AN INVESTIGATION OF SENSE OF PLACE: A CASE STUDY IN THE COWICHAN VALLEY, BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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ABSTRACT

Sense of place is a little understood relationship between a person and a place. It is thought that people transform "space" to "place" by assigning meaning to their own locale. A bonding element (attachment to place) is involved, as is a sensing element (awareness). The result is a feeling of rootedness, security, familiarity, loyalty, and territoriality in the place.

Most studies on sense of place have been theoretical. Research in behavioural geography has concentrated on perception, the use of time and space, and territoriality. Humanistic geographers, using thoughts from existentialism and phenomenology, have investigated people's life-worlds; research topics have included insider-outsider, fields of care, the everyday world, place and placelessness, landscape appreciation, and sacred space. Field studies concentrated on the factors that develop a sense of place.

These studies largely excluded people's emotions and a regional dimension. A case study was undertaken in the Cowichan Valley to attempt to fill these gaps. A new methodology was employed, combining behavioural geography (the functional relationship to place) and humanistic geography (the emotional relationship). An interview questionnaire was designed to gather this information.

The behavioural component of the data was statistically analyzed to isolate factors that develop a bond to place for people. Results

indicated that awareness, number of family and friends, length of residence, having a reason to remain, exploratory trips, and number of special places were correlated with respondents' attachment levels. Regression analyses demonstrated the importance of awareness, having a reason to remain, and number of friends.

The phenomenological (subjective) component described respondents' sense of place. Residents were found to become attached to the Valley due to its scenery, outdoor recreation opportunities, climate, rural ambience, community spirit, and their bonds to family and friends. Some elderly residents described feelings of alienation. Although they were bonded to the Valley, economic development had changed its character, causing these residents to feel like strangers there.

Comments are offered in the conclusion on the possible effects of modern society on people's sense of place, occurring through urbanization, a mechanized work routine, an emphasis on consumptive materialism, and an increasing man/nature separation. For the Cowichan Valley, some recommendations are included to help preserve and enhance its sense of place. Other remarks are made on potential applications of sense of place research, future research directions, and implications for geography. Increasing the significance of sense of place within modern society is suggested, with geographers considered the most suitable candidates to research and communicate the topic.

Sense of place was found to be an important, but seldom considered, aspect of people's lives. It is an expression of man's relationship with the external world. It is possible that this relationship

has become tenuous in modern society due primarily to the separation of people from the land (for their sustenance). Cross-cultural research, particularly comparing primitive to modernized societies, is needed to confirm this hypothesis. Research findings could then be applied to modern society (if necessary) to rekindle the integrative man-environment relationship inherent to a sense of place.

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Finally, my dear wife, Tricia, is thanked most of all, for her love and patience, making the completion of this graduate degree in geography possible.

There are places I remember - all my life,
Though some have changed,
Some forever, not for better,
Some have gone - and some remain.

All these places had their moments -
With lovers and friends I still can recall.
Some are dead and some are living.
In my life - I've loved them all.

In My Life,
The Beatles.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There is something mystical about sense of place. Images of art, literature, sensations, and feelings come to mind. To some, "sense of place" evokes pictures of home; others may recall a special place from their past. A few geographers consider either its application for integrating their discipline or for bringing human feelings back into the study of human geography. But the mystery of sense of place prevails: its meaning is not clear, its research opportunities are poorly understood. The potential significance of sense of place tends to go unnoticed.

An attachment or bond to a particular place and using one's senses to be aware of that place are inherent in sense of place. Being resident in the place, forming ties to the inhabitants, and the distinctiveness and attraction of the place affect a person's sense of place. How a sense of place develops; how a person feels with a strong, positive sense of place; how the place itself affects this feeling; and the regional extent of a typical sense of place, are all poorly known. Fieldwork that investigates the emotional connection between people and their place is required to begin to

answer these questions. A study was conducted in the Cowichan Valley of British Columbia during the winter of 1984-85 to initiate this process.

This research takes theory on sense of place primarily from geography and tests its applicability in a field situation. Its major objectives are to clarify what "sense of place" really means to people and to see which factors help to develop it. An interview questionnaire was administered to a sample of residents in the Cowichan Valley to provide material directly from people on their sense of place. The questionnaire contained both phenomenological (subjective) and behavioural (functional) components. New information on sense of place was thus gathered and analyzed. Based on this preliminary work, future research can now proceed along definite paths.

Place, space, and environment are established geographical terms. An understanding of these is essential to further discussion on sense of place.

Space, Place, and Environment

It is paradoxical that a review of place, which was once a central component in geography, seems "out of place" within modern academic geography. This is due largely to geography's late twentieth century emphasis on spatial interpretations of place (Eyre, 1973). In the haste to apply scientific measurements to mankind's functional relationships in "space", the rich human meaning inherent within "place" was abandoned as a field of geographical study. In the past

fifteen years, humanistic geographers have tried to reintroduce studies of our emotional ties to place. Their efforts were mainly a reaction to and a criticism of positivism and quantification. Most geographers did not accept such criticism, preferring the "hard" methods (and prestige) of science (Hart, 1982). Many of them had moved into the applied fields of resource management, community and regional planning, computer cartography, and remote sensing. Humanism, expressed in geography through the feeling for "place", was relegated to a minor role. Description of sense of place was left to others, such as artists, travel writers, and regional novelists.

Humanistic geographers had wanted to research how people transform "mere space into an intensely human place" (Tuan in Johnston, 1983, p. 78). They felt that, when other geographers tried to define regions in spatial terms, the subjective quality of the term "region" was lost. French regional geographers of the turn of the century had focused on the "regional consciousness" of people, believing that regions were defined by their inhabitants. Humanistic geographers wanted to stress that regions were unique, identifiable "people places", not space that was only to be functionally used by human beings:

> Space is not a homogeneous mass, nor a sum of innumerable parts. Localities are like instants in time: specific, independent, unique. Space becomes place when man selects a "position" from the vast extent of the world, occupies it, and "takes a stand". In this way man recognizes the power of a locality and treats it as he perceives it, to be avoided or cherished, strengthened or enfeebled. (Graber, 1976, p. 4).

Place can mean either one's societal status or a spatial location. In the latter, place can vary in size and in physical character (Tuan, 1975). To humanistic geographers, "place" can also contain an emotive component, heavily laden with personal meaning and feelings, as in "this is my place", referring to a person's home or region. Instead of being just a "spatial location", a place can be a "small world" of its own (Tuan, 1974a). "Place" can therefore imply both "a location and an integration of nature and culture" (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984, p. 160). Each place is unique. People and their place are intricately interwoven, to the point where "a man is his place" (Ley, 1977, p. 508). Norberg-Schulz calls "place" a "focus where we experience the meaningful events of our existence" (in Relph, 1976, p. 42).

Place can be distinguished from "space" in the following manner:

> Places are fundamental expressions of man's involvement in the world, and thus give meaning to space . . . Places are indeed foundations of man's existence, providing not only the context of all human activity, but also security and identity for individuals and groups. (Relph in Entrikin, 1976, p. 615).

Thus "place" is space plus people (in a meaningful relationship). When space and place are compared to the general term "environment", it is "place" that holds the most significance to man. "Environment" can mean too many things, being associated lately with ecological causes and with descriptions of the physical environment. The difference between environment and place is made apparent in the next

passage:

> In this country, at this moment, we are conscious of man as a violator of his environment, a destroyer of the earth's lovely places. The notion that man is also a place maker - and ultimately the product of the places he himself has known, was the genesis of this volume. For in thinking about the conservation of environment, I gradually came to realize that an environment was not a place; that the words were not interchangeable; and that the difference was critical. There is a great deal of talk these days about saving our environment. We must, for the environment sustains our bodies. But as humans we also require support for our spirits, and this is what certain kinds of places provide. The catalyst that converts any physical location - any environment if you will - into a place, is the process of experiencing deeply. A place is a piece of the whole environment that has been claimed by feelings. Viewed simply as a life-support system, the earth is an environment. Viewed as a resource that sustains our humanity, the earth is a collection of places. We never speak, for example, of an environment we have known - and recall. We are homesick for places, we are reminded of places, it is the sounds and smells and sights of places which haunt us and against which we often measure our present . . . all of us have our loved places; all of us have laid claim to parts of the earth; and all of us, whether we know it or not, are in some measure the products of our sense of place. (Gussow, 1971, p. 27-28).

Sense of Place

Sensing one's environment and becoming bonded to one place within that environment through long residence are the two building blocks of sense of place (Tuan, 1974a, 1975). A certain amount of awareness of one's place is required, but through daily repetition the sensing of the familiar often becomes dulled. The result has been called the "everyday" or the "taken-for-granted" world by geographers (Ley, 1977). A region of regular activity may be termed a person's "habit field" (Tuan, 1974a) or their "action space"

(Horton and Reynolds, 1969). The known region provides people with security: Their territory is defined and familiar. Indeed, people are often not aware of either the qualities of their place or their attachment to it until they are away from home. A distant journey often seems necessary to gain perspective; homesickness can force a realization of the importance of the familiar. It seems odd that memories and place names only become strong symbols of the attachment to place once a person leaves that place.

Tuan states that "to know a place requires long residence and deep involvement: experience takes time" (1975, p. 164). Some degree of involvement appears to be needed as well: Attachments must be formed to both people (relatives, friends, and workmates) and places (special places within the home region). And so, developing a sense of place requires a degree of awareness coupled with a feeling of "topophilia" or "affective ties with the material environment" (Tuan, 1974b, p. 93). Sense of place also refers to the bonds to "homeland": It is based on one's home, but then it extends outwards from that center to include a region of one's own delineation.

My own definition of sense of place is now presented:

> Through a long series of experiences in a region, a person transforms the physical reality of place into a personal "place". This place has become home. Through sensory awareness and long residence in the place, a storehouse of knowledge is developed, consisting of memories, social symbols, and visual landmarks, to form a "gestalt" reality of the place. A habitual pattern of activity throughout the region, kinship ties there, and involvement in the community fosters and reaffirms feelings of belonging, rootedness, security, and loyalty. The person's territory has been defined, and satisfaction is apparent: The

> homeland is a part of that person. People are quickly categorized as "insiders" or "outsiders"; group solidarity is evident among the inhabitants of the region. A personal and group attachment to the place is demonstrated by their localized behaviour and conversation. Perhaps, without knowing it, each person has developed a "sense of place" in the region.
> Together with others, collective, similar feelings develop further into a "regional consciousness". Their imprint on the land, the "cultural landscape", may also be noticed, reinforcing each person's sense of place. The place itself may even develop its own atmosphere or personality, distinctive from other places. It is this character, these memories, these bonds of place that are missed by the traveller in homesickness, encaptured by the landscape artist in the aesthetic appreciation of the land, and flowingly described by the regional novelist in the written word. A place of meaning has been created. It is the result of an emotional "man-environment relationship". It is best known through our sense of place.

The bonds to place may be positive or negative, however. People in ghettos, prisons, and war zones may not like many qualities of their present place; it is, nonetheless, still their place. Sometimes they will even refuse to leave such homes despite danger or discomfort. Often they cannot leave.

Whether positive or negative, people seem to need a sense of place. Without any sense of place, people drift in "rootlessness". Transients have no home. Their counterparts, nomads, at least may call large tracts of land "home". Modern "citizens of the world" roam large tracts of land, but often feel homeless. They do not know all places on earth intimately enough to have developed a sense of place for them. It appears that a bond to a local, familiar place is needed to mesh with a human scale of living. Snyder (1985) adds the ingredient of awareness:

> Ask yourself, how would you tell people where you live so that they could find your house without mentioning a street name, a road name, a town, a county, or a state. When you've figured out how to describe where you live, you've made the first step in bioregional awareness. You see the place you live, city or country, with fresh eyes for a moment . . . (in Dardick, p. 73).

The images that are elicited by such an exercise are often strong and vivid. Memories of family gatherings, smells, scenic views, sounds, and community events form a collage that symbolizes one's own place.

Some places are ordinary, though, while many others have a bland uniformity, common to modern society. Relph (1976) describes how a lack of unique symbols contributes to feelings of "placelessness":

> Placelessness describes both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order. At its most profound it consists of a pervasive and perhaps irreversible alienation from places as the homes of men. (p. 143).

If people become transients or if places exhibit placelessness, it therefore seems that it is difficult for a sense of place to develop. Relph (1976) maintains that this is occurring presently in North America: our economic mobility does not foster ties to place . . . our mass marketing and design do not create unique places, instead eroding the character of many others.

Not all places on this continent are thus affected. Many remain much the same over centuries of inhabitation. But the pace of change is rapid near urban centers. Sameness abounds, typified by

suburban house styles and endless miles of freeways. The "character" that identifies many places is being affected, as is (likely) the unique sense of place of their residents. The roots of most North Americans do not extend backwards in time for centuries in one place; their kin network is often dispersed across a vast continent, linked only by letters, telephone lines, and memories. Their own places are undergoing rapid changes due to the dictates of distant leaders of government and business (and the whims of consumer trends). "Place" has become a functional term for many. Their current domicile is merely a way-station towards another job in another city. The importance of sense of place in this culture is in question.

However, the resilience and importance of sense of place may have been underestimated in the foregoing assessment. "Quality of life" and "people places" are becoming common considerations in North America, as are concerns about pollution and heritage conservation. Fewer people appear willing to shift localities for employment (likely due to the lack of employment opportunities). "Roots" have figured prominently in the arts, there has been more public involvement in local planning, and family life is again in vogue. Our home, place, and sense of place may be too much a part of us to disregard. The bond to place is our anchor in the world: We can hoist anchor at times if the place is not suitable, but we cannot tolerate being forever adrift.

Summary

Sense of place develops in a particular place through both sensing and long residence there. Involvement with other people and activities in the place aid in this development. The result is a deep bond to place. The bond extends beyond one's home to include a region, which could be called a "homeland". Being separated from this homeland allows one to gain a better perspective on one's bonds to it, to appreciate the familiar once again. The significance of the sense of place can then be realized: It is the recognition of the uniqueness of one place, where feelings are strong and localized. Our place is the center of our own world.

Research into sense of place is in its early stages. Most geographers have passed this topic by, preferring scientific or applied fields. Humanistic geographers have advanced some theories on the topic. Field research is required to see whether those theories are tenable.

Sense of place is concerned with an important dimension of human life. With more knowledge made available on the subject, both geographers and the general public have the potential of enhancing their sense of place. This could be done through increased awareness of its significance, through education to develop people's sense of place further, and through adopting measures to both safeguard and develop the character of places. Once the worth of sense of place is fully realized, people's lives could become more in balance in their own place, integrating people and place in an ecologically sound manner.

The next chapter will detail the contributions of several fields of research to the study of sense of place. Previous field studies will be assessed separately, followed by a presentation of pertinent research questions. The major ideas of the chapter will then be summarized for later reference. The case study in the Cowichan Valley used many of the ideas from this chapter; the discussion of the case study places these ideas in context. The concluding chapter of the thesis offers comments on potential applications of the case study findings (and of sense of place research in general), directions for future research, and the implications of such research for geography.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many ideas associated with sense of place. Because the topic involves the way in which humans interpret reality and then form emotional attachments to place, everything concerning both human nature and physical reality could be included in this review. However, only ideas directly related to sense of place, particularly those from geography, will be covered. Branches of geography that have researched elements of the topic will be dealt with first (in chronological order), followed by sub-sections on previous studies and research questions. A summary will close the chapter.

Branches of Geography

1. Environmental Determinism and Possibilism

The proponents of environmental determinism considered how climate and topography shaped the human society which took up residence in a region. In "anthropogeography" the determinists tried to categorize the world's peoples by studying their habitats. Possibilists, in contrast, believed that the environment may influence behaviour and culture, but it does not determine behaviour (Tatham, 1957).

Vidal de la Blache, a French geographer, pioneered possibilism at the turn of the twentieth century as a response to the rigid constraints of determinism. He spoke of the genre de vie or "pattern of life" within a small, distinct region (or pays) and of its milieu culturel: "the traditional atmosphere perceived by the inhabitants or ascribed by others" (Buttimer, 1969, p. 422). He studied the collective "regional consciousness" of the inhabitants of a pays; he felt that this helped to build a feeling of community and a common way of life in a region. Vidal de la Blache described the "total region" (or compage) as well, encompassing all of these concepts (Ley, 1977). In summary, the Vidalian perspective emphasized a desire to identify and holistically describe the "regional personality" of a place and its inhabitants, based on the tenets of possibilism.

The importance of environmental determinism to sense of place is its idea of the environment shaping the inhabitants of a place. People are very much a product of their physical habitat, as evidenced by recent studies in biometeorology. Possibilism shows how people can still have some measure of control over their own lives, choosing to design their own environment (e.g. homes, cars, and offices) to a large extent. This is important to sense of place both in the way that people shape their local region (producing a cultural landscape) and in the way that a local region influences the development of a common way of life (through the effect of the symbolism of a cultural landscape on the inhabitants). The study of the relationships between people and their place was

refined further using regional geography.

2. Regional Geography

Regional geography formalized the "idea of the region". Gilbert (1960) explains how a geographer describes earth and man using a particular method:

> The regional geography strives to integrate the multitude of seemingly disconnected facts about nature and man in the region he is describing. Geographers must have a sound understanding of the physical geography of the region they are studying, its landforms, its climate, its vegetation; but they should also be aware of man's place in the whole environment. It is essential that they should not devote their attention to one factor only. (p. 167).

Until well into the 1960's, regional geography was the core of geographical studies. In 1939, when Hartshorne advocated "areal or spatial relationships" to define regions, the temporal, historical dimension was largely excluded from the study of regions (Guelke, 1977). Geographers spent a lot of time attempting to define regions areally instead of describing those regions (Fleming, 1973; MacDonald, 1966). Increased applications of science after the Second World War caused quantitative methods to be applied more often to the definition of regions (Hart, 1982). The methods were also used in systematic geography (the analysis of one topic throughout the world, such as climatology: Minshull, 1967).

The main method of regional geography, integration, was thus in decline. "Mere description" was denigrated by most geographers; the discipline itself was split into several specialties in the 1950's

and 60's. With the use of regional description waning in geography (Hart, 1982), a possible foundation for the study of sense of place was lost. Integration is necessary in sense of place research, as is a description of the atmosphere and the physical attributes of a region. Only a revival of humanistic geography, based on the French possibilist geographers, helped restore some of the regional tradition in geography (with an emphasis on the human, emotive element). Before that era is presented, the influence of functional human activities will first be discussed, followed by a description of the philosophies upon which humanistic geography was based.

3. Behavioural Geography

Behavioural geographers are concerned with the functional elements of people's lives: their mental maps, preferences, perception, territoriality, and use of time and space (time geography and action space). They deal with how people perceive their world, evaluate it (as in research into natural hazards, such as floods and earthquakes), and determine their own personal preferences (as in research into people's willingness to move, recreation and landscape tastes, and choices in proposed economic developments: Rapoport, 1976). Their main premise is that attitudes, based on beliefs, influence behaviour through the formation of "behavioural intentions". These intentions, once known, can then theoretically be used to predict behaviour (Downs, 1970). The major research topics of these geographers, as linked to sense of place, will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

Mental maps are the visual pictures in people's minds of their place. They are the reference maps that guide people through their daily lives. Research began with the idea of "social space". In 1955, Sorre, a French geographer, developed the notion of objective social space: "a physical area containing a social group sharing norms of perception and behavior engaged in interaction structured by focal buildings, such as schools, churches, and theatres" (Lee, 1976, p. 165). In 1960, Chombart de Lauwe, a French sociologist, defined subjective social space as "a space perceived by members of particular human groups" (Lee, 1976, p. 165). He saw a "hierarchy of spaces, within which groups live, move, and interact" (Buttimer, 1969, p. 420: see Fig. 1).

The concepts of objective and subjective social space were tied to perception and the memory of urban landscapes by Lynch (1960). Using questionnaires, he elicited from residents the elements by which they remembered their own city, summarizing these into five categories: paths, edges, nodes, districts, and landmarks. Gould and White (1974) applied these ideas to a comprehensive study of mental maps. Preferences were noted for both local and distant places: a composite map from a number of people could then be drawn for each region. Ley (1983b) discussed the reference points of perceivers: "the web of familiarity, predictable places and people" which are built up over time (p. 138). Tuan (1974b) considered the sharpness of people's imagery, whereas Lynch wrote of both the "visibility" and the "legibility" (the ease of recognition) of the places themselves (1976,

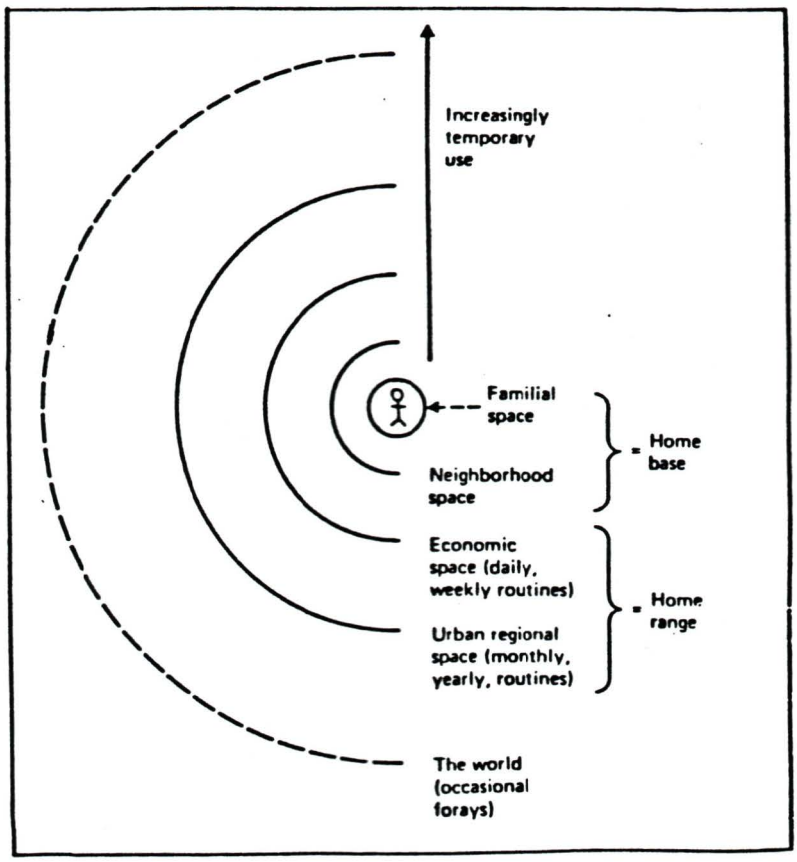


Figure 1. Social space (based on Chombart de Lauwe's hierarchy of social spaces: in Porteous, 1977, p. 92).

1978). These studies point to the perceptual structure which people use in their sense of place. The symbolism of distinctive reference points is vital, as is the process of perception itself.

Action space can be defined as "that area with which an individual has contact and within which his activities take place" (Wolpert in Horton and Reynolds, 1969, p. 70: see Fig. 2). Although it is "to a degree individualistic, there is reason to suggest that it is, to a large extent, shared by groups of people; for example, the formation of the individual's action space is almost certainly affected by his group memberships, his position in social networks, his position on one of his divergent life cycles, and his spatial location with respect to potential trip destinations in the environment" (Horton and Reynolds, 1969). Action space differs from social space in that an individual's "activity system" within the social space is defined as the "flow of activities during some specified period of time during which the person is engaged in the pursuit of his affairs" (Chapin and Brail in Porteous, 1977, p. 93). It involves a person's "time budget" as well: "the individual's daily or weekly routine, broken down into a series of behavior categories such as sleep, learning, eating, travel, work-related activities, recreation, and so on" (Chapin and Brail in Porteous, 1977, p. 93). Action space demonstrates the locale a person habitually comes in contact with; the perception of this environment is then imprinted as a mental map.

Time geography puts action space into perspective by adding the chronological dimension: "time and space are seen as inseparable;

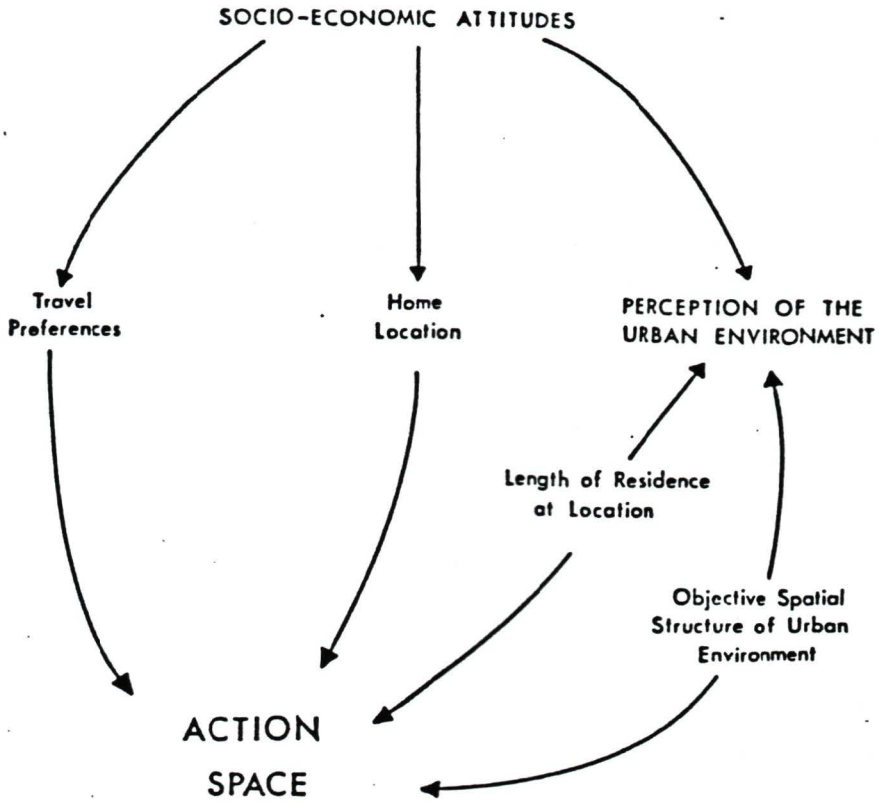


Figure 2. Action space (based on conceptual model by Horton and Reynolds: in Goodey, 1971, p. 8).

the actions and events of an individual's existence have both temporal and spatial attributes" (Pred, 1977, p. 208). Hagerstrand initiated a temporal movement in geography in the early 1970's as a reaction to the discipline's spatial encumbrance (Guelke, 1977). He recognized the "life-path" of individuals through time-space, where people do not normally lead an independent existence, but are instead participants within an "activity system". They are thus choreographed through a "finite supply of daily time resources"; authority constraints (the rules, laws, economic barriers, and power relationships) are joined with coupling constraints (as in where, when, and for how long an individual must join with others to form production, consumption, social, and miscellaneous activity bundles) to limit people's movements; capability constraints, the time allotted to physiological needs (and the limits of travel in a given time-span due to the transportation technology available) are also influential (Pred, 1977). The meeting of people along "time paths" through life can affect lives dramatically as well. The ideas of time geography, mental maps, and action space help to form a theory of people's functional relationships to place within their daily lives. Such functional components help to build the structure that affects the development of a sense of place.

From a behavioural perspective, the world can also be viewed as a series of territories. Jones and Eyles (1977) described a body territory (personal space), an interactional territory (the area where a social gathering may occur), a home territory (embodying the concepts of private property and of regular action space), and a public terri-

tory (the area which we have access to). Of these zones, the home territory is the space where one feels the greatest sense of intimacy and control. It can easily be converted into "defensible space" to fend off crime, environmental pollution, or invading "outsiders" (Saarinen, 1976). Much of the attachment to place likely results from such feelings of territoriality. Patriotism is an extension of these feelings to a nation (Tuan, 1976b).

A person can feel belonging, security, rootedness, identity, and at ease in a familiar place, from one's own home to a large region (Porteous, 1976; Seamon, 1979). One's "place" is, therefore, also one's "territory". In a genetic perspective, people may be attracted to the habitat in their territory through "some combination of learning, imprinting, and instinct", termed "biotype preference" (Sommer, 1978, p. 269). The mental map of one's territory may even be imprinted in the physiological structure of the brain (O'Keefe and Nadel, 1978).

The concept of territory can make people aware of the importance of their place and why each person is motivated to develop a sense of place. At the other end of the spectrum, "far places", outside people's known territories, help to put people's personal places in perspective (see Fig. 3). Most people have mental images of distant places, as in visions of utopia, homelands of ancestors, or exotic locales courtesy of the travel literature. The imagination may create a host of fictitious places as well. Real or imagined scenes of far places can influence how people feel toward their own

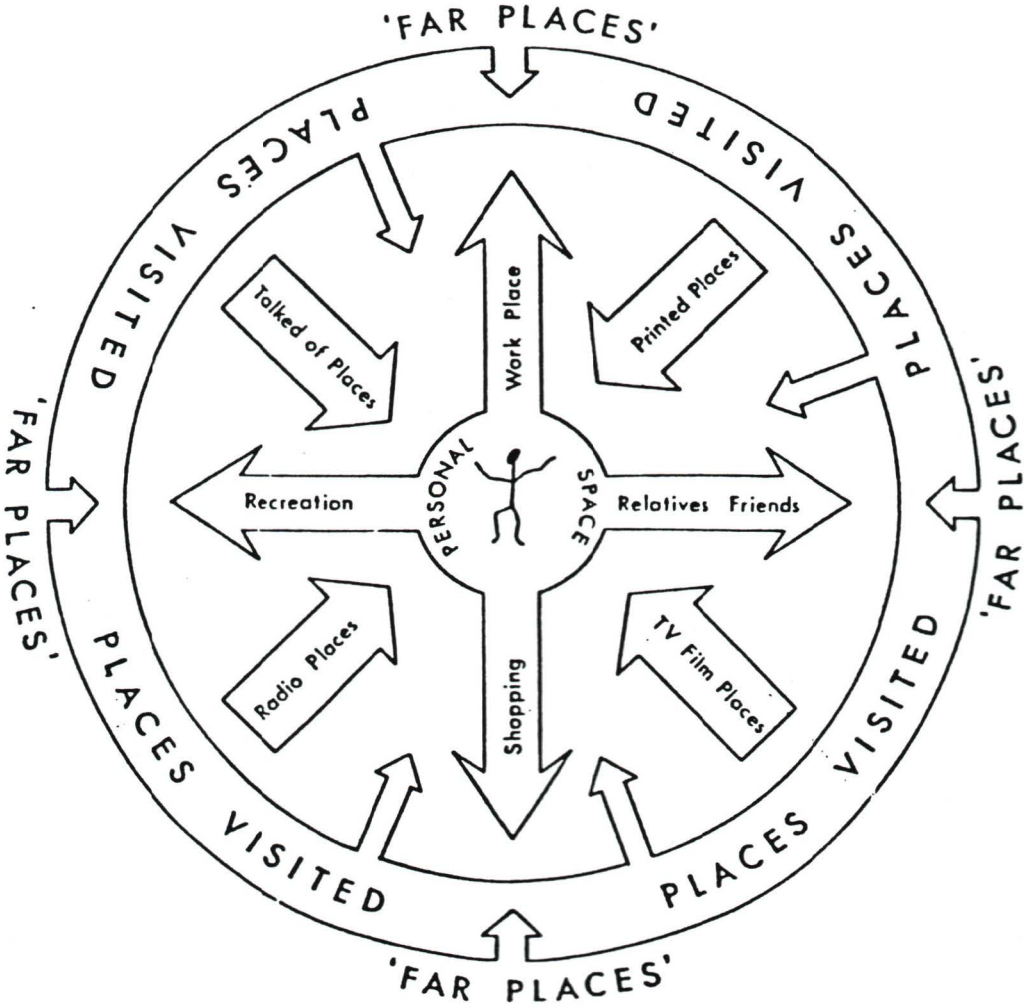


Figure 3. From personal space to far places (Goodey, 1971, p. 79).

place. The cultural landscape that the inhabitants of a region create is the end product of their activities as moderated by scenes of both local and distant places that are stored in their minds (Sauer in Leighly, 1963).

Behavioural geographers have used perception primarily to understand how people view either natural hazards or proposed economic developments. In sense of place studies, a person's "gestalt" perception (the part of physical reality that is perceived: the person's whole world) is more important. However, behavioural methods are not able to "quantify the inner experience" (Leshan and Margeneau, 1982, p. 8). The methods do not place particular behaviours in context, nor provide criteria against which mental phenomena can be checked. Behaviouralists assume, without consistent proof, that a "strong relationship exists between cognitive or mental images and actual behavior" (Bunting and Guelke, 1979, p. 454-456).

Behaviouralism is based on the assumption that "man is a rational decision-maker, reacting in the same way to given stimuli; by studying his behavior, an ordered set of reactions should be identifiable, and consideration of these should lead to theories about the nature of human decision-making" (Johnston, 1980, p. 405). But, as Smith (1979) states: "the social sciences are overpopulated by models, hypotheses and systems, underpopulated by theories and explanations, and have barely seen a decent law" (p. 360). Kates (1978) summarizes these sentiments: "there are many who have wearied of the failure of behavioral theory to provide generalized descrip-

tions of human action" (p. 125).

The problem with behaviouralism is that "subjective knowledge largely governs behavior" (Downs, 1970, p. 90), and that "subjective states are not observable and measurable phenomena in the same sense as objects are" (Ley, 1981a, p. 214). Behavioural geography, based as it is on behaviouralism and positivism, often attempts to describe subjective qualities in quantitative forms:

> Behavioral geography and environmental psychology, although they have shifted emphasis to people's inner worlds, have generally accepted the same positivist stance, and developed various methodologies to convert the ambiguity of inner psychological processes into empirically measurable images, attitudes, territories, or some similar hypothesized construct that can be elicited and correlated in ordered matrix form. (Seamon, 1979, p. 159).

The result "gives no understanding of why the relationship takes the form it does" (Ley, 1981a, p. 214), because it often involves the "separation of a person from his world" (Seamon, 1979, p. 160). Other elements of human existence which are more subtle, "at-homeness, habit, modes of encounter, dwelling, are ignored or reduced to recordable manifestations" (Seamon, 1979, p. 160). An example of the constraints of behaviouralism can be found in some studies of territoriality, where "emotions such as aggression, defense, and fear of intrusion" are the focus (Malmberg in Seamon, 1982, p. 132). However, when one uses a phenomenological perspective, the emotional range of place feelings can be enlarged to include "care, sentiment, concern, warmth, love and sacredness" (Seamon, 1982, p. 132).

And so, behavioural geography has only limited applications

to sense of place research because of the inherent constraints of its positivist philosophy. The functional activities of people in their placed are researched well through behavioural studies, especially through the use of social space, action space, mental maps, territoriality, and time geography. The subjective dimension in sense of place is likely investigated better through phenomenology.

4. Humanistic Geography

4.1 Gestalt Perception, Existentialism, and Phenomenology

Don Juan has stated "the world (is) whatever we perceive, in any manner we may choose to perceive" (in Castaneda, 1971, p. 81). Lowenthal (1980) asserts that "in daily practice we all subordinate reality to the world we perceive" (in Harrison and Livingstone, p. 29). Gestalt perceptions are important to the study of sense of place because they show how people select stimuli from the barrage of sensations that assault them each day to form their own "reality". Each person's created "lifeworld", based on perceptions, has a direct and deep effect on the relation to place:

> Landscapes . . . are not only material. There are also the landscapes of the mind . . . These are formed, not by the play of the eye on meadow and forest, valley and mountain, but by books, pictures, television, music. They are cultural landscapes, formed by what the mind, not the seeing eye alone, takes in. (Morton in Rees, 1982, p. 118).

People create their lifeworlds from gestalt perceptions over a length of time in a place; their habit field (action space) determines the environment they come into contact with.

A cultural landscape influences sense of place through distinctive symbolism. The symbolism of some landscapes is very powerful. Even that symbolism can be greatly enhanced when the imagery of artists is employed. Artists become aware of the qualities of the land and the regional consciousness of its people. They are often rooted in one place (at least for awhile) to catch its spirit through their heightened sensitivity (Guthrie in Shepard, 1977; Rees, 1978). Their thoughts are translated to society via an artistic medium, such as painting, poetry, music, or literature:

> Landscape impressions . . . arise from the thoughts of someone . . . poets, artists, philosophers . . . thinkers . . . in perceiving an environment already given, reshape it into an image, (and) give it some special meaning and content . . . (Samuels, 1979, p. 70).

Artists can be very influential in shaping our perceptions of reality. Society is affected as the artist's work is accepted, since most people conform to cultural norms. The gestalt reality that people form of place is thus largely determined by society (or a sub-group/regional variation of that society), leaving little room for personal idiosyncracy. Within a distinctive region, this collective perception is akin to regional consciousness. A clear example of perceptual bounds that have been culturally defined is the perceptual uniformity of immigrants (from the same cultural stock). They often relate to their new environment similarly, clinging to the learned definitions and mental bounds of their former land and culture. The lifeworld that they create in their new homeland is very much a

result of these learned perceptions. They each form their own gestalt perception, but each of these perceptions has been limited by their culture's influence on both the selection of stimuli and the interpretation of those stimuli.

In humanistic geography, existentialism provided a philosophical basis to address the meaning in places. It differs from phenomenology "by concentrating on individual intentions and personal idiosyncracies, while phenomenology goes further with its search for essences and universal structures" (Johnston, 1983, p. 66-7). The two philosophies have arisen from several streams of thought; both have been adapted to humanistic geography using only portions of the philosophies. Existentialists believe that man knows the world through "his physical presence, feelings, or emotions" rather than through "abstract systems of thought"; adherents of both philosophies "concern themselves with the question of the nature of 'being' and understanding human existence" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 621).

Existentialists also consider man's setting: "man defines himself spatially; part of his creation of an identity, his confirmation of himself, involves his relationship with the environment" (Samuels in Johnston, 1983, p. 73). The personal meaning of places is important in this definition:

> . . . a human definition of spatiality involves the meaningfulness of spatial arrangements, relations and attachments . . . people give their reference points meanings and symbolic content. (Samuels, 1981, p. 122 and 124).

Authenticity is also important:

> . . . an authentic person is . . . one who is sincere in all he does . . . an authentic attitude to place is a direct and genuine experience . . . full awareness of places for what they are as products of man's intentions and the meaningful settings for human activities (is needed). (Relph, 1976, p. 64).

From existentialism humanistic geographers derived the concept of existential space, "an area of shared meaning and value for a group" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 625).

Existential space shows how distances seem farther or shorter depending on the familiarity with them and the meaning of places within that space. The subjective essence and meaning in place can even be studied through an existential geography: "the type of historical geography that endeavors to reconstruct a landscape in the eyes of its occupants, users, explorers and students in the light of historical situations that condition, modify, or change relationships" (Samuels, 1981, p. 129). This "biography" of landscape appears similar to Sauer's cultural geography, but it begins with "the subjective, rather than with the physical landscape" (Samuels, 1978, p. 33). The human impression of reality can then be compared to the physical reality of the time (the physical geography of the region). The subjective material can also be treated as a record of the place and its people: "Landscape impressions acquire an objective content insofar as they have a history: a history of authorship, diffusion, and impact" (Samuels, 1979, p. 71-72). And so, a biography of landscape could be pieced together from the endeavors of artists (e.g. from their novels, paintings, poetry, and music), but this would be only one point of view.

Phenomenology is a "coherent and complete philosophical position from which to address the world" (Relph, 1981a, p. 100):

> In its simplest form, it (phenomenology) affords a radical method of enquiry that proceeds from pure consciousness without presupposing an existent world. Its focus of attention is the link between experience and meaning in man's interaction with his environment, and its underlying value position holds that the social scientist changes an object of study while he studies it and because he studies, with a result that he needs to know as much about the eye that sees as about the object that is seen. Phenomenologists argue that man comes to know the world through his own consciousness, and that social scientists must therefore study how man experiences the world. Thus "if scientific method is a way of thinking that realizes itself as a way of doing, phenomenology is a way of thinking that reveals itself in a <u>way of being</u>." (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984, p. 157).

Phenomenologists want to "expose the underlying essential structures of knowledge of the world" to "achieve insights into these essences" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 617). Their "aim is <u>understanding</u> - the coming to see more deeply and more respectfully the essential nature of human existence and the world in which it unfolds"; they seek "the meaning of events, not their causes" (Seamon, 1982, p. 123), and want to obtain their "knowledge through description of experience" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 618).

"Intentionality" and "lifeworld" are two concepts from phenomenology which have been adopted by humanistic geographers. Intentionality gives meaning to lifeworld through a process of "act - meaning - object" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 619). People's intentions link them to their world: each person has a "consciousness (that) projects a human setting around itself, a setting in which it lives" (Spurling, 1977, p.

17). This relationship of being between people and the world gives meaning to an objective setting (Relph, 1976). The transition from mere space to place forms a lifeworld. Phenomenological methods to research (or penetrate) lifeworlds include empathetic looking, intuition and insight, personal reflection, in-depth qualitative descriptions from people, personal observation, and accounts from imaginative literature, all using personal, direct experience of the world to provide a deeper understanding of the essence of reality (Johnston, 1983; Seamon, 1982).

Phenomenologists want to avoid "predefinitions", suspend "preconcepts", and be "presuppositionless" so that they can investigate something in its own terms and encounter it directly (Entrikin, 1976; Relph, 1981a; Seamon, 1982). The practice of phenomenology is radically empirical and experiential, relying on "all kinds of evidence, inner or outer, less or more tangible; it does not seek explanation and does not establish a guiding theoretical framework beforehand, but rather works to allow general patterns to appear in their own time and fashion" (Seamon, 1982, p. 122-123).

As Ley (1977) says, "to the positivist, the subjective has been seen as metaphysical, and therefore unknowable, irrational or private, and beyond the range of theory" (p. 501). By using phenomenology in the study of lifeworlds, a richer and more complete description of people's personal realities and more insights toward the understanding of human nature are likely possible. Phenomenologists are concerned primarily with "the nature of experience and the meaning

of being human" (Tuan, 1971, p. 191). Their focus on actual lived experience has a much different foundation than positivism: They claim that there is "no objective world independent of man's experience . . . all knowledge proceeds from the world of experience and cannot be independent of that world" (Holt-Jensen in Browett, 1984, p. 178).

Geography has benefited greatly from the phenomenological concept of lifeworld. It is a group-centered reality that includes the everyday life in which people routinely conduct their daily affairs (Ley, 1977; Seamon, 1982). The nature of the "person-environment relationship" can be better understood using phenomenology. Space becomes a more dynamic place through its eyes. It becomes a <u>place</u> where people live and move and search for meaning (Buttimer, 1976).

Aside from the lifeworld concept, sense of place has become more clearly defined with the phenomenological idea of "inside - outside". This boundary "marks out an essential core of place experience" (Seamon, 1982, p. 134). The humanistic geography idea of "insider - outsider" arose from this division. Studies into "home and horizons of reach" (or journeys from home) also came from this origin (Buttimer, 1980; Seamon, 1982), and can be applied both in humanistic geography and in theories of tourism.

A number of other ideas are related to lifeworld. The concept of "social world" is closely aligned, involving "special norms of conduct, a set of values, a prestige ladder, and a common

outlook toward life" (Duncan, 1978, p. 270). In "interactionism" an atomistic, individualistic view of man is rejected; no separation is seen between the individual and society: individual selves are socially constructed (Duncan, 1978). Behaviour is claimed to be fully understood only in the context of the total "organism-in-environment" situation, as a function of the interaction between them (Moore and Golledge, 1976).

From gestalt theory, the idea of "life space" (the individual plus his psychological environment) further defined lifeworld (Lewin in Koroscil, 1971). Buttimer (1976) has referred to **"lived space"**, the space where man moves outward (in concentric layers) from the "zero-point" of his home. There is also "lived distance", the physical distance between points that can vary subjectively depending on how a person "feels" at the moment, and whether the distant place (and the route to it) are well-known or not (Bollnow, 1967). From these concepts, people appear to transform physical space to lived space, thence to their life space (or social world), and, finally, to personalized lifeworlds.

A form of phenomenology is used daily by artists, travel writers, musicians, and philosophers to describe people's lifeworlds. They all attempt to depict the "essence" of a place and its people through phenomenological methods. Meinig (1981) says that "the best of 'local' or regional novelists can evoke a keen sense of the individuality of places; the skilful novelist often seems to come closest of all in capturing the full flavour of the environment" (in Pocock, p. 12). It appears that

regional novelists are able to accomplish this aim because "a region is inside the writer with a sense of place" (Relph, 1976. p. 67), allowing them to "paint a picture of real earth" (Gilbert, 1960, p. 167). Pocock (1981) feels that "it is the deliberately cultivated subjectivity of the writer which makes literature literature and not, say, reporting . . . it is the work of the heart as well as the head" (p. 10).

Critics of phenomenology have said that "its evidence is self-evidence found in direct intuition"; there is difficulty in "determining the authenticity of an essence or phenomena" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 620). However, direct experience of the world which is communicated honestly should need no verification. Validity could also be established through "intersubjective corroboration" (Seamon, 1982). Positivists desire explanation, which leads to "a need for certitude grounded in the demonstration of cause-and-effect relationships" through the use of quantitative methods (Seamon, 1982, p. 122). Phenomenologists are emotionally involved with their research subject. Their aim is to provide understanding, requiring less need for proof.

The criticisms of this philosophy are minor when benefits to the study of people in their place are considered. Phenomenology provides a means to go beyond the limitations inherent in behavioural studies. Sense of place can be an individual or a group feeling, is often associated with a community, and is always dynamic, responding to changes in the cultural and physical environment. It is the holistic result of living an interactional life in a lifeworld. Sense of

place can therefore be researched using not only behavioural methods (for the functional aspects of people's lives), but also using the methods of phenomenology (to investigate the subjective feelings in a person's sense of place). The branch of geography that employs this latter approach is described next.

4.2 Humanism and Humanistic Geography

Ley (1981a) states that "the body of research most commonly associated with the humanist venture is what we might call the sense of place studies" (p. 219). Humanism offers "a critique of (the) scientific method that stresses that man must be viewed as a complete being with due emphasis given to his creativity, individuality, and to the subjective way in which he interprets the world around him" (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984, p. 155). The intent of humanism is a much greater emphasis on subjectivity to promote the development of our human potential. Humanistic geographers study "the aspects of man which are most distinctively 'human': meaning, value, goals, and purposes" (Entrikin, 1976, p. 616). In their research there is an "affinity with the humanities, including artistic and literary endeavors" (Ley, 1981b, p. 250).

Humanistic geography arose from geographical interpretations of the "philosophers of meaning, including Schutz, Sartre, Mead, and especially Heidegger" (Ley, 1983a, p. 268) as a "reaction against the quantitative juggernaut of spatial analysis" (Ley, 1981b, p. 250). The research is directed primarily into people's appreciation of

landscape, their attachment to place, and their experience of the environment (Tuan in Relph, 1981b). These geographers realize that people's feelings are not separate from the world (Entrikin, 1976). They try to "understand how geographical activities and phenomena reveal the quality of human awareness" (Tuan, 1976b, p. 267). The philosophical stance that they use stresses anthropocentrism, holism, and intersubjectivity (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984).

Research topics in humanistic geography have included environmental perception, landscape interpretation (or environmental appreciation), and the quest for the essential character of place (using hermeneutics: the interpretation of artists' written material). They have gathered local and oral histories, and some have begun studying sense of place (Ley 1981b, 1983a). Geographers have written of "environmental humility" and "geopeity" (reverence for nature: Relph, 1981b; Tuan, 1976a), "sacred space" (a site of power: Graber, 1976; Tuan, 1978), and "fields of care" (networks of interpersonal concern in a physical setting: Tuan, 1974a). Studies have been conducted on "lived space", the "taken-for-granted-world" (Ley, 1977), insiders and outsiders, home and horizons of reach, the lifeworld, and place and placelessness (Relph, 1976). In addition, feelings of rootedness, belonging, loyalty, and attachment to homeland have been investigated (Tuan, 1977), as have place learning (Blaut and Stea, 1969), the design of "people places" (Porteous, 1971), the effect of personality and moods on place feelings (Slater, 1981), and divisions of back-front, egocentric-ethnocentric, and authentic-inauthentic. Tuan

(1971) calls "egocentric" the space that individuals perceive, whereas "ethnocentric" refers to ethnic groups; "back and front" describe the directions people normally take when perceiving their region; "authentic" means the direct experience of reality. Ideas of direct importance to sense of place studies are lifeworld, attachment to homeland, place and placelessness, fields of care, and insider-outsider.

Smith (1979) refers to humanism as only an attitude, and Entrikin (1976) calls it a form of criticism. Ley argues that humanistic geography is "not a distinctive empirical sub-field of inquiry with its own subject matter; rather it is a theoretical perspective, emphasizing human values and intentionality" (in Browett, 1984, p. 178). Relph (1981b) states that it "lacks a clear tradition", with the "first discussion of humanistic geography in 1976" (p. 131). The methods of humanistic geography have been described as eclectic (Entrikin, 1976). Also, "values, meanings, consciousness, creativity, and reflection may well have been overstated, while context, constraint, and social stratification have been under-developed" (Ley, 1981b, p. 252).

Most of the criticism could only be a sign of the development of this branch of geography: the goals, methods, and topics of study are not yet clearly established. The members of other geographical branches may also resent the intrusion of new ideas that question their beliefs. The need for increased understanding of the man-environment relationship gives a strong reason for geographers to look beyond

criticisms. It is the variability of place experience that makes it a human construct, with the interpretation of this experience dependent on the unique beliefs of each human being. A confining "norm" in methods to study these beliefs would definitely limit the results.

Humanistic geography is still a very small branch of geography. Part of the reason for this could be that geographers "have simply been slow to grasp the significance of intellectual changes, or inclined to ignore them" (Relph, 1981b, p. 131). Walmsley and Lewis (1984) attribute this to "academic inertia" and "the failure of geographers to master a new and unfamiliar vocabulary" (p. 162). Part of the inertia is likely due to the dominance of scientism and positivism in geography (Hart, 1982). It appears that humanism has been cast into an adversarial role and labelled "reactionary" by the majority. Many of the ideas from humanistic geography, some of them around for fifteen years, have yet to be known, accepted, and given credence by the majority of geographers.

There is a limitation inherent to humanism, though, that should be addressed. Ley (1983b) states that "the lifeworld is always anthropocentric" (p. 137). Norton (1984) offers a counterpoint: people can instead cultivate a "weak anthropocentrism", providing the "basis for criticism of value systems which are purely exploitative of nature" (p. 135). Mankind can benefit from the ideas in humanism, but people must also consider their relationship with nature. In the past decade, Relph moved from a position of anthropocentric humanism to one of environmental humility: a way of life which is tolerant and

respectful of other life forms, a "humanity that is broader and deeper than is possible in any anthropocentric humanism" (1981b, p. 161-164). These sentiments come close to those expressed in environmental philosophy, where not just a "person-environment" relationship is involved, but an ethical one of "man-in-the-world", within the totality of the biosphere (Tuan, 1971).

This shortcoming in humanism does not negate the gains which have been made toward a more humane mode of enquiry than is practiced (usually) in positivism. Humanistic geography has attempted to research lifeworlds in an understanding, empathetic, subjective manner. It has provided the research foundations for sense of place studies. As of yet, it may only "consist of little more than a few expressions of possibilities" (Relph, 1981b, p. 134). These "possibilities", though, have added to the theory on sense of place. To move beyond theory to field research, with people and their lifeworlds as the foci of study (using phenomenological methods), is the next logical step for humanistic geographers to take.

Field Studies Associated with Sense of Place

The studies that have been conducted, all between 1961 and 1985, were in urban settings, the researchers were sociologists and behavioural/urban geographers, and the approach taken was positivist. Because of these characteristics, their results have added only limited knowledge to sense of place. Investigation into "residential satisfaction" was the first field study. Fried and Gleicher (1961)

found from urban slum residents that kinship ties and local friendships aided in developing a positive feeling of residential belonging. The feelings went beyond simple familiarity, with 64 per cent of recent residents having "clearly positive feelings about the area" (Fried and Gleicher, p. 307). The local area was also perceived "as home" and formed a "territorial space" around their neighbourhood (Fried and Gleicher, p. 312 and 314). Residential stability and length of residence in the area played an important role in the development of these feelings (Fried and Gleicher, p. 306 and 308). Ermuth's research (1974) had similar conclusions. He added that "urban environmental preferences", such as clean yards, quiet streets, and public transportation, affected residential satisfaction (Ermuth, p. 114).

Tuan (1975) said that "to know a place well requires long residence and deep involvement" (p. 164). Two studies, the first by sociologists and the second by geographers, provided field data to substantiate this assertion. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) found that "length of residence was the key factor influencing local community attachment" (p. 325). The "number of friends was the overall most important type of social bond influencing community sentiments", with the "number of relatives living nearby having a strong effect on a person's sense of community" (Kasarda and Janowitz, p. 335-336). Participation in informal social activities was discovered to have a "moderate influence on sense of community", whereas "membership in local formal organizations had little independent influence" (Kasarda and Janowitz, p. 336). Social class and life-cycle (age) had

"specific and limited effects on local social bonds", with "higher status individuals having greater mobility and older individuals having less involvement in the "social fabric of communities" (Kasarda and Janowitz, p. 333-334). By looking at rural communities, urban ones of less than 60,000 population, and urban ones greater than 60,000 population, they determined that "location in communities of increased size and density does not weaken bonds of kinship and friendship" (Kasarda and Janowitz, p. 338). Overall, their findings appear to give weight to another statement by Tuan: "the passage of time itself does not guarantee a sense of place" (1975, p. 164). It seems that ties to people, through kinship and community involvement, are required as well to develop a strong sense of place.

The second study, by Taylor and Townsend (1976), contributed findings similar to those of Kasarda and Janowitz. Examining the sense of place in English villages, they showed a "systematic pattern of self-selection: the first people to leave were those with the weakest social and kinship networks" (Taylor and Townsend, p. 134). The pattern was influenced by "a history of mobility" (Taylor and Townsend, p. 139); they also found that "employers and managers exhibit relatively less feeling for the area" (p. 141). Although length of residence was, as with Kasarda and Janowitz's study, the most important factor towards building a strong local attachment, it was thought that "a person's 'stage in the life cycle' may be the crucial independent variable", because "a sense of place assumes a degree of awareness of the place and this will partly and perhaps wholly be built up

through experience" (Taylor and Townsend, p. 138-139). People in the 17-24 age range thought that "good times among friends were most important"; persons between 25-44 years had "less identification with the area" (largely because of wider experience of work and migration); those between 45-64 years believed in "the importance of the kinship network in adjacent areas"; and persons over 65 years expressed "the greatest affection for the area where they live" (Taylor and Townsend, p. 139).

However, only 12 per cent of Taylor and Townsend's respondents "made reference to characteristics of place as such, with the great majority making reference to the residence of relatives, parents, or children" (1976, p. 137). For these people, it seems that ties to friends and family are the most important factors in the development of an attachment to place, similar to the findings of Kasarda and Janowitz. Taylor and Townsend further claim that "respondents from manual, working-class groups who bore the brunt of the Depression now show the strongest attributes of a local sense of place" (p. 139). In this "deprivation hypothesis", the "social hardships of the Depression era" help form an attachment to place (Taylor and Townsend, p. 139). Their conclusion is a departure from the typical, positive approach to explain attachment to place: bonding can, perhaps, form just as well through shared hardships as through shared enjoyment.

Studies of landscape tastes and preferences have been done often in geography; Eyles (1985) used these in his study of sense of place among the townsfolk of Towcester, England. He divided their

responses into different types of attachment to place, labelling these "senses" of place social, nostalgic, commodity (searching for an ideal place), roots, or environmental (the place itself). He also used categories of apathetic-acquiescent (no sense of place) and instrumental (places as a means to an end) for responses from the people who did not have a discernable bond to place.

How people form a specific type of attachment to place is still poorly understood. People use selectivity in their judgements and feelings toward their place (in a personal, gestalt style), supported by the group solidarity of other people with similar orientations (Goodey, 1982). Similar-minded people associate together through work, recreation, and community activities; even the setting of their homes in wooded, waterside, grassland, or urban locations can symbolize their group cohesion (Duncan, 1973). Lowenthal (1978) theorizes how perceptions may influence the development of types of attachment to landscapes: "the viewer's purpose helps determine how well he likes what he sees . . . places may be highly regarded as the sites of enterprise, as homes, as localities for pleasure and recreation, or simply as beautiful scenes" (p. 4). And so, how a person orients his life; who that person associates with; which preferences the person has; what activities the person gets involved in; what perceptions of the landscape the person forms; and the setting of the person's home may all help to determine the type of sense of place that develops. It may still be just as strong a bond to place as the next person's, but it is a different <u>type</u> due to factors such as these.

Research into types of attachment to place is therefore only in its early stages. The other studies reviewed in this sub-section could be classified as research into factors which help to develop a sense of place. These studies have been done with a behavioural, urban, quantifying emphasis. Phenomenology has not yet been applied extensively in field research to investigate lifeworlds or sense of place; Eyles (1985) used this approach to report his own feelings toward the places that he has resided in. Descriptions of the result of developing a sense of place, such as feelings of belonging, security, identity, satisfaction, and rootedness, have not been reported using field data, except (partially) in Fried and Gleicher (1961). There has been some theorizing within humanistic geography on this topic (Tuan, 1974a, 1977; Porteous, 1976; Relph, 1976), but little application of phenomenological methods (in the field) to gain insight into these feelings.

The few studies that have been conducted also reveal that there has been little or no consideration of the regional bounds to people's sense of place. Theories from regional geography have not been applied, especially concerning regional consciousness, environmental influences (such as topography and climate), or symbolism (as in the distinctiveness of cultural landscapes). Similarly, gestalt perceptions, community feelings, and the functional activities of people (from behavioural geography: mental maps, action space, territoriality, etc.) have not been linked to studies on sense of place, except for some references to the community in Kasarda and

Janowitz (1974).

These gaps in the research could be dealt with using a new approach to more thoroughly investigate people's sense of place. A combination of behavioural and phenomenological methods, interviewing people directly (in their home setting), is suggested. The former methods can study the functional behaviour of people as it relates to sense of place (giving data on the factors that help to develop a sense of place); the latter methods can study the more subjective qualities: the feelings inherent in a sense of place (giving data on the result of developing a sense of place). The two sets of methods can thus complement one another, working in tandem and not in opposition (or to the exclusion of the other). This approach to research would parallel that of combining the arts and the sciences. Geography, with its integrative regional perspective, is suited to take a leading role in this inter-disciplinary, generalist approach. Within geography, the humanistic branch is most able to provide the philosophical basis and direction for such studies on sense of place.

Research Questions

The preceding discussion has provided a review of the theory concerning sense of place, including the findings of a few field studies. More detailed information is needed, though. Research must go beyond questions such as "little is known how places acquire meaning" (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984, p. 160) and "what qualities of landscape and physical environment enfuse a physical space with a sense of

place?" (Seamon, 1982, p. 129). Bonds to place have not been adequately researched in the field, although there have been studies conducted in the social sciences on bonds to mother, kin, and country. A list of questions is presented to indicate specific research needs:

1. How does a sense of place develop? (what factors are involved, how do these interact, and which ones are most important?);
2. What is the resultant effect of a deep sense of place?;
3. What is the regional extent of the bond to place?;
4. How does the distinctiveness of a place help to develop a sense of place?;
5. What types of sense of place are there?;
6. How does the perception of place and a feeling of unity with nature affect the development of a sense of place?;
7. Can the aesthetic qualities in a place and our emotional involvement in sense of place be studied subjectively?;
8. What is the personal and societal significance of sense of place?;
9. How does modern society affect the development and the quality of sense of place among its members? (as in the imposition of cultural norms, through education, and in planning/politics/economics); and,
10. What elements of sense of place are cross-cultural? (i.e. generic to mankind).

The Cowichan Valley case study dealt with questions 1 through 4 of the above list; the other questions are reviewed in the latter half of Chapter 6.

Summary

In this literature review many ideas related to sense of place have been presented. Environmental determinism concerns the effect of the physical environment on people, whereas possibilism stresses people's ability to exercise their free will. French possibilists studied the regional consciousness and lifestyle of the inhabitants of a place. Regional geographers provided an integrative method to study both the activities of people in a region and the physical geography of the region itself. Cultural geographers introduced the idea of a cultural landscape which was shaped by the inhabitants of a region and by nature's forces. In behavioural geography the functional activities of people in a place were researched through studies of their action space, social space, perception, mental maps, time geography, and territoriality. Humanistic geographers added the emotional, subjective aspect of people's lives, especially in studies on the meaning that places hold for people. Based on theories from existentialism, phenomenology, and gestalt perception, these geographers researched people's lifeworlds and several other related topics, such as existential space, the insider-outsider division, home and horizons of reach, place and placelessness, place learning, geopeity, and fields of care. All of the fields of enquiry described in this review have thus added depth to the theory concerning sense of place.

The review of previous field studies pointed toward the need for additional fieldwork. Research has been done before in urban settings using a behavioural approach; a humanistic approach, employing

phenomenological methods to investigate the subjective feelings that people have toward their place, should now be field tested. The factors that help to develop a typical person's sense of place require research, as do the regional dimensions of sense of place. The resultant effect of developing a sense of place needs clarification as well. Some of the methods from behavioural geography could be used in future field studies to learn how people's functional relationships to their place affect their sense of place.

The research undertaken in the Cowichan Valley attempted to apply these principles. The first four questions from the list in the preceding sub-section were addressed, with emphasis on questions 1 and 2. The methodology used to conduct this study will be detailed in the next chapter. A description of the study area and the sample of people interviewed will also be included. How the people were interviewed, the questionnaire design, and the sampling design will be covered. In this manner an investigation of sense of place using a humanistic, regional approach (in a non-urban setting) will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY

Field research began in the Cowichan Valley, British Columbia, in October, 1984, to study the sense of place of a sample of its rural residents. Because of the complexity of the topic, an inquiring, open-minded approach was adopted to facilitate understanding. A pilot study was undertaken first (on a random sample), using a questionnaire that was developed specifically for this project (Appendix I). Both behavioural and phenomenological queries were contained in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was refined following the pilot study (Appendix II), with the majority of interviews conducted between November 1984 and February 1985. The sample consisted of adults (over 18 years of age) who had lived more than one year in the valley (for 60 of the 65 respondents). This sample did not include any urban residents.

The town of Duncan was excluded from the study area, because it was thought that its inhabitants would have a predominantly urban sense of place. For similar reasons, non-white racial groups in the Valley were also excluded from the study. A total of 68 interviews were completed (62 using the refined questionnaire), with 65 questionnaires suitable for analysis. Because elderly residents were poorly

represented in the random sample, five additional interviews were conducted with people over 65 years of age. The format for these interviews was less structured than those where questionnaires were used. Some archival and tourist material on the Valley was also examined to put the interviews in perspective. A journal of my own observations of the Valley and notes on the research was kept as well.

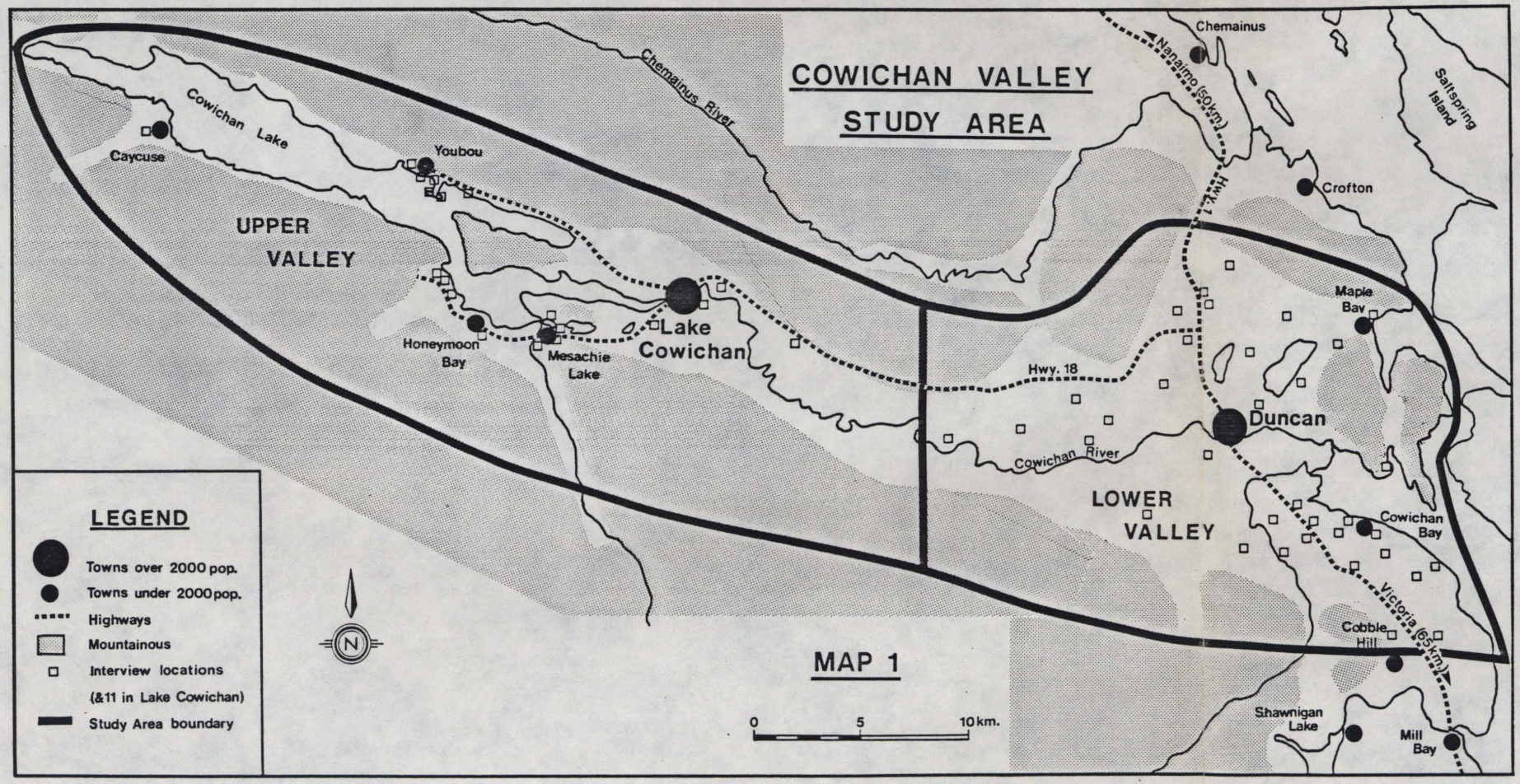
The data from the questionnaires which dealt with the respondents' functional relationship to their place (the behavioural component of the data) were analyzed statistically. The data that were more subjective, describing the respondents' attachment to their place (the phenomenological component), were tabulated in frequency counts, with passages selected for illustration of different types of attachment. The results were interpreted and discussed; noteworthy thoughts on the significance of sense of place to society (and society's possible effect on sense of place) were also presented.

This chapter describes the study area and methods. The intent of this research is to conduct field studies on people's sense of place. The random selection of residents provided a good cross-section of responses. The literature review aided in both designing the questionnaire and putting the responses in context. The findings clarified the theory on sense of place, while providing a new research approach and some new material for discussion. However, research is still needed in other regions, as it is not known how typical the responses from the case study were (in a societal context).

The Study Area

The boundaries of the Cowichan Valley are quite distinctive (see Map 1). Along the length of the Cowichan River and Cowichan Lake, the Valley is enclosed by steep, forested mountains to 1,200 meters in height. North of Duncan there is only a small gap in the mountain wall where Highway 1 passes through to Chemainus. To the south of Duncan there are rolling lowlands as far as Mill Bay. The eastern terminus of the Valley is at Cowichan Bay. Maple Bay, Genoa Bay, Cherry Point, and Arbutus Point are similar to the Gulf Islands in their physiography, but are socially and economically tied to the Cowichan Valley.

Political boundaries have not followed the topographical definition of the Valley closely. Municipal, regional, and federal electoral boundaries have not often been set as lines that delineate either physically different regions (e.g. the Cowichan Valley watershed versus that of the Chemainus River) or culturally different ones (e.g. the people of Ladysmith and Chemainus are included in the Cowichan Valley Regional District, as are the people of Mill Bay and Shawnigan Lake). Slicing through distinct regions, often as a straight line between two points, many political boundaries appear to be the result of expediency, carving the land into convenient political jurisdictions. Even though such boundaries do not enclose only the Cowichan Valley, local politicians want the people of the Valley to identify with the symbolism of the Cowichan Valley Regional District. Instead, residents identify with the true symbols of the Cowichan.


COWICHAN VALLEY
STUDY AREA
Chemainus
Nanaimo (50km)
Saltspring Island
Chemainus River
Cowichan Lake
Caycuse
Youbou
Crofton
Hwy. 1
UPPER VALLEY
Maple Bay
Lake Cowichan
Honeymoon Bay
Mesachie Lake
Hwy. 18
Duncan
Cowichan River
LOWER VALLEY
Cowichan Bay
Victoria (65km)
Cobble Hill
Shawnigan Lake
Mill Bay
LEGEND
Towns over 2000 pop.
Towns under 2000 pop.
Highways
Mountainous
Interview locations
(&11 in Lake Cowichan)
Study Area boundary
N
MAP 1
0
5
10 km.

Strong symbols of the Cowichan are evident in the names and activities of local clubs, organizations, newspapers, calendars of events, schools, sports teams, and museums. The name "Cowichan" is used also in Cowichan sweaters, local politics, place and road names, and small businesses. The Valley is easily symbolized in people's mental maps by its topography, forested slopes, and rural pastureland (surrounding Duncan). Primary resource extraction activities, such as logging, agriculture, fishing, and (formerly) mining characterize the outdoor orientation of most of the Valley's inhabitants. Indeed, "Cowichan Lake" has come to symbolize "outdoor recreation" in many residents' minds. The Cowichan Indians also give the Valley a heritage which pre-dates the settlement of the region by white pioneers. The Valley's boundaries help to create its own distinctive climate; they also serve to isolate the people of the Valley (somewhat) from external cultural influences. Other "functional" divisions separate the Cowichan Valley from the "outside", including telephone rates (long distance to points beyond the Valley), radio reception (Victoria and Vancouver stations only), and transportation access (ferry terminals to Vancouver are in Nanaimo and Swartz Bay; international airports are in Victoria and Vancouver).

In an economic sense, the Valley is part of a larger region, the Georgia Strait lowlands. The Nanaimo-Vancouver-Victoria triangle dictates much of the Valley's economic direction. Coming into the Valley daily are news items, trade goods, new technology, decisions from higher levels of government and corporations, styles and trends,

utilities (via telephone and electric transmission lines), tourists, and new in-migrants. However, leaving the Valley there are only some trade goods (especially lumber and raw logs), a few residents (for visiting, shopping, and work), some out-migrants (and departing tourists), and, perhaps, a few news items. There are also thousands of people in transit through the Valley on the north-south highway daily. Because of economic hierarchy of cities, the influence is greatest from the major urban centers on the Valley people, not vice versa (see Gibson, 1976).

The most distinctive feature of the Cowichan Valley is its physical continuity. From the far reaches of the Valley to the mouth of the River at Cowichan Bay, the bottomland of the Valley is scenic and heavily forested, overshadowed by crowding ramparts of mountains. The influence of distant cities is not apparent in the Valley's wilderness retreats. In the lower valley around Duncan, though, people have shaped the land through housing development and agricultural production. Some impact from forestry is evident on the Valley slopes around Cowichan Lake in the upper valley. Despite these human activities, the dominant atmosphere in the lower valley is one of pastoral/restful peace (except around Duncan or Highway 1), changing to that of somber isolation and wilderness (in the winter) in the upper valley - due to the enclosure of mountains and cloud cover - and (in summer) to that of an outdoor playground. The eastern end of the Valley from Maple Bay to Cherry Point has a character of its own: the slow, languid pace and charm of "paradise found" can be felt in these parts of the Valley.

The westernmost end of the study area lies within the center spine of Vancouver Island; the entire region lies within the rainy Pacific Northwest. The climate reflects this maritime location. Rainfall is mostly orographic and is highest inland, with precipitation 210 centimeters annually at Lake Cowichan, 75 centimeters at Duncan, and only 57 centimeters at Cowichan Bay (Bauder and Hall, 1979). Most of the rainfall occurs between October and March. Sunshine hours per year vary between 1383 at the Lake to 1803 at Cowichan Bay (Bauder and Hall, 1979). The proximity to the Pacific Ocean modifies the climate, with mean temperatures in the Lake region between 3.5°celsius and -1.5° in January and from 24.4° to 10.5° in July. In Duncan it is somewhat warmer, with mean temperatures of 5.7° to -1.6° in January and 25.6° to 16.9° in July (Bauder and Hall, 1979, Table 1: Environment Canada data).

The lower valley has been called the "warm land" by the local native Indian band (their name, Cowichan, is derived from this designation: Norcross, 1975). The warmth can be partly attributed to the basin effect of surrounding hills, the higher sunshine hours, and the moderating influence of the sea in winter. High rainfall in the upper valley helped to generate thick stands of Douglas fir (Pseudotsuga menziesii), western hemlock (Tsuga heterophylla), and western red cedar (Thuja plicata). These forests still blanket the hillsides, despite a century of active logging.

Around Cowichan Lake the economy is dependent on commercial logging. Pioneers used to haul logs to the lakeside by ox teams in

the late 1880's, floating them down the Cowichan River (Gold, 1985). The huge trees, some of them four meters at the base, sparked interest in forming a logging industry in the Valley. In the last century logging towns were established at Youbou, Honeymoon Bay, Caycuse, Mesachie Lake, Lake Cowichan, Sahtlam, and Hillcrest, with Duncan serving as the main commercial center and Cowichan Bay as the main port (Gold, 1985). There was even a brief hardrock mining surge at Mount Sicker north of Duncan in the early 1900's; today only a gravel pit industry remains in the Valley.

The people of the Cowichan Valley rely heavily on primary resource industries to fuel their economy. Together with a pulp mill at Crofton (adjacent to the lower valley, morth of Duncan), forestry employs about 6,000 people, while employment in agriculture is about 400 (Bauder and Hall, 1979). The population of the Valley is about 30,000, including about 5,000 native Indians and East Indians. The city of Duncan and its norther portion (lying within the municipality of North Cowichan) contain approximately 7,500 people; the village of Lake Cowichan is about 2,500 in population (Canada Census, 1981). With its warm climate, established industrial base, and rural atmosphere, the Cowichan Valley attracts new residents each year, particularly to the lower valley. Because most of the old-growth timber has now been logged from the Valley and adjacent areas, logging mills at Sahtlam, Hillcrest, Mesachie Lake, and Honeymoon Bay have closed. The local economy is shifting now towards tourism.

The economic recession of the 1980's has caused high unem-

ployment, estimated in 1984-85 to be 20 to 30 per cent of the work force in the Valley. The residents appear to be strongly tied to their region, though, with few people moving out. Several community-based employment projects are being initiated. According to civic authorities, the Cowichan Valley has a special appeal to many of its inhabitants (and to growing numbers of tourists); it exudes a charm and a serene, outdoors ambience that has to be felt to be fully appreciated (Norcross, 1975; brochures from the Duncan and the Lake Cowichan Chambers of Commerce, undated). The Valley seemed, on first examination, to be a place which held deep meaning to most of its residents. It is a well-defined, small region with a history of human settlement (and it was easily accessible from my residence in Victoria). For my purposes it was, therefore, suitable as a study area.

Methods

1. Research Design

Both a behavioural and a phenomenological approach were used to investigate sense of place in the Cowichan Valley. Academic rigour was adhered to in the former approach through the questionnaire design, sampling design, interview technique, and analytical procedures. Rigour was similarly kept in the latter approach through the tape recording of people's subjective sense of place, through internal similarities in responses between people, and through checks on the reliability of the open question on their sense of place (as compared to other similar responses). Their responses were also compared to the elderly and to my

own sense of place for the Valley. Other information sources (archival and tourism material) were consulted to help place these responses in perspective.

The behavioural approach was derived from study topics in behavioural geography. People's action space, mental maps, perceptions, landscape preferences, territoriality, local knowledge, community involvement, and social activities were solicited in the interviews, as were some demographic and personal history data. Although the questions were not strictly concerned with human "behaviour", the data that resulted enabled a fairly broad view of people's functional relationships with their place. Their behaviour was likely influenced by the physical, social, and economic environment of the Valley; these all then were postulated to provide the structural foundation upon which their sense of place was formed. This approach was thus used to study the factors that help to develop a sense of place.

The emotional feeling inherent in a sense of place was studied through the phenomenological approach. To investigate the result of developing a sense of place, people's reasons for forming their attachment to place were solicited, as were their descriptions of that attachment. Responses from a variety of people in the Valley, including separate interviews with some elderly persons, provided a cross-section of residents' sense of place. My assessments of their awareness levels added information on the sensing aspect of sense of place. Reflecting on this data helped produce many of the insights contained in the discussion; the development of my own sense of place in the Cowichan

aided in this process as well.

Because the sense of place of people's personal lifeworlds was being studied, it was thought that most people might be so familiar with their own place (their everyday world) that gathering perceptive responses could be difficult. Natives of a region live within their own gestalt reality. Their deep relationship to place is "whole", where people and place seem as one. It is almost impossible to separate a portion of a person's life from this whole and still retain the relationship to place: research that employs methods that try to keep life as a total entity, and is oriented toward understanding (not explanation), is seldom conducted. Phenomenology is likely required to penetrate the lifeworld of a native and keep a holistic understanding of the relationship between people and place.

A description of a "native" provides further illustration of the depth that is reached in attachment to place for a typical person after long residence in one place:

> A native is a man or creature or plant indigenous to a limited geographical area - a space boundaried and defined by mountains, rivers or coastline . . . with its own peculiar mixture of weeds, bugs, birds, flowers, streams, hills, rocks and critters (including people), its own nuances of rain, wind and seasonal change. Native intelligence develops through an unspoken or soft-spoken relationship with these interwoven things: it evolves as the native involves himself in a nation. A native awakes in the center of a little cosmos . . . and he senses the barely perceptible shiftings, migrations, moods and machinations of its creatures, its growing green things, its earth and sky . . . I don't think you get native intelligence just by wanting it. But maybe through long intimacy with an intelligent native, or with your native world, you begin to catch it . . . (Duncan, 1983, p. 53-54).

It appears that the "native intelligence" about a place is a deeply rooted part of a person. To research the part that is "sense of place" requires thorough knowledge of the study area, of how to approach people, and of the topic itself. Time in the area and experience with people (as in social skills), and prior facility with the topic seem to be the necessary prerequisites to gather this data successfully. Good research design, with appropriate methods, is also essential.

Five months were spent assembling the data in the Cowichan Valley, allowing me time to get a feeling for the people, the mood of the place, and the rhythms of the region. An equal amount of time had been spent prior to the fieldwork, developing the research instrument. Once the fieldwork began, the pace of interviewing was purposefully kept slow to allow empathy to build (with a respondent) during each interview, and then to reflect upon the findings. This pace was a key element in the approach to the research. It allowed the research to progress smoothly and to uncover new findings on sense of place.

2. Questionnaire Design

To look at sense of place in the manner that has been described required the development of an interview questionnaire, based on a thorough review of the literature. The main concepts applied from the literature are shown in Figure 4.

The questionnaire was designed to provide data that could be statistically analyzed for the factors that help to develop a sense

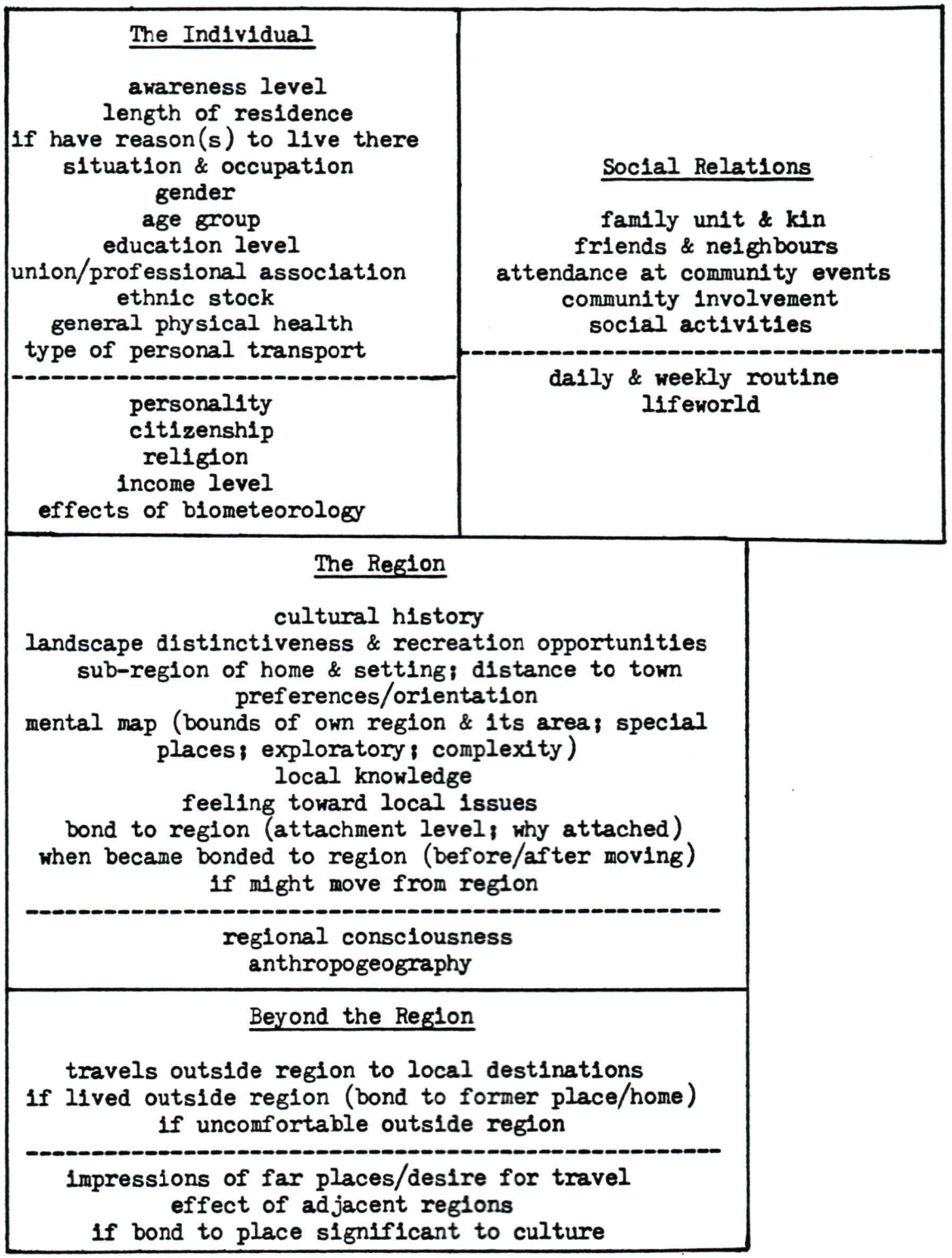


Figure 4. Factors which could develop a sense of place (those listed below dashed line were not addressed in the case study).

of place. Several independent variables were to be correlated to the respondents' reported attachment levels. These levels approximated the bonding element in sense of place. The sensing element, their awareness levels, could only be assessed subjectively by myself and recorded following each interview, although awareness was also later correlated to attachment levels. Other important data provided by the questionnaires were respondents' descriptions of their sense of place: their feelings for the Valley, and the reasons for becoming attached to it (the result of developing a sense of place).

The questionnaire was broken into two parts, with the final part (Section V) completed after the interview (see Appendices I and II). In the first part (Sections I and II), questions were asked to try to determine the factors that help to develop a sense of place. Section III contained a rating scale to measure respondents' attachment levels to the Valley (on a scale of 1 to 10). Responses above 5 on the scale showed a positive attachment, while those of 5 and below represented a negative one. Further questions clarified these responses. An open question at the end of this section provided subjective data on their sense of place.

Section IV of the questionnaire gave respondents the opportunity to comment on the interview and on the research topic. Additional factors were addressed in Section V, such as the weather at the time of the interview, details on respondents' housing, and their level of co-operation. This last section was included as a control, since it was thought that these types of factors should have little effect on

sense of place. There were also spaces in this section for my comments on both the questionnaire and on the respondent's sense of place.

The format of the questionnaire was determined through a desire to keep similar factors together, to have variety to increase respondent interest (e.g. maps, photographs, open and closed questions, a tape recording, and a rating scale were used), and to present first the simple questions, then the more complex ones. The format also helped to build rapport and generate thought about sense of place during the interview, prior to the final subjective question on the respondent's sense of place (which was tape recorded). Wording was kept straightforward and clear, the "easier" mental map was presented first, and linking statements were included between questions, all to build respondent confidence during the interview. Some questions were purposely made similar and distributed in different parts of the questionnaire to check on the reliability of responses, especially for the respondent's attachment to the Valley. An example of this is shown by the question on their attachment to other places (in Section II, p. 8), as contrasted to their attachment level to the Valley (Section II, p. 9), and clarified later by other questions (Section III, p. 3).

The questionnaire was tested through a pilot study in the Valley, conducted between 7-10 October, 1984. Six people were interviewed, randomly selected by choosing houses from a 1:50,000 scale topographical map of the Valley. Following this study, only minor

changes in wording had to be made to the questionnaire.

A questionnaire was not used in the additional five interviews which were conducted with elderly residents of the Valley. Detailed responses were instead solicited in an open, less structured, wide-ranging discussion, where there was often the need to steer these respondents back to the question at hand or to probe deeper into their responses. Questions were asked on their childhood in the Valley, their recollections and memories of their adult development there, their feelings about how the Valley had changed over their lifetimes, and why the Valley was important to them. The interviews averaged 45 minutes in length and were tape recorded.

3. Sampling Design

A procedure of random house selection was used for the selection of people to be interviewed in the study (using the interview questionnaires). A cross-section of the people in the Valley, stratified by population, was obtained, with more or less interviews in a sub-region dependent on the population of that sub-region (in comparison to the total population of the Valley). Whether the sample was homogeneous throughout the Valley was dealt with by first dividing the sample equally between the upper and lower valley, and then comparing responses. Duncan was excluded from the study area, but smaller population nodes were not, as these are rural in nature. The sample was composed of white residents, with 60 of the 65 respondents having at least one year's residence in the Valley. An almost equal

male : female ratio was attained, as was representation from all age groups (over 18 years of age). Also, not all people targeted for interviewing had the time (11 persons) or the inclination (13 persons) to do one: 31 persons refused to be interviewed in total. The sample was further restricted to those persons who were English-speaking and to those who resided in houses.

To select the houses in the Valley for sampling, the urban population of the Duncan area and the native Indian (and East Indian) population were first removed. This left a rural, white population of between 16,000 and 18,000 people. About one-third of those people resided within the upper valley (1981 census). Once an approximate number of adult respondents per map grid was established, houses were selected from a 1:50,000 map (represented on the map by small, square dots). For the town of Lake Cowichan, a realtor's map was used, with houses on that map represented by lots. Including the pilot study, 34 houses were selected for interviews from the lower valley and 31 from the upper valley in this manner. Interviews using the refined questionnaire (Appendix II) were conducted in two time periods: from 16 November to 14 December 1984 and from 25 January to 28 February 1985.

The procedure for choosing individual houses was as follows. The entire study area was divided into 15 large sub-regions of 5 X 5 inches (6.5 X 6.5 kilometers) on the 1:50,000 map. Each sub-region could then be further sub-divided by 10 along each axis (into 100 units in total per sub-region). A random numbers sheet was used to

generate numbers (between 1 and 10) for the x and y co-ordinates. An overlay was made for the 1:50,000 map so that the 10 X 10 grid could be placed over a sub-region. Co-ordinate locations were then generated; if several houses were within the location that was selected, the nearest house to the center was used. If there were no houses within a location that was selected, the procedure was repeated until a house had been chosen. A similar method was used in the town of Lake Cowichan based on the realtor's map. In this manner, houses were chosen from all sub-regions of the Valley (except the urban area around Duncan), weighted by population.

If an interview was refused at a house, a new house out of sight of the place of refusal was selected from the map using the procedure outlined in the preceding paragraph. If no one was in the house, an adjacent house was chosen through a standard formula (e.g. go to the third house on the left). The formula was used unless it was unworkable (i.e. there were only houses to the right), whereupon it was adapted. If after two or three tries (in a neighbourhood) there was still no success in finding an occupied house, a new house was selected in the sub-region from the map, using the procedure described in the last paragraph.

These methods were adopted to reduce bias in respondent selection. Trying too many houses for interviews in one small area would seem (to most people) to be either suspicious or similar to the behaviour of a door-to-door canvasser. Bias was also avoided by not broadcasting (via the news media) that these interviews were being conducted

in the Valley prior to the commencement of the study or during the study. However, selecting people for interviews on the basis of house location did bias the sample towards those adults who could own or rent homes. The sample design was the simplest possible, while still providing a wide variety of respondents from the rural residents of the Valley.

4. The Sample

Thirty interviews in the upper valley and another thirty from the lower valley were completed with people who had greater than one-year's residence; five additional interviews came from those having less, making the time dimension of residence wider among the respondents (from two months to over seventy years). The results from the pilot study interviews (which were almost identical in format to the refined questionnaire) were included in the sample. With 35 males and 30 females interviewed, the sample compared favourably to the 1981 census, where there were almost equal numbers of males and females.

To compensate for the large portion of the sample in categories of "welfare/unemployed" (10) or "retired" (10), their former occupational field was solicited in the interviews. There could then be some estimate made of their income levels. Concerning those with occupations, the sample was again similar to 1981 census data. All census categories were represented in the sample except "mines". There were, however, few respondents employed in forestry, fishing, or agriculture (9) at the time of the interviews; other respondents (12) had been previously employed in these occupations, adding to this number.

Also, in the census the category of "community, business, and personal service industries" was well-represented. There were few in the sample, probably due to the exclusion of Duncan from the study area.

Census age group divisions were not used in the study because there were too many. Eyles (1985) used almost identical categories for age groups as in my questionnaire. Except for the group between 18-25 years (2 persons), the sample was roughly in ratio to census age divisions (when these divisions were combined to match the sample). Young persons were likely seldom found in the rural areas of the Valley (for interviews) due to their lack of home ownership; many also depart to urban areas for education and employment. The few elderly persons in the sample (7 persons) were compensated for somewhat by the additional five interviews conducted with elderly residents (in an unstructured format). The preponderance of respondents with positive feelings toward the Valley (59 out of 65) was partially due to the refusals (for interviews) by those who had negative feelings. This shortcoming in the sample, though, was unavoidable.

5. Interview Technique

The questionnaire was administered (and responses filled-in) by myself in respondents' homes. My wife assisted me for the first 50 interviews; no difference was found in responses when the final interviews were conducted solely by myself. An equipment list is shown on the first page of the questionnaire; it helped to have an assistant to enable the interview to proceed smoothly, especially for the mental map

and tape recording sections. The questionnaire's cover page included a checklist as well to ensure that a consistent preamble was spoken to each prospective respondent: they were told about the study; the format and length of the interview; my affiliation with the University of Victoria; and that their anonymity was assured.

Once people had agreed to an interview, they were generally most co-operative in completing it. Most people expressed genuine interest in the research topic and in the questionnaire. Some were hesitant at first to be talking with a "stranger", but that feeling usually soon wore off as rapport was built. Having them draw their mental maps and point-out their special places aided in this process. Although only one adult was interviewed per household, often the whole family gathered to partake in this new and entertaining diversion from their daily routine. Some people were either rushed or were overly formal, but this was the exception.

Each interview took from 30 to 50 minutes to complete. The last section of the questionnaire was filled in beyond sight of the respondent's house. This procedure allowed between two and four persons to be interviewed per field day. Interviews were conducted from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. on all days of the week.

At times it was difficult to get people to agree to do an interview; this seemed to coincide with busy days (such as sunny Saturdays), holidays, very "dreary" days, and periods when many people had colds or the flu. Some people even refused to be interviewed because they felt that they did not know enough about the Valley,

although they had lived there for up to five years! However, most people were more than happy to share their feelings about their Valley, positive or negative. Their comments on the research topic, both during and after the formal interviews, gave numerous insights which would have been impossible to obtain from a mail-in questionnaire. Doing the research "in person" also helped me in gaining knowledge on both research design and interview technique.

Summary

The results from the interviews provided an enormous amount of data. The data had to be assessed to analyze only that which was directly relevant. Because this study had been an initial attempt at fieldwork on the topic (using a humanistic, phenomenological approach), responses from many questions did not provide any new understanding. This material has therefore not been presented in the results.

Overall, it was found that the methodology was appropriate to a study of sense of place, although it was at times cumbersome and time-consuming (partly due to my inexperience). This was the first time that many ideas from behavioural geography were used in a questionnaire to investigate people's sense of place. It was also a first attempt at using phenomenology in a field situation, and at applying regional geography to sense of place. The presentation of the results, and the discussion of both these and the methods, indicates the degree of success that was obtained by applying such methods to the study of sense of place.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Results from field research in the Cowichan Valley were written on questionnaires, drawn on acetate (mental maps), and recorded on tape (respondents' sense of place). Additional results included a description of the development of my own sense of place in the Valley, my assessments of respondents' awareness levels (the sensing element in sense of place), interviews with elderly residents, and some tourism and archival information (used for reference). The first results to be presented are from the behavioural approach. The responses from upper and lower valley residents will be compared, followed by analyses of the statistical relations between the independent variables and the dependent variable (attachment level to the Valley: the bonding element in sense of place). Independent variables are described in Table 1; their categories, frequency counts, means, and standard deviations are listed in Appendix III.

Results to be presented from the phenomenological approach provide subjective material on sense of place. These include selected quotations from residents to highlight their sense of place, assessments of their awareness levels, and my own sense of place in the Val-

Table 1

Description of Independent Variables

Variable name	Scale	Description
region	N	location of home by sub-region
setting	N	landscape setting of home
preference	N/O	for outdoors, people/town, or both
awareness	O	of attachment and of a reason to live in Valley
compare	O	if resided outside Valley previously
education level	O	level completed
exploration	O	if exploratory in region
former occupational field	O	prior to present employment
gender	O	male or female
local knowledge (details)	O	if details included in replies to local issues
local travel	O	between home and work
motivation	O	if have reason(s) to remain in Valley
moving	O	if might move away from Valley
occupational field	O	present employment
rate other places	O	comparison between former residence and Valley
territoriality	O	if had a strong reaction to local issues
travels nearby	O	if travel to destinations near the Valley
uncomfortable	O	if uncomfortable outside the Valley
when attached	O	when became attached to Valley
age group	I	present age (by group)
area used	I	area used within mental map of region
distance	I	from home to nearest large center (Duncan or Lake Cowichan)
events	I	number of community events attended in past year
family	I	number of family/roommates and relatives in Valley
friends	I	number of close friends in Valley
groups	I	number of community groups that family belongs to in Valley
length of residence	I	years (or months) in Valley
local knowledge (quiz)	I	number of correct answers in quiz
social	I	number of social activities in Valley
special places	I	number of special places on mental map
sub-regions	I	number of regions used in Valley
total area	I	area within mental map of region

Note. Scale: N = nominal; O = ordinal; I = interval.

ley. Figures that were derived from my reflections on sense of place could be considered phenomenological results, as could thoughts on research questions 5 to 10 (see list in Chapter 2). These latter results will be dealt with in the conclusion due to their tentative, unproven status. A qualitative assessment on the symbolism of the Cowichan Valley has been presented in Chapter 3.

Some data were not statistically analyzed. This material was either variable, but was obviously not correlated to attachment levels (e.g. the season, weather, time of day, and date of the interview), or was too homogeneous to test a correlation (e.g. the respondents' ethnicity, physical health, and the transportation that they used). Information was collected as well on the interview (e.g. respondents' co-operation and hesitancy, where the interview was held, who was present at the interview, and who was interviewed), and on housing characteristics (e.g. their houses' style, upkeep, and whether the house was used primarily for residential purposes). The collection of such data proved to be of marginal use for understanding sense of place.

Results from the Behavioural Approach

1. Comparison Between Upper and Lower Valley Respondents

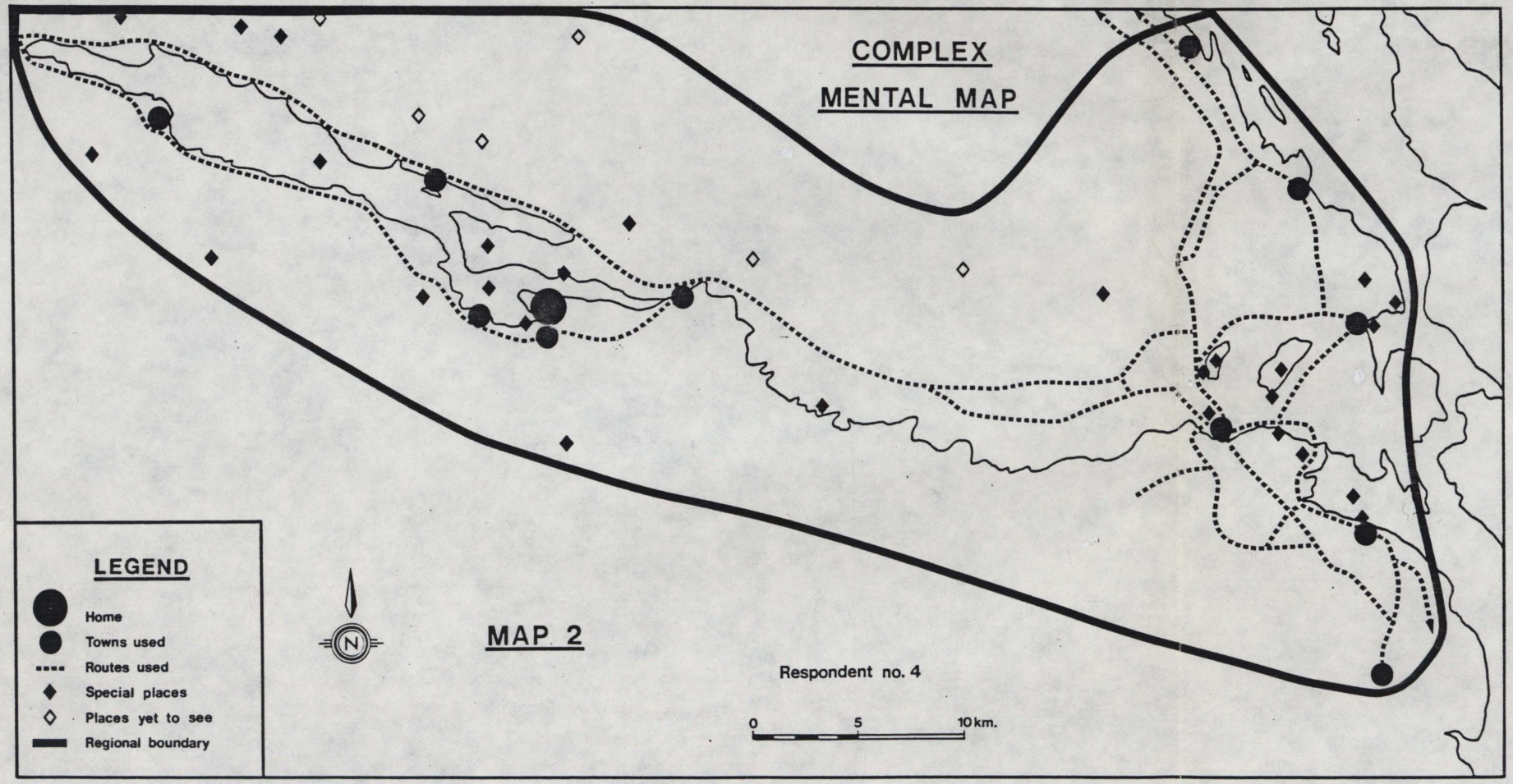
The responses of people (with over 1-year's residence in the Valley) from the upper valley were compared to those from the lower valley through an analysis of each group's mental maps and through a statistical comparison of the independent variables that were derived from the questionnaire. Comparisons were done to see if the sample

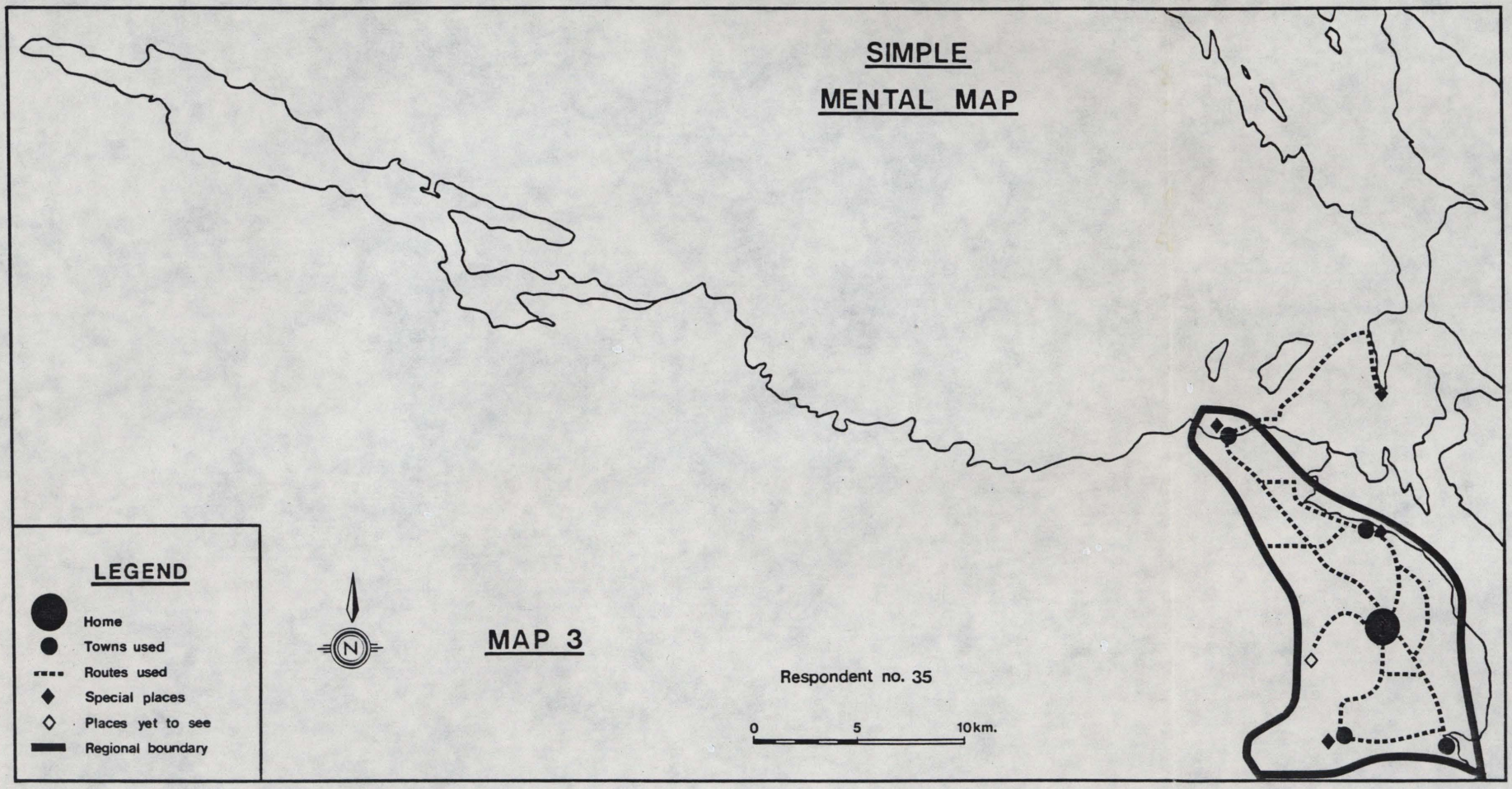
was essentially homogeneous, or if it should be split into two sub-groups. Distinctive topographical boundaries and landscape characteristics of the two sub-regions were taken into account in the analysis of their mental maps.

1.1 Mental Maps

An analysis of respondents' mental maps provided descriptive information on the two valley groups. The axis of a map often corresponded to a home's location in the Valley, with those located in the upper valley exhibiting an east-west orientation and those in the lower valley running north-south (see Maps 2 and 3). This result is likely due to the topographic features of the Cowichan Valley, and the transportation routes following those features. However, the maps of respondents who were more exploratory, travelling throughout the Valley and adjacent mountains, sometimes showed no directional axis. Choice of towns to either "go to town" or to shop in was quite variable, with nearby and/or large Valley centers normally selected. The average distance from their homes to the nearest large town center in the Valley (Duncan or Lake Cowichan) was 9.0 kilometers for upper valley respondents (not including those whose homes were located in Lake Cowichan) and 7.8 kilometers for those from the lower valley. Most homes were not isolated, being located near towns or major roads (see Map 1, Chapter 3).

Respondents from the upper valley often ventured into backwoods retreats around the Valley perimeter, whereas those from the


COMPLEX
MENTAL MAP
LEGEND
Home
Towns used
Routes used
Special places
Places yet to see
Regional boundary
N
MAP 2
Respondent no. 4
0
5
10 km.


SIMPLE
MENTAL MAP
LEGEND
Home
Towns used
Routes used
Special places
Places yet to see
Regional boundary
N
MAP 3
Respondent no. 35
0
5
10km.

lower valley frequently travelled out of the Valley to Victoria or Nanaimo. Concerning their action space, 83 per cent of residents from both the upper and lower valley regularly used two to five of the seven sub-regions of the Valley (for a frequency count of their responses, see Appendix III: sub-regions). Most of the local travel for both groups was in the lowland area of the Valley along major roads, with activities centered on trips to town for shopping or work, outings to outdoor recreation spots, and visits to relatives and friends.

The "total area" of respondents' regions (outlined on their maps) averaged 298 square kilometers for the upper valley residents and 278 for those from the lower valley; the "area used" within these regions averaged 231 square kilometers for the upper valley and 183 for the lower valley. Their maps could be classified (for all respondents) as complex (15 of the maps), average (26), or simple (24). This generalized classification was based on the number of special places and focal towns located on their maps, the complexity of the map of their transportation routes, the number of places that they still wanted to see in the Valley, the total area of their regions, and the extent of the area not used in their regions (see Appendix III: exploration).

The mental maps reflected the respondents' interests by showing the numbers (and types) of "special places". The number of such places averaged seven for the respondents from the upper valley and six for those from the lower valley. There were too many types

of special places for analysis, but a preponderance of outdoor recreation was noticed for the residents of the upper valley. Their preferences were partially shown as well by the landscape settings of their homes (although preference versus setting did not produce significant results when tested using oneway analysis of variance). The largest category for "setting" was "town/suburb" (18 respondents from the upper valley), likely due to the 14 interviews conducted in the town of Lake Cowichan. In contrast, "farmland" was the setting chosen by 13 respondents from the lower valley (see Appendix III: setting and preference). The closed forest in the lowlands of the upper valley, largely under the tenure of forest companies, compressed most residents' housing into towns. In the lower valley there is much open lowland in private ownership, allowing more housing development to occur outside the towns.

Results from a study of the respondents' mental maps do not show, therefore, that the two valley groups are significantly different. Their homogeneity seems to override the few differences that were found. The axis of their maps differed, but this was primarily due to the topographical constraints of the Valley. Travels to urban centers for residents of the lower valley and to the backwoods for those from the upper valley were probably predicated by convenient access, although preference for outdoor recreation was noted for the latter group. The maps of respondents' regions were larger on average for residents of the upper valley because they often added trips to Duncan (and to the backwoods). Landscape characteristics of the Valley contributed to

"town/suburb" being a common setting for homes in the upper valley (houses were compressed into towns due to current timber rights). "Farmland was the most common setting for residents' homes in the lower valley.

1.2 Statistical Comparison of the Independent Variables

Oneway analysis of variance was used to compare upper and lower valley respondents, to see if there were significant differences in the responses (per variable) between the two groups. Only variables with ordinal or interval scales were tested (see Table 1); those with nominal scales (region and setting) were not tested due to the inherent locational bias in these variables. Respondents with less than 1-year's residence were not included in the analyses because few respondents (5) were represented by this category. Table 2 presents the significant results from this test.

The difference in education levels indicates a lower educational level in the upper valley; similarly, the difference in occupational fields indicates a less managerial/technical/professional working force present in the upper valley, while the difference in local knowledge (details) indicates that lower valley respondents gave more details in their reactions to the question on local issues. When these three variables were separated into upper and lower valley groups and correlated with "attachment level", however, only "education level" had a significant correlation, and only for the upper valley respondents ($\underline{r} = -.41$, $\underline{n} = 30$, $\underline{p} < .03$). This result suggests that a low education

Table 2

Oneway Analysis of Variance: Comparison of the Means per Independent Variable between Upper and Lower Valley Respondents

Variable	Portion of Valley	n	p <	Mean	Standard Deviation
occupational field	upper	30	.01	8.47	3.31
	lower	30		5.40	3.77
educational level	upper	30	.01	4.37	0.89
	lower	30		3.40	1.43
local knowledge (details)	upper	30	.04	1.37	0.49
	lower	30		1.63	0.49

Note. 1. Other variables with ordinal or interval scales were also tested, with no significance (including the dependent variable).

2. $p < .05$.

level is related to a high attachment level for the upper valley group. A scattergram of "education level" versus "attachment level" for this group exposed two extreme scores (low education level and low attachment level) that were influencing the correlation. When these two scores were removed, a subsequent Pearson's correlation test produced null results.

Therefore, the oneway analysis of variance test showed that there were only a few (apparent) significant differences between the independent variables for the two valley groups of respondents (in occupational field, educational level, and local knowledge). When these three variables were tested further using a Pearson's correlation with the attachment levels, no robust significant differences were found. The dependent variable was also checked using oneway analysis of variance to compare the responses of the two valley groups; the test produced null results.

Together with the analysis of the results from respondents' mental maps, it appears that the two groups of respondents are essentially homogeneous, at least on the basis of the variables that were analyzed. Because the groups were found to be much the same, the responses on sense of place for all Valley respondents were studied as one unit.

2. Factors that Help to Develop a Sense of Place

The dependent variable in this study, attachment level to the Valley, was measured on a scale of 1 to 10. An ordinal rather than

interval scale was used because the precise magnitude of the difference between each attachment level was unknown.

To see if some of the independent variables were similar enough to be combined into an index (per group of similar variables), several tests for reliability were undertaken. A number of groups were tested (e.g. special places, exploration, local knowledge - details, and local knowledge - quiz; social, family, friends, groups, events, and territoriality). Only one group (total area, area used, local travel, and sub-regions) had a significant internal consistency (Alpha = .65, Standardized Item Alpha = .85). The group was therefore used as a composite variable when it was correlated with the attachment levels in a Pearson's correlation test. However, when its correlation coefficient was computed, no significant relationship was found.

Pearson's correlation coefficients were computed between the attachment levels and variables that had ordinal or interval scales (see Table 1). Significant results are presented in Table 3. These correlation coefficients indicate that a high attachment level occurs when the following tendencies occur among respondents:

1. they became attached sooner to the Valley (when attached);
2. they rated the Valley higher than former places of residence (rate other places);
3. they had a high awareness level (awareness);
4. they had reason(s) to remain in the Valley (motivation);
5. they had lived in the Valley longer (length of residence);
6. they did not want to move away from the Valley (moving);

Table 3

Pearson's Correlations: Variables Strongly Correlated with Attachment Level

Variable	r	p <	p <*
when attached	.39	.01	-
rate other places	.31	.01	-
awareness	.31	.01	-
motivation	.31	.01	-
length of residence	.29	.02	-
moving	.28	.02	-
events	.27	.03	-
exploration	.26	.04	-
friends	.53	.17	.01
family	.32	.99	.01
special places	.29	.19	.02

Note. 1. Other variables with ordinal or interval scales were also tested, with no significance.

2. Variables listed below dashed line had their categories collapsed (new significance level indicated by p <*).

3. p < .05; N = 65; all correlations in a positive direction.

7. they had attended more community events in the past year (events);
8. they were more exploratory in their region (exploration);
9. they had more friends in the Valley (friends);
10. they had more family in the Valley (family); and,
11. they had more special places in the Valley (special places).

These results include those from a post-hoc analysis, where three variables (family, friends, and special places) had their categories collapsed (to 0 through 4 = 1, 5 and greater = 2; see Appendix III for their previous frequency distributions). This procedure was implemented because it was thought that these should be important variables, although significance was not attained initially: it is possible that having more family, friends, and special places became redundant beyond a certain level, not adding to respondents' attachment levels.

Oneway analysis of variance tests were used to compare the means of attachment levels between categories for the variables "family", "friends", and "special places" (once their categories had been collapsed). Results are presented in Table 4. These results indicate that the respondents who had four or fewer family, friends, and special places had lower attachment levels than respondents who had more than four. However, the reduction in categories for these three variables enabled the significant results (reported in Tables 3 and 4) to occur; the results for "family", "friends", and "special places" should thus be treated only as indications of a correlation with the attachment levels (in the Pearson's test), and of a difference between means of attachment

Table 4

Oneway Analysis of Variance: Comparison of the Means of Attachment Levels between Categories (per independent variable)

Independent variable	(collapsed) Category	n	Attachment Level		
			mean	standard deviation	$p <$
friends	0 to 4	10	6.30	1.25	.01
	≥ 5	55	8.60	1.38	
family	0 to 4	22	7.55	1.90	.01
	≥ 5	43	8.60	1.29	
special places	0 to 4	27	7.70	1.81	.02
	≥ 5	38	8.63	1.30	

Note. 1. "Collapsed" refers to reduction in categories of independent variable (from continuous to: 0 to 4; ≥ 5).

2. $p < .05$.

levels per variable (in the oneway analysis of variance test).

All variables which had significant correlations with the attachment levels (see Table 3) were checked by correlating each one in Table 3 with all others in that Table to see if any were similar. A strong correlation was only found between the variables "when attached" and "rate other places" ($\underline{r}$ = .62, $\underline{N}$ = 65, $\underline{p} < .01$). This result suggests that those respondents who rated the Valley the highest (over places of former residence) also became attached to the Valley sooner. Because these two variables were expressing a similar type of response, they were added to form a composite variable. The resulting correlation coefficient between the composite and the dependent variable was strong ($\underline{r}$ = .38, $\underline{N}$ = 65, $\underline{p} < .01$).

In a post-hoc analysis, it was thought that two variables (when attached and rate other places), plus the variables "moving" (if respondents expressed a desire to move away from the Valley) and "motivation" (if respondents had a reason to remain in the Valley), might be expressing similar responses as the dependent variable. However, when these four independent variables were combined to form an index, and were tested for reliability, no significant internal consistency was found. These variables are useful, though, in providing a check on the accuracy of the measurement of "attachment level", as each of them measures a form of attachment to the Valley.

Two other statistical analyses provided some interesting results. A Pearson's correlation coefficient that was computed between "age group" and "length of residence" ($\underline{r}$ = .38, $\underline{N}$ = 65, $\underline{p} < .01$) demon-

strated that as age increased among respondents, their length of residence increased. A oneway analysis of variance test (used for variables with nominal scales: see Table 1) compared the means of attachment levels between categories (per variable) to see if there were significant differences in those means. Differences were found ($p < .05$) between the means of attachment levels for categories in the variable "setting": between "wooded" (mean 9.0, $n = 11$) versus "farmland" (mean 7.7, $n = 16$), and between "town/suburb" (mean 8.4, $n = 26$) versus "farmland". These results indicate that there were significant differences between the means of attachment levels for respondents who lived in wooded versus farmland areas, and between those who lived in town/suburb versus farmland areas.

Based on all of the statistical analyses that have been presented thus far, the primary conclusion that can be reached is that 11 of the 32 variables listed in Table 1 have demonstrated a strong correlation with the attachment levels (see Table 3). Only two of these variables were strongly inter-related (when attached and rate other places). To attempt to find out which of the 11 variables were most important toward developing an attachment to place for respondents, three separate step-wise regression analyses were undertaken.

When all 11 variables in Table 3 were used in the first regression analysis (with the categories collapsed for family, friends, and special places), the highest R square value was obtained. It was .46 in the last step of the regression, indicating that the 11 variables accounted for 46 per cent of the variance (adjusted R square .35, depen-

dent variable: attachment level; see Table 5). Using two variables which correlated strongly (when attached and rate other places) as a composite variable in a second regression analysis (together with the other 9 variables used in the first analysis) produced no significant difference in results when these were compared to the first regression. A third regression, conducted without the collapsed variables (family, friends, and special places), resulted in "when attached" being selected in the first step and "awareness" being selected in the second step. However, the amount of variance explained in the last step was less (R square .31, adjusted R square .21), demonstrating the importance of the collapsed variables in the first and second regression analyses.

The combined results of these regression analyses show the apparent strength of several variables (friends, awareness, motivation, when attached, and exploration). Some of the assumptions in the regression analyses may have been violated, putting these results in question. The standard deviations of the variables may not have approximated the normal curve; also, there were no similar studies available to enable the estimation of a normal curve. There were a small number of cases in the study (65), with a large number of variables (11) increasing the degrees of freedom, although the regression test calculates an adjusted R square to correct for this problem. An additional difficulty in step-wise regression analysis is that internal correlations between variables are possible, making a relationship between one variable (per step) and the attachment levels difficult to isolate.

The significant Pearson's correlations were therefore impor-

Table 5

Step-wise Multiple Regression Analysis: Independent Variables (found to be strongly correlated with attachment level) entered; Dependent Variable: Attachment Level

Step 1	Enter: friends	Multiple R	.53
		R Square	.28
		Adjusted R Square	.27
		Standard Error	1.37
Step 2	Enter: motivation	Multiple R	.59
		R Square	.35
		Adjusted R Square	.33
		Standard Error	1.30
Step 3	Enter: exploration	Multiple R	.64
		R Square	.40
		Adjusted R Square	.37
		Standard Error	1.26
Step 4	Enter: remainder of variables	Multiple R	.68
		R Square	.46
		Adjusted R Square	.35
		Standard Error	1.29

Note. Other variables entered in last step of regression: when attached; rate other places; awareness; length of residence; moving; events; family; special places (friends, family, and special places had their categories collapsed prior to the regression analysis).

tant in indicating which variables were strongly correlated to the attachment levels; the regression analyses attempted to isolate the strongest variables (when they were tested as a group). Although significant results were obtained, there were other limitations to this study. Some of the variables could be measuring a combination of attitudes (rate other places, moving, and exploration), while other variables were measured by my own judgement (awareness, motivation, and moving). The statistical tests were also concerned with attachment levels (the bonding element in sense of place), and not with the sensing element. The sample was limited by being small and by selecting respondents from house locations on the map (few young people own homes in the rural portion of the Cowichan Valley; many elderly residents may reside in rest homes in Duncan).

Despite such limitations, several worthwhile findings were discovered. Eight of the variables were found to be strongly correlated with attachment levels (see Table 3). High attachment levels were correlated with becoming attached sooner to the Valley (when attached); with rating the Valley higher than former places of residence (rate other places); with having a high awareness level (awareness); with having a reason to remain in the Valley (motivation); with having lived in the Valley longer (length of residence); with not wanting to move away from the Valley (moving); with attending more community events in the past year (events); and with being more exploratory in the region (exploration). Three other variables were found to have significant correlations with attachment levels once their categories were collapsed.

After this procedure was done, high attachment levels were correlated to having more friends in the Valley (friends); to having more family in the Valley (family); and to having more special places in the Valley (special places).

Additionally, "age group" was found to be strongly correlated with "length of residence", indicating that as age increased respondents' length of residence increased. "Rate other places" was found to be strongly correlated to "when attached", suggesting that respondents who rated the Valley higher than former residences also became attached to the Valley sooner. A composite variable, formed when these two variables were added together, was strongly correlated to the attachment levels as well.

Internal differences between categories in the variable "setting" were found (between the categories wooded versus farmland, and between town/suburb versus farmland) when the categories' means of attachment levels were compared using a oneway analysis of variance test. These findings indicate that there were significant differences between the means of attachment levels for respondents who lived in wooded versus farmland areas, and for those who lived in town/suburb versus farmland areas.

The final statistical test, a step-wise regression analysis, found that some of the variables (that were strongly correlated with the attachment levels) were more important than others. The variables "friends", "awareness", "motivation", "when attached", and "exploration" were selected early in at least one of the three analyses that were

conducted, indicating their apparent strength. Also, in one analysis up to 46 per cent of the variance was explained (when all 11 variables were tested together; dependent variable: attachment level).

Concerning all of the statistical analyses that were done, it is interesting to note that many variables (21) which could have affected the development of attachment to the Valley were eliminated. From the list of potential variables for study (see Figure 4, Chapter 3), to the discussion in the introduction to this chapter, to the results presented in Table 3, many variables have been discarded. There appear to be a number of important factors at work in developing a bond to place, as indicated by the host of statistical analyses which have been conducted. Descriptions of respondents' bonds to place, their awareness levels, and my sense of place in the Valley will be presented next.

Results from the Phenomenological Approach

The results from this approach are described through respondents' comments on sense of place in the interview questionnaires (Section III, p. 4 of the questionnaire: see Appendices I and II), from separate interviews with elderly residents, from my assessments of respondents' awareness levels, and from a brief account of my own sense of place in the Cowichan Valley. Reasons for respondents' to become attached to the Valley were varied; a frequency count of their responses is presented in Table 6. Selected excerpts are used from interview transcripts to demonstrate the respondents' sense of place.

Table 6

Frequency Count of Responses: Reasons for becoming Attached to the Valley

Category	Why Attached	Why moved to Valley
scenery	41	1
slow pace/peace/rural character	37	5
people/friends	37	2
outdoor recreation	19	-
climate	17	3
community spirit/involvement	14	-
everything is here	9	-
sports/indoor recreation	8	-
home	8	-
good place to raise children	7	1
close to cities	7	-
cheap cost of living	6	2

Note. 1. Many people had responses in several of the categories.

2. A few respondents (<3) became attached due to: low crime rate; isolation; tourism; and history of the Valley.

3. Many respondents had moved to the Valley due to: work (22) and family (12); others due to retirement (3) and to escape congested cities (3).

Interview numbers identify responses: from the questionnaires, numbers 1 through 30 = upper valley, 31 through 60 = lower valley, and 61 through 65 = respondents with less than 1-year's residence in the Valley; interviews with elderly respondents (numbered 1 through 5) are identified separately as such.

Selected excerpts are grouped together and presented in a flow that best portrays the qualities of the Valley and the views of its residents. Through this assortment of personal viewpoints, an understanding of the respondents' attachment to the Valley is made more attainable than if only a few responses were included in the results.

1. Interview Responses

The first results presented are from interviews conducted in the Cowichan Valley using the questionnaire. To get a better feel for why respondents became attached to the Valley, sections of similar responses are grouped together. The presentation begins with two people (out of three responses in this category) who desire some degree of isolation from modern society, a retreat from the bustle of daily life, and the freedom to live one's life as one sees fit:

> #46 I like this place because, basically, it is sparsely populated, so there's lots of freedom, lots of room to breathe, and the people here tend to mind their own business and do their own thing.
>
> #16 I like the fact that you can . . . you can go somewhere and not see anybody for miles and miles, you know, if you want to be by yourself, you have the option.

Many other people (19) became attached to the Valley because of its

proximity to the "great outdoors":

#8 Well . . . I like the water and the streams and the timber and the mountains, all those things, and the rugged side of it is what I appreciate as much as anything. And the views in particular when you live on the Lake, well, it's nice to wake-up in the morning and see.

#4 I don't think a person could ask for a better place to live. We have got everything. You could look out of the window in the morning and, whether it is raining or the sun's shining, it is always there for you. You don't wake-up to the smog, you don't wake-up to the noise, the neighbours.

#61 Well, in this area here you can do just about anything you want to in a recreational area. You've got the Lake, the River, and you've got the ocean, and then you've got the mountains; you have got everything, right from skiing to summer swimming in the Lake. I don't think you could find a better spot.

This preference was often linked to the Valley's scenery (41 respondents):

#44 The scenery is at best, in a lot of cases, pretty fabulous, I would think. I think I could compare it with anywhere. I mean, some places that you haven't seen before might look spectacular to look at once, but I wouldn't want to look at them every day, whereas here I don't think you get really tired of things you see.

#57 I do like blue sky. And the greenery . . . I really enjoy seeing green grass in December. And having lots of trees around. And the lack of built-up area. I enjoy being able to live in a country atmosphere. Half an acre as opposed to being in a subdivision, four feet away from your nearest neighbour.

#14 Well, one thing that we really like about it is that there is fishing (my husband enjoys fishing) and we both enjoy swimming. And we have that right at our doorstep. And also we both appreciate the scenery, and the beautiful trees, and the mountains . . .

#60 I think the scenery is always pretty. It's nice in the fall, it's nice in the spring. And whenever we go for a ride or anything, everything is always pleasant or nice. Near the water, it's always lovely, as long as you are not on it. (It's home.)

#1 I think that it is the most beautiful place there is; of all the places I've been, the countries I've been to, we've got the nicest.

#59 The scenery is glorious. You're not going to better it anywhere in the world.

A similar view was expressed by one of the elderly respondents in the separate interviews conducted with them:

#5 The pleasant countryside - I still seek it out - the broad fields and pastureland . . . south of the River you can go for a drive and still see the pleasant countryside and the old-time look.

The following quotations show how the dimension of peace and the pace of a rural lifestyle are often thought important (by 57 per cent of the respondents):

#40 I like the countryside. I think it is fairly unspoiled. I like the clean area. I like the clean air too. I like the trees, and the mountains, and the sea. Rural areas and farmland; wildlife . . . I love the wildlife. We've got so many birds and things right around here. I enjoy that. It's peaceful and it's quiet, and the pace is not too fast.

#61 Well, people here are very relaxed. It is not like Victoria. Victoria is becoming a lot like Vancouver, but the people are a lot more friendly here. There's a lot more stress in a big city.

#10 . . . everybody has got time to talk; they just sit down and have a cup of coffee and have a nice conversation. Things like that you just don't find in the city.

#54 The professional people that we know are somewhat more laid-back than they are in the urban centers, and their values appear to be more substantial and more akin to our own. They're into the land and animals and relationships and that sort of thing.

#27 I find that . . . you don't have as much keeping up with the "Joneses" as you would in the city.

#25 It's a lot different than, like, the big city . . . (there) you're lucky if you run into one person that you know, eh?

There are also people connections to consider in forming an attachment to place (37 respondents):

#28 The people are, are beautiful people . . . they'd go out of their way for you. There's no such thing as not knowing your next-door neighbour, and the neighbour next to you, and next to you, and so on, and so on. It's a nice place to live.

#13 It is the people and the area and everything is quiet and clean . . . nobody bothers us.

#40 The people are nice here, just in this area. Especially I find that people all get along and are friendly.

#19 Well, the people are friendly, and if you are ever in any kind of trouble, they always seem to come to your aid.

#59 It's the people that really count!

Tied to the importance of people is that of the community, expressed by 14 respondents:

#27 . . . it's not really rural living, but it's a small town; I've lived in a lot of cities which I didn't care for. Here, though, you do get a sense of neighbourhood - you know your neighbours.

#2 . . . you will always have a close-knit community feeling with a smaller community. Everybody knows everybody more or less. So you have got a lot more personal attachment and communication with people on a day-to-day level sort of thing.

#13 Oh, the people here all seem to care about each other and they help each other a lot. You get to be friends with everybody and everybody knows you, even if you don't know them that closely. But when you walk down the road and a person passes you in a car he'll wave, and then two minutes later he comes back again and he'll wave again. So you get to know everybody, eh? It's nice that way.

#64 . . . a feeling of instant friends when we came here was very profound.

#28 They've got a real good, small community. All small communities have a lot of spirit. We all stick together and if we want something we go get it. There's no such thing as no.

Some people are attached to a place because of a lifetime of devotion to it; it is difficult for such people to separate themselves from their place, since it has become so much a part of their lives:

#51 (We have been part of) the creation of the area and of our own home particularly. It was very hard to develop the place. We put all our time and our whole being into developing the farm and making something of it. It was our whole life.

An alternate view of the Valley is presented for balance. Some respondents (6 of the 65) had a negative impression of the region; a few of their comments follow:

#56 It is a terribly polarized community and we were terribly over-governed, because we had a city in the municipality, and Provincial Government districts, and we have your Indian department, and it's a very frustrating area to live in to try to accomplish anything socially . . .

#65 Well, I think it is lacking in warmth and openness. I think people from here tend to think that they have jobs and they don't want to see others coming in who can take them. There is a great resistance to people from the outside, people from outside the area, outside the Province, or outside the country, and it tends to make it very isolated and unfriendly at times.

#17 If you stay in one spot . . . the offspring becomes the same, eh? And, pretty soon, you have sort of a degenerate society, you have a sick "Appalachian-type" society. Well, that's all right if you just want to work, and then come and get my beer, and my food, and then work, and get my beer, and the food, you know.
I think that there's a curse of the corporations . . . the forest corporations that have destroyed the whole

> Valley - it's sort of cursed this place. You sort of have to understand that.
> It's the whole Valley itself. The whole thing is . . . bad vibes and bad times they are having.

2. Interviews with the Elderly

The comments of residents who had lived in the Valley for most of their lives were solicited to get a historical perspective on sense of place. To begin the presentation, an account from an explorer gives an impression of how the Cowichan Valley looked in the 1860's:

> In the lake are several islands (Cowichan Lake). The land on either side is very high and heavily timbered. The country around teems with elk, deer, bears, and raccoons. The lake is full of salmon and ducks . . . The Cowichan River is about 40 miles in length, and is a most tortuous stream . . . Its banks, some distance from the sea where the sea breezes do not affect them, (are) covered with magnificent forests of the finest description of spars, and numerous natural knees (bends) are found everywhere. (Brown in Saywell, 1967, p. 4-5).

However, some quotations from elderly residents tell a tale of change caused by white pioneers. They first describe the early days of this century, before loggers' saws and axes had removed the old-growth forest from the bottomlands of the Cowichan Valley:

> #1 There used to be beautiful, beautiful trees up by Lake Cowichan. Sequoia were planted within view of this house as well as many other foreign trees and all were beautiful.
>
> #3 To get there (Lake Cowichan), you wound through a very narrow road . . . I can remember the trees, going up and up and up, and one portion about eight miles out they called Jordan's Corner - between there and Sahtlam Station - you had to use your lights it was so dark going through the trees. (There was) practically nobody from two miles out of Duncan to within a mile of Cowichan Lake.

#2 There were very few homes along the river (Cowichan River). And, as I remember the old Lake Cowichan - Duncan road, it was a majestic forest. It reminded you of going through Stanley Park, or going through Cathedral Grove. There were fir, cedar, hemlock, and pine trees. It was a coniferous forest. Very, very beautiful . . .

How the Valley looked both during and after this period of intensive logging is shown next, with the first quotation provided from one of the interview questionnaires:

#17 (quoting an elderly resident who lives in Lake Cowichan) . . . she says that when she first came up the Cowichan Valley here in the late Twenties that there was wall to wall black stumps right up the whole Valley, and (her husband brought her up here . . . she was just a young woman) she says she thought she was coming into Hell. She thought she was taken to Hell. She says the whole Cowichan Valley was just a wee little cow trail and it was just wall to wall black stumps; they'd just taken the cream of the logs and left all the rest, you know, the logs that were two, even three feet (across at the base), they were just leaving them in those days, eh? And just taking the big trees close to the water. And she said it was just the ugliest thing she had ever seen.

#5 In the 1920's you still had the stump farms around (in the lower valley). But the use of powder to get rid of those stumps was getting into general use then. But in that era you saw this major land-clearing effort (for farmland) coming to an end. And I remember back in the Fifties a visitor to town wanted to know where you could go and see big trees. And it was a puzzle where to send him to see big trees. Anything <u>big</u> had been logged this close in (Duncan) and anything further out was on a forest company lease and closed to the public. They, you know, didn't want anybody getting in the way of falling trees. We just didn't have them (big trees) around any more.

#2 I've seen it all go. Every bit of it is second-growth. Every bit.
I would say that the great change is the great forest which surrounded the Village (of Lake Cowichan) is all gone now. It gradually disappeared from . . . around 1920 they were logging here to Duncan and extending,

going further this way and that way, and it continued up until the last twenty, twenty-five years. And by that time all the lakeshore, with only one exception where there is private property (the Simpson property on Cowichan Lake), all the lakeshore, which is sixty-odd miles, has all been logged-over. Yes, the old forest is gone. And looking across here (the Cowichan River near Lake Cowichan) you think what a wonderful, old forest. This was all logged-over in the Thirties. But these trees here were left in the Thirties because they didn't have the equipment to prevent them from falling into the River, so they left a few. But everything else you see down there is second-growth. We also have this, well, I wouldn't say it is altogether pollution of the River and the Lake, but it's deterioration in quality.

#4 But I can remember the lovely big trees and, of course, later on they were cut down, just cut down. Mind you, the Cowichan Lake road now is quite nice with the second-growth that's come up, but for years after they took the big trees down it just looked desolate.

There were other major changes in the Cowichan Valley occurring during the logging boom too, many of which had profound effects on the sense of place of these (now elderly) residents:

#1 The town (Duncan) reached a peak as far as rigorous activity is concerned and then it went down fast. The change from a rural community to a small, bustling one was very gradual. There's nothing that sparked it as far as I know.

#3 In the beginning of the Sixties, the tempo of life changed: more development, in all parts of the district. People started to commute to other parts of the Cowichan Valley to work . . . what changed Duncan was the Highway (Highway 1) coming through a different portion instead of through the center portion. It came through the outskirts of Duncan; then, of course, all the shopping malls congregated right around the Highway.

#5 The Highway was put through in 1952 and they were just supposed to bypass Duncan, and Duncan just moved out to the Highway.
I think it could have been as late as the Seventies before the pace began to really pick up (around Duncan).

> #4 It is quite different now because everywhere you go now there are subdivisions. A lot of them (old houses) have gone and old buildings as well, which is too bad . . .

The effect that the change of pace, the removal of the old-growth forest, the urbanization of their small communities and farmland, and the influx of newcomers had on the long-time residents is marked:

> #1 It isn't as unique here as it used to be. It used to be a nice little town (Duncan), you know, where everyone knew everyone. Now it's too much business. It doesn't have character now. Big business; dog-eat-dog. It is money-oriented now and not people (oriented). There isn't the friendliness there. It is the same with all the stores. You couldn't hold your job if you weren't nice to people, but nowadays . . . the old Duncan is gone. It will never come back. You don't see the feeling, you know?

> #2 Years ago when there was a much smaller population families worked together. They depended on one another up to a certain degree, and if one man wanted to put up a chicken house or a roof for his house there would be a sort of work party and they'd all help together. And now, because so much has extended and expanded, you don't really know who your neighbour is, as we do here (because we've always been here). It is much more isolated or anonymous.

A quotation from one of the interview questionnaires adds to these comments (from another elder):

> #51 The place has just been overrun and disappeared and it is a totally new area. I think the people that came in and took over were not the residents of the area - they were the newcomers that came in and wanted to develop it and lay it out the way they felt it should go, but they were not rural people. It's not the place it was at all.

The result of these changes has been a loss of sense of place for these elderly respondents. They still have memories, but the familiar faces and places are now gone (for the most part). The changes have

been too rapid and total. As North America modernized, urbanized, and industrialized, these people became, in essence, "strangers in a strange land":

> #5 I think it was the Fifties where you went into town and didn't run across anyone you knew. And no longer could you stop in the middle of the streets to talk to somebody.
>
> #1 I used to go downtown and it was "Hi, Hi" and everybody knew you. Now I go down and I'm the stranger. There's so many new people. But if you mention a name, I could tell you if their grandparents or parents were here (in Duncan). This is a different age altogether.
>
> #2 It is perfectly true the saying that I've heard several times that "the old-timers, the people who have been living here for as long as I have, they are the strangers in the Village (of Lake Cowichan) now." Hardly know people at all. It is really a strange experience. I used to know everybody.
>
> #4 I can go downtown (Duncan) now and not know a soul. At one time you knew everyone.
>
> #5 People lock their doors, but there was a day when people didn't lock them.

Another quotation from an elder from the interview questionnaires sums up the sentiments for this group very well:

> #51 But we feel lost. We feel lost in the area. My husband always says, well, when we were first married and we went to Duncan we knew everybody. Just everybody on the street. And we go through Duncan now and we haven't seen a soul we know. It's just a total new face of things. The town has been rebuilt . . . (when we used to) go to town, oh - forty years ago - if you saw someone you didn't know, it was something to talk about. And today, if you see someone you know, it is something to talk about.

However, there are still strong ties to place deep within these long-term residents of the Cowichan Valley. It is their home, even if it has changed. To close this sub-section, their enduring love, pride,

and feeling for <u>their</u> place, the place that has become a part of themselves, is presented:

> #4 . . . when you get to about New Westminster (on the mainland coast of British Columbia), or before that at Hope (in the upper Fraser Valley), you can begin to smell the sea air, and isn't that smell wonderful? It is the moisture, I guess, in the air and what you're used to. We've liked every part of (the Valley) . . . it would take a lot to be more wonderful . . .
>
> #1 It was always home here, my hometown, and I was so glad to get back when I went away . . . the Duncan area is home to me. My heart is here. There are so many people like me. They go away, but when they come home, they are so glad to be home. I have a lot of friends here. My family are all here on the Island (Vancouver Island). There are seven of us left in my family, my original family. You get used to the climate. Duncan is a nice place to live. It's home.
>
> #2 This has always been home; I feel very much in my element here. My roots go down a long, long way. And, at times, I have thought "What an awful thing to have lived in one spot for seventy-odd years and not having lived anywhere else . . . what an isolated sort of life." But I don't feel that way very often, and I think to myself "What a privilege to live here." It would be hard to find a more beautiful part of the Island in which to live.
>
> #3 I was born here and this is where I'll die. And I've never seen anywhere in the world that I would like to live permanently better than the place I live. When I was very small my mother read to me the Bible story of the Garden of Eden. And I pondered that. I thought how much it must have been like Cowichan Station. I've never lost that assessment. In the Cowichan Station where I was born, the valley of the Koksilah River, we have everything. Beauty, the River, trees, the mountains, the flatlands, everything you could ask for. Plus the climate. Why would I leave it? I look on myself as part of it. I consider that I am as much a part of it as the trees, the soil itself, and the mountains.

3. <u>Assessment of Respondents' Awareness Levels</u>

Following each interview, respondents were categorized by

their level of awareness about their own sense of place. The criteria used in this categorization were: whether respondents could articulate reasons for living in the Cowichan Valley; whether they knew about community events, local issues, or special places in the Valley (i.e. local knowledge); and whether they seemed to perceive the unique "atmosphere" and "character" of the Valley. Respondents were initially categorized as "very aware", "average", or "unaware", but for the statistical analyses (presented earlier), the middle category was added to "unaware" (to give a more conservative estimate; see Appendix III: awareness). My comments were also included to justify the initial categories for "very aware" and "unaware" respondents.

Relph (1976) postulated four awareness levels, the highest being "existential insider", followed by "cultural and communal insider" (rather than individualistic), "sensitive and open-minded outsider", and "superficial insider". In contrast to these theoretical levels, my own observations in the Cowichan Valley indicated seven awareness levels:

1. aware insider with a strong bond to place (has ties to people there, is exploratory, and could have an artist's sensitivity);

2. unaware insider with a strong bond to place (has ties to people, community, and home, especially for social and security needs; is often uncomfortable outside own region: corresponds to Relph's existential insider);

3. mobile insider with a strong reason to be in that place now, hence, currently has a strong bond to place (has lived elsewhere often, has ties to people and place currently, but is willing to move if the current reason to be there disappears);

4. aware and sensitive outsider or part-time insider who likes place and has a fairly strong bond to it (also may have a strong bond to the place of full-time residence: corre-

sponds to Relph's sensitive and open-minded outsider);

5. new resident to a place with weak (but developing) bonds to it (needs to build ties to place through longer residence there; may yet move on);

6. unaware and uncaring insider with weak bonds to place (few ties to place, often mobile and work-oriented, with the view that a person has to live somewhere: corresponds to Relph's superficial insider); and,

7. unaware and uncaring outsider with no bonds to place (a transient or a passive tourist who merely consumes travel experiences and does not become involved in the new region; one place is viewed as the same as all others).

The first level of this list might have a higher level yet, that of an aware insider whose bond to place is a very significant part of that person's life. Levels 1 and 2 likely include Relph's "cultural and communal insider". Also, Eyles (1985) used categories of "apathetic-acquiescent" (no sense of place, corresponding to level 7 above) and "instrumental" (place as a means to an end, corresponding to level 6).

There were 46 per cent of the respondents in this study in the awareness level category of "very aware" (similar to levels 1 or 3 of my list), 12 per cent in the "average" category (levels 2 or 6), and 33 per cent "unaware" (levels 2 or 6). The remaining 9 per cent of respondents, those unattached to the Valley, would fall into levels 5 or 6, with a few (perhaps) in higher levels. Numerous tourists and transients were observed in the Valley during the study: Most of these fit into level 7, with a few in level 4. My own awareness level for the Valley was thought to be level 4.

These levels are important for categorizing respondents further; their subjective comments on sense of place could be put in

perspective. Almost one-half of the respondents were very aware of both their place and their sense of place. Since such awareness is fundamental to the sensing element in sense of place, it is not surprising that "awareness" correlated strongly with "attachment level" in the statistical analysis. Awareness helps to develop a sense of place, for both the bonding and the sensing elements. How symbolism of a place helps to develop this type of awareness will be discussed in the next chapter.

4. My Developing Sense of Place for the Cowichan Valley

The last results to be presented are my own impressions of the Cowichan Valley (toward developing my sense of place there). These are included to try to put the respondents' views in context. It is difficult to be self-aware of the subtle process involved in developing a sense of place. Descriptions from my journal notes are provided to illustrate my impressions of the Valley (presented first) and my thoughts on the new bonds that were forming toward the Valley:

> 04 Dec 84 It's good just to be in the Valley, away from the bustle of the city . . . I feel more alive!
>
> 06 Dec 84 It's good to have the time to enjoy being with people, only leaving when it feels right to. I met some very friendly people today: It restores my faith in humanity, community, warmth, sharing, and trust.
>
> 28 Feb 85 It's nice to get into the peacefulness of the Valley again, the calm sea, gentle rain, pastoral fields, and quiet woods.
>
> 14 Dec 84 It's very peaceful down by the River - beautiful scenery, with mosses covering the alders, a carpet of maple leaves on the ground, and swordferns popping-up everywhere . . . even the sound of the

rain is comforting and restful . . . there are no other noises around.

17 Nov 84 It's like stepping back in time at Caycuse: an old-style logging town, with mossy, ramshackle homes and strong people; there is a feeling of death and decay, as if this place is history and is in its declining years. You can feel the encroaching forest and smell the rotting vegetation and the fresh air. And the constant dripping of the rain . . .

28 Feb 85 I can feel the presence of the River.

02 Feb 85 There is a certain peacefulness around the rural pastureland areas which is different than around the Lake; people are open and friendly, often very hospitable and trusting and smiling, right from the start.

23 Feb 85 North Cowichan has a feeling of pastoral/serene lake/peaceful tranquility: this lessens from the north toward Duncan, with many new developments north of Duncan.

28 Feb 85 It's calm and restful at Cowichan Bay.

23 Feb 85 Maple Bay has a view out towards Saltspring . . . it is at the end of the Valley, perching on the edge of a hill on the ocean shore: It is oriented to the sea. It is also very peaceful, with sheltered coves and harbours; it feels like the Gulf Islands.

Other comments on my developing bonds to this new place are now presented:

24 Nov 84 I feel more like an outsider in these small communities, where everybody knows each other (versus the anonymity of the city).

06 Dec 84 A bond is developing to the Lake area: It's more peaceful and community-oriented than the city . . . I feel torn between two camps or "loyalties" now.

27 Feb 85 I'm starting to get to know the area well, due to the time in the area, my observations and heightened awareness, talking to the locals, and study-

ing the history . . . I'm becoming a bit attached to the area now (but it's still nice to get back to Victoria).

25 Jul 85 I've been travelling from Sooke to Nanaimo and back almost daily to go to work . . . it has taken me through the Valley regularly. I feel like an insider now: I know some people, the place, and its history; I have some memories, and I feel a bond to the Valley.

20 Aug 85 The novelty of the Cowichan Valley is beginning to wear-off as I become more familiar with it; there is less of a feeling of newness, mystery, and adventure. And yet, I feel like an "insider" still, with memories, who would like to retrace old paths and haunts to reminisce.

These feelings are similar to those expressed by residents of the Valley. But close involvement with other natives was lacking, as was long experience there. My developing sense of place only "scratched the surface" in comparison with the depth of feeling that residents exhibited for the Cowichan; the other phenomenological results, therefore, have provided a better expression of this complex emotion. It seems that, although my senses were "in tune" with the Valley, my life had not yet become a part of it. My sense of place for the Cowichan was still in its formative stage. Because of this, the discussion in the next chapter will deal primarily with responses from the residents of the Valley.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter will analyze the results of the case study, refer the results to the literature review, and summarize the knowledge (to date) on sense of place. Each of the first four research questions (listed in Chapter 2) will be dealt with in turn. More discussion will be devoted to the first two questions in the list, on the development of a sense of place and on sense of place itself, as they were the main emphases of the study. The next two questions, on the distinctive symbolism of the Cowichan Valley and on the regional extent of the place bond, will be covered in less detail. The six remaining research questions will be reviewed in two of the sub-sections of the concluding chapter (research directions and conclusion). Comments on the two approaches used in the case study are presented next.

The behavioural approach involved the formation of an interview questionnaire, the solicitation of detailed responses on many topics, the tallying of those responses, statistical analyses, and interpretation of those analyses. The mental maps and action space information proved to be useful in delineating respondents' personal

regions; demographic and personal history information was useful for relating these factors to their attachment levels; and information on their social activities, community involvement, local knowledge, and preferences in the Valley was similarly related to their attachment levels. Statistical analyses isolated a number of variables that appeared to influence the development of respondents' attachment to the Valley. High attachment levels were correlated strongly with becoming attached to the Valley sooner; to rating the Valley higher than former places of residence; to having a high awareness level; to having a reason to remain in the Valley; to having lived in the Valley longer; to not wanting to move away from the Valley; to attending more community events in the past year; to being exploratory in the region; and to having more family, friends, and special places. Also, a regression analysis that tested all of the above variables together explained 46 per cent of the variance in the dependent variable (attachment level), indicating that these variables were interacting to help to develop respondents' attachment to the Valley.

The phenomenological approach provided data of great importance as well. Respondents' feelings for their place were well-reported. The analysis of these data, except for some frequency counts, was done mostly through the use of intuition, and not through the use of formal quantitative techniques. Thoughts on inter-relations among the data and comments on research questions 5 through 10 were generated by reflecting on the results from this approach. These results contained the essence of respondents' sense of place: phenomenology was used

to study this essence directly. The use of phenomenology proved to be more of a manner (of thinking and of approaching people) than a method. The respondents also appreciated the empathy inherent in this approach, where an understanding of their personal lifeworlds was solicited with due consideration of their feelings. The study gave them an opportunity to express their love (or hate) for their place; most of them thoroughly enjoyed talking about their homeland.

The combination of the two approaches helped to cover the wide scope of the research topic. The approaches complemented each other, with each providing different and valuable information on sense of place. The behavioural methods were useful in relating people's functional activities to their sense of place, while the phenomenological methods uncovered the subjective feelings within each person's sense of place. By using two approaches, the methods could also be contrasted. Hypotheses were useful when results were statistically analyzed in the behavioural approach, but it helped to not have an hypothesis when considering the phenomenological data (this allowed thoughts to unfold naturally, without presuppositions). It was found that the two approaches provided a balance to the collection of objective and subjective data, paralleling the need for input from both rational and emotional conditions of the mind to adequately study sense of place.

The following review discusses these results. It should be remembered that the results are tentative, since they are from one small sample of people, and in one confined region of the earth.

Research Questions that were Addressed in the Case Study

Question #1: How does a sense of place develop?

The factors that help to develop a sense of place were studied through statistical analyses of the responses in the interview questionnaire. There were 11 independent variables found that had a strong correlation with the dependent variable (attachment level). Each variable that produced such a correlation will be discussed, followed by a sub-section on those variables that produced null results.

The interplay between factors will be summarized in the last sub-section of this chapter. Several schematic presentations will be of assistance (Figures 5 and 6; Figure 8 in Chapter 6) in understanding how these factors affect a sense of place. These schematics are inserted as models only; they do not reveal the depth of a sense of place.

1.1 Variables Strongly Correlated with the Attachment Levels

The variable "length of residence" figured prominently in the results, as it did in studies by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) and Taylor and Townsend (1976). From the separate interviews with elderly residents, it was found that these residents were strongly attached to the Cowichan, considering the Valley to be their home after decades of residence. In contrast, new residents were found to be still developing their bonds to place: they had fewer special places, fewer family and friends, less community involvement and social activities, and less local knowledge (from details and quiz scores: see Appendix III). New residents appeared to have more of an "egocentric" view of their place;

they had not yet begun exploring or entering into social involvements in the Valley (Tuan, 1971). Although they had, as yet, weak bonds to their place, most showed positive feelings toward their new region. Fried and Gleicher (1961) found this too with new ghetto residents who were not yet familiar with their place. Tuan's (1975) premise, that time alone does not build bonds to a place, was partly born out by the regression analyses, in which length of residence appeared to have less importance than other variables. It seems that there are many factors at work in developing an attachment to place besides sheer time spent there.

"Awareness" was a variable that did stand out in one of the regression analyses. My assessment of respondents' awareness levels was also conservative, since both "unaware" and "average" categories were combined prior to the statistical analyses. It is thought that sensing of place contributes greatly to a sense of place (Tuan, 1974a), through both the definition of homeland by people (as in the recognition of physical landmarks and the regional character of a place) and their appreciation of place (this was found to be the case when my own sense of place for the Cowichan Valley was developing). Those respondents who were more "unaware" infrequently considered their bond to place; and yet, their place often held great significance. Many felt that they would be "lost" if they had to leave their place. The people who were more unaware about their place appeared to live in a "taken-for-granted" world (Ley, 1977), operating within a "habit field" of activity (Tuan, 1974a). Such respondents corresponded loosely with

Relph's (1976) "existential insider" awareness level.

Regarding my own scale of awareness levels (presented in Chapter 4), respondents were not found to match each of the proposed levels due to the limitations in the sampling design for the study. More field research should be undertaken to refine this scale, as the perception of place is a crucial element in the development of a sense of place. This type of awareness is difficult to research, but the sensing element in sense of place is too important to neglect. People's personal "gestalt reality" and their lifeworlds are also dependent on how they perceive their place; phenomenological methods would likely prove useful in the study of their awareness.

The next variables represent ties to people and to the community. It was found that the number of "family", "friends", and "events" (the number of community events attended in the past year) had a strong correlation with attachment levels, whereas the variables "social" (the number of social activities engaged in) and "groups" (the number of community groups involved in) produced no such correlation. Categories had been collapsed for "family" and "friends" (this had also been done for the variable special places), however, to produce this result, because it was thought that more than just a few family and friends are needed to help build bonds to a place; beyond a certain level, adding more of these also (likely) becomes redundant. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) employed this procedure as well, collapsing the variables "friends" and "community groups" in their study (see p. 331-332).

From the analyses that were conducted, it appears that ties

to people (family and friends) were more important than social activities or community involvement (for the variables social and groups) in the development of an attachment to place. Kinship ties are important to people for many reasons, including the maintenance of family contact, the sharing of similar beliefs, the love between family members, and the help from family in time of need. In the small towns of the Cowichan Valley, many people are inter-related through local marriages; families have often resided there for generations. Such family links help to build bonds to place, for the place becomes symbolic as the locus of family activities. Relationships with close friends have similar connotations. In large regions, connections with close ones may be more difficult due to physical inaccessibility and great distances (Bott, 1957). This is not true in the Valley, due to its small size, good transportation routes, and (relative) lack of privately owned land (limiting the area where people can reside, thus compressing their activities).

In a study by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), "the number of friends was the overall most important type of social bond influencing community sentiments" (p. 335-336). Results from the best regression analysis point to similar findings, with "friends" selected in the first step of the regression. Kasarda and Janowitz also reported that the number of relatives living nearby had a "strong effect on a person's sense of community" (p. 335-336). The category "people and friends" was mentioned by 57 per cent of the respondents in the Cowichan Valley study as a reason for their attachment to the Valley (see Table 6, Chapter 4). Together with the participation in community events,

where rituals and celebrations in the community help to solidify "fields of care" (Tuan, 1974a), the variables "family", "friends", and "events" appear to be quite important toward developing a sense of place through a human manifestation of the bond to place.

The variables "special places" and "exploration" refer to ties to places in the Valley. These special places have their own identities, are the loci of fond memories, and are often linked to peoples' preferences. Respondents were found to use exploration to locate new special places, familiarizing themselves with new portions of their region. They chose to venture either far away or close to their homes, depending on their age group, gender, and preferences. Elderly residents did not venture forth to their special places as often as when they were younger, but they still had their memories of those places. New residents (and very active, exploratory respondents) were found to have more "places yet to see" from the analysis of their mental maps (see Appendix III: exploration). Also, those respondents with more complex mental maps usually had higher attachment levels (from the correlation of exploration and attachment level). It appears that respondents who were fonder of places (choosing more special places), and who were more exploratory in their region (having more complex mental maps), had developed stronger bonds to their place. Previous studies on sense of place had not directly researched peoples' ties to their place, except in terms of residential satisfaction (Ermuth, 1974; Fried and Gleicher, 1961). Instead, these studies had focused on ties to people.

Other variables which produced strong correlations with the

attachment levels were felt, in a post-hoc analysis, to be similar to those attachment levels. These variables included: when respondents became attached to the Valley (when attached); if they rated other places of former residence higher than the Valley (rate other places); if they had expressed a desire to move away from the Valley (moving); and if they had reason(s) to remain in the Valley (motivation). These variables are likely important in indicating the presence (or not) of an attachment to place, as all of them were strongly correlated to the dependent variable.

One of the regression analyses suggested the importance of the variable "when attached". Of the respondents who had developed a positive attachment to the Valley, 23 per cent of them had been raised in the Valley, another 23 per cent had developed an attachment either before moving to the Valley or upon their arrival, while 33 per cent developed an attachment after moving there. Of the 44 respondents who had previously lived distant from the Valley, most had moved there for functional reasons (50 per cent for work and another 27 per cent due to family reasons: see Table 6, Chapter 4). It seems that the Valley must have <u>become</u> important (for other reasons, such as outdoor recreation, scenery, friends, etc.: see Table 6) to respondents who had moved to the Valley, because 90 per cent of all respondents eventually developed a positive attachment to it.

Based on my judgement in the variable "motivation", 25 per cent of the respondents had a strong reason to live in the Valley, 25 per cent had a reason to live there, and the remainder had no discerna-

ble reason to remain (see Appendix III: motivation). Having a reason to live in a place can likely motivate a person to stay there and allow an attachment to the place to develop. The bond to place likely develops over time, as indicated by the strong correlation between length of residence and attachment levels. The reason(s) that people have to remain in a place may also affect their preferences (as in the selection of one's landscape setting for a home: Duncan, 1973), residential satisfaction, and the "value of the local area" to an individual (Lee, 1982). If there is no reason to remain, a "filtering" effect usually occurs: People not bonded to the place move on. Taylor and Townsend (1976) found this to be common among new residents, where "a history of mobility naturally reduces an individual's sense of belonging" (p. 139), and "the first people to leave were those with the weakest social and kinship networks" (p. 134). The importance of the variable "motivation" was also indicated in the best regression analysis, where it was chosen in the second step.

People who remain in a place, with a reason to be there, usually form an attachment to that place because it is now <u>their</u> place. Tuan (1976b) states that the place becomes a center of "passionate loyalty" (p. 269). Insiders seldom make negative comments about their place to outsiders (although they may complain amongst each other), and often they will not tolerate negative remarks by outsiders about their place. The people who are willing to move on (22 per cent of the respondents in the study), without a strong reason to remain and with opportunities elsewhere, gradually filter away, preserving a core of insiders

who are attached to the place. If residents must remain in a place, they may rationalize that the place is not too intolerable (and that many other places are much worse). It seems that, even in the mobile society of North America, most people want to remain in their familiar place.

When respondents were asked to rate other places where they had lived versus the Valley, 40 per cent had a lower rating for other places, 29 per cent had the same rating levels, and only 9 per cent had a higher rating for other places (see Appendix III: rate other places). It appears that the Cowichan Valley became a desirable place to live for the majority of respondents, once they had resided there for some time. Through the association with the place in which they now lived (the Cowichan Valley), respondents had gradually lost their bonds to former places of residence.

The attachment to the Valley was now foremost in these respondents' minds; frequency counts from the variable "moving" support this statement. At least 68 per cent of the respondents were unwilling to leave the Valley (based on my judgement: see Appendix III). During the recession of 1984-85 (when this study was conducted), the respondents could have chosen to depart for (potentially) better economic opportunities elsewhere. However, most respondents did not express a desire to move. The strength of their attachment to the Valley (the bonds that they had made there through long association with the place and its people) likely was an important factor in their decisions to remain (even though 50 per cent of them had expressed no reason to stay there).

An overview of the attachment to place is possible when all of the factors that have been discussed are assessed for presentation in a schematic diagram. Figure 5 displays a number of scales, each affecting the development of a sense of place. The variables "moving", "rate other places", and "when attached" have not been included due to their similarity to attachment levels. The variable "events" has been subsumed under "people ties" in the scales. "Awareness", included as one of the scales, makes the figure represent not just a bond to place, but also a sense of place. The regression analyses indicated that there were missing variables which were contributing toward the development of a bond to place (as all of the variance had not been explained). Scales on "symbolism" and on the "size of the region" (both to be discussed under subsequent research questions in this chapter) have been added to the figure to partially compensate for the missing variables.

1.2 Variables that Produced Null Results in the Correlation Tests

In the variable "gender", only a few differences were noted between the responses of males and females. Females were somewhat more talkative in the interviews and appeared to be more family and community oriented than the males; males appeared to be more exploratory, ranging over larger regions than females due to work and to forays into the backwoods.

Concerning the variable "age group", Taylor and Townsend (1976) found distinct variations between younger and older residents' sense of place. These groups were more different in their sense of

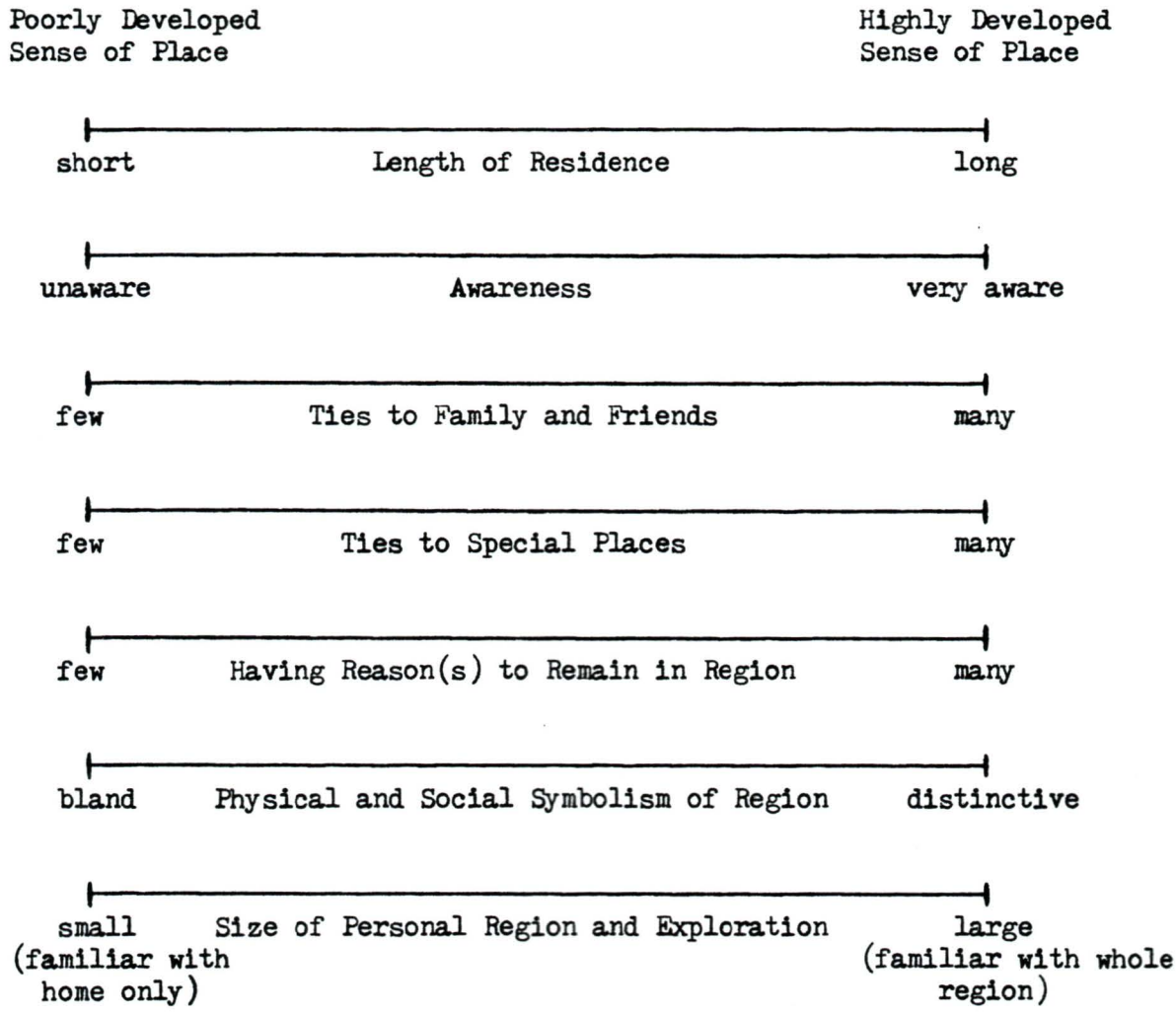


Figure 5. Sense of place: Scales of major factors that affect its development (most people appear to fall to the right of the mid-range of the scales).

place than stronger or weaker. A similar result was found in this study, with "age group" not correlated with attachment levels (although it was strongly correlated with length of residence). In some studies it has been found that different age groups vary in the size of their action space (the elderly and the young do not range out from home as far: Tuan, 1977); form different perceptions of their region (the young have less-developed mental maps, while the elderly have maps with memories of places that have disappeared or changed over time: Porteous, 1977); and have different levels of involvement in their local communities (the elderly are less involved: Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). A general observation that was made in this study was that children have a much different perception of place (the place does not seem to be overly important in itself, as long as it provides them with security and survival needs). More research is needed to determine how sense of place changes during the aging process.

Regarding the next variable, "education level", the results from both Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) and those from Taylor and Townsend (1976) indicated that people with higher income and education levels had greater mobility, resulting in weaker bonds to place. No such correlation was found in this study. However, a rural population was studied (which may be more sedentary), the Cowichan Valley is a desirable place to live (fewer people likely move away), and respondents' income levels were not directly measured.

The variable "occupational field" only provided an observation that the recession in the Valley seemed to pull people together (as a

community and in kinship groups). This indicates that the "deprivation hypothesis" of Taylor and Townsend (1976), where difficult economic times help to build a stronger bond to place through shared hardships, appeared to hold true for the people of the Valley. However, their hypothesis that "working-class" people developed stronger bonds than professional/managerial classes was not confirmed by this study.

Two variables which did not result in a significant correlation with attachment levels were "social" and "groups", although Kasarda and Janowitz had found that participation in informal social activities had a "moderate influence on sense of community"; they also reported that "membership in local formal organizations had little dependent influence" (p. 336). My findings tend to support their conclusions.

Variables concerned with local knowledge (quiz and details) are likely important toward feeling comfortable in a region (it would not seem hostile and unknown), and toward becoming an insider there (it takes time to learn who is important in a place, where to go and not go for safety reasons, and where the special places are: Geertz, 1983). It is probable that insider knowledge thus gained cannot be solicited easily by an outsider, without some intimate knowledge of the place.

The variable "territoriality" probably failed to correlate with attachment levels because the local issues that were presented in the questionnaire were hypothetical. If the issues had been of <u>real</u> crises, responses could have been much different.

Although 68 per cent of the respondents had formerly lived in another region (see Appendix III: compare), this variable did not cor-

relate with the attachment levels, while "rate other places" did correlate. Tuan (1974a) has stressed the importance of journeys away from one's place to "see it at a distance" (p. 235). Travelling away enables new experiences to refresh the psyche; the familiar place at home is then less boring (and one does not feel imprisoned there). Through both the freedom to venture away and the feeling of homesickness that is felt, a different perspective is gained, allowing a better appreciation of what one has "back home".

In our mobile society, with disposable income often available and kin spread across the continent, journeys away from home are fairly commonplace. Most of the respondents in this study had undertaken many journeys, providing ample comparison between the Valley and other places. This was partly shown by the variable "uncomfortable", where only 20 per cent of the respondents felt uneasy away from their region.

The attraction of the Cowichan Valley to respondents was clearly shown by their responses in the variables "compare", "rate other places", and "uncomfortable". The majority of respondents had lived elsewhere (68 per cent), rated other places lower (69 per cent gave the same rating or lower for other places), and felt comfortable outside their region (69 per cent). In the variable "moving", respondents were mostly unwilling to leave the Valley (68 per cent), despite having "seen the world" and feeling comfortable outside the Valley. The fact that 90 per cent of the respondents expressed a positive attachment to the Valley is now better understood. Descriptions of that attachment are presented under the next question.

Question #2: What is the resultant effect of a deep sense of place?

Most respondents in the study had developed a strong, positive sense of place for the Cowichan Valley. Table 7 provides a list of resultant effects that were frequently observed among these residents; "appreciation of place", "awareness of place", and "relatedness" were less commonly seen. Also, their "regional consciousness" and genre de vie were noticed by myself, but were seldom noted by Valley residents.

About ten per cent of the respondents had expressed a negative feeling toward their place. A few new residents felt like "outsiders"; some thought that the economy of the Valley was too depressed; and others were tired of either the climate or the impact of logging on the landscape. These residents, lacking bonds and showing some signs of alienation, rootlessness, or depression, would likely move on and make bonds to other places that they considered more desirable. However, most Valley residents continually spoke of the Valley's charms: its scenery, good people, community spirit, slow pace, peacefulness, amenities, and outdoor recreation opportunities. It is a place that they had grown to love during their residence.

Thus, the respondents definitely demonstrated that the Cowichan Valley was their homeland (Tuan, 1977). It was the territory that they knew and cherished. Some of these respondents only exhibited bonds for a sub-region of the Valley which they could more easily identify with. Only a few (22 per cent) did not attach any significance to remaining in the Valley, indicating a willingness to move on for better

Table 7

The Resultant Effect of Developing a Sense of Place

bond to place	familiarity
loyalty/patriotism	inner harmony/well-being
territoriality	appreciation of place
rootedness	center/home
belonging	homeland
security	regional consciousness
identity	genre de vie
relatedness	awareness

economic opportunities. Most, however, had made the region their home: It was their "lifeworld", where they felt a part of the world through their relations with one place and its residents (Lee, 1982). In this way they were living contextual lives within a realm of familiarity, interaction, and their own gestalt perception of reality.

The residents' views can also be put into a societal and historical context. From the tally of "awareness", it appears that a number of respondents (54 per cent) were fairly unaware of their bonds to place (see Appendix III). In their somewhat functional relationship to place, they likely exhibited the common characteristics of modern society in North America, as they are (probably) typical residents of that society. It is also likely that the way they develop their sense of place is largely pre-determined by the society around them, through education, culture (trends and symbolism), and corporate/government decision-making influences.

Their unawareness has both a cause and a probable consequence. These residents appear to be more passive in their sensing of place. They are only aware of their place when reminded of it. They do not know how the Valley used to look with its old-growth forest; many are still dependent on the forests for their economic livelihood. Perhaps, they do not want to notice changes to the landscape from clear-cut logging. Others are from the cities: many of them do not notice changes to the Valley due to urbanization. And so, it appears that numerous small changes to the Valley go unnoticed (as does the character of the Valley). Of the few residents who <u>do</u> notice how

such changes negatively effect the character of their homeland, few of them seem to feel a need to either arrest the changes or redirect them toward their own needs (as in enhancing the sense of place of the Valley). Actually, most residents continue to support a rapid rate of change to the character of the Cowichan Valley, desiring the increased economic development at whatever cost.

What is important about these changes (and the rapid pace of change) is that long-term effects are often unnoticed, as these occur in small increments. Residents may not realize that great changes have been made to their place until decades have gone by. When they are elderly (and their place has, over the years, become a part of them) they become aware that the character of the place that they knew as a child or as a young adult has changed; but now it is too late to reverse or redirect the process of change. Elderly residents of the Cowichan repeatedly spoke of their sense of loss as their homeland changed around them, while their sense of place could not keep apace. The lack of input into local planning decisions and lack of awareness allowed external forces to shape their place. Their place became alien to them. They felt like strangers in their own home, left with only memories of the special places that they once knew. Their experience indicates a similar process throughout most of North America is gradually causing the disappearance of cherished places. It appears that, if people remain long enough in one place on this continent, they will feel like strangers in their own place, due to the rapidity of landscape and townscape change.

In the Cowichan, once the lower valley has been urbanized and "paved-over", bustling with new residents, its character will be changed irrevocably. The benefits of this change will have, by and large, gone to "outsiders". As the people in the (formerly) rural areas of Saanich (just north of Victoria) have found out, when people moved in (for the climate, scenery, and rural pace), the rural pace disappeared and changed to that of a suburb. It became busy and noisy, with traffic arteries and shopping malls seemingly everywhere, and too many housing developments being built that were uniform and "sterile" in appearance. It seemed that "everyone" wanted their own single, detached home in the rural countryside of Saanich. The local planners, politicians, and land developers often obliged them eagerly. And now the rural countryside of Saanich is no more.

The natural beauty of the upper Cowichan Valley has changed too. Logging has removed the old-growth, replacing it with second-growth monocrops. The lumber (and raw logs) are exported elsewhere, with only some benefits accruing to the residents from these resources. The old forest is gone. The new one does not feel the same. And the recent lack of large, marketable conifers has caused a "downturn" in the local forest industry. As logging activity decreases, tourism will likely take its place. The road around Cowichan Lake could be paved, and access to the West Coast could be improved. More tourists, strangers, and newcomers would then (probably) come to the Cowichan. Logging changed the character of the Valley; large numbers of tourists would also affect the region's sense of place.

The Cowichan Valley's dominant market for tourism is eastern Vancouver Island (with its one-half million residents); there are a further two million people in the Puget Sound/Georgia Strait lowlands (Gibson, 1976). These predominantly urban dwellers need outdoor recreation destinations to journey to on weekends and for summer holidays. With the tangible benefits of tourist dollars to the economy come more strangers, vandalism, littering, traffic, noise, crowding, tourist business developments, and urban values. Developments do not always authentically represent the character of a region (Duncan, 1978; MacCannell, 1976). Also, the special places that Valley residents are accustomed to using themselves (especially in the summer) may become over-solicited by tourists instead. Proponents of tourism as a cure for (most of) the Valley's economic woes say that safeguards could be established to limit the numbers of tourists, their behaviour, and recreational land development. But such controls are seldom set and enforced in our "free" society.

The effects of urbanization, resource-extraction, and tourism on a place show how a sense of place may be changed (for its residents). In all of these human activities, it might be said that the influence is one-sided, from dominant cities to the Valley (Artibise, 1985). An unseen effect of such influence is the gradual erosion of the Valley's distinctiveness. The Vancouver-Victoria-Nanaimo triangle is economically dominant; the decisions that are made by business and government leaders are causing developments to occur in the Cowichan, with the subsequent loss of the Valley's charm, uniqueness, and heritage. The

Valley is becoming more and more like the urban centers in adjacent regions. As it becomes "just like any other place", exhibiting a quality of "placelessness" instead of distinctiveness, a (once) unique place loses its character and identity.

The redevelopment of neighbouring Chemainus demonstrates how the erosion of distinctive place qualities need not occur. The murals there especially help to symbolize the local sense of place. Duncan is currently lining its main traffic artery with totem poles to signify the native Indian presence in the region. Other plans to develop the Cowichan Valley for tourism have recently been discussed (Fraser, 1983). Such plans could help to preserve and enhance the sense of place for residents of the Valley, but only if a long-term view of the Valley's character is emphasized.

Based on (mostly) the case study research, suggestions are included in the concluding chapter to help enlarge residents' views on the importance of considering sense of place when planning the future of the Cowichan Valley. The awareness of potentially rapid change to the character of the Valley can, perhaps, both slow those changes and redirect them to the benefit of present and future residents.

Question #3: What is the regional extent of the bond to place?

The physical realm of the bond to place was found to extend beyond respondents' homes for a number of kilometers. Some of the people in this study had larger personal regions than others. There were those who ranged farther from their homes due to work, exploratory

urges, preferences (such as to the outdoors), and personal history (they had developed these patterns in the past). Active, middle-aged, working, outdoors-oriented males were usually active in large regions. Females, new residents, and the elderly often had small ones; it is also possible that small children and "shut-in" people have even smaller regions (Tuan, 1977).

The size of all these regions (total area) was compacted, however, when the "area used" was calculated. The size decreased on average by 25 per cent. Respondents' regions were also limited by the topographical features of the Valley, confining their action space into a basin of activity. As was expected, this space did not radiate outwards from their homes in equal, concentric circles (as in the model by Chombart de Lauwe: see Fig. 1, Chapter 2), due to the limitations of both topography and local transportation routes. Their familiarity with the region also played a role in shaping their regions, with more distant (but familiar) places seen as being closer by respondents (as in lived distance: Bollnow, 1967).

Because of less imposing, but still evident, topographical boundaries along the bottomland of the Valley, respondents had also divided the region into sub-regions. Each sub-region has its own distinctive character (e.g. around Cowichan Lake; Maple Bay and Genoa Bay; rural pastureland around Duncan; etc.); the influence of this character on the respondents' regional consciousness was fairly minor, but it helped increase the identity of each sub-region, while keeping the residents of the Valley fairly homogeneous.

Most of the respondents (69 per cent) lived less than 10 kilometers away from a main town, either Lake Cowichan or Duncan. The villages often acted as "central places" for the rural residents of the Valley, providing them with economic, social, and political functions (Lewis, 1979). The villages also served as community centers, where social activities and community involvement took place. And so, "going to town" helped to circulate rural residents out of their subregions, making their personal regions larger and (likely) giving them more of a feeling of residence in the entire Cowichan Valley.

Commuting moved people around the Valley as well. Lewis (1979) states that there is an "increasing divorce between place of residence and place of work", even among rural populations (p. 148). Within the sample, 34 per cent of the respondents left home regularly on "local travel" because of work; if the economy of the Valley had been better, this figure could have been much higher. "Travels nearby" showed a similar pattern, but this time for destinations outside the Valley. There were 75 per cent of the respondents who regularly left the Valley, with only 14 per cent of them having the backwoods as their destination. These results seem to indicate that there is a "core-periphery" relationship between homes within the Valley and the Valley's main towns, and between the Valley itself and external urban centers.

It appeared that the inhabitants of the Valley knew where their own familiar region ended and another began. The former area was "home"; the latter was not. It seemed that, except for travels

to work, to the main town that was used in the Valley, and (occasionally) to places outside the Valley, the majority of forays were made by respondents in a small local area (one or two kilometers square) around their own home. Trips away from that area were often born of necessity (e.g. for work, school, shopping, or to use local services); other (more infrequent) trips were made for outdoor recreation, entertainment, "pleasure" shopping, visiting relatives and friends, and community involvement.

Throughout this travelling, the local area became very familiar to inhabitants, with adjacent areas also becoming well-known. Over long residence, therefore, the entire Valley often became known to respondents, especially if a person had lived in several different subregions there. Thus the average size of respondents' regions (between 13 and 17 kilometers on each side) may be misleading: the size likely changes throughout a person's life, is dependent on the activities involved in and the transportation used, and is often limited by topographic features and access routes.

Question #4: How does the distinctiveness of a place help to develop a sense of place?

The distinctiveness of a place appears to greatly aid in the development of bonds to that place. People likely become bonded to almost any place they reside within for any length of time; Sonnenfeld has also found that "natives' preferences are usually biased in favor of the landscape they inhabit" (in Porteous, 1977, p. 225). In the case study, it was found that social and physical symbolism made the

Cowichan Valley a more distinctive place for its residents.

Because "symbolism" can be defined in many ways, its use will be confined to the character of a place (i.e. how symbolism affects people's sense of place). The effect of symbolism on the physical character of a place is primarily through direct contact with the region by people (through their senses and perception). Theories of "legibility", "imageability", and "visibility" have been advanced to account for people's awareness of the physical distinctiveness of regions (Lynch, 1960, 1978; Tuan, 1977). The influence of social symbolism is much more direct, yet vague, occurring through a mental process of familiarization and interpretation (learning). Society can affect how a place is perceived through either imposition or influence of social norms. People are thus affected through the arts, formal education, local knowledge, television and other media, the workplace, the community, government, and society's own historical record (formally or through local gate-keepers of that history). The two processes affecting people's symbolism (the physical and the social) merge in a region, and are interpreted to form personal gestalt perceptions of reality (see Table 8). This type of symbolism appears to affect people's perception of a place (and their awareness or sensing of it), thus influencing how they develop their sense of place and the sense of place that results.

The distinctive symbolism of the Cowichan Valley was described in Chapter 3. Its settlement pattern (by white pioneers), physical topography, and ethnic stock appear to have aided in forming a

Table 8

Symbolic Features that may help to Develop a Sense of Place

Physical	Social
visible and dominant topographical features and landmarks	visible historical landmarks and major historical events
climate and seasonal weather changes (physical atmosphere)	dominant culture (ethnicity; government; the arts) and prevalent group consciousness (social atmosphere)
natural landscape (flora and fauna; relief; drainage)	man's impact on the landscape (agriculture; industry; resource extraction)
flow of people and goods along transportation routes (functional flows: e.g. work)	social and recreational activities (i.e. leisure pursuits)
sensory input (e.g. sounds, smells, tastes, sights, and touch)	mental input (e.g. multi-media, education, economic hierarchy)

homogeneous population, hence the common sense of place among its inhabitants. Each person has an individual sense of place, but this feeling is partially socialized by the group that the person belongs to. There is a diversity of "types" of inhabitants (by their sense of place) in the Cowichan Valley, enriching the regional consciousness of the people there. Because a regional consciousness is evident, however, it is likely that there is a limited range of variability among the residents' sense of place.

Part of the reason for such a homogeneous sense of place (overall) in the Valley is the shape of the land. The Cowichan Valley is enclosed by topography (ringed by large mountains) and climate (sealed-in often by cloud cover). The feeling of enclosure that develops, the Valley's relative isolation, the clustering of residents in small communities, and the similarities of work and leisure pursuits all help to create "closeness" among the Valley's insiders. Tuan describes the general effects of valley living on people in the next quotation:

> Symbolically the valley is identified with the womb and shelter. Its concavity protects and nurtures life. When the primate ancestors of man moved out of the forest to the plains they sought the physical and (one might guess) psychological security of the cave. The valley or basin of modest size appeals to human beings; as a highly diversified ecological niche it promises an easy livelihood: a wide variety of food is available from the river, the floodplain and the valley slopes. (1974b, p. 117-118).

Although the respondents' sense of place were found to be similar, they often identified with their own sub-region more than with the entire Valley. It is, however, the mosaic of these sub-regions

that adds to the distinctiveness of the Cowichan Valley (giving it variety). The characters of the Valley (its uniquely different residents) give the Valley additional qualities, even though such people are known only to insiders. Local slang (e.g. locally known terms for landmarks) and dialect also help to define the region. The regional consciousness that results is peculiar to the Cowichan Valley at that particular point in its evolution. The land has its own character; the people there have their own genre de vie.

Part of the regions's identity arises from its rural nature. Urbanization is changing the character of many places in the world. Modern society is losing its "rural roots"; human ties are often difficult to form and maintain in a rapidly-changing, fast-paced, sprawling megalopolis (Tremblay and Anderson, 1966; Weber and Howell, 1982). In the "anonymous" city, epitomized by its suburbs, many people feel isolated and lacking in personal identity (Berry, 1973; Dobriner, 1958; Germani, 1973). There are simply too many strangers around (Lofland, 1973). It is difficult to distinguish "insiders" from "outsiders" there, or to tell one inner city sub-region from another. The subsequent result is often less community feeling (among the people) and less identity (of the place).

Symbolic references in a city are seldom on a "human scale" (Sale, 1980). Urban residents do not personally know the daily "newsmakers"; urban symbols are usually generic, and not localized (e.g. the use of the city's name, a prominent landmark, a repetitive design). In a small town or rural region the physical boundaries to the local

region are usually well defined; the insiders are recogized personally; and symbolic references are to well known people and events. The resultant sense of place is likely more powerful and specific than that of the typical urban dweller.

The urban sense of place (Ley, 1983b) is becoming more prevalent in North America. Urbanization is now reaching into the countryside, creating an ever-expanding "rural-urban continuum" (Jones and Eyles, 1977; Lewis, 1979; Pahl, 1968). This process is evident in the lower reaches of the Cowichan Valley. In cities there can be an over-stimulation of the senses (e.g. through noise levels, over-abundance of visual sensations, and a requirement for innummerable decisions, minute-by-minute), leading to increased levels of stress (Berry, 1973). Crowding likely plays a large role in adding to such stress, as do the lifestyles of urbanites. Such people are often caught within a mechanical, workaday routine, cut-off from nature and from peace and tranquility. Their perceptions are narrowed by this routine, their rhythms are more fast-paced, and their actions often show signs of the effects of accumulated stress: their sense of place is thus affected by their lifestyle.

Many of the residents of the Valley spoke of its rural charm and restful qualities. They do not want urbanization. But their place is already being affected by a subtle process of economic development (in increments) and social symbolism (reflecting urban values). The elderly residents of the Valley could see the changes over their lifetimes. They now felt like strangers in their own place. Social changes

had found their way to the rural confines of the Cowichan.

More physically distinctive places, places with a history of human habitation (creating a unique cultural landscape), and places that are on a small enough scale to allow residents to know their neighbours are becoming the exception in North America today. The sense of place that was found among the respondents of the Cowichan Valley was thus both refreshing and interesting. The rural sense of place there, though, may vanish within a few decades.

The local social and physical symbolism of the Valley contributed to its distinctive sense of place. This distinctiveness also aided in making the place seem more desirable. Because there was positive symbolism for the place (respondents had a strong feeling for their Valley), their sense of place was accordingly positive. Studies in less distinctive places, urban areas, less desirable places, and physically devastated places are needed to put the results from the case study in context.

Summary

From the case study results, it was found that there is a limit to the size of a region that a person can become intimately familiar with, due to topographical constraints and limitations on how far a person can travel daily (and still be in regular contact with his region). It was not just the size of the region that was important in developing a sense of place, but also how familiar a person had become with that region through regular travel. It was found that this region was often a sub-unit of the total topographical basin in which a person resided.

The physical and social symbolism (leading to distinctiveness) that are present in a region help a person to develop a sense of place. This symbolism defines regional boundaries and identifies the region; people and place ties there then solidify that symbolism through personal networks of meaning (and shared memories). Kinship networks, friends, and attendance at community events form people ties, while preferences and exploration provide the basis for place ties. In the development of such ties, association with a region for a long time is vital; bonds may form to desirable places more quickly (where the people are friendly, employment is available, the landscape is scenic, and the climate is benign), but "quality time" alone is not enough: my own sense of place could not develop in a year (in the Cowichan) during repeated short visits. The variable "length of residence" also correlated strongly with "attachment level", suggesting that it takes time to build an attachment to place. How a person's time is spent in a place is likely critical (e.g. exploration and community involvement), since this determines whether that person becomes a part of the place or not, providing additional reasons to remain there.

In the development of a sense of place it is important for a person to have journeyed away to enable a comparison with other places. The case study found that respondents normally rated other places of (former) residence lower than their own place; travelling away allowed them to become aware (once again) of the special attributes in their place. Some people in the study were unaware of both the place and their sense of place, operating in a "habit field" or a "taken-for-

granted" world. Although repeated experience in a place is necessary for familiarity and security to develop, awareness is crucial to sense of place. This is best portrayed by the sensitivity that artists show for places (e.g. through landscape paintings, poetry, or regional novels). Their art reveals qualities in the people and place that are recognizable by the inhabitants, but not consciously expressed by those inhabitants.

Without an awareness of the positive qualities in a place, it may be easier for people to move on. This can occur as well if people have few kinship ties, little community involvement, and no economic reason to remain. People with ties and opportunities elsewhere, and those with better skills, are also likely to depart (in a filtering process), leaving a core of insiders with strong bonds to the place. However, the breaking of place bonds is still difficult for most people. The association with the place has built up a comfortable familiarity, special memories, and friendship bonds. Home is always difficult to leave (if there were positive experiences at home). Some people may have more than one place that they call home, but such people are probably the exception. Besides current people ties, an intimacy with the place is needed to continually foster a sense of place: journeys through the place are thus required, on a regular basis, to renew a person's sense of place. This is often difficult to do in more than one place at a time.

It was generally confirmed in the case study that people lead contextual lives in a region, interacting with other people and

with the place itself. In this way individual lifeworlds are formed that interconnect among the inhabitants of a region. When people are bonded to a place, it provides them with a center, a whole, where they can feel security, identity, stimulation, community, belonging, well-being, and familiarity. Their place thus provides relation to the world and roots to their lives. Living in a place for a long time also gives continuity to a person's life, as do the memories of shared triumphs and hardships. People become loyal to the place that they have resided in (possibly, through generations). They are willing to defend it against outsiders; they share similar local, insider knowledge; they often exhibit localized slang and dialect. The insiders of a place have become bonded to their place over long residence; it is now their place, where each person is an integral part of the whole.

Without a bond to place, most people act as if they are lost, with no roots - alienated from the world. The importance of place bonds becomes evident when people are suddenly displaced to a totally foreign and hostile environment: they automatically feel insecure, threatened, and defensive. The process to develop a sense of place must, therefore, be of importance to people. The process, though, occurs primarily in people's "everyday" world of subconscious association with a place and its people. Society seldom refers to the process, does not educate its members in developing a sense of place, and attaches little public significance to it. People's sense of place could likely be enhanced; Figure 6 has been included to show the hierarchical interplay of factors in a simplified, schematic form.

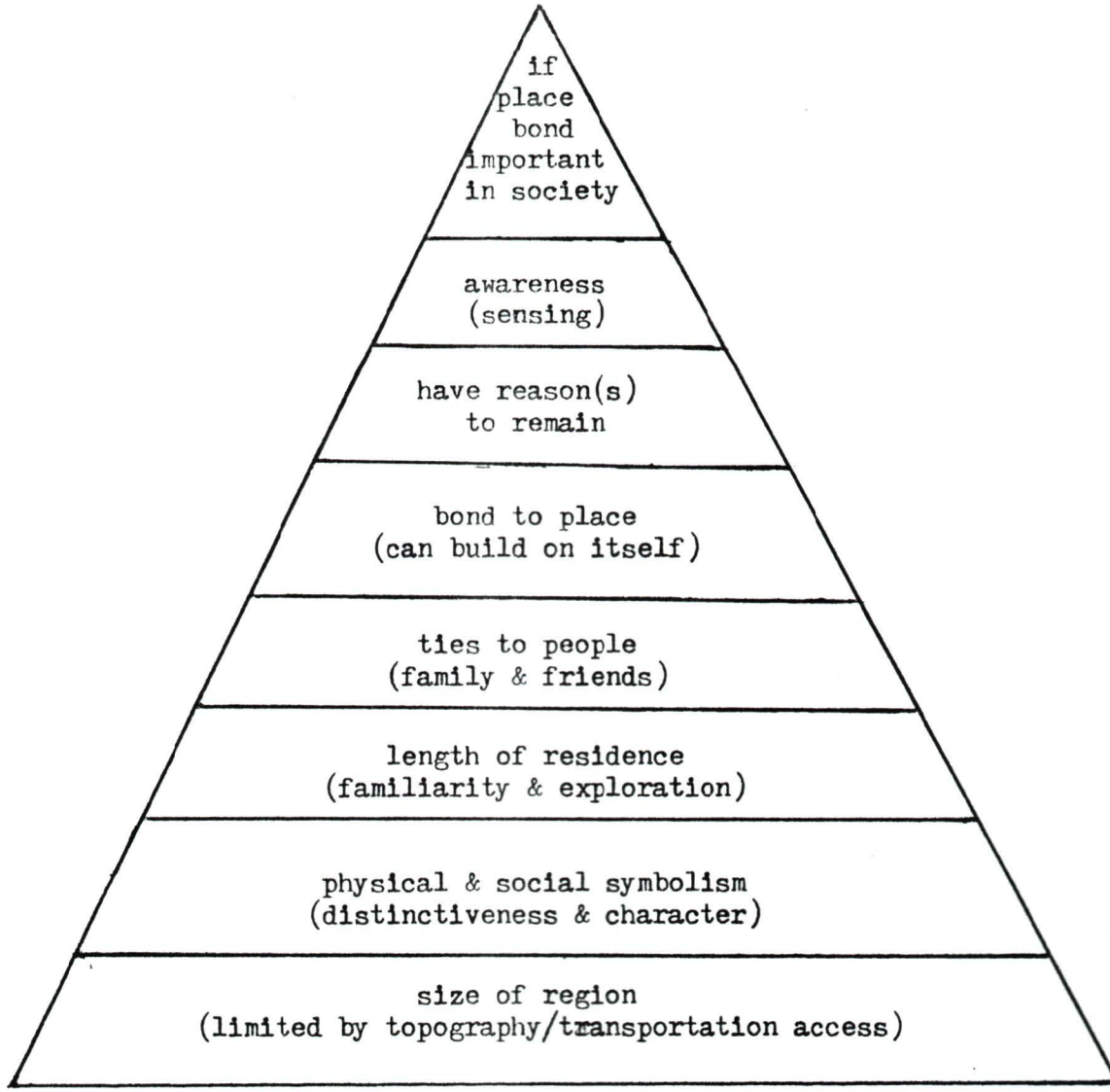


Figure 6. Factors which may develop a sense of place: A hierarchical structure (each higher level includes those below and contributes more toward the development of a stronger sense of place).

It appears that a bond to <u>one</u> place on the planet is necessary to provide an anchor for people, preventing them from forever drifting from place to place, with no place to call their "home". Roots in a place evolve over time; fields of care are gradually built; sensory awareness is needed to become sensitive to the unique qualities of a place. The development of a deep, whole sense of place - in harmony with nature - is possible. However, society can adversely affect an individual sense of place. The character of a place can be radically altered in a short time through industrialization, urbanization, and resource extraction. The way in which people relate to their place can be affected by a host of processes, all common to modern society.

These include the economic mobility of its members; distant kinship networks; loss of community feeling and involvement; separation from the land (from an agricultural, rural existence to an urban one); individualism (isolating people); mass marketing and consumptive materialism; a rapid pace of social change and land development; and a lack of local decision-making control over the development of local places. Indirect ways in which modern society may affect sense of place are through the narrowed perception of modern man; the domestication of the human spirit; the desire for domination over nature; and the dulling effect of a workaday routine. Such effects have been discussed in general terms by several authors (see Berg and Dasmann, 1978; Berman, 1984; Berry, 1977; Drengson, 1983, 1985; Fromm, 1955; Leonard, 1972; Livingston, 1981; Nash, 1982). Further research is required to link their concerns specifically to sense of place.

Herbert (1984) summarizes the importance of having "a place to call one's own":

> Humans live best when each has his place to stand, when each knows where he belongs in the scheme of things and what he may achieve. Destroy the place and you destroy the person. (p. 41).

Decisions can be made to forestall the gradual erosion of the character of places, and to develop people's sense of place within modern society. Information from this study and from future research into sense of place may play a role in both moderating and redirecting the economic imperative of modern society. It is possible to create a better relationship between mankind and the environment, and a stronger feeling between people and their place. The application of sense of place knowledge can help to fulfill both of these roles.

The next chapter will outline the potential applications of sense of place studies, planning recommendations for the Cowichan Valley, possible research directions, implications for geography, and close with a few concluding comments. There is much work yet to be done in this field; there are many researchers and practitioners needed.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Potential Applications of Sense of Place Studies

Perhaps the initial application of sense of place studies should be in "topoanalysis" (the exploration of self-identity through place: Bachelard, 1958). When human beings are once again reminded that they are born of the earth, are nurtured from the earth, and return to the earth - that their identity is partially shaped by their place and by how they relate to that place - then they might remember that they live contextual lives within their place, not just with other people there. A new manner of entering into a relation with the environment could be learned: "being-in-the-world" and in nature is much different from "omnipotent lord and master" above (and separate from) nature. If people have sustenance requirements, these needs can be tempered to exhibit a principle of "design with nature" (McHarg, 1971), respectful of ecological harmony over the long term because of both an ethical stance and biological necessity. Sense of place feelings could thus be deepened through a better relation with nature.

In regional planning, managing the "sense" of a region can be done to enhance people's well-being through attention to the sensory

quality of the environment (Lynch, 1976). Additionally, people places can be designed to celebrate the human need for visual stimulation and interaction with others, versus the visual blight of strip/ribbon development, and the sterile, impersonal townscapes of many places (Canter, 1977; Lyndon, Moore, Quinn, and der Ryn, 1962; Porteous, 1971). Attention can also be directed to the "legibility" of public symbols (Lynch, 1976, 1978), to landscape aesthetics, and to the special needs of the disenfranchised of modern society (the poor, the young, the old, and the handicapped) in the design of such people places. There is a need for community gathering points, rest areas, and personal space (Goffman, 1963; Sommer, 1969); there is a need as well for mystery, wonder, and the quietude of retreat. The adoption of these planning principles can help to more fully develop people's sense of place.

In all of this design the creativity of humankind should be allowed to flourish. A prescribed image of an ideal type of place would soon become stale, a repetition of similar places all too endlessly boring. As Nairn has said, "there are as many identities of place as there are people" (in Relph, 1976, p. 45). Planners and architects should endeavor to foster the creation of unique <u>people</u> places that are a reflection of and a testament to their inhabitants, and which are still in ecological harmony, while exhibiting some form of visual beauty and identity. People <u>can</u> become "good stewards of the land" if they so choose (Udall, 1975); they also deserve to relax, work, and play in much better designed places than are currently present.

As the population of the world increases, new places will have

to be built. These could be designed in a way that enhances a sense of place, through the building of people places and design with nature. Resettled peoples who have been transplanted from their homelands will also require new places, designed with the character of their former place in mind. An emphasis on both community and distinctive symbolism is essential, reflecting the culture and history of the people. Authenticity is required too, ensuring that correct symbols are used for the people involved (Wohl and Strauss, 1958). Unless these steps are taken, more shantytowns on the edges of Third World cities are likely, more urban sprawl in the industrialized nations is almost certain.

A knowledge of the factors that help to develop a sense of place can foster the re-establishment of strong human bonds. The ties of kinship, friendship, community, and neighbourhood can again become important to people, akin to the sentiments found in small rural towns. Sense of place research could inform community planners, politicians, and educators to facilitate this process, advising them on the types of structures (physical) and activities (social) that are conducive to building human bonds to place. Networks of human relationships could thus be solidified in both rural villages and urban neighbourhoods.

Regarding tourism, instead of "staged authenticity" (which is patently inauthentic), the "genuine" structure and character of places could be experienced (Duncan, 1978). Genuine authenticity is beyond the "realm of commercial elements that are bought, sold, traded, and distributed throughout the world" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 155). Attention to sense of place can help tourists become aware of the <u>real</u> relations that

insiders (local residents) have with their place. This is what tourists should learn of and travel distances to see (besides the obvious attractions), rather than the shallow, consumptive pattern of most modern tourism (Shepard, 1967).

Both tourists and residents could benefit from becoming involved in a more formal process of place learning (Blaut and Stea, 1969). A child's idea of what constitutes his place becomes more detailed and broader in scope as he grows older (Tuan, 1977). Young people could be educated in school to be more appreciative of their <u>own</u> place; their awareness could be developed through a knowledge of mental maps, a better relation with nature (and with their neighbours), and the widening of perception to include the subtle aesthetic qualities of their environment. This could become part of the curriculum concerning distant places as well. Adults could be helped through classes and guided walks, raising their consciousness about their local place. Education could thus develop people's awareness of the importance of their own place's special qualities, of the distinctiveness of distant places, and of the significance of sense of place to society.

The potential applications of sense of place studies are therefore varied, including a better unity between man and nature; the design of people places; the design of new places for the increasing population of the world (and for resettled peoples); the development of stronger human bonds in a place; the design of authentic tourist developments; and the education of people's awareness through place learning. For these applications to occur in modern society, people

will have to know more about sense of place. Some specific recommendations are now made concerning the Cowichan Valley.

Planning Recommendations for the Cowichan Valley

Economic development and resource extraction in the Cowichan Valley could be adapted to include the elements of a beneficial sense of place for the Valley's residents. Sense of place could be both preserved and enhanced; the "sensed" environment could be managed for sounds, sights, and even smells (Lynch, 1976). Design with nature (McHarg, 1971) and with people (Porteous, 1971) could receive more attention, to ensure that "people" places are built and that development is done in ecological harmony with the environment. Some specific suggestions for planning are listed below:

1. developing symbolism: build the identity and definition of the Cowichan Valley for its inhabitants and for visitors; help them to become aware of these symbols; define the Valley by its topographical boundaries (including politically); create new symbols for the Cowichan; and preserve the special natural places and the heritage sites/buildings that are there;

2. design of new places: ensure that new developments do not infringe on the character of the Valley and that they have a sense of place that is positive and enriching (through design controls, landscaping, spacing, prevention of strip/ribbon development, and the provision of people places);

3. monitoring tourism: develop "authentic" places for visitors (a genuine reflection of the region: its people, character, history, and natural beauty); prevent the despoilation of outdoor attractions; control crowding and noise; reduce visual blight (such as signs and overhead wires); and provide places for residents to use for their own leisure; and,

4. cultivating awareness: help residents to become aware of the importance of their sense of place (through schools, media, and meetings); enhance their sense of place directly (through guided "sensory" walks, talks on the unique qualities of the Cowichan, and attention to the Valley's symbolism); make them aware of the incremental changes that gradually affect the landscape and character of a place over many decades; inform them of ways to become involved in the planning process; and, overall, foster a conscious appreciation of their place.

With a laissez-faire attitude, the current processes that are ongoing in the Valley will likely continue. Within a few years there could be more urban development; an increase in strangers, tourists, and transients; a gradual erosion of the distinctive symbolism of the Valley; a removal of the last old-growth forest in the Cowichan River watershed; and a loss of the rural pace, peace, and charm that make the Cowichan feel special. Decades from now, few residents would be able to remember the Cowichan that once was. To prevent such occurrences, to not allow the Valley to change so much that residents feel like strangers there in their "sunset" years, planners and citizens alike will have to address their sense of place needs. Future research results may be of further service in this regard, but the planning (and awareness) should begin now, at least to safeguard the atmosphere of the Valley and prevent another urban Saanich from occurring there.

Research Directions

This thesis has provided a thorough review of the literature; developed a methodology appropriate for the field study of sense of place; studied the topic in the field, using human subjects; and provided some

new insights on sense of place. Future research should be directed toward a few critical areas:

1. the significance of sense of place to the members of modern society (as contrasted to primitive society);
2. methods to enhance sense of place further; and,
3. the variability of sense of place (between people and between cultures).

Research could also tie environmental philosophy and community studies more closely to sense of place.

The sub-section on potential applications pointed toward several other research areas:

1. the design of new places for the increasing population of the world (and for resettled peoples);
2. the design of authentic tourist developments;
3. the design of people places (in urban settings);
4. the development of a better unity between man and nature; and,
5. the creation of new artistic impressions of places, including their peoples.

In addition to the above points, methods of teaching sense of place and ways to communicate the significance of sense of place are needed. Geographers could fulfill some of these roles, since they could investigate the topic, teach it, and write books to describe places.

Methods to study modern people's sense of place could be refined somewhat from this study. The factors that (likely) develop a sense of place are already known; the result of developing a sense of

place has been described as well. Demographic information needed for such a study has been outlined. Only target groups need to be selected for comparison purposes (see Figure 7). A continued separation of factors (to develop a sense of place), result (the sense of place), and types (of sense of place) is recommended for this research.

It would be especially interesting to follow-up suggestions that some places have been purposefully designed in a "bland" manner (Porteous, 1978; Relph, 1976), creating placelessness. Such research could also investigate the counter-point: that urban places and neighbourhoods have their own positive sense of place (Dennis, 1968; Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Ley, 1983b).

The bond to place needs particular attention. Bonds to mother, kin, and mate (sociology); state and defence of homeland (political science); and workplace (sociology and public administration) have been studied previously; there has been little research on bonds to the immediate habitat of a person's place. The sensory awareness of place requires similar investigation.

Cross-cultural research would be of help in this regard, as the potential loss of the bond to place among modernized peoples could be shown by studying the bond to place of primitive peoples (see Figure 8). A researcher could live with a primitive tribe, understanding their sense of place by personally knowing their culture, place, and language. It might be difficult for such people to articulate their sense of place (Levy-Bruhl, 1966), but phenomenology could likely uncover their basic relations to place. Also, expatriate members

Information Obtained from People during Interview

Mental Map	Demographic	Social
activity zone & area used	age group	# family in region
regional boundaries	social class	# friends in region
main town used	gender	community involvement
transportation used	length of residence	social activities
special places (& types)	ethnicity	

Sense of Place

strength of attachment to place (& why)
if they notice ambience, distinctiveness, & bond (for place)
importance of bond to place in relation to other bonds
if have a strong reason to remain in place
if have strong bonds still to previous places lived
if they miss their place when away
preferences/orientation to place (type of sense of place)
personal state of well-being (mental and physical)

Material Obtained Independently from the Interview

Respondents	Place	Societal
awareness level	setting of home (landscape)	pace of change in society
territoriality	physical & cultural distinctiveness	influence of adjacent regions
familiarity with region	ambience	if bond to place deemed significant by society
if exploratory	historical sense of place (archival)	if still live directly off the land
local knowledge		
reliability of responses		
comments on interview		

To Compare

modern society vs. primitive	different age groups	artist vs. typical person
white/english-speaking vs. other cultures & races	different income classes	
urban vs. rural people	resident vs. tourist	
physical setting (e.g. mainland vs. island)	resident vs. resettled person/immigrant	
	male vs. female	desirable place vs. devastated one

Figure 7. Considerations for the future research of sense of place.

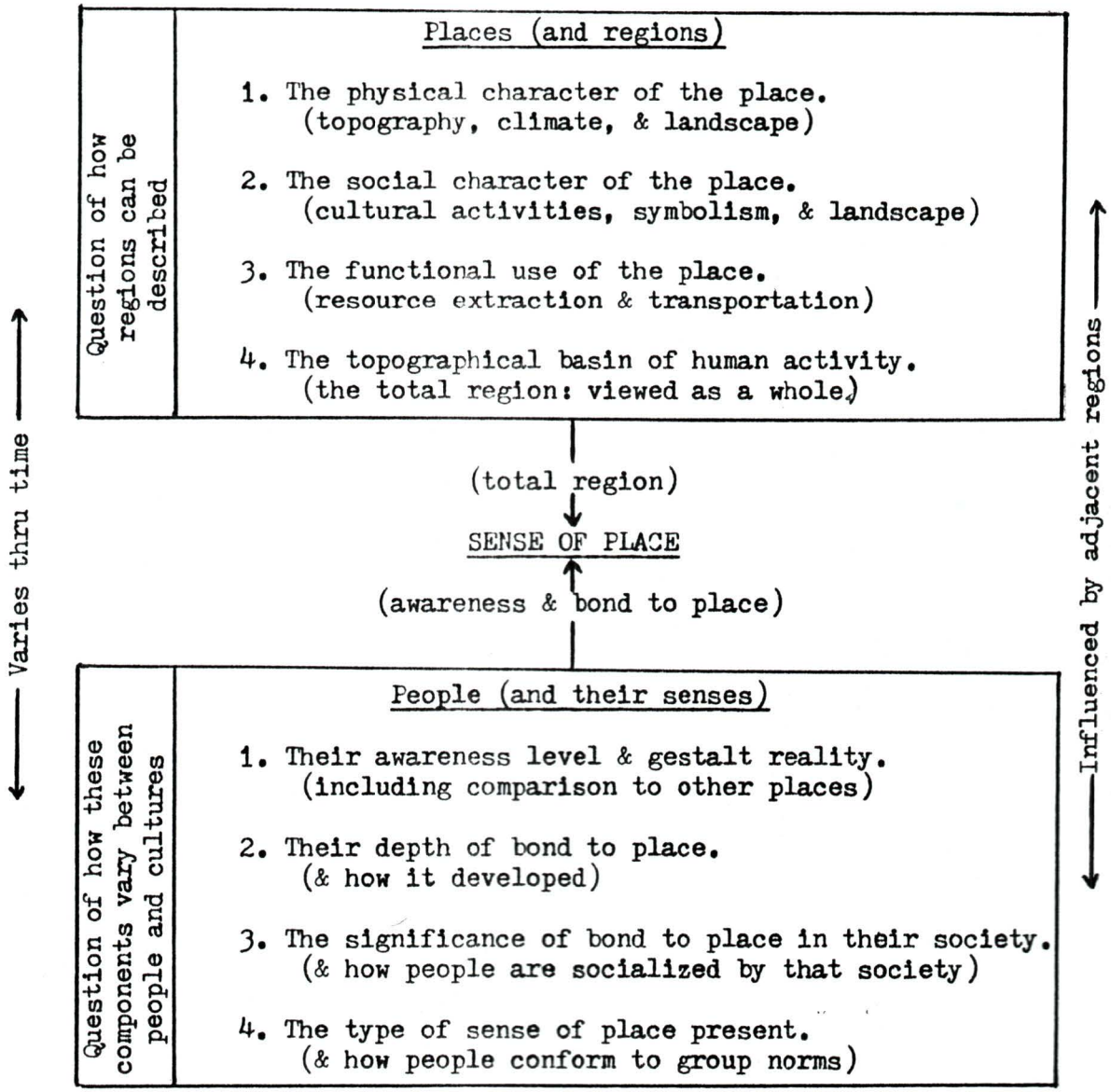


Figure 8. The interaction of people and place to produce sense of place: A hypothesized model (in a cross-cultural perspective).

of the tribe might be found in modernized situations (e.g. Cook Islanders living in Auckland, New Zealand), providing a better perspective on their former place (as they now had a basis of comparison). Similar research is conducted in anthropology, but the emphasis is on the culture; this research would be more concerned with the geographical place ties and the awareness of place.

Implications for Geography

Sense of place can provide a new means for integrating geographical information. By researching, on a human (lifeworld) scale, how meanings (that people hold for their own land/place) shape both people's lives and their places, geographers can demonstrate the relevance of their discipline to the public. Regional geography used descriptions of landscapes, physical processes, and people's functional relationships with place to study the interaction of people and place. A new style of geographical synthesis could shift the emphasis toward the feeling toward place that shapes people's attitudes: subsequent value-laden choices determine the shape of the cultural landscape, people's relation to the land, and thus the future of places.

Humanistic geography could be expanded to include an environmental philosophy (Relph, 1981b), so that it is not solely anthropocentric. A deeper perception of reality could be added too, where consciousness was widened to include nature and sense of place (beyond the typical urban, workaday routine). A "new age" in geography (as in the Age of Exploration) could ensue, due to the importance of sense of place:

> Sense of place deals with what makes an environment - at any scale - distinctive and different from others. It requires observation and analysis, both of the environment's features (literal and symbolic) and of the perceiver's experience, reactions and values. Thus sense of place is an integrative concept, one that can bring together such studies as images of place, landscape assessment, quality of life, historic preservation, and microgeography and design. We think that the importance of sense of place is its close tie to the individual and group sense of identity. Finally, in its design applications it offers the possibility of affirming, of enhancing, that sense of identity. (Saarinen, Sell, and Husband, 1982, p. 525).

Browett (1984) adds to this statement by saying:

> Previous work at the urban and regional levels has tended to reify (uphold) space or structure or both, and has in the process tended to forget about people. A return to the local level will enable analyses to re-incorporate people and their own lifeworlds. (p. 187).

He further advocates the development of "distinctive theories relating to the significance of place" to aid in this process (p. 187). He argues that this type of focus has "a number of distinct advantages" to geography:

> . . . it could help to incorporate and hopefully revive many established traditions within geography, including the crucial role of field study "expeditions", the traditional information dissemination role (a role which has been progressively lost, through advances in telecommunications, to the popular media), the study of the relationships between people and their environment, and the regional synthesis . . . (p. 186).

It is time for geographers to find a "place" in geography for sense of place studies. Place is integrative by nature. Sense of place can be used as a framework to house the information that geograph-

ers have accumulated on the physical world, functional human systems, and the meaning that places hold for people. This is a larger framework than regional geography, because sense of place adds the personal, human feelings inherent in lifeworlds. The many specialties of geography need a framework again to synthesize their findings, as geographers have, by and large, abandoned the regional mode of synthesis; sense of place provides a new way to relate the information on the physical environment (and people's functional relationships to place) to people's personal reality.

Methodologically, this new framework would not be confining either, since people's subjective impressions of place could be solicited directly (as could their relation to that place), without the use of quantification. The subjective realm of the man-environment relationship would therefore have equal importance as the objective. There could be a balance of behavioural and phenomenological methods to study people in their place. There could also be a movement toward interdisciplinary research, to combine the talents of specialists from many fields, since so many fields of study are concerned with the relationship between people and their place.

The research that would be undertaken would focus on this relationship. It is thought that physical and social forces shape a place (and its people), causing localized distinctiveness. People often ascribe special attributes to a place, depending on the attitudes of their society (e.g. sacred places, recreation spots, and work places). Places can become important to people after long residence and a build

up of many memories there. In such a way, a place often becomes a part of each resident. The significance of this bond to place for people is not yet known, especially concerning the variation of this significance between cultures (and between modern and primitive societies). Much yet needs to be known about the process of the development of place bonds and about sense of place itself. The attention of geographers to sense of place studies is definitely needed.

If such research is undertaken, to communicate the findings a more descriptive style of writing will likely be needed as well. Hart (1982) urges geographers to write with imagination, zest, and creativity. Prince (1961-62) declares that "good geographical description demands inspiration and direction by a creative imagination" (p. 23). The description of a sense of place demands subjective (but informed) opinions to adequately cover the topic. If geographers were to write of their own sense of place, they could also create vivid, meaningful images of places (Rees, 1978), influencing people through the symbolism that they used as well as through the content of their study.

Geography is currently struggling in many schools and universities to justify its existence as a necessary discipline of study (Steel, 1982). Sense of place studies offer the opportunity to enter unexplored territories for research (Wright, 1966). Through such research, geographers could communicate the importance of places to people; people could see their own place anew and realize the significance of both sense of place and geography. In this manner, geographers

could lead mankind into a new understanding of man's relationship to place, into an understanding that is profound and knowledgeable; geography could regain relevance with the public; modern society could enter into a more harmonious relationship with nature. The path ahead beckons for geographers . . . these are opportunities that should not be missed.

Conclusion

Sense of place binds people's feelings to a particular place through a long process of sensing and association. It is an important dimension to human life. It changes a place into our place. With a deeper perception of the reality that surrounds us and an awareness of the significance of sense of place, we can enrich our lives. But we may need some help. As Seddon (1972) states, even "our language is poor in words of place . . . we have the word 'timely', but there is no equivalent 'placely'"(p. 260-261). Many people may need to have their sense of place developed further, to truly feel and sense their own place once again.

There is a possibility that sense of place erodes as the character of familiar places disappears, due to the economic forces of modern society. In our society a local sense of place is not taught directly in the schools; perceptions are not broadened to include the natural world (the focus is on employment, money, consumer goods, politics, and leisure pursuits instead); and economic decisions are seldom made with the character of a place in mind. A functional, economic

relation to place is being (indirectly) advocated, creating more and more placelessness.

The huge agglomerations of people in cities likely confuses the definition of personal places for their inhabitants. Modern society is synonymous with urbanization. Few people are tied directly to the land through agriculture or hunter/gatherer subsistence. And so, many do not realize that their lifestyles affect both the immediate and distant habitats of their biosphere. Although the current style of economic "progress" is continuing, it is questionable whether the forces of modernization, urbanization, and industrialization can continue at the present rate and in the same form for much longer without dire consequences for mankind.

Besides these biospheric considerations, more "blandscapes" are being built daily in North America. Placelessness abounds. The youth-oriented culture does not seem to realize that, in bulldozing their historic past, they are losing places with character and heritage. There is a wave of nostalgia occurring in some places for the recent past (1940's and 1950's); there seems to be no thought given, though, for the needs of the present populace in the future. If their personal places, the ones that they grew up with, are destroyed, they will have no past - no sense of continuity in their lives . . . no sense of place. They could become strangers in their own places in a lifetime. The sense of loss could be overwhelming to many people, but by then it would be too late to reverse the process.

Jeans (1979) has said that "to make a place is to surround a

locality with human meanings" (p. 209). Our place provides us with meaning. Our home, the landscape that we have become familiar with, and the bonds that we have made to each other all help to create that meaning. Sense of place is the end result of combining many personal meanings in one locale. A deepened sense of place can provide a whole life, with emotion balanced with reason, arts with science, private affairs with community involvement, and man with nature.

There are still many mysteries to explore in sense of place. The impetus for additional research is the conviction that sense of place can integrate our activities, our feelings, and our philosophies here on earth. How we treat our habitat, our place, may determine man's evolutionary future as a species on this planet. And yet, as academics, as citizens, and as people we continue to neglect this important dimension of our lives. It is merely our taken-for-granted world. There have been several studies on our ties to each other and to the state, but a paucity of research is done on our ties to the earth - on the importance of our own place in our lives. Our attention is needed. Our place is our home. Without it, we are lost. With a sense of place, we are whole and secure. Can there be any greater significance for sense of place studies?

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

USED IN

PILOT STUDY

Note. 1. Questionnaire reduced to 74 per cent of original size.

2. Flaws in reproduction due to quality of original questionnaire.

3. Topographical map used in questionnaire not included (refer to Map 1, Chapter 3).

4. Photos used in questionnaire included in Appendix I only.

Interview # _____

SENSE OF PLACE IN THE COWICHAN VALLEY

SECTION I

Cover Page

(of interview questionnaire)

Interview held: Date: _____ Time: _____ to _____

Interview arranged for: Date: _____ Time: _____

Call backs (if occupant not home) Date: _____ Time: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

Adjacent house selected for interview (original not possible): Yes _____ No _____

Preamble Checklist

_____ My name & affiliation (show I.D. card)
_____ What the study is about (brief)
_____ Anonymity assured
_____ length of time for interview

_____ Appointment can be made
_____ Who can be interviewed (1 per household; at least 18 years old & 1 year residence)
_____ Description of interview (see below)
_____ Results made available (in summary form)

Materials Required

Base map, acetate, pens
1:50,000 topographic maps
Sets of photo prints
Questionnaire
Prompt cards & statement sheet
Additional notes on interview
Comments sheet on interview

Interview Format

First an explanation of the entire interview is given, including the sections and materials to be used. The interviewer clarifies questions and provides for spontaneous linking statements between sections. Build-up of rapport is desired, as well as respondent's awareness of their region, to provide more detailed answers to Section III. Interviewer fills in answers to all questions.

SECTION II

Background Information on Respondent

1. Construction of mental map	ACTION
a) Could you please draw the boundary of the region here that you would consider to be your home territory? (where you feel comfortable within and attached to the people and the place)	PROVIDE ACETATE, PEN, & BASE MAP OF COWICHAN VALLEY BOUNDARY DRAWN ON ACETATE IN BLACK
b) Could you name a few places in this area for me, using local names if you wish?	NAMES LOCATED ON MAP WITH MY AID AND LABELLED IN BLACK
c) Please draw the main routes and circle the places that you regularly use within this region.	ROUTES DRAWN ON ACETATE IN RED, PLACES CIRCLED IN RED.
d) What do you normally use to travel around this region?	_____
e) I would like to know what places are special to you in this region, for such things as outdoor recreation, social outings, or personal trips. (the areas that are the most important to you, where you like to go)	SPECIAL PLACES INDICATED ON MAP BY A LARGE SOLID GREEN DOT AND NAMED (USING LOCAL NAMES); 1:50,000 TOPO MAP USED TO HELP LOCATE THESE PLACES
f) Are some of these special places more important to you than others?	Yes ____ No ____
IF YES: Could you tell me about 2 or 3 of these places and why they are so special to you?	THESE PLACES DOUBLED IN SIZE (FOR THE SOLID GREEN DOT) AND NAMED
place name	reason for it being special
#1 _____	_____
#2 _____	_____
#3 _____	_____
g) Now, which areas within this region do you seldom travel to?	INDICATED BY DIAGONAL WIDELY - SPACED LINES IN BLUE
h) Aside from what you have already shown me, are their certain places in this region where you would like to go to, but have not been able to yet?	Yes ____ No ____
IF YES: Could you tell me the names of a few of these places and help me to locate them on the map?	PLACES INDICATED ON MAP BY LARGE BLACK X's AND NAMED

This area we have drawn will be called "your region" throughout the remainder of the interview. You may adjust the map, such as the original boundary, if you wish. Please remember to refer to this area of the map as you answer the rest of my questions. If you want to add more details to the map, we can do so at the end of the interview.

2. Social Activities

a) Within your region, are you (or any member of this household) involved in any clubs, sports teams, citizens' associations, church groups, or political organizations?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you tell me each activity and whether it is a frequent, seldom, or rare involvement?

community activity	frequent	seldom	rare
#1 _____	___	___	___
#2 _____	___	___	___
#3 _____	___	___	___
#4 _____	___	___	___
#5 _____	___	___	___
#6 _____	___	___	___

b) There are a number of festivals and community events held in the Cowichan Valley each year. Have you (or any member of this household) attended any of these in the past year?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you tell me which ones?

event

#1 _____
#2 _____
#3 _____
#4 _____

c) Could you tell me some of your regular social activities in your region, such as family gatherings, entertainment with friends, or recreation?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you list these for me?

social activity

#1 _____
#2 _____
#3 _____
#4 _____
#5 _____
#6 _____

3. Local Knowledge

Please answer these few short questions about your region.

NOTE: If any question is unanswered in the first 5 questions, the sixth question is used as an alternate; otherwise, the last question is disregarded.

i. Except for your recently elected MP, could you name one elected official who represents your region?

name of official _____

ii. What is the major employment industry in your region?

industry _____

iii. What is the largest non-European ethnic group and their approximate population size here?

ethnic group _____

population size _____

iv. Within 5%, what is the current rate of unemployment in your region?

unemployment rate _____

v. Can you name a major economic development planned for your region in the next 5 years?

development _____

Alternate question:

vi. In what decade was your region first settled by white pioneers?

decade _____

Score ____/5

4. Applied Knowledge

a) Please quickly scan these statements.

(STATEMENT SHEET PROVIDED)

Do any of them cause a strong reaction within you, either for or against the statement?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you briefly tell me about 2 of them that cause the strongest reaction and also tell me why you feel this way?

Statement # _____ Reaction: For _____ Against _____

Reason: _____

Statement # _____ Reaction: For _____ Against _____

Reason: _____

YOUR REACTION TO STATEMENTS

(which could be about your region)

1. The different levels of government here do not represent my personal interests very well.

2. Sewage, logs, and old machinery at Cowichan Bay or Cowichan Lake are an unsightly mess and should be cleaned-up.

3. Better reforestation practices and co-operation between the logging companies and the Provincial Government are needed to ensure that logging can continue here for many years to come.

4. The tourism industry can provide many new jobs to the economy here in the near future.

5. The Agricultural Land Reserve system preserves alot of marginal land here that could be put to better uses.

6. There should be programs created locally to foster better communication and understanding between the Native Indians, East Indians, and the white residents here.

7. More sub-division of land and multiple-housing units are needed outside the Duncan city core.

8. There is no need for more fishing limits, area closures, or fish hatcheries to help the salmon fishing industry around here.

9. People from the big cities and tourists from elsewhere are generally a nuisance . . . they just don't appreciate this region much.

10. Scheduling and service on the E & N Railway are perfectly adequate for my needs here.

4. (cont.)

b) I have some photos here of your region.

(PHOTOS PROVIDED)

Select 2 photos, choosing ones which bring back clear memories of the place in the photo or of a nearby place (if all of the photos are unfamiliar, you can tell me about a similar area of the Valley). I'd like to know what each place means to you personally. In a few sentences, please tell me your own experiences, including the local folklore about the place if you want. Remember, I'd like to hear your own stories.

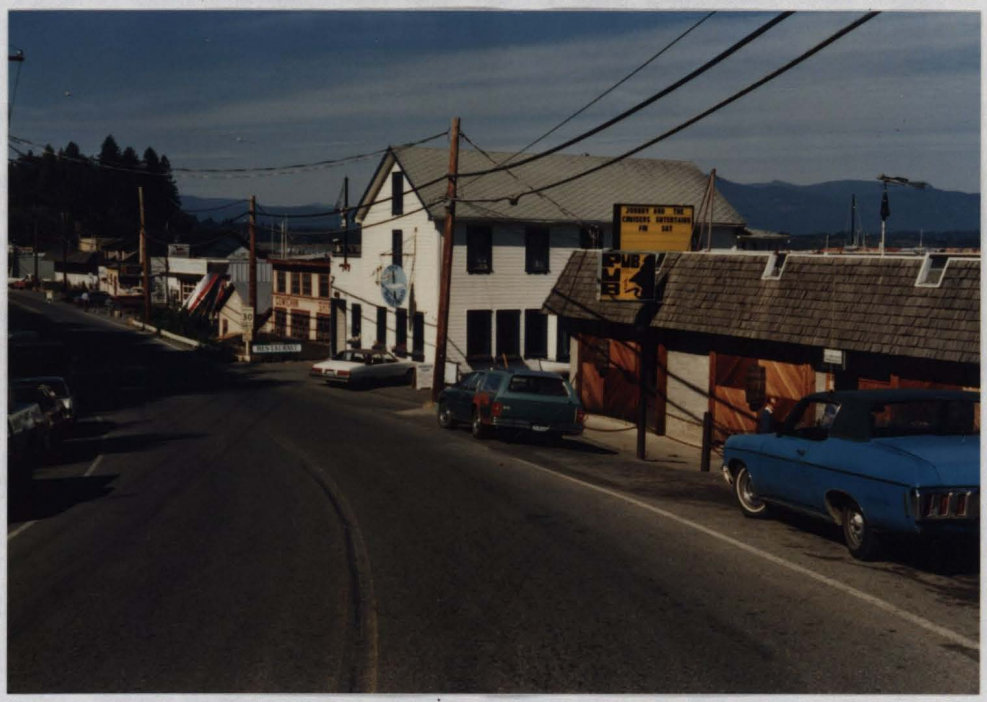
Take your time and think back as you leaf through these photos. Are any of these places recognizable or particularly special to you?

Scene # _____

Scene # _____

1

2



3

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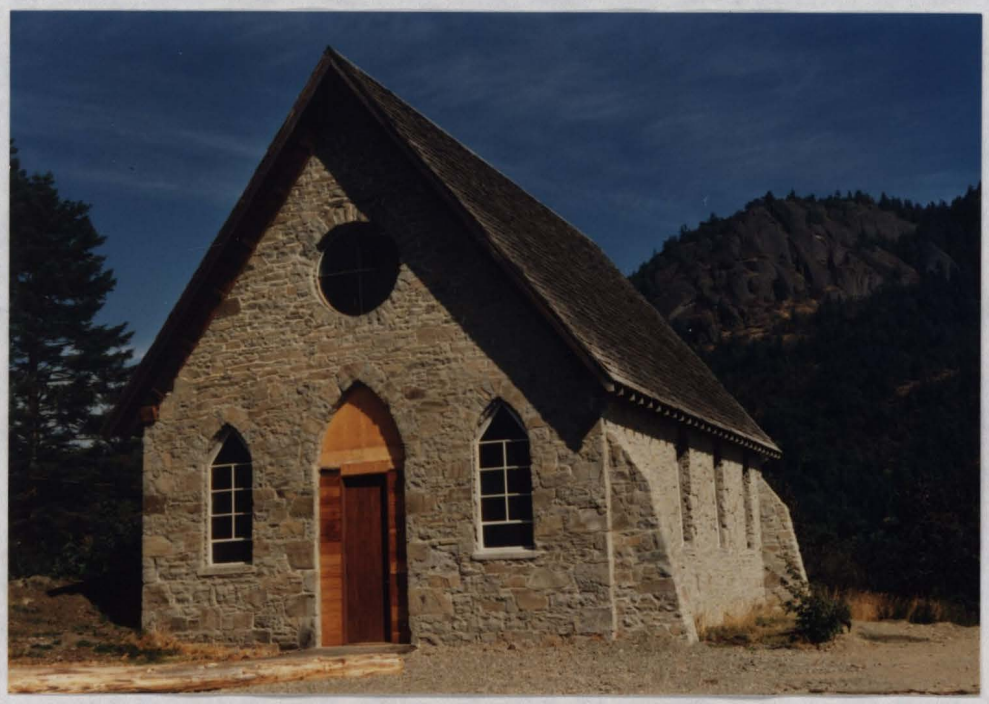

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16

17

18

19

20

5. Personal History

a) Concerning yourself: (PROMPT CARDS USED)

i) please indicate which age group you are in

_____ 18-25
_____ 26-35
_____ 36-45
_____ 46-60
_____ 61 plus

ii) please indicate your education level

_____ public school (to Grade 8)
_____ some high school (Grades 9-13)
_____ completed high school
_____ partial trades apprenticeship
_____ journeyman's certificate (tradesman)
_____ some College or University
_____ College or University degree
_____ higher or professional degree

iii) please also indicate your current "situation"

_____ employed full-time
_____ seasonally employed or part-time
_____ unemployed
_____ welfare recipient
_____ student full-time
_____ home-maker
_____ retired
_____ independently wealthy
_____ incapacitated (injured/chronic illness/handicapped)

b) Concerning others in your region:

i) how many people live in this house with you? _____ (#)

ii) how many close relatives do you have in your region? _____ (#)

iii) for people you would call close friends, about how many would you say that you have in your region? _____ (#)

SUM TOTAL _____ (#)

5. (cont.)

c) Concerning your occupational field(s):

i) what is your present (or usual) occupation?

_____

ii) have you had any other occupations which you have been in for 2 or 3 years or more?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please list these for me, including the length of time that you were involved in each occupation.

occupation	length of time
#1 _____	_____
#2 _____	_____
#3 _____	_____
#4 _____	_____

iii) have you been a member or are you a member of a profession, a union, or the military, with an involvement in any of these for 2 or 3 years or more?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me these, including the length of time that you were a member of each.

group	length of time
#1 _____	_____
#2 _____	_____
#3 _____	_____
#4 _____	_____

d) Concerning where you have lived or travelled:

i) have you travelled to any places outside the Cowichan Valley, staying there for at least 2 or 3 weeks?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me about some of the ones which stand-out in your mind, including when you were there and how long you stayed at each place.

(WRITTEN ON NEXT PAGE)

5. (cont.)

name of place	region	when	# of weeks
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			

ii) have you lived in places other than the Cowichan Valley for at least 2 to 3 years?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me about the ones where you stayed the longest, including when you were there and the number of years that you lived there.

name of place	region	when	# of years
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			

iii) comparing your region here with 4 of the places where you have lived before, which stand-out the most in your mind, please tell me for each of these other places if they were any better, the same, or worse than here (for your general feeling that you liked being in that place).

(FOR APPLICABLE RESPONDENTS ONLY)

name of place	better	same	worse
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			

iv) can you tell me the main reason(s) why you feel this way about each of these places, in comparison with your region?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: reason(s) given (condensed by myself; corresponds with 5.d)iii)

#1 _____

#2 _____

#3 _____

#4 _____

SECTION III

Personal Feelings on their Region

1. Rating on their region

How would you rate your region overall (for how much you like it and feel attached to it), on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest?

("X" PLACED ON SCALE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

NOTE: If the rating is 5 or less on the scale above, question 2 below is asked.

If the rating is 6 or more on the scale above, questions 3 & 4 only are asked.

2. Negative rating on scale

a) Are you considering permanently moving away from here?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: i) within about what time frame are you planning to leave?

Months _____ Years _____

ii) what, if anything, do you think you will miss the most from your region when you are gone?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IF NO: iii) are the costs involved in such a move keeping you from leaving?

Yes _____ No _____

iv) are there other reasons why you are unable to leave here?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me why you remain here, even though you don't really like this place.

(SEE NEXT PAGE)

2. (cont.)

reason(s) why you remain here

b) Do you feel that your region is lacking in a certain "something", such as not enough scenic distinctiveness or poor community spirit, which makes it hard to form an attachment to this place?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: what in particular bothers you about your region in this way?

3. Positive rating on scale

a) What do you miss the most from your region when you're away?

(ONLY ASKED TO APPLICABLE RESPONDENTS: WHO HAVE BEEN AWAY)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

b) Do you start to feel uncomfortable (as if you're an outsider) when you're in another region away from here?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Where do you begin to feel this uneasiness? (is it at a certain distance away or is it in regions very different from this one?) Please explain this to me as best you can.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

c) Could you tell me when you started to notice your feelings of attachment to this place?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: i) how long ago (or how long after you moved here) was it?

_____ months/years

ii) why do you think it started then?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Summary of positive feelings about your region

Could you please describe to me what it is about living here that has helped to create an attachment to this place? (are there certain characteristics about your region that make it special to you, such as your involvement here, the community spirit, or the local scenery?)

Thankyou again for your help in completing this interview.

Interview # ____

SECTION IV

Concluding Remarks

Comments

If you have any further comments about this survey or your region, please write them below.

A summary of my findings on "Sense of Place in the Cowichan Valley" will be available at the CVRD Planning Office in Duncan in about 1 year, if you wish to see it.

Robert Bruce Hay

Interview # ____

SECTION V

Additional Notes on the Interview

(completed after interview)

1. Description of house and its setting

a) Location:

i) in the Valley: Upper Valley ____ / Lower Valley ____

ii) distance to (use closest town): Duncan ____ km. / Lake Cowichan ____ km.

iii) proximity to nearby house(s) ____ m.

b) Setting:

i) category: Suburban ____ / Rural ____ / Remote ____

ii) prominent physical features or landmarks nearby

_____

_____

_____

iii) landscape description (subjective)

_____

_____

_____

c) House:

i) category: Single Dwelling ____ / Duplex ____ / Apartment ____ / Other (describe)

_____

ii) primary activity: Residence ____ / Residence/Business ____ / Working Farm ____ / Other (describe)

_____

iii) style (architectural) _____

iv) general upkeep (including grounds): Tidy/Clean/Trimmed ____ / Average ____ / Unkempt/Messy ____

2. Description of Interview

a) Where held: in house _____ room _____

outside _____ location _____

b) Others present: Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: relation 1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

c) Weather near time of interview: _____

_____

d) Mood of respondent (subjective): _____

_____

e) Hesitancy or unwillingness to answer questions:

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: question #'s _____

3. Demographic Information

a) Person interviewed: Husband _____

Wife _____

Sole Occupant _____

Other (describe) _____

b) Sex of respondent: Male _____ Female _____

c) Racial stock and/or ethnic group evident:

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: describe _____

d) Dialect evident: Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: describe _____

_____

e) Social class (subjective): Upper _____

Middle _____

Lower _____

4. Summary assessment of respondent (subjective)

a) General knowledge of surrounding region:

Good _____ Average _____ Poor _____

b) Sensory awareness level of their region (beyond their immediate home area):

Very Aware _____ Average _____ Unaware _____

IF NOT AVERAGE: describe _____

_____

_____

c) Attachment to his/her "place":

Strong _____ Average _____ Weak _____

IF NOT AVERAGE: describe _____

_____

_____

APPENDIX II

REFINED INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Note. Refer to notes listed on cover page of Appendix I.

Interview # ____

SENSE OF PLACE IN THE COWICHAN VALLEY

SECTION I

Cover Page

(of interview questionnaire)

Interview held: Date: _____ Time: _____ to _____

Interview arranged for: Date: _____ Time: _____

Call backs (if occupant not home) Date: _____ Time: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

Adjacent house selected for interview (original not possible): Yes _____ No _____

Preamble Checklist

_____ My name & affiliation (show I.D. card)
_____ What the study is about (brief)
_____ Anonymity assured
_____ length of time for interview

_____ Appointment can be made
_____ Who can be interviewed (1 per household; at least 18 years old & 1 year residence)
_____ Description of interview (see below)
_____ Results made available (in summary form)

Materials Required

Acetate, Pens, Scissors
1:50,000 topographic maps
Sets of photo prints
Questionnaire & Pencils
Prompt cards & statement sheet
Additional notes on interview
Comments sheet on interview
Tape recorder & Tapes
Vancouver Island map
Panoramic photo of Duncan area

Interview Format

First an explanation of the entire interview is given, including the sections and materials to be used. The interviewer clarifies questions and provides for spontaneous linking statements between sections. Build-up of rapport is desired, as well as respondent's awareness of their region, to provide more detailed answers to Section III. Interviewer fills in answers to all questions.

SECTION II

Background Information on Respondent

	ACTION
1. Construction of mental map	
a) Could you please help me draw the boundary of the region that you consider to be your home territory. (that you're familiar with, travel around often, comfortable within, and attached to the people and the place) I'll help locate you on this map.	PROVIDE ACETATE, PEN, & BASE MAP OF COWICHAN VALLEY BOUNDARY DRAWN ON ACETATE IN BLACK
b) Within this region, which main towns do you use on a regular basis? (this may also help in defining the boundary better)	TOWNS MARKED BY BLACK X; TOWNS CIRCLED IN RED AND NAMED IN BLACK
c) Please show me the main routes that you use between these towns and within this region.	ROUTES DRAWN ON ACETATE IN RED.
d) What do you normally use to travel around this region?	_____
e) I would like to know what places are special to you in this region, for such things as outdoor recreation, social outings, or personal trips. (the areas that are the most important to you, where you like to go)	SPECIAL PLACES INDICATED ON MAP BY A LARGE SOLID GREEN DOT AND NAMED (USING LOCAL NAMES); 1:50,000 TOPO MAP USED TO HELP LOCATE THESE PLACES
f) Are some of these special places more important to you than others?	Yes _____ No _____
IF YES: Could you tell me about 2 or 3 of these places and why they are so special to you?	THESE PLACES DOUBLED IN SIZE (FOR THE SOLID GREEN DOT) AND NAMED
place name	reason for it being special
#1 _____	_____
#2 _____	_____
#3 _____	_____
g) Now, which areas within this region do you seldom travel to?	INDICATED BY DIAGONAL WIDELY - SPACED LINES IN BLUE
h) Aside from what you have already shown me, are their certain places in this region where you would like to go to, but have not been able to yet?	Yes _____ No _____
IF YES: Could you tell me the names of a few of these places and help me to locate them on the map?	PLACES INDICATED ON MAP BY LARGE BLUE X's AND NAMED

This area we have drawn will be called "your region" throughout the remainder of the interview. You may adjust the map, such as the original boundary, if you wish. Please remember to refer to this area of the map as you answer the rest of my questions. If you want to add more details to the map, we can do so at the end of the interview.

2. Social Activities

a) Within your region, are you (or any member of this household) involved in any clubs, sports teams, citizens' associations, church groups, or political organizations?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you tell me each activity and whether it is a frequent, seldom, or rare involvement?

community activity	frequent	seldom	rare
#1 _____	___	___	___
#2 _____	___	___	___
#3 _____	___	___	___
#4 _____	___	___	___
#5 _____	___	___	___
#6 _____	___	___	___

b) There are a number of festivals and community events held in the Cowichan Valley each year. Have you (or any member of this household) attended any of these in the past year?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you tell me which ones?

event

#1 _____

#2 _____

#3 _____

#4 _____

c) Could you tell me some of your regular social activities in your region, such as family gatherings, entertainment with friends, or recreation?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Could you list these for me?

social activity

#1 _____

#2 _____

#3 _____

#4 _____

d) Where do you do most of your regular shopping each week: in which town?

_____

When you say you're "going to town" (e.g. for entertainment), which town are you talking about?

_____

3. Local Knowledge

Please answer these few short questions about your region.

NOTE: If any question is unanswered in the first 5 questions, the sixth question is used as an alternate; otherwise, the last question is disregarded.

i. Except for your recently elected MP, could you name one elected official who represents your region?

name of official _____

ii. What is the major employment industry in your region?

industry _____

iii. What is the largest non-European ethnic group and their approximate population size here, other than the Native Indians?

ethnic group _____

population size _____

iv. Within 5%, what is the current rate of unemployment in your region?

unemployment rate _____

v. Can you name a major economic development planned for your region in the next 5 years, or one that is currently being developed?

development _____

Alternate question:

vi. In what decade was your region first settled by white pioneers?

decade _____

Score ____/5

4. Applied Knowledge

a) Please quickly scan these statements.

(STATEMENT SHEET PROVIDED)

Briefly tell me about 2 of these issues that cause the strongest reaction within you. Why do you feel this way about it?

You can either be for or against the statement on the sheet. Please give me some details about this issue, if you can.

Statement # _____ Reaction: For _____ Against _____

Reason: _____

Statement # _____ Reaction: For _____ Against _____

Reason: _____

Strength of Reactions: # #

Strong
Average
Weak

YOUR REACTION TO STATEMENTS

(which could be about your region)

1. The different levels of government here do not represent my personal interests very well.

2. Sewage, logs, and old machinery at Cowichan Bay or Cowichan Lake are an unsightly mess and should be cleaned-up.

3. Better reforestation practices and co-operation between the logging companies and the Provincial Government are needed to ensure that logging can continue here for many years to come.

4. The tourism industry can provide many new jobs to the economy here in the near future.

5. The Agricultural Land Reserve system preserves alot of marginal land here that could be put to better uses.

6. There should be programs created locally to foster better communication and understanding between the Native Indians, East Indians, and the white residents here.

7. More sub-division of land and multiple-housing units are needed outside the Duncan city core.

8. There is no need for more fishing limits, area closures, or fish hatcheries to help the salmon fishing industry around here.

9. People from the big cities and tourists from elsewhere are generally a nuisance . . . they just don't appreciate this region much.

10. Scheduling and service on the E & N Railway are perfectly adequate for my needs here.

4. (cont.)

b) I have some photos here of your region.

(PHOTOS PROVIDED)

Select 2 photos, choosing ones which bring back clear memories of the place in the photo or of a nearby place (if all of the photos are unfamiliar, you can tell me about a similar area of the Valley). I'd like to know what each place means to you personally. In a few sentences, please tell me your own experiences, including the local folklore about the place if you want. Remember, I'd like to hear your own stories.

Take your time and think back as you leaf through these photos. Are any of these places recognizable or particularly special to you? Sometimes it helps to choose scenes which you like, ones that you are fond of.

Scene # _____

Scene # _____

5. Personal History

a) Concerning yourself: (PROMPT CARDS USED)

i) please indicate which age group you are in

_____ 18-25
_____ 26-35
_____ 36-45
_____ 46-60
_____ 61 plus

ii) please indicate your education level

_____ public school (to Grade 8)
_____ some high school (Grades 9-13)
_____ completed high school
_____ partial trades apprenticeship
_____ journeyman's certificate (tradesman)
_____ some College or University
_____ College or University degree
_____ higher or professional degree

iii) please also indicate your current "situation"

_____ employed full-time or self-employed
_____ seasonally employed or part-time
_____ unemployed
_____ welfare recipient
_____ student full-time
_____ home-maker
_____ retired
_____ independently wealthy
_____ incapacitated (injured/chronic illness/handicapped)

b) Concerning others in your region:

i) how many people live in this house with you? _____ (#)

ii) how many close relatives do you have in your region? _____ (#)

iii) for people you would call close friends, about how many would you say that you have in your region? This can be an estimate. _____ (#)

SUM TOTAL _____ (#)

5. (cont.)

c) Concerning your occupational field(s):

i) what is your present (or usual) occupation?

_____

ii) have you had any other occupations which you have been in for 2 or 3 years or more?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please list these for me, including the length of time that you were involved in each occupation.

occupation	length of time
#1 _____	_____
#2 _____	_____
#3 _____	_____
#4 _____	_____

iii) have you been a member or are you a member of a profession, a union, or the military, with an involvement in any of these for 2 or 3 years or more?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me these, including the length of time that you were a member of each.

group	length of time
#1 _____	_____
#2 _____	_____
#3 _____	_____
#4 _____	_____

d) Concerning where you have lived or travelled:

i) have you travelled to any places outside the Cowichan Valley, staying there for at least 2 or 3 weeks?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me about some of the ones which stand-out in your mind, including when you were there and how long you stayed at each place.

(WRITTEN ON NEXT PAGE)

5. (cont.)

name of place	region	when	# of weeks
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			

ii) how long have you lived in the Cowichan Valley? _____ # of years

have you lived in places other than the Valley for at least 2 to 3 years?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me about the ones where you stayed the longest, including when you were there and the number of years that you lived there.

name of place	region	when	# of years
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			

iii) comparing your region here with these places where you have lived before, which stand-out the most in your mind, please tell me for each of these other places if they were any better, the same, or worse than here (for your general feeling that you liked being in that place).

(FOR APPLICABLE RESPONDENTS ONLY)

name of place	better	same	worse
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			

iv) can you tell me the main reason(s) why you feel this way about each of these places, in comparison with your region?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: reason(s) given (condensed by myself; corresponds with 5.d)iii)

#1 _____

#2 _____

#3 _____

#4 _____

SECTION III

Personal Feelings on their Region

1. Rating on their region

How would you rate your region overall (for how much you like it and feel attached to it), on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest?

("X" PLACED ON SCALE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

NOTE: If the rating is 5 or less on the scale above, question 2 below is asked.

If the rating is 6 or more on the scale above, questions 3 & 4 only are asked.

2. Negative rating on scale

a) Are you considering permanently moving away from here?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: i) within about what time frame are you planning to leave?

Months _____ Years _____

ii) what, if anything, do you think you will miss the most from your region when you are gone?

_____

_____

_____

_____

iii) What is your main reason(s) for moving away?

_____

IF NO: iv) are the costs involved in such a move keeping you from leaving?

Yes _____ No _____

v) are there other reasons why you are unable to leave here?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: please tell me why you remain here, even though you don't really like this place.

(SEE NEXT PAGE)

2. (cont.)

reason(s) why you remain here

b) Do you feel that your region is lacking in a certain "something", such as not enough scenic distinctiveness or poor community spirit, which makes it hard to form an attachment to this place?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: what in particular bothers you about your region in this way?

3. Positive rating on scale

a) What do you miss the most from your region when you're away?

(ONLY ASKED TO APPLICABLE RESPONDENTS: WHO HAVE BEEN AWAY)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

b) Do you start to feel uncomfortable (as if you're an outsider) when you're in another region away from here?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: Where do you begin to feel this uneasiness? (is it at a certain distance away or is it in regions very different from this one?) Please explain this to me as best you can.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

c) Could you tell me when you started to notice your feelings of attachment to this place?

Yes _____ No _____

IF YES: i) how long after you moved here was it?

_____ months/years

ii) why do you think it started then?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

d) What was your main reason(s) for moving here?

_____

(NOTE: c) & d) above not asked to residents born in the Valley)

4. Summary of positive feelings about your region

Could you please describe to me what it is about living here that has helped to create an attachment to this place? (are there certain characteristics about your region that make it special to you, such as your involvement here, the community spirit, or the local scenery: PANORAMIC PHOTO OF VALLEY SHOWN)

(CONVERSATIONS TAPED & MAIN POINTS WRITTEN ON SHEET AS BACK-UP)

Thankyou again for your help in completing this interview.

Interview # ____

SECTION IV

Concluding Remarks

Comments

If you have any further comments about this survey or your region, please write them below.

A summary of my findings on "Sense of Place in the Cowichan Valley" will be available at the CVRD Planning Office in Duncan in about 1 year, if you wish to see it.

Robert Bruce Hay

SECTION V

Additional Notes on the Interview

(completed after interview)

1. Description of house and its setting

a) Location:

i) in the Valley — Upper Valley ____ / Lower Valley ____

ii) distance by road to (use closest town) — Duncan ____ km. / Lake Cowichan ____ km.

iii) proximity to nearby house(s) ____ m.

b) Setting:

i) category — Suburban ____ / Rural ____ / Remote ____

ii) prominent physical features or landmarks nearby

_____

_____

_____

iii) landscape description (subjective)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

c) House:

i) category — Single Dwelling ____ / Duplex ____ / Apartment ____ / Other (describe)

_____

ii) primary activity — Residence ____ / Residence/Business ____ / Working Farm ____ / Other (describe)

_____

iii) style (architectural) _____

iv) general upkeep (including grounds) — Tidy/Clean/Trimmed ____ / Average ____ / Unkempt/Messy ____

2. Description of Interview

a) Where held: in house _____ room _____
outside _____ location _____

b) Others present: Yes _____ No _____
IF YES: relation 1) _____
2) _____
3) _____

c) Weather near time of interview: _____
_____

d) Mood of respondent (subjective): _____
_____

e) Hesitancy or unwillingness to answer questions:
Yes _____ No _____
IF YES: question #'s _____

3. Demographic Information

a) Person interviewed: Husband _____
Wife _____
Sole Occupant _____
Other (describe) _____

b) Sex of respondent: Male _____ Female _____

c) Racial stock and/or ethnic group evident:
Yes _____ No _____
IF YES: describe _____

d) Dialect evident: Yes _____ No _____
IF YES: describe _____
_____

e) Social class (subjective): Upper _____
Middle _____
Lower _____

f) General physical health: Good _____
(refers to senses/mobility) Poor _____

4. Summary assessment of respondent (subjective)

a) General knowledge of surrounding region:
Good _____ Average _____ Poor _____

b) Sensory awareness level of their region (beyond their immediate home area):
Very Aware _____ Average _____ Unaware _____
IF NOT AVERAGE: describe _____
_____
_____

c) Attachment to his/her "place":
Strong _____ Average _____ Weak _____
IF NOT AVERAGE: describe _____
_____
_____

APPENDIX III

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES USED IN STATISTICAL ANALYSES

Appendix III

Description of Variables used in Statistical Analyses

Variable name	Mean	Standard Deviation	Location in Questionnaire	Basis of Assessment
region	2.99	1.53	Sect.V: p.1	data
setting	2.88	1.13	Sect.V: p.1	data
preference	2.31	.71	Sect.II: p.1&5 Sect.III: p.4	data/my assessment
awareness	1.46	.50	Sect.V: p. 2	data/my assessment
compare	.54	.83	Sect.II: p.8	data
education level	3.83	1.28	Sect.II: p.6	data
exploration	1.89	1.44	Sect.II: p.1	combination of data
former occupational field	3.99	3.72	Sect.II: p.7	data
gender	1.54	.51	Sect.V: p.2	data
local knowledge (details)	1.49	.50	Sect.II: p.4	data
local travel	1.83	.91	Sect.II: p.6&7	combination of data
motivation	1.74	.83	Sect.III: p.3 &4 (or p.1&2)	data/my assessment
moving	1.52	.83	Sect.III: p.4	data/my assessment
occupational field	6.97	3.93	Sect.II: p.6&7	data
rate other places	1.74	.91	Sect.II: p.8	data
territoriality	1.60	.49	Sect.II: p.4	data/my assessment
travels nearby	1.52	1.02	Sect.II: p.1	data
uncomfortable	1.22	.42	Sect.III: p.3	data (not asked if -ve attachment)
when attached	2.08	1.42	Sect.III: p.3	data (not asked if born in Valley)
age group	3.20	1.05	Sect.II: p.6	data
area used	211.23	143.04	Sect.II: p.1	data
distance	7.29	5.37	Sect.V: p.1	data
events	1.62	.95	Sect.II: p.2	data
family	12.35	14.02	Sect.II: p.6	data
friends	16.91	13.11	Sect.II: p.6	data
groups	1.74	1.58	Sect.II: p.2	data
length of residence	19.61	15.26	Sect.II: p.8	data
local knowledge (quiz)	4.22	.91	Sect.II: p.3	data
social	3.88	2.10	Sect.II: p.2	data
special places	6.39	4.67	Sect.II: p.1	data
sub-regions	3.80	1.53	Sect.II: p.1	data
total area	282.46	173.12	Sect.II: p.1	data

Appendix III

Frequency Counts (by category) of Variables used in Statistical Analyses

Variable name	Code	Category	Frequency count
region	1	Cowichan Lake	15
	2	Lake Cowichan	14
	3	Cowichan River	9
	4	north and east of Duncan	11
	5	south of Duncan	16
setting	1	wooded	11
	2	waterside	12
	3	farmland	16
	4	town/suburb	26
preference	1	people/town	9
	2	people/town & outdoors	27
	3	outdoors	29
awareness	1	low or average awareness level	35
	2	high awareness level	30
compare	0	have lived far from Valley	44
	1	have lived adjacent to Valley	7
	2	born in/child in Valley	14
education level	1	higher degree	4
	2	university/college degree	5
	3	some university/college	15
	4	high school	20
	5	some high school	16
	6	public school	5
exploration	0	map simple; >3 places yet to see	17
	1	map simple; 2 places yet to see	11
	2	map average; 1 place yet to see	7
	3	map complex; seen all places	22
	4	map complex; many places yet to see	8
former occupational field	0	no former occupation	20
	1	professional	5
	2	manager/administrator	3
	3	technical/military	7
	4	trades	5
	5	salesman	2

(continued)

Variable name	Code	Category	Frequency count
former occupational field (continued)	6	operatives	1
	7	clerical	1
	8	service/sales clerk	9
	9	labourer	8
	10	farmer/fisherman	4
gender	1	female	30
	2	male	35
local knowledge (details)	1	no	33
	2	yes	32
local travel	1	no	33
	2	sometimes	10
	3	yes	22
motivation	1	no reason to live in Valley	33
	2	had a reason to live in Valley	16
	3	had a strong reason to live in Valley	16
moving	0	yes	14
	1	uncertain	3
	2	no	48
occupational field	1	professional	7
	2	manager/administrator	6
	3	technical/military	5
	4	trades	4
	5	salesman	2
	6	operatives	7
	7	clerical	1
	8	service/sales clerk	4
	9	labourer	8
	10	farmer/fisherman	1
	11	retired	10
	12	unemployed/welfare	10
rate other places	0	higher rating for other places	6
	1	same rating for Valley and other places	19
	2	lower rating for other places	26
	3	have not lived outside Valley	14
territoriality	1	not a strong reaction	26
	2	strong reaction	39

Variable name	Code	Category	Frequency count
travels nearby	0	cities and backwoods	9
	1	cities	29
	2	backwoods	11
	3	does not leave Valley often	16
uncomfortable	0	question not asked (category was discarded for analyses)	7
	1	no	45
	2	yes	13
when attached	0	not attached to Valley	7
	1	became attached after moving to Valley	24
	2	became attached on arrival in Valley	8
	3	became attached before moving to Valley	9
	4	born in/child in Valley	17
age group	1	18 to 25 years of age	2
	2	26 to 35	17
	3	36 to 45	19
	4	46 to 60	20
	5	61 plus	7
area used	continuous frequency	49 to 100 kilometers square	14
		101 to 200	24
		201 to 300	14
		301 to 400	5
		401 to 500	4
		501 to 653	4
distance	continuous frequency	2 to 5 kilometers	8
		6 to 9	23
		10 to 13	13
		14 to 26	7
events	continuous frequency	0 events attended	9
		1	19
		2	25
		3	12

Variable name	Code	Category	Frequency Count
family	continuous frequency	1 to 10 family	43
		11 to 20	8
		21 to 30	8
		31 to 40	2
		41 to 70	4
friends	continuous frequency	1 to 10 friends	24
		11 to 20	24
		21 to 30	9
		31 to 40	2
		41 to 50	5
groups	continuous frequency	0 groups belong to	16
		1	19
		2	12
		3	9
		4	2
		5	7
length of residence	continuous frequency	<1 year	5
		1 to 10	16
		11 to 20	16
		21 to 30	11
		31 to 40	12
		41 to 50	2
		51 to 61	3
local knowledge (quiz)	continuous frequency	1 correct answer	1
		2	2
		3	9
		4	23
		5	30
social	continuous frequency	1 to 2 social activities	18
		3 to 4	28
		5 to 6	10
		7 to 8	7
		9 to 10	2
special places	continuous frequency	0 special places	2
		1 to 5	35
		6 to 10	19
		11 to 27	9

Variable name	Code Category		Frequency Count
sub-regions	continuous	1 sub-region in map	3
	frequency	2	14
		3	11
		4	12
		5	17
		6	6
	(note: sub-regions were backwoods; outer upper Valley; inner upper Valley; outer lower Valley; inner lower Valley; north of Duncan; south of Duncan)		
total area	continuous	64 to 100 kilometers square	2
	frequency	101 to 200	23
		201 to 300	18
		301 to 400	9
		401 to 500	5
		501 to 951	8

Description of Dependent Variable (and its frequency count)

Variable name	Mean	Standard Deviation	Location in Questionnaire	Basis of Assessment
attachment level	8.25	1.59	Sect.III: p.1	data

			Frequency Count
continuous	4 to 5	attachment level	6
frequency	6 to 7		14
	8		14
	9		12
	10		19

VITA

Surname: HAY Given Names: ROBERT BRUCE

Place of Birth: Winnipeg, Man. Date of Birth: September 13, 1954

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C. 1972 to 1973

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C. 1979 to 1986

____ to ____

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. 1981 University of Victoria, B.C.

Honors and Awards:

Publications:

Bell, L.M., & Kallman, R.J. (1976) The Kitimat River estuary: Status of environmental knowledge to 1976 (contributed to pp. 91-111). Ottawa: Environment Canada.

Gifford, R., Hay, R., & Boros, K. (1982-83) Individual differences in environmental attitudes. The Journal of Environmental Education, 14(2), 19-23.

Hay, R. (in press) The birds of Sooke estuary (and adjacent waters). Victoria Naturalist.

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