys. II. Woods, Michael. III. Title.
JC319.J66 2004
320.1′2–dc22
2003021646

ISBN 0-203-62697-4 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-203-63084-X (Adobe eReader Format)
ISBN 0–415–25076–5 (hbk)
ISBN 0–415–25077–3 (pbk)

Power, space and 'political geography'

Sydney, September 2000

It is the night of Monday 25 September 2000, in the closing week of the Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia. In front of a record crowd the Australian athlete Cathy Freeman sprints clear to win gold in the women's 400 metre final. It is Australia's first Olympic gold medal in athletics since 1988, and the hundredth medal won by an Australian since the start of the modern Olympics in 1896. Momentarily exhausted, Freeman sits cross-legged on the track, hands over her eyes and mouth. Then, collecting a flag from the trackside, she sets off on a barefoot lap of honour, draped in her dual-sided flag – on one face the 'southern cross' standard of Australia, on the other the red, black and gold Aboriginal flag.

Cathy Freeman's moment of Olympic history is saturated with political geography. Most explicitly, there is the demonstration of Australian patriotism, reflecting the way in which sports events often provide a focal point for the articulation of national identity. Yet, with Freeman, a black Aboriginal woman and Aboriginal rights campaigner, the event assumed a deeper, more complex, symbolism. Freeman had been reprimanded on a previous occasion when she had celebrated with the Aboriginal flag. This time, however, there were no objections as she waved her dual Australian and Aboriginal ensign. In doing so Freeman served not just to reaffirm Australian national identity but contributed to its reinvention, turning the Olympic stadium into the stage for a seminal performance in the politics of race and identity in Australia.

Freeman's celebrations refocused attention on the brutal oppression of the Aboriginal people during the British colonisation of 'Australia' as part of an imperial geopolitical strategy. Moreover, the subjugation of the Aboriginal people depended on the application of political geographic knowledge about the exercise of power through the control of space. Colonial authorities imposed new administrative territories without regard for any existing geographical understandings of the land, obliterated Aboriginal place names and tribal homelands, and exiled Aboriginal communities to spatially controlled 'reservations'.

Freeman was not the first to use the Olympic Games to make a political statement. The tradition includes the 'black power' salutes given by African-American athletes at the 1968 games in Mexico City, and the boycotts of the Moscow and Los Angeles games as part of geopolitical posturing in the 1980s. Today the very process of bidding to host the Olympics is a geopolitical exercise, with competitors lobbying to build alliances of voting nations with negotiations that often spill over into issues of international diplomacy.

For the host city the prize is a symbolic step towards recognition as a 'global city'. The price, however, is a reworking of the city's own internal political geography. At Sydney, as at all the games, the stadium, athletes' village and the associated infrastructure of the event formed a 'landscape of power' which symbolised the powerfulness of the coalition of politicians, business leaders and sports administrators that had brought the games to Sydney, and the powerlessness of those who found themselves displaced by the development. The preparations for the games revealed much about the balance of power in contemporary urban politics as networks of key actors were assembled, funds diverted from health and education programmes, and new

public order legislation introduced. At the same time, the Olympics became a site of resistance by Aboriginal rights and anti-globalisation protesters who defied new laws prohibiting demonstrations, claiming space and transgressing the spatial order of the 'Olympic city' as they did so.

These diverse stories from the Sydney Olympics illustrate the breadth and diversity of contemporary political geography. Some are about nation building, others about cultural politics, yet others about urban development or about governance – but they are all of interest to political geographers. In this book we provide an introduction to contemporary political geography that captures a sense of the dynamism and diversity of the sub-discipline at the start of the twenty-first century. As such, this book is by nature wide-ranging, covering topics from the medieval state to the regulation of the capitalist economy, and from community participation in planning in Berlin to conflicts over the use of the Confederate flag in South Carolina. What unites these seemingly disparate examples is that they all involve the interaction of 'politics' – defined in its broadest sense – and 'geography', represented by place, territory or spatial variation. It is this intersection of 'politics' and 'geography' that forms the central concern of this book and that is the basis of our understanding of 'political geography'.

Defining political geography

Political geographers have taken a number of different approaches to defining the field of political geography. To some, political geography has been about the study of political territorial units, borders and administrative subdivisions (Alexander 1963; Goblet 1955). For others, political geography is the study of political processes, differing from political science only in the emphasis given to geographical influences and outcomes and in the application of spatial analysis techniques (Burnett and Taylor 1981; Kasperson and Minghi 1969). Both these definitions reflected the influence of wider theoretical approaches within geography as a whole – regional geography and spatial science respectively – at particular moments in the historical evolution of political geography and have generally been superseded as the discipline has moved on. Still current, however, is a third approach which holds that political geography should be defined in terms of its key concepts, which the proponents of this approach generally identify as territory and the state (e.g. Cox 2002). This approach shares with the earlier two approaches the desire to identify the 'essence' of political geography such that a definitive classification can be made of what is and what isn't 'political geography'. Yet political geography as it is actually researched and taught is much messier than these essentialist definitions suggest. Think, for example, about the word 'politics'. Essentialist definitions of political geography have tended to conceive of politics in very formal terms, as being about the state, elections and international relations. But 'politics' also occurs in all kinds of other, less formal, everyday situations, many of which have a strong geographical dimension – issues about the use of public space by young people for skateboarding, for example, or about the symbolic significance of a landscape threatened with development. While essentialist definitions of political geography would exclude most of these topics, they have become an increasingly important focus of geographical research.

As such, a fourth approach has been taken by writers who have sought to define political geography in a much more open and inclusive manner. John Agnew, for example, defines political geography as simply 'the study of how politics is informed by geography' (2002a: 1; see also Agnew *et al*. 2003), while Joe Painter (1995) describes political geography as a 'discourse', or a body of knowledge that produces particular understandings about the world, characterised by internal debate, the evolutionary adoption of new ideas, and dynamic boundaries. As indicated above, the way in which political geography is conceived of in this book fits broadly within this last approach.

We define political geography as a cluster of work within the social sciences that engages with the multiple intersections of 'politics' and 'geography', where these two terms are imagined as triangular configurations (Figure 1.1). On one side is the triangle

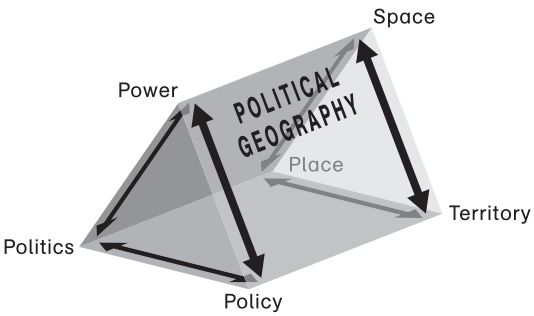

Figure 1.1 Political geography as the interaction of 'politics' and 'geography'

of power, politics and policy. Here power is the commodity that sustains the other two – as Bob Jessop puts it, 'if money makes the economic world go round, power is the medium of politics' (Jessop 1990a: 322) (see Box 1.1). Politics is the whole set of processes that are involved in achieving, exercising and resisting power – from the functions of the state to elections to warfare to office gossip. Policy is the intended outcome, the things that power allows one to achieve and that politics is about being in a position to do.

The interaction of these three entities is the concern of political science. Political geography is about the interaction of these entities and a second triangle of space, place and territory. In this triangle, space (or spatial patterns or spatial relations) is the core commodity of geography. Place is a particular point in space, while territory represents a more formal attempt to define and delimit a portion of space, inscribed with a particular identity and characteristics. Political geography recognises that these six entities – power, politics and policy, space, place and territory – are intrinsically linked, but a piece of political geographical research does not need to explicitly address them all. Spatial variations in policy implementation are a concern of political geography, as is the influence of territorial identity on voting behaviour, to pick two random examples. Political geography, therefore, embraces an innumerable multitude of interactions, some of which may have a cultural dimension which makes them also of interest to cultural geographers, some of which may have an economic dimension also of interest to economic geographers, some of which occurred in the past and are also studied by historical

BOX 1.1 POWER

Put simply, power is the ability to get things done, yet there are many different theories about what precisely power is and how it works. In broad terms there are two main approaches to conceptualising power. The first defines power as a property that can be possessed, building on an intellectual tradition that stems from Thomas Hobbes and Max Weber. Some writers in this tradition suggest that power is relational and involves conscious decision making, as Robert Dahl describes: 'A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do' (Lukes 1974: 11–12). Others have argued that power can be possessed without being exercised, or that the exercise of power does not need conscious decision making but that ensuring that certain courses of action are never even considered is also an exercise of power. The second approach contends that power is not something that can be possessed, as Bruno Latour remarks: 'When you simply have power – *in potentia* – nothing happens and you are powerless; when you exert power – *in actu* – others are performing the action and not you. . . . History is full of people who, because they believed social scientists and deemed power to be something you can possess and capitalise, gave orders no one obeyed!' (Latour 1986: 264–5). Instead, power is conceived of as a 'capacity to act' which exists only when it is exercised and which requires the pooling together of the resources of a number of different entities.

Key readings: Clegg (1989) and Lukes (1986).

geographers. To employ a metaphor that we will explain in Chapter 2, political geography has frontier zones, not borders.

In this book we explore these various themes and topics by drawing on and discussing contemporary research in political geography. Nearly all the case studies and examples that we refer to are taken from books and journal articles published in the last twenty years, including many published since 2000 which may be regarded as at the 'cutting edge' of political geography research. However, current and recent work in political geography of this kind does not exist in a historical vacuum. It builds on the foundations of earlier research and writing, advancing an argument through critique and debate and through the exploration of new empirical studies that allow new ideas to be proposed. Knowing something about this genealogy of political geography helps us to understand the nature, approach and key concerns of contemporary political geography. To provide this background, the remainder of this chapter outlines a brief history of political geography, from the emergence of the sub-discipline in the nineteenth century to current debates about its future direction.

A brief history of political geography

The history of political geography as an academic sub-discipline can be roughly divided into three eras: an era of ascendancy from the late nineteenth century to the Second World War; an era of marginalisation from the 1940s to the 1970s; and an era of revival from the late 1970s onwards. However, the trajectory of political geographic writing and thinking can be traced back long before even the earliest of these dates. Aristotle, writing some 2,300 years ago in ancient Greece, produced a study of the state in which he adopted an environmental deterministic approach to considering the requirements for boundaries, the capital city, and the ratio between territory size and population; while the Greco-Roman geographer Strabo examined how the Roman Empire was able to overcome the difficulties caused by its great size to function effectively. Interest in the factors shaping the form of political territories was revived in the European 'Age of Enlightenment' from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, as writers combined their new enthusiasm for science and philosophy with the practical concerns generated by a period of political reform and instability. Most notable was Sir William Petty, an English scientist and economist who in 1672 published *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* in which he explored the territorial and demographic bases of the power of the British state in Ireland. Petty developed these ideas further in his second book, *Essays in Political Arithmetick*, begun in 1671 and published posthumously, which outlined theories on, among other things, a state's sphere of influence, the role of capital cities, and the importance of distance in limiting the reach of human activity. In this way Petty foreshadowed the concerns of many later political geographers, but, like other geographical writing of the time and the classical texts of Strabo and Aristotle, his books were popular works of individual scholarship by polymaths which did not stand as part of a coherent field of 'political geography'. To find the real beginnings of 'political geography' as an academic discipline we need to look to nineteenth-century Germany.

The era of ascendancy

The significance of Germany as the cradle of political geography lies in its relatively recent formation. Modern Germany had come into being as a unified state only in 1871 and under ambitious Prussian leadership sought in the closing decades of the nineteenth century to establish itself as a 'great power' on a par with Britain, France, Austria-Hungary and Russia. However, Germany was constrained by its largely landlocked, Central European location which restricted its potential for territorial expansion. In these circumstances, ideas about the relationship between territory and state power became key concerns for Germany's new intellectual class and, in particular, for Friedrich Ratzel, sometimes referred to as 'the father of political geography'.

Much of Ratzel's work was driven by a desire to justify intellectually the territorial expansion of

Germany, and in writings such as *Politische Geographie* he embarked on a 'scientific' study of the state (see Bassin 1987). Ratzel drew on earlier political geographical work, notably that of Carl Ritter, but his innovation was to borrow concepts from the evolutionary theories of Darwin and his followers. In particular, Ratzel was influenced by a variation on Social Darwinism known as neo-Lamarckism, which held that evolution occurred through species being directly modified by their environments rather than by chance. Translating these ideas to the political sphere, Ratzel argued that the state could be conceived of as a 'living organism' and that like every living organism the state 'required a specific amount of territory from which to draw sustenance. [Ratzel] labelled this territory the respective *Lebensraum* or living space of the particular organism' (Bassin 1987: 477).

Extending the metaphor, Ratzel contended that states followed the same laws of development as biological units and that when a state's *Lebensraum* became insufficient – for example, because of population growth – the state needed to annex new territory to establish new, larger, *Lebensraum*. As such he posited seven laws for the spatial growth of states, which held that a state must expand by annexing smaller territories, that in expanding a state strives to gain politically valuable positions, and that territorial expansion is contagious, spreading from state to state and intensifying, such that escalation towards warfare becomes inevitable. In this way Ratzel not only provided an 'intellectual justification' for German expansionism, but suggested that it was an entirely natural and necessary process. Ratzel himself argued that the only way Germany could acquire additional *Lebensraum* was through colonial expansion in Africa – a policy he actively promoted – but his theories were seen by some more militant nationalists as justifying the more aggressive and more dangerous strategy of expanding German territory in the crowded space of continental Europe itself.

Ratzel's ideas were developed further by Rudolf Kjellen, a Swedish conservative whose own political motives were fired by opposition to Norwegian independence. Kjellen's intellectual project was to develop a classification of states based on the Linnaean system. By adapting Ratzel's theories, he attempted to identify the 'world powers' and predicted a future dominated by large continental imperialist states. Although he received some support in Germany, Kjellen's work would probably have been long forgotten had he not in an 1899 article coined the term *geopolitisk* which – translated into German as *Geopolitik* and by 1924 into English as *geopolitics* – came to describe that part of political geography that is essentially concerned with the external relations, strategy and politics of the state, and which seeks to employ such knowledge to political ends (see Chapter 3).

While Ratzel and Kjellen were wrestling with the dynamics of state power and territoriality, a second strand of political geography was being developed in Britain by Sir Halford Mackinder. Like Ratzel, Mackinder is regarded as a founding father of modern Geography, having popularised the subject in a series of public lectures in the 1880s and 1890s leading to his appointment as Oxford University's first Professor of Geography. Also like Ratzel, Mackinder saw the benefits of proving the political usefulness of his infant discipline. As O'Tuathail (1996: 25) has commented,

> to an ambitious intellectual like Mackinder, the governmentalizing of geographical discourse so that it addressed the imperialist dilemmas faced by Britain in a post-scramble world order was a splendid way of demonstrating the relevance of his 'new geography' to the ruling elites of the state.

However, unlike Ratzel, Mackinder was primarily concerned with issues of global strategy and the balance of power between states – topics that better suited the interests of British foreign policy. He was not the first to consider such matters. In the United States a retired naval officer, Alfred Mahan, had established himself as a newspaper pundit by arguing that global military power was dependent on sea power, and expounding on the geographical factors that enabled the development of a state as a sea power. Mackinder, though, disagreed with Mahan's thesis, suggesting that, as the age of exploration came to end, so the balance of power was shifting. In 1904 Mackinder published a paper entitled 'The geographical pivot of

history' in the *Geographical Journal*, in which he divided history into three eras – a pre-Columbian era in which land power had been all-important, a Columbian era in which sea power had become predominant and an emergent post-Columbian era. In this new era, Mackinder argued, the end of the imperialist scramble had demoted the importance of sea power while new technologies which enabled long distances on land to be more easily overcome – such as the railways – would help to swing the balance of power back to continental states. Applying this hypothesis, Mackinder ordered the world map into three political regions – an 'outer crescent' across the Americas, Africa and the oceans; an 'inner crescent' across Europe and southern Asia; and the 'pivot area' located at the heart of the Eurasian land mass. Whoever controlled the pivot area, Mackinder argued, would be a major world power.

The First World War put the theories produced by the new political geography to the test, and Mackinder clearly felt that his ideas were vindicated. Writing in his 1919 book *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, he dismissed Ratzel's models as misguided and outdated:

> Last century, under the spell of the Darwinian theory, men came to think that those forms of organisation should survive which adapted themselves best to their natural environment. To-day we realise, as we emerge from our fiery trial, that human victory consists in our rising superior to such mere fatalism.
>
> (Mackinder 1919: 3)

In *Democratic Ideals and Reality* Mackinder expanded on his thesis of the shift from sea power to land power and recast his map of the world's seats of power to suit the new post-war order. He renamed the 'pivot area' the 'heartland', but left it centred on the Eurasian land mass, which he labelled the 'world island'. Significantly, he proposed that control of Eastern Europe was crucial to control of the heartland – and hence to global dominance (see Chapter 3). To maintain peace, therefore, Mackinder argued, Western Europe had to form a counterweight to Russia, which occupied the heartland, and the key priority of the West's strategy had to be to prevent Germany and Russia forming an alliance that would dominate Eastern Europe.

Mackinder's ideas had a strong influence on the Versailles peace conference in 1919, in which he participated as a British delegate. Arguably, his legacy can be seen in the creation of 'buffer states' in Eastern Europe, separating Germany and Russia, more or less on the model that he proposes in *Democratic Ideals and Reality*. However, his continuing influence extended further than the map of Europe, informing US strategy in the Cold War, with the rhetoric and presumptions of Mackinder's heartland thesis surviving into the 1980s (see O'Tuathail 1992). Yet Mackinder was also criticised for oversimplifying history, underestimating the potential of air power and marginalising the significance of North America – a mistake which O'Tuathail (1992) describes as Mackinder's 'greatest blunder'. From this critique a modified approach was developed by writers such as Spykman (1942, 1944), which emphasised the strategic importance of the 'rimland' (or Mackinder's 'inner crescent') and which, by becoming closely related to US foreign policy, shifted the academic home of such theorising away from mainstream geography to international relations and strategic studies.

Ironically, Mackinder's thesis was also consumed with interest in the country that suffered most from its practical application at Versailles – Germany. For German nationalists, enraged by the way in which Germany had had its territory reduced and its military dismantled after the First World War, the geopolitical ideas of Ratzel and Mackinder offered a blueprint for revival (Paterson 1987). Most prominent in this movement was Karl Haushofer, a former military officer and geographer who became an early member of the Nazi party. Haushofer sought to build public support for a new expansionist policy by popularising interest in geopolitics. In 1924 he founded the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* (Journal of Geopolitics) and the following year was involved in establishing the German Academy, aimed at 'nourishing all spiritual expressions of Germandom', of which he later became president. Haushofer's 'pseudo-science' of *Geopolitik* took from Ratzel the concept of *Lebensraum* and twisted it, arguing that densely populated Germany needed to annex addi-

tional territory from more sparsely populated countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia. From Mackinder it took the idea that control of Eastern Europe and the heartland would lead to global dominance, arguing for the construction of a continental bloc comprising Germany, Russia and Japan which would control the heartland and form a counterweight to the British Empire (see O'Tuathail 1996).

Geopolitik provided the intellectual justification for Nazi Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia and Poland, for the Hitler–Stalin pact and, later, for Germany's ill-fated invasion of the Soviet Union. However, the extent of Haushofer's influence on the Nazi leadership is questionable (see Heske 1987). More significant was the contribution of *Geopolitik* in shaping public opinion, most effectively achieved through the promotion of a new form of cartography in which highly subjective maps were used to emphasise the mismatch between Germany's post-1919 borders and its 'cultural sphere', to justify the annexation of territory and to suggest that it was vulnerable to aggression by its Slavic neighbours (see Herb 1997 for examples). The misadventures of *Geopolitik* inextricably associated political geography with the brutality and racism of the Nazi regime and led to its discrediting as a serious academic pursuit.

The era of marginalisation

The excesses of German *Geopolitik* cast a pall over all political geography. Writing in 1954, the leading American geographer Richard Hartshorne mournfully remarked of political geography that 'in perhaps no other branch of geography has the attempt to teach others gone so far ahead of the pursuit of learning by the teachers' (Hartshorne 1954: 178). In an attempt to 'depoliticise' political geography and to put it on what he regarded as a more scientific footing, Hartshorne (1950) promoted a 'functional approach' to political geography. He argued that political geography should be concerned not with shaping political strategy, but rather with describing and analysing the internal dynamics and external functions of the state. Included in the former were the centrifugal forces that placed pressures on the cohesion of states (such as communication problems and ethnic differences), the centripetal forces which held states together (such as the state idea and the concept of a 'nation'), and the internal organisational mechanisms through which a state governed its territory. The external functions, meanwhile, included the territorial, economic, diplomatic and strategic relations of a state with other states.

The functional approach led political geographers to become concerned with questions such as the distribution of different ethnic populations in a state, the match between a state's boundaries and physical geographical features, and the structure of a state's local government areas, as well as with mapping patterns of communication networks within states and of trade routes between states. (Some examples of this type of work include Cole 1959; East and Moodie 1956; Moodie 1949; Soja 1968; Weigert 1949.) However, while the functional approach was popularised after the Second World War, it was pioneered in Britain and North America between the wars and arguably can be traced back to the work of Isaiah Bowman in the early 1920s.

Like Mackinder Bowman had been a participant in the Versailles talks, but unlike Mackinder he regarded the new world map that emerged as extremely unstable. His pessimism stemmed from concern not with strategic models, but with social and economic factors such as access to natural resources and the distribution of population, which he considered to be the real sources of political instability. Bowman set out these concerns in *The New World* (1921), in which he identified the 'major problems' facing the new world order as national debts and reparations, control over the production and distribution of raw materials, population movement and the distribution of land, the status of mandates and colonies, trade barriers and control over communications and transit links, the limitation of armaments, the status of minority populations and disputed boundaries between states. Bowman changed the scale at which political geography was focused and set the foundations for a new, arguably more scientific and more objective, form of analysis. This new style of political geography was more explicitly outlined by East (1937) in a paper

which Johnston (1981) identifies as laying down the principles of the functional approach later championed by Harteshorne. East argued that 'the proper function of political geography is the study of the geographical results of political differentiation' and 'that the visible landscape is modified by the results of state and inter-state activities is a matter of common observation and experience' (East 1937: 263). As such, East continued,

> political geography is distinguishable from other branches of geography only in its subject matter and specific objectives. . . . Whereas the regional geographer has for his objective the discovery and description of the distinct components of a physical and human landscape . . . the political geographer analyses geographically the human and physical texture of political territories.
>
> (East 1937: 267)

Political geography as practised in the immediate post-Second World War period therefore had little by way of a distinct identity separate from mainstream regional geography, and became largely fixated on the territorial state as its object of analysis. Moreover, fear of the sub-discipline's past made political geographers wary of modelling and theorising, such that research remained essentially descriptive and empirically driven. The consequences of this self-restraint were twofold. First, political geography largely missed out on theoretical developments taking place elsewhere in geography, notably the 'quantitative revolution' of the late 1960s. Second, (and relatedly), political geography became marginalised within geography and began to disappear as a university subject. Berry (1969: 450) famously described it as 'that moribund backwater' and by the mid-1970s Muir (1976) found that political geography was taught in only half of Britain's university geography departments, with over two-thirds of heads of geography departments considering that the development of political geography literature was unsatisfactory compared with other branches of geography.

However, Muir's article, which was provocatively entitled 'Political geography – dead duck or phoenix?', found grounds for optimism. He noted that over half of respondents to his survey had felt that political geography was 'an underdeveloped branch of geography that *should* increase in importance' (Muir 1976: 196), and pointed to theoretical innovations that were beginning to take place on the fringes of the sub-discipline. He concluded, 'the contemporary climate of geographical opinion augers well for the future of political geography, and a promising trickle of progressive contributions suggests stimulating times to come' (p. 200).

The era of revival

The revival of political geography that Muir detected in the 1970s was driven by two parallel processes – the reintroduction of theory into political geography and a 'political turn' in geography more broadly. Significantly, neither resulted from developments in the established mainstream of political geography, but rather reflected innovation at the fringes of political geography, producing research clusters which eventually came to eclipse the old-style 'functional approach'. One illustration of this is the rise of quantitative electoral geography from the late 1960s onwards. Although the quantitative revolution tended to pass political geographers by, some quantitative geographers realised that the spatially structured nature of elections, combined with the large amount of easily available electoral data, made them an ideal focus for the application of quantitative geographical analysis. Elections had not traditionally been a concern of mainstream political geographers, and the new electoral geographers did not therefore have to challenge any orthodoxies as they employed quantitative techniques to develop models and test hypotheses across their tripartite interests of geographies of voting, geographical influences on voting and geographical analyses of electoral districts (Busteed 1975; McPhail 1971; Taylor and Johnston 1979). The lure of technical and theoretical innovation made electoral geography the fashionable 'cutting edge' of political geography in the 1970s, such that by 1981 Muir was moved to comment that its output had become 'disproportionate in relation to the general needs of political geography'

(Muir 1981: 204). (We discuss electoral geography in fuller detail in Chapter 8.)

The growth of electoral geography was the most prominent aspect of the belated introduction of a systems approach to political geography, drawing on the broader development of systems theory in geography as part of a focus on processes, not places (Cohen and Rosenthal 1971; Dikshit 1977). Electoral geographers viewed the electoral process as a system – comprised of various interacting parts, following certain rules and having particular spatial outcomes – but they also realised that other parts of the political world could also be conceived of and analysed as systems, including the state, local government, policy making and public spending (see Johnston 1979). Significantly, the mechanical principles underlying systems theory meant that adopting the approach rendered complex political entities suitable for mathematical analysis and modelling. However, the extent to which a full-bodied systems analysis was adopted in political geography varied. At the most basic level, 'systematic political geography' implied no more than reordering the way in which political geography was taught and researched to start from themes or concepts rather than regions (see de Bilj 1967). While this allowed generalisation in a way that the regionally focused approach did not, it did not necessarily lead to in-depth theorising. Yet even the most conscientious attempts to produce models and theories through quantitative analysis were constrained by their positivist epistemology – that is, the belief that the world might be understood through the construction and testing of laws based on empirical observation. As critics pointed out, positivism is problematic because it creates a false sense of objectivity, filters out social and ethical questions, oversimplifies the relation between observed events and theoretical languages, and fails to engage with the part played by both human agency and social, economic and political structures in shaping the human world (see Cloke *et al*. 1991; Gregory 2000b). Thus, because of these epistemological shortcomings, positivist political geography continued to be strangely apolitical (Johnston 1980). Moreover, the 'time lag' that afflicted the introduction of concepts into political geography meant that positivism was being championed in political geography at a time when these criticisms were already widely accepted elsewhere (Walsh 1979).

Ironically, the challenge to positivism was led by theoretical approaches that were intrinsically political, not least the development of Marxist political economy within geography (see Box 4.1 for more on models of political economy). In *Social Justice and the City* (1973), for example, David Harvey proposed a new analysis of urban systems as embedded in capitalism which described an urban geography saturated by class, corporate and state power and forged through political conflict. However, the infusion of these ideas into political geography was slow. Despite the calls of commentators such as Walsh that 'what political geography needs most urgently . . . is a comprehensive analysis of the state as a political-economic entity' (Walsh 1979: 92), political-economic research within political geography remained the exception, not the rule, and the task of studying urban conflicts, the geography of the state and the political–geographic expressions of capitalism was taken up primarily by urban and economic geographers, political scientists and sociologists. It was not until the 1980s that mainstream political geography really started to take the political-economy approach seriously, with the blossoming of work on the state, localities and urban politics (see Johnston 1989). The development of the political economy approach in political geography and its continuing in current research concern with state strategy, governance and the policy process is discussed in Chapter 4, while political economic approaches to local politics are among those discussed in Chapter 6.

One of the relatively few attempts to link the traditional concerns of political geography with theoretical insight from Marxist political economy was Peter Taylor's introduction of world systems analysis. The world systems approach had been developed by a political sociologist, Immanuel Wallerstein, who was himself influenced by the materialist school of historical analysis associated with Fernand Braudel and Karl Polányi and by neo-Marxist development studies (see Wallerstein 1979, 1991). As Box 1.2 details, Wallerstein rejected the idea that societal change could be studied on a country-by-country basis and argued

instead that change at any scale can be understood only in the context of a 'world system'. The modern world system, Wallerstein argues, is global in scope, but he recognises that it is only the latest of a series of historical systems and proposes that it is the changes within and between historical systems that are the key to understanding contemporary society, economy and politics. For Taylor, the world systems approach was particularly attractive to political geography not only because spatial pattern was core to its analysis (Taylor 1988) but also because it offered the potential to develop a comprehensive, unifying theory of political geography that could include traditional areas like geopolitics and electoral geography and accommodate political-economic analysis of the state, urban politics and so on. However, despite its superficial attractiveness, world systems analysis is open to a number of criticisms (Box 1.2), and although it has formed the framework of Taylor's series of textbooks (see Taylor 1985 and Taylor and Flint 2000 as the first and most recent editions), the world systems approach has not been widely adopted by political geographers.

Far more influential have been two conceptual developments which served to further politicise the outlook of human geography as a whole. The first of these was the so-called 'cultural turn' of the late 1980s and 1990s which promoted a new understanding of culture as the product of discourses through which people signify their identity and experiences and which are constantly contested and renegotiated (see Jackson 1989; Mitchell 2000). Consequently, issues of power and resistance were positioned as central to the analysis of cultural geographies, generating significant clusters of research on questions of identity and place, including national identity and citizenship; conflict and contestation between cultural discourses; geographies of resistance; the role of landscape in conveying and challenging power; and 'micro-geographies' of politics, including investigation of the body as a site of oppression and resistance (see for example Pile and Keith 1997; Sharp *et al*. 2000). These themes are discussed further in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

Moreover, the 'new cultural geography' drew on the conceptual writings of post-structuralist thinkers such

BOX 1.2 PETER TAYLOR, IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN AND WORLD SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

World systems analysis forms the basis of the best-known attempt to construct a comprehensive theoretical framework for political geography, undertaken by Peter Taylor. It was initially developed by Immanuel Wallerstein as a critique of analyses of social change that focused on one country and considered only a short-term perspective. In contrast, two of the fundamental principles of world systems analysis are that social change at any scale can be understood only in the context of a wider world system, and that change needs to be approached through a long-term historical perspective. (The latter principle is derived from economic historians such as Fernand Braudel and Karl Polányi.)

Wallerstein holds that a single modern world system is now globally dominant, but that it has been preceded by numerous historical systems. These systems can be categorised as one of three types of 'entity', characterised by their mode of production. In the most basic, the mini-system, production is based on hunting, gathering or rudimentary agriculture where there is limited specialisation of tasks and exchange is reciprocal between producers. In the second type, the world empire, agricultural production creates a surplus that can support the expansion of non-agricultural production and the establishment of a military-bureaucratic elite. The third type, the world economy, is based on the capitalist mode of production where the aim of production is to create profit. From the sixteenth century onwards, Wallerstein argues, the European 'world economy' system expanded to subjugate all other systems and monopolise the globe. Transformation from one system to another

can occur as a result of either internal or external factors, but changes can also occur within systems (termed 'continuities') – for example, in cycles of economic growth and stagnation. In the modern world economy these cycles are mapped by the Kondratieff waves which describe fifty-year cycles of growth and stagnation in the global economy since 1780/90.

Wallerstein further described the modern world economy as being defined by three basic elements. First, there is a single world market, which is capitalist, and in which competition results in uneven economic development across the world. Second, there is a multiple state system. The existence of different states is seen as a necessary condition for economic competition, but it also results in political competition between states, creating a variety of 'balances of power' over time. Third, the world economy always operates in a three-tier format. As Taylor and Flint (2000) explain: 'in any situation of inequality three tiers of interaction are more stable than two tiers of confrontation. Those at the top will always manoeuvre for the 'creation' of a three-tier structure, whereas those at the bottom will emphasize the two tiers of 'them and us'. The continuing existence of the world-economy is therefore due in part to the success of the ruling groups in sustaining three-tier patterns throughout various fields of conflict' (p. 12). Examples cited by Taylor and Flint include 'centre' parties in democratic political systems and the 'middle class', but also, crucially, a geographical ordering of the world into 'core', 'periphery' and 'semi-periphery'. For Wallerstein, core areas are associated with complex production regimes, and the periphery with more rudimentary structures. But there is also a 'semi-periphery' in which elements of both core and peripheral processes can be found, and which forms a dynamic zone where opportunities for political and economic change exist.

By drawing on these different components of world systems theory, Taylor identified a 'space–time matrix' for political geography, structured by Kondratieff cycle and spatial position (core, periphery or semi-periphery), which formed a context for the analysis of all types of political interaction from the global scale down to the household scale, hence providing a unifying framework for political geography.

However, the world systems approach can be criticised on a number of grounds. First, it is economically reductionist – it sees the driving processes of change as purely economic; it positions political action as secondary; and it reduces sexism and racism to reflections of the economy. Second, it is totalising in that it incorporates everything under one big umbrella and fails to acknowledge fully the heterogeneity of political or cultural relations. Third, it is functionalist, not recognising that what causes something to exist may have nothing to do with the effects it produces. For example, the factors behind the creation of a nation-state may not be related to subsequent nationalist actions.

Key readings: For more on world systems analysis see Taylor and Flint (2000), especially chapter 1, and Wallerstein (1991). For more on the critique of world systems analysis see Painter (1995) and Giddens (1985).

as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, and postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha, for whom the relation of power and space was a key concern (see Box 1.3). A number of different strands of post-structuralist thought have been introduced into political geography, including ideas about difference in research on the cultural politics of identity and the use of Derrida's method of deconstruction in critical geopolitics (see below). However, it is the work of Michel Foucault that has arguably had the greatest influence in political geography, in particular through the development and application of two key concepts. The first of these is 'discourse', which Foucault redefined as referring to the ensemble of social practices through which the world is made meaningful but which are also dynamic

and contested (Box 1.4). In books such as *The Order of Things* (1973 [1966]) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1974 [1969]) Foucault examined the articulation of discursive practices and thus established precedents as to how discourses might be analysed. These ideas have been fundamental to the development of geographical work on cultural politics and of critical geopolitics, as well as to the development of discourse analysis as a methodological approach which is now widely used across political geography. The second key concept is 'governmentality', by which Foucault refers to the means by which government renders society governable. Governmentality is essentially about the use of particular 'apparatuses of knowledge' and has been employed in recent years in work on the state and citizenship (see Chapter 8).

A significant aspect of both discourse analysis and governmentality is the potential they allow for exploration of the incorporation of space itself as a tool in the exercise of power. Much of Foucault's writing was concerned with power, but he rejected conventional notions of power as a property that is possessed, focusing instead on how power is exercised and how it circulates through society. Foucault stated that 'space is fundamental in any exercise of power' (Rabinow 1984: 252), and this principle underlies much of his work on disciplinary power. His best known illustration of this is his discussion of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon (Foucault 1977: ch. 3). The panopticon was a proposal for an ideal prison, the spatial arrangement of which would effectively force prisoners to discipline themselves. The panopticon would be built in a circular

BOX 1.3 POST-STRUCTURALISM

Post-structuralism refers to the theories advanced by a loose collection of philosophical writing produced in the late twentieth century, most notably in France. Labelled 'post-structuralism' because of the way it built on earlier structuralist theories, the approach is particularly identified with the work of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Julia Kristeva and Jean Baudrillard. The core ideas of post-structuralism are the rejection of the notion of an essential 'truth' and the consequential examination of the notion of 'difference'. Building on the work of structuralist thinkers like Saussure (1983), post-structuralists hold that language does not reflect meaning, but rather that meaning is produced within language and that the relation between the signifier (a sound or written image) and the signified (the meaning) is never fixed. Moreover, post-structuralists reject the idea of the rational subject, arguing that subjectivity (the sense of who we are) is constructed through discourses (see Box 1.4) that are open to change and contestation, and that there is no external 'reality' outside discourse. The 'claims to truth' that are advanced by science, religion and other discourses are considered by post-structuralists to be enforced by particular power relations.

Post-structuralism is also associated with the development of particular methodologies to explore these concerns. Derrida, for example, promoted the method of the deconstruction of 'texts' (that need not necessarily be written texts) as a means of destabilising truth claims (Norris 1982), while Foucault traced the genealogies of discourses to uncover their contingency (see Foucault 1966, 1969, 1979). These approaches have been adopted by a number of political geographers, notably in the field of critical geopolitics, while other political geographers have been attracted to the ideas of difference and of power and space that are prominent in much post-structuralist writing (see, for example, Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Foucault 1979, 1980, 1984).

Key readings: For an overview of the work of key post-structuralist writers see Lechte (1994). For a concise introduction to post-structuralist thought see Belsey (2002).

BOX 1.4 DISCOURSE

There are many different definitions of precisely what 'discourse' is, and the term is often used quite loosely in geographical literature. Put simply, however, discourses structure the way we see things. They are collections of ideas, beliefs and understandings that inform the way in which we act. Often we are influenced by particular discourses promoted through the media, through education, or through what we call 'common sense'. Derek Gregory, writing in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (2000), identifies three important aspects of discourse.

1 Discourses are not independent, abstract, ideas but are materially embedded in everyday life. They inform what we do and are reproduced through our actions.
2 Discourses produce our 'taken for granted' world. They naturalise a particular view of the world and position ourselves and others in it.
3 Discourses always produce partial, situated, knowledge, reflecting our own circumstances. They are characterised by relations of power and knowledge and are always open to contestation and negotiation.

Key readings: Barnes and Duncan (1992) and Gregory (2000a).

arrangement with all the cells facing a central observation tower. The circle meant that prisoners could not see or communicate with each other, but also by means of backlighting from a small external window it allowed prisoners to be constantly visible via a large internal window from the observation tower, whose own windows had blinds to prevent prisoners seeing in. The prisoners could not know whether they were being watched at any particular time, but had to presume that they were under constant surveillance and therefore act within the rules. As Foucault describes,

> the major effect of the Panopticon [is] to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it.
>
> (Foucault 1979: 201)

Although Bentham's panopticon was never actually built, the principle of control through visible yet unverifiable surveillance, assisted by spatial ordering, has been replicated in many areas of social and political activity. More broadly, the ideas about space and power that Foucault explored through his study of the panopticon have been translated into political geography through work on the ordering and control of space, for example, by Herbert (1996, 1997) on policing strategies in Los Angeles and by Ogborn (1992) on the exercise of state power in nineteenth-century England.

The influence of ideas from post-structuralist and postcolonial writers meant that the 'cultural turn' not only identified new avenues of geographical enquiry, but also introduced new conceptual and methodological approaches, including the use of discourse analysis to 'deconstruct' the meaning of texts, maps, policy documents and landscapes. However, as with Marxist political economy two decades earlier, the uptake of these innovations in established political geography was patchy. It was more commonly cultural geographers who took up the challenge of the new research questions posed by the cultural turn than people who described themselves as 'political geographers'.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the area of political geography where the new conceptual and methodological approaches had most impact was the neglected field

of geopolitics. Drawing on Foucault's notions about discourse, as well as on critical political theory, geographers, including most notably Simon Dalby and Gearóid O'Tuathail, began to develop the new approach of *critical geopolitics*. By treating geopolitical knowledge as a discourse, critical geopolitics has sought to question, deconstruct and challenge geopolitical assumptions. This has involved, for example, examining the use of geographical metaphors such as 'heartland' and 'containment' in framing strategies, and, significantly, exploring the popular geopolitical knowledges that are constructed through cultural media such as film, literature, news reports and cartoons. We discuss critical geopolitics in more detail in Chapter 3.

The second recent influence on political geography has come from the development of feminist geography and from feminist theory more broadly. To date, few attempts have been made to think through an explicitly 'feminist political geography' (see England 2003; Hyndman 2001; Kofman and Peake 1990), but, engagements with feminism have highlighted the masculinist nature of traditional political geography and have begun to suggest ways in which political geography might be done differently. The conventional concerns of political geography have tended to focus on institutions such as the state, government and political parties which are dominated by men and tend to reproduce a male view of the political world (Drake and Horton 1983). Less attention has been paid to the institutions through which the patriarchal power of gender relations is exercised (such as the family) or to the spaces in which women's political activity has conventionally been focused – local education, health and childcare systems, the household and the voluntary sector. The integration of feminist perspectives into political geography has been associated with the development of work on the politics of 'public' and 'private' space, and on place/space tensions (England 2003; Taylor 1994a, 2000). England (2003: 611) proposes 'a feminist political geography that takes formulations of the politics of "public" and "private", power, space, and scale seriously', which she illustrates through a discussion of the political significance of scale for foreign domestic workers in Canada. Notably, the empirical research that England cites was not initially designed as a political geography project (England and Stiell 1997; Stiell and England 1997), yet, as she suggests, there is much political geography that is implicit in previous work by feminist geographers.

Moreover, feminist theory and activism in general have challenged traditional notions of the 'political' that underpinned many essentialist definitions of political geography by proclaiming that 'the personal is political'. Combined with the influence of post-structuralism and cultural studies, this message has helped to change perceptions about the scope of political geography, extending the boundaries of the field far beyond those envisaged by many traditional definitions that focus on the state, or territory, or the analysis of political regions.

The future of political geography

Political geography is clearly a much more expansive creature today than it was twenty or thirty years ago. However, the danger of this transformation is that 'political geography' may become devalued by its very ubiquity – if everything is 'political' then it could follow that all geography is 'political geography'. This logic was followed by Clarke and Doel (1994), who employed post-structuralist theory and a Derridian writing style to imagine a 'transpolitical geography' which spilled over the limits of political geography's normal concerns and interests. The disturbing consequences of this proposal are posed in the accompanying commentary by Chris Philo:

> does this mean that swathes of work on the geographies of empires, states, nations, territories and boundaries (from Mackinder's geopolitics to Taylor's 'world systems') now become solely of historical interest, given that such work operates with the objects specified in a passing domain of politics? And does it also mean that much conventional research on administrative, electoral and locational conflict geographies might have to be waved goodbye as well? Clarke and Doel appear to answer in the affirmative.
>
> (Philo 1994: 529)

At the same time, the status of political geography has been challenged in more grounded terms by the fact that much of what might be considered as political geographical research is not being undertaken by 'political geographers' (Cox 2003; Flint 2003). Research on cultural politics and geography is performed by cultural geographers; on citizenship and the geographies of policy delivery by social geographers; on governance, regulation and state theory by economic and urban geographers – as well as sociologists and political scientists; on state formation and national identity by historical geographers; and on geopolitics by students of international relations.

These concerns have informed a debate about the future direction of political geography as a sub-discipline which was articulated in a panel discussion at the conference of the Association of American Geographers in Los Angeles in 2002 and a themed issue of the journal *Political Geography* in 2003. The perceived problem was expressed by Flint (2003), who pointed to the 'paradox' that while political geography (at least in the United States) was in good institutional health, it appeared to lack coherence and face uncertainty about its direction. Flint identified the uncertainty with the dilemma of whether political geography should concentrate on politics with a big 'P' or a little 'p':

> Identity politics, the environment, post-colonialism, and feminist perspectives are all relatively 'new' politics, placed on the agenda by the political upheavals of the 1960s . . . and can be classified as politics with a small 'p'. They stand in contrast to the old politics of the state and its geopolitical relations, statemanship or politics with a large 'P'.
> (Flint 2003: 618)

Flint argued that knowledge of both Politics and politics is required to understand the contemporary world, and that coherence could be maintained for 'political geography' by focusing on 'the way that different spatial structures are the product of politics and the terrain that mediates those actions' (p. 619), and by showing the relevance of spatiality to all types of power. Yet he also noted that much work on the 'new', small 'p' political geography is undertaken by individuals who are not 'card-carrying' political geographers, thus raising concerns about disciplinary boundaries that were echoed by Cox (2003). Other participants in the debate saw less cause for alarm. John Agnew, for example, emphasised the historic fluidity of political geography and commended its diversity with a geographical analogy:

> Much of what is of interest to me in contemporary political geography is exciting precisely because there is more limited agreement than was once the case in political geography and is the case today in some other fields (such as economic geography). By analogy, political geography is like Canada or Italy, a complex entity in imminent danger of collapsing under the weight of its internal differences. But for this very reason each is more interesting to the political geographer than, say, Luxembourg.
> (Agnew 2003: 603)

Broadly speaking, the debate produced three possible pathways for the future. The first is *concentration*, in which political geography would refocus on traditional key concepts such as the state (Low 2003) or territory (Cox 2003), reverting to an essentialist definition of the sub-discipline and establishing firm boundaries that distinguish it from cultural geography, economic geography and other predatory neighbours. The second is *expansion*, celebrating the dynamism and diversity of political geographical research and proactively seeking new objects of study as part of a 'post-disciplinary political geography' (Painter 2003). Kofman (2003), for example, argued that 'there isn't necessarily a contradiction between a heightened interest in political questions in human geography and the existence of something called political geography' (p. 621), while Marston (2003) noted that 'the migration of the political to other areas of the discipline seem to me to be compelling evidence that we have failed to attend to a large portion of what is legitimately and centrally the purview of political geography' (p. 635). The third pathway is *engagement*, forging new intellectual connections with allied subjects such as peace and conflict studies (Flint 2003), socio-legal studies (Kofman 2003),

political ecology (Robbins 2003), feminist geography (England 2003) and political theory (Painter 2003), as well as with political geographies produced from outside the insular environment of Anglo-American geography (Mamadouh 2003; Robinson 2003).

We have already indicated that we are sympathetic to definitions of political geography that emphasise diversity, and hence to the pathways of expansion and engagement. This is reflected in the breadth of topics covered in this book. However, the key point to note here is the continuing dynamism of political geography. What we present is a snapshot of political geography at a particular moment in time, and even by the time you read these words new research will have been published, new debates started, new ideas proposed and new areas of study emerging. It is in this sense that this book presents an introduction to political geography, providing a foundation from which the student of political geography can engage with the cutting edge of the sub-discipline through journals and research monographs.

The structure of the book

This book is organised into three parts, each of which starts from a different perspective. Part 1, 'State, territory and regulation', starts with the state, which as we have noted above has conventionally been considered a key focus of political geography. The first chapter in Part 1, 'States and territories', examines the development of the territorial state and the significance of territory to the operation of the modern state. The next chapter, 'The state in global perspective', discusses the external relations of the state and the part that geography plays in them, including geopolitics. By drawing on a regulation approach to political economy, the final chapter in Part 1, 'The state's changing forms and functions', focuses on the forms and functions of the contemporary state and the strategies adopted by the state in the regulation of economy and society

Part 2, 'Politics, power and place', starts with place, a core geographical concept. The first chapter, 'The political geographies of the nation', considers the concept of a 'nation' and the ways in which national identity is linked with specific places and territories. The second chapter, 'Politics, power and place', steps down a scale to think about place as locality. It explores how place is important to politics and discusses the structuring of power within place-based communities. The final chapter in Part 2, 'Contesting place', examines how places become sites of political conflict, including conflicts about the meaning of symbolic landscapes and the construction of community.

Part 3, 'People, policy and geography', starts with people, but does so from two different directions. The first chapter in Part 3, 'Democracy, participation and citizenship', examines the ways in which people engage with the political process as citizens and how this engagement both is shaped by geographical factors and creates new geographies. The second chapter, 'Public policy and political geography', focuses on policy, the means by which the state engages with people in a place. This chapter discusses debates about the extent to which human geographers should engage directly with the policy process and raises issues that political geography students could consider in their own work.

A book such as this cannot hope to give any more than a flavour of the rich variety of topics that form part of contemporary political geography. As an introductory text, it is hoped, the book will stimulate you to read further on themes that interest you, and even to become involved in producing your own 'political geography' through undergraduate and postgraduate project work.

Further reading

Agnew's *Making Political Geography* (2002a) provides a more detailed history of political geography than that outlined here, albeit one which emphasises the traditional concerns of the sub-discipline more than recent innovations.

The debate about the future direction of political geography, discussed towards the end of this chapter, is published in *Political Geography*, 22, 6 (2003).

Many of the classic texts in political geography can still be found in university libraries, but it is often more informative to read more contemporary commentaries on these books and articles rather than the originals themselves. For more on Ratzel's theories, Bassin's paper 'Imperialism and the nation state in Friedrich Ratzel's political geography' in *Progress in Human Geography* 11 (1987), 473–95, is a good overview. O'Tuathail's paper 'Putting Mackinder in his place' in *Political Geography* 11 (1992), 100–18, is a similarly good source on Halford Mackinder. Herb, *Under the Map of Germany* (1997) is an interesting exploration of the perversion of cartography by German *Geopolitik*.

Kasperson and Minghi's edited collection *The Structure of Political Geography* (1969) contains reprints of many significant contributions from Aristotle onwards. Although it is long out of print, many university libraries will have copies. Agnew's reader *Political Geography* (1997) has an illustrative sample of more recent writing from the 1970s onwards.

Many of the themes explored by political geographers since the 1970s will be covered in more detail in later chapters and guidance to further reading will be given then.