4.1
Introductory Essay: Cognition and Cultures of Mapping

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Introduction
Maps are produced and used by people; they are the product of the skills and abilities of individuals embedded in particular cultures and inherently reflect those skills and wider culture. It is now widely accepted that mapping is a cognitive and embodied activity, a set of processes that people engage with in order to make sense of, and connections with, the world ‘out there’. For some, mapping is an essential ability; an intrinsic cognitive function of being human (Blaut 1991, excerpted as Chapter 4.4, and Blaut et al. 2003). Regardless of whether mapping abilities are nativist or nurtured, however, maps exist in all human cultures, with maps reflecting everyday subjectivities. Wright (1942, excerpted as Chapter 4.2) explored many of the dimensions of this subjectivity, highlighting that: ‘the qualities of integrity, judgment, critical acumen, and the like are as much required in the interpretation of maps as in the preparation of them’ (p. 543). Maps that emerge from these subjective and social processes are deployed and enrolled in a myriad of tasks, and therefore it is perhaps unsurprising that the links between people and cartographic practices have been understood in many different ways.

This section of the book focuses upon people, culture and mapping, and the diverse ways in which scholars have explored the relationship between maps, mapping, individuals and their social contexts and cultural meaning. The most obvious difference between the excerpts is between those scholars who focus upon individuals and their cognitive abilities to understand, produce and read maps, as against those who focus upon the cultural context within which maps are produced and used, and the wider meanings associated with mapping as a whole.

Cognitive approaches to mapping
Over the past four decades environmental psychologists and behavioural geographers have investigated the relations between individuals and their world, and the individual processing of spatial information about that world. Their focus has often been upon the development of individual mapping skills – the ability to understand, process and create maps – or upon experimental investigation of particular and carefully controlled subsets of map reading tasks (Blades et al. 2002; Downs and Stea 1973a; Lloyd 2000, excerpted as Chapter 4.9). Research informed by psychological methods has often sought to establish best practice, either in cartographic design, or in delivering optimal map skills teaching, or in establishing cognitive limits to perception (Montello 2002). Methods have tended towards controlled experiments, which simplify the complexity of real world cartographic practice, so as to build an incremental understanding of map use.

Cognitive approaches to mapping are grounded in a number of different traditions. On the one hand, there is a body of work centred around cognitive mapping. These scholars proceed on the basis that each individual possesses a ‘cognitive map’ of the world; that is a mental construct...
that allows them to process and synthesise spatial information and guides spatial decision and choice making. Initially popularised by Tolman’s (1948) influential work on the spatial behaviour of rats, the concept remains a powerful influence on the field of spatial cognition (see Kitchin and Freundschuh, 2000, for an overview). Downs and Stea offer the following definition:

‘cognitive mapping is a process composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, codes, stores, recalls and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of phenomena in his everyday spatial environment’ (1973b: 8, excerpted as Chapter 4.3).

Even the most ardent proponents of the idea recognised that the existence of a cognitive map is almost impossible to prove, and treated the concept as a useful tool with which to understand how people dealt with everyday navigational and spatial demands. The notion is firmly grounded in a view of sense-making as being concerned with transmission of information, in a process of communication.

Nonetheless, the relationship between cognitive mapping and cartography has been pursued at two levels. The first considers how maps can be used to improve a person’s understanding of a place and how such information is integrated into a person’s cognitive map (Butler et al. 1993; Lloyd 1993). The usual approach here is to compare the spatial knowledge of one group of individuals who learnt an area by traversing it with another group that learnt the street layout purely from a map (with studies showing that those who had access to the map had a more accurate and complete understanding). The second is to consider how individuals mentally engage with, understand, learn and memorise cartographic information, with the aim of determining how map design might be improved in ways that make maps easier to comprehend and use. Lloyd (2000, excerpted as Chapter 4.9), for example, explores how early psychophysical experimentation, and, in particular, eye movement studies, sought to make links between perception of particular symbols or parts of maps, and cognitive activity. More nuanced experimentation emerged that was grounded in a more conceptual approach to mapping, brought together in an impressive overview volume by MacEachren (1995), and the tradition continues to this day, for example in recent fMRI research visualising links between activity in different parts of the brain, and different map reading or geovisualisation tasks (Lobben et al. 2009).

A second strand of work is grounded in ideas of mapping as visual communication and comes from map design scholarship, in particular the work of Arthur H. Robinson. Montello (2002) suggests Robinson’s definition of visual communication and comes from map design research probably peaked in the late 1970s and early 1980s, before the rise of GIS, and before epistemological challenges from social constructivist thought, that came to question the validity of communication as a device for understanding mapping. (See introductory essays for Sections 1 and 2.) A recent resurgence is evidenced by the establishment of a new International Cartographic Association (ICA) Working Group on Map Use and Users, and the publication of theme issues in key cartographic journals (Fabrikant and Lobben 2009; Van Elzakker et al. 2008). The notable diversity of new display variables offered by geovisualisation is gradually being investigated (Nivala et al. 2008; excerpted as Chapter 4.11), although Fabrikant and Lobben (2009) are rather pessimistic about progress to date. Empirical user testing of digital map interfaces reveals them to be just as poorly designed as were many paper cartographic products investigated in the first wave of cognitive research into map designs forty years earlier (perhaps unsurprisingly given the relative lack of collaboration between cartographic researchers and system designers).

An ongoing second strand of research focuses upon map skills and how they are deployed by different groups of people. Here, the focus is not upon how map designs work, but rather upon map reading skills of different social groups. So, for example, children of different ages have received particular attention (see Wiegand 2006 for a useful review of this field). Gendered map use has been investigated (Gilmartin and Patten 1984). Mapping skills of different groups of disabled people have been observed and tested (Matthews and Vujakovic 1995; Ungar et al. 1997). Mapping skills in different kinds of leisure pursuit have been investigated (see Crampton 1992 on expert and novice orienteers).

Much of James Blaut’s career focused on bringing together work of this kind in order to amass evidence for what he termed ‘natural mapping’ (Blaut 1991, excerpted as Chapter 4.4). He was seeking to establish the universal and human nature of mapping skills as a cognitive process, but also as a cultural universal (disputed by Downs and Liben 1991). Much of this work has a
practical or normative rational. By defining existing map skills, ways of teaching improved map skills can be devised.

Cultural approaches to mapping

In contrast to cognitive approaches, anthropologists and cultural geographers have tended to focus more upon everyday cultural practices, than upon individual experience and cognition. They have emphasised the role of maps as part of a shared identity and explored the cultural processes through which mapping as a practice, or the cartographic artefact as an object, has come to hold particular meanings. The map is treated not as a neutral representation or functional communication device, but rather as a part of culture, with an influence upon other aspects of life (Perkins 2008). As such, attention has been less on the atomistic and functional elements of the map, and more with the map as an object as a whole, and its real world circulation and enrolling into different cultural contexts.

It is only in the last thirty years that cultural approaches to cartography have emerged as a key research field. The differences from cognitive approaches are best understood by referring to two papers that, from their titles at least, might well be grounded in an awareness of cognition. Reeves (1993, excerpted as Chapter 4.6) article, Reading Maps, explores the practices of map reading in the early modern European world, and the ways these changed over time in different cultural contexts, with almost no consideration of the individual cognitive processes implicit in those practices. Instead, she reads changes in the cultural practices of map reading, through carefully chosen examples from fine art and literature, to reveal mutability, and the important social roles played by cartographic representations. Her methodology depends upon historical and literary scholarship, not controlled testing of human subjects. The interpretation that emerges is one where map reading depends upon the cultural context, not upon cognition. Women and men read mapping in particular ways, because of cultural roles and interplay of different media, not because their brains dictated a particular way of reading.

The second paper, by Orlove (1991, excerpted as Chapter 4.7), an anthropologist, also focuses upon Reading Maps, and also reaches a strongly cultural conclusion, albeit deploying methodologies sourced from anthropology and indigenous knowledges. Here, the focus is upon the cultural politics of the reading process. Instead of an emphasis on the signs and symbols on the map and an investigation of what they signify, as if meaning is fixed in individual processing of information, Orlove focuses upon the social and cultural processes through which the map reading process comes to fix certain interpretations. Different social groups deploy mapping in ways that reinforce their own interpretations: instead of focusing upon the neutral fixed meaning in the mapping, the task of the researcher becomes one of unpacking the social processes around which meaning coalesces (often contested and political in the case of Lake Titicaca reeds; see also Chapter 5.1). There is a real world concern for exploring how maps are deployed, instead of a narrow focus upon the cognitive processes underpinning any reading (see Perkins and Gardiner 2003 for an examination of the limits of cognition). Orlove’s paper was one of the first to adopt this kind of positioned and ethnographic approach. It reflects a growing academic concern with indigenous mapping practices (Peluso 1995, excerpted as Chapter 5.6; Sparke 1998, excerpted as Chapter 5.7; Wood 2010) and with mapping as a process (Rundstrom 1991).

This emphasis upon mapping practices echoes moves across the social sciences towards post-constructivist thought. Anthropological ways of approaching cartographic practices now involve immersion and participatory approaches, instead of distance and objectivity. And the object of study is increasingly mapping practice, instead of the fixed form of the map as a representational object. These trends can be seen in a number of practical initiatives and empirical studies (for example, Grasseni 2004 on the co-construction of ideas of landscape in Italian local mapping initiatives; Parker 2006 on the empowering potential of community mapping in Seattle; Perkins 2007 on the cultural context of community mapping initiatives in Britain). Crouch and Matless (1996, excerpted as Chapter 4.8) focus on the ambiguities of community-led local mapping initiatives using in a Deleuzian reading of the Common Ground Parish Map Project, with case studies of how mapping speaks for but also responds to contested notions of place. The changing relationships that emerge from the interplay of aesthetics, politics and situated mapping are all embedded in cultural contexts and embodied practice that must be interpreted to gain real understanding of their meaning.

These trends towards community-based and local mapping reflect more than just intellectual fashion. They also indicate a significant democratisation of mapping, dating from the last decade of the twentieth century, but with roots that can be traced back to pioneering work by William Bunge in the 1960s and subsequently, (Colour Plate Six, page xx) and artistic encounters with mapping even earlier (Bunge 1971; Peluso 1995; Wood 2010 on the rise of ‘counter-mapping’, participatory GIS and artistic mapping; Pinder 1996 for an analysis of the Situationist artistic encounter with mapping). The rise of
community-oriented mapping reflects power perhaps shifting away from the nation-state, towards other and everyday mappers (Goodchild 2007, excerpted as Chapter 4.10).

One of the most interesting recent trends in this context has seen the rise of Web-facilitated ‘crowd sourced’ mapping. Instead of a centrally controlled and institutional authored cartographic product, the Web offers an infrastructure through which many people can collaborate in a shared, participatory endeavour (Surowiecki 2004; Sui 2008). These changes focus attention on the processes through which mapping emerges in complex technologically mediated systems and, together with other locative technologies (Section 2), have been designated ‘neogeography’ (Haklay et al. 2008). Goodchild (2007, excerpted as Chapter 4.10) is one of the first to delineate the likely impacts of these trends on mainstream cartography. His notion of volunteered geographic information reflects the GI industry perception of the trend, in so far as it discusses the potential for using peoples’ data, rather than the potential for crowd sourcing to create new mapping opportunities for people that are out of the control of ‘old’ institutions. Initiatives like OpenStreetMap offer a new model for people to become involved in making and deploying maps, and are already approaching the data quality of many state and commercially produced maps (Haklay 2010). (Colour Plate Five, page xx.)

Research has also started to address how people relate to maps and the mapping process in a cultural and emotional sense. As a part of visual culture, maps have a uniquely affectual role to play. They evoke emotions and carry inherent connotations with them. People tend to believe what they see on a map. The medium evokes an authority, making a link between places and things that happen in those places (Wood Fels 2008 provides a discussion of the ways in which mapping of nature evokes different feelings about the natures being represented). But mapping can also have different tones, evoking pleasure (Wood 1987), arousal (Nold 2009), ambivalence (Hawthorne et al. 2008) and humour (Caquard and Dormann 2008). The affect of mapping is an emerging research focus (Aitken and Craine 2006, excerpted as Chapter 3.10; Kwan 2007, excerpted as Chapter 5.9). Harley (1987, excerpted as Chapter 4.5) describes one map sheet within the frame of which various biographies have been played out. The people making the map, the histories of the place, and indeed personal biographies of the author are all charted and reflected in the collected artefact (Perkins 2008 gives an exploration of the motivations behind map collecting). Instead of a cognitive analysis of mechanisms of map reading, this kind of research is exploring the narrative potential of mapping (Pearce 2008).

Conclusions
Both the cognitive and cultural approaches to cartography provide rich insight into the relationship between people and maps. After a brief hiatus between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s, cognitive research into reading maps and geovisualisations has continued apace, providing insights into how people learn from maps and how maps might be designed to improve their legibility and comprehension. In addition, researchers from across the humanities and social sciences have created a detailed understanding of the role of culture in the production and reading of maps and their effects on the societies in which they are used. In the second decade of the twentieth century we can expect further refinement of ideas as rapid technological changes such as Mapping 2.0 (Crampton 2009) encourage an increasing focus upon the human processes of mapping, in all their cultural diversity, along with a progressive improvement in knowledge of how affective geovisualisations might work as crafted designs.

References


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