

REMAKING HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Edited by
Audrey Kobayashi and Suzanne Mackenzie

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AUDREY KOBAYASHI
AND SUZANNE MACKENZIE

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Edited by

Audrey Kobayashi

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Foreword

This book is concerned with developing a dialogue between humanism and historical materialism in human geography. It seems to me that its contributions differ from those made by participants in the debates which took place in the 1970s in a number of important ways. These emerge with great clarity from the essays which follow, but it might be helpful to signpost some of them in advance (though there are obvious dangers in doing so: there are differences between the contributors which ought not to be glossed over in any genuine debate).

First, a programme of this kind does not involve a direct mapping of philosophy or social theory into human geography. In the past, I suspect, there was a tacit assumption that most of our problems had to be resolved on some privileged terrain outside the discipline and then projected on to it. On this reading, geography was at best parasitic on developments taking place elsewhere. The situation has now changed, and there is an increasing recognition of the importance of concepts of place, space and landscape across the whole field of the humanities and the social sciences. Their incorporation does not leave the traditional orthodoxies unchanged – far from it – but within human geography (if we can still speak within the usual disciplinary enclosures) humanism can no longer be portrayed as a parochialism in which the day-to-day lives of particular people in particular places is the single focus of study, any more than historical materialism can continue to be criticized as a brute globalism in which the specificities of history and geography are read off from the universal logic of the (capitalist) mode of production. Both traditions have moved beyond those simple reductions towards a recognition of the complexity of human geographies: towards the realization that, as Mann puts it, ‘societies are much *messier* than our theories of them’.

Second, it follows that neither humanism nor historical materialism are exercises in pure abstraction. Some of the early writings (on both sides) probably deserve that description: too many appeals to ‘the’ human subject or to ‘the’ logic of capital. But no more. Humanistic geography is increasingly concerned with

making sense of the dynamics of concrete 'language-games' and not, as Geertz once so pungently put it, with 'discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping its bodiless landscape'. Historico-geographical materialism, too, is much more attentive to the variability of capitalism across time and space and the emergence of distinctively new regimes of accumulation. To say this is not to imply that either of them is inimical to theoretical reflection or to the construction of theoretical systems – all of these essays demonstrate the connective imperative between the theoretical and the empirical – but it might well require us to re-think what we mean by (and expect of) theory itself: to re-cast the relations between what some commentators see as Grand Theory (or not-so-grand theory) and 'local knowledge'.

Opening up that wider conversation has required a third change: a movement beyond the old absolutisms which all but paralysed previous discussions. This is more than an argument about recognizing the plurality of traditions within both humanism and historical materialism (important though that is); it is also about recognizing the cross-currents between them. Let me give two obvious examples. Contemporary versions of humanism need to be distinguished – and certainly more clearly distinguished than is usually the case – from liberal individualism and its characteristic emphasis on the autonomy of the individual. It would not be difficult to identify a series of developments, all of them located within a broadly conceived humanism, which accentuate the 'boundedness' of human agency and seek to disclose the various systems and structures which enter into the constitution of social life. Equally, historical materialism cannot be confined to its largely structural versions; these were never as constricting as most of their critics seemed to think, but in any event there are now versions of 'rational choice' or 'game-theoretic' Marxism which claim that all social phenomena are explicable only in terms of individuals and attempt to expose the 'microfoundations' of historical materialism. It should go without saying that developments of this kind need careful scrutiny, and I would not want to endorse either of these particular examples; but taken together they do suggest that critical examination (and reconstruction) ought not to mean a narrowly sectarian exegesis. Of course there are differences between intellectual traditions, and I think it unlikely that these can be resolved by appeal to any supra-disciplinary court; but I also think it intrinsically implausible to assume that any one perspective has a monopoly of understanding or insight. I realise that this raises the spectre of relativism – even nihilism – but in so many ways the essays in this collection point

to a movement beyond both relativism and absolutism. It is not a matter of accepting that 'anything goes', that one interpretation is as good as any other – it doesn't and it isn't – but rather of recognizing the creative tension which emerges through the mediation of different frames of reference.

That said, choices have to be made, of course, and this has the liveliest of practical implications. I see this as the fourth moment; both humanistic geography and historico-geographical materialism have become more participatory projects. I don't think I was alone in detecting a rasping elitism in some of the early formulations of humanism, in its more conservative forms at least, and within Marxism too there was, at times anyway, an unmistakable presumption that the task of radical intellectuals was to plot the collective destiny of other people. But the essays in this book demonstrate a greater sensitivity towards the deeper meaning of 'making history': towards the interpenetration of human agency and social structure. And in doing so they also show exactly what is at stake in remaking human geography.

DEREK GREGORY

For our parents, who gave us childhood
in the interior of British Columbia

Acknowledgments

This collection was inspired by a set of sessions organized around the themes of humanism and historical materialism at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers in Nanaimo, British Columbia, in 1984. We wish to thank all the people who participated in and attended those sessions. In keeping with the spirit of contextual approach that provides the main theme of the papers in this book, the editors wish to acknowledge the important roles played by their respective educational experiences with their undergraduate years at the University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University respectively. We would also like to thank those who provided encouragement and constructive criticism in the early stages, among others, Michael Dear, Ruth Fincher, Peter Jackson and Mark Cohen, who helped us through the editing process. For their support, we thank Alan Nash and Mark Rosenberg, friends, geographers and husbands. The Departments of Geography at Carleton and McGill have provided much administrative assistance. We especially thank Marie Raymond at Carleton and Angela Mansi at McGill. The volume has been a collective effort by all contributors. We thank them for their patience and cooperation. Special acknowledgement is due to John Bradbury, whose paper here is being published posthumously. Until a few days before he died, John played a very significant role as friend, colleague and mentor, and we owe much of both the inspiration and the hard slogging to his encouragement and suggestions. Finally, the editors take full responsibility for errors and omissions.

AUDREY KOBAYASHI & SUZANNE MACKENZIE

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People make their own history, but they do not create it at will or under conditions of their own choosing; rather, by circumstances directly encountered, given and bequeathed.

Die Menschen machen ihre eigene Geschichte, aber die machen sie nicht aus freien Stücken, nicht unter selbstgewählten, sondern unter unmittelbar vorgefundenen, gegebenen und überlieferten Umständen.

Marx, Karl 1946. *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*. Berlin: Verlag JHW Dietz Nachf.

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Introduction: humanism and historical materialism in contemporary geography

AUDREY KOBAYASHI
& SUZANNE MACKENZIE★

This is a book about some of the ways we do geography, and especially about how geographic research can provide understanding of some of the issues that dominate the current agenda of citizens, academics and policy makers. We are concerned to understand how social processes have motivated new theoretical and methodological debates in geography, how we have responded to these, and what have been some of the outcomes of our response.

We live in the world, among our data. This truism sets the basic condition for the fact that we also analyse the world, in a disciplined and disciplinary manner. We group, exclude and emphasize using criteria that are systematically learned, but of which we are seldom wholly conscious. In so doing, we change the world, alter our database, not only in restructuring the views of our students, colleagues and the amorphous public, but also in effecting environmental outcomes of our own actions and ideas. We are concerned, therefore, to discover not only the kind of world in which we are living, but also to discover how we as geographers inhabit, reproduce and change that world, and how we understand and control the process of change. Our work is active. Whether we consciously incorporate 'dynamism' into our frameworks, our work is active and dynamic, and necessarily, constantly changing. New issues, emerging forms of social organization and the decline or alteration of existing ones coerce

★The two editors are equally responsible for this book. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

us into new ways of understanding, and we adjust our theoretical perspectives to meet the exigencies of social change.

Sometimes, if the alterations are significant enough and the institutional climate sympathetic, we adopt new perspectives. This has been the case in geography, with the exploration and incorporation of two perspectives that can broadly be referred to as humanism and historical materialism. Both emerged from the social unrest and the academic reorientation that occurred during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Both have now passed through the zealous and often irascible pioneer stages, to a period of more mature and critical discussion of methodology and the production of substantive empirical work. Now, we are reaping the fruits, bitter and sweet, of the social ferment that coalesced two decades ago, and the harvest reflects both the processes we must analyse and the analytical tools at our disposal. Better equipped than we were in the earlier period, we are also confronting difficulties that are in part a legacy of the ways we acquired this analytical equipment.

This volume was inspired by the recognition that the contributions of historical materialism and humanism, which we see as complementing each other in many ways, have often opposed each other. The time has come for urging both out of their parallel courses, in an examination of the possibility for both dialogue and reconstruction. This should be undertaken, however, not merely out of a spirit of *rapprochement*, but because the philosophical, methodological and empirical work in humanism and historical materialism indicates areas where mutually beneficial discussion can take place. In attempting to take these developments into account this book, like all books, is both a reflection of the historical period in which it was produced and an attempt to direct the course of future developments. By way of introduction to the chapters, the following discussion attempts to illustrate some of the ways in which our academic concerns can be explicitly situated within a social context.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

As the recent period of global 'recession' gives way not to a stronger and purified capitalist equilibrium, but to societies undergoing fundamental economic and social 'restructuring', social scientists are facing, for perhaps the second time since the late 1960s, a set of social changes which appear to demand analytic changes.¹ In the 1960s and early 1970s, we were taken aback by

that wide range of protests and problems which shattered the weakening idea of social equilibrium and which coalesced in a variety of movements – tenants and community movements, ethnic and racial movements and the women's liberation movement – now seen as having had an important effect in bringing about permanent social change. They appeared to be expressions of new, or at least hitherto unarticulated, problems in society, and to be making unprecedented and interconnected demands upon the city, the region and, by implication, upon our analyses of the city and region. There followed a period of critical self-examination within the environmental disciplines – geography, planning, architecture, urban and regional studies – during which our data escaped the lumbering computers of the period, broke through the boundaries of our conceptual categories and took to the streets, the council chamber and even the classroom.

In retrospect, we can see that these changes were part of an ongoing process which is characterized by, among other things, extensive economic and social 'restructuring' and global forms of communication and cultural practice. But these changes also present us with a paradox. The circumference of human life is both constricting and expanding. On the one hand, a continuous restructuring of economic and social conditions seems to restrict options: efficiency in production is accompanied by declining numbers of jobs; global marketing appears to involve an international homogenization of cultural forms and economic structures. We seem to have few choices and less space in which to create them. On the other hand, for the first time in history we have both the technological and the intellectual means to act as global citizens, and global changes have elicited a variety of means by which we can react to and further open up disparate areas of life to intellectual analysis as well as conscious political action. There appear to be more places, more parts of our lives, in which we can deliberately act and exercise control: our relations within the household and neighbourhood; our patterns of sexuality; our ability to communicate at a local and world scale.

This means that many of us are not only motivated to examine, for example, the alteration of wage employment patterns, shelter groups or paths of movement in cities and regions, but are living out these changed patterns. In our dual career families wearily commuting up and down disintegrating freeways, in our terminal contracts, with our neighbours in gentrified districts, with our political allies in a variety of *ad hoc* and official alliances, we are both inspired and confounded by the questions that social change creates. Perhaps nowhere has this been more evident than in the

relations between people and their environments.

Geographers have responded to these conditions by seeking a view of the social totality which contains both people and the environment, and which makes explicit the connections among the apparently disparate ways in which the social world is structured. In this respect, the past decade and a half of geographical enquiry has been part of the continuity established by the positivist tradition when it broke with the particularist and ideographic tradition of regional studies which had dominated geography in the 1930s and 1940s.² But we have also broken with the geographic outcome of positivism – spatial science – with its emphasis on abstract relations, and its claim to being value free. We have chosen instead perspectives that make salient the relations of people and environment in context, without casting aside the complexities of this relationship when they could not conform to our models.

In short, we wanted everything. Two decades ago, in the heady days of the 'cultural revolution', when this reassessment began, everything seemed a reasonable thing to ask, both of our own actions and of our conceptual understanding. Some sought to understand the constitution of meanings and values towards the environment, while others recognized the importance of structural links which created and constrained choice in forms of environmental appropriation. We all sought a view of the social totality which included the internal interaction between people and their environment but which did not reduce this to idiosyncrasy, which saw interaction in universal terms, as a base from which to develop analytical generalizations.

But we required more than a new concept of the social totality. We also required a new concept of social change. Although change had been embedded in the earlier regional tradition, it was an evolutionary concept of change, change which appeared to move in slow, albeit graceful, sweeps across a people and a (usually rural) landscape, change which left distinct traces. We appeared to be living in a *revolutionary* period, where change was rapid. Buildings fell, countries divided, spaces for previously inarticulate and formless groups (women, gays, blacks, international refugees, and victims of family violence and psychiatric treatment) were created overnight. The rhythm which had governed the regionalists' evolutionary change had given place to an often discordant but exhilarating beat.

Change had also been present in spatial science, but it was a flat and personless change. One could assume there were real people creating those patterns, flows and hierarchies, or at least making

the phone calls or shipping the goods which generated movement, but it was difficult to put faces on them. They acted, but apparently without feeling, motivation, or the consideration of alternatives. We were, and we saw around us, quite different kinds of actors, people who not only had faces – often black or female ones – but people involved in conscious, often angry attempts to change the constraints under which they acted, to change the flows and patterns which created these constraints. Above all these people were attempting to act in ways which could not even be seen, let alone understood, within the concept of change that rested on the twin pillars of a theoretical equilibrium and methodological duplication of results. Most of us not only did not expect to find current trends extended and results of previous experiments duplicated, we did not want to. Nor did most of the people we worked with, interviewed, or peered at through the foggy lens of officially collected statistics. We were social agents, however clumsy and inarticulate, and we needed to understand, both as academics, and more urgently, as women and men living in society, what it was that we were creating. We suspected, too, that in the process of creating a new society we were somehow creating new forms of social groups, new alliances which dissolved old categories.³ Perhaps we were even creating new kinds of people.⁴

It was with this set of requirements – concepts of the social whole, of the synthetic relation between people and the environment, and of social change – that we began to explore alternative ways of looking at the world which incorporated the rapid and unrati ed creativity of newly coalescing groups. This exploration began with what has been called in retrospect the ‘relevance debate’. This debate, which is given specific recognition (at least for Anglo-Canadian-American geographers) in the journal *Area* in the early 1970s and in the arrival upon the scene of the irreverent *Antipode* in 1969, brought to a close a period of unexamined theoretical and institutional optimism. Geographers attempted to make themselves and their discipline more relevant either to policy makers, as a means of ensuring the survival of the discipline, or to disadvantaged groups in society, as a way of making geography more socially relevant and ensuring it had a place in the ‘new society’ which was emerging out of the shifting protests and alliances being formed around us.⁵

Some geographers, most of them of an age to have relatively little stake in geography as an intact discipline and a way of making a living and a great stake in changing the social reality within which their vision of geography could be placed, extended

the relevance debate to become advocates. Geographers must, they argued, reorient the discipline to solve problems defined not by society's power groups, nor even by socially conscious geographers, but by the disadvantaged groups in society itself. They undertook geographic expeditions, living in the communities they studied and acting as advocates for other residents.⁶ Advocacy geographers changed the definition of what constituted research, claiming that 'research is not complete until implementation is achieved' (Stephenson 1974).

However effective advocacy may have been in challenging the nature and social role of the discipline, it was criticized, often by members of its expeditions, as leading to 'piecemeal' analysis and solutions, and as confining geographers' action and analysis to the study and solving of small scale problems, thus providing only adjustments to the given system. More practitioners argued for a new theoretical base for geography, a 'paradigm shift' which would allow the combined understanding of underlying social forces and strategic action.⁷ In response, the underpinnings of our discipline came to be questioned more and more explicitly through two major alternative paradigms: humanism and historical materialism.⁸ The former was satisfying because it centred on the importance of human agency in human environmental relations, it allowed us to 'reorient science and knowledge in human terms' (Relph 1970, p.193). The latter was satisfying because it was, in Peter Saunders' terms, 'a science of connections', one which argued that society was a structural unity, and which was explicitly concerned to understand and to change the structural relations which defined the nature of social production and reproduction (Saunders 1981).

Both responses had a concept of the social totality which promised synthesis, and a concept of social change. But these appeared, initially, to be radically different concepts. Humanism seemed to centre people – real, living, complex women and men – who were, potentially, infinitely creative, building out from themselves structures of meaning, value and significance, worlds, landscapes and places that were, in Tuan's words, 'centre[s] of meaning constructed by experience' (1975, p.152). Historical materialism, on the other hand, gave us a connected totality, one which 'exposed' the layers of relations, the complex of constraints and conditions in which the individual was embedded and through which the individual was created as a social being and a member of specific groups within which she or he acted. Not surprisingly, early criticism of humanism by historical materialists focused on its lack of structural rigour, its asocial and transcendental

response to the question, 'what is the social whole?'; whereas early criticism of historical materialism by humanists focused on the apparent determinism of agency by structure, the mechanistic and reductionistic definition of the individual by external forces. (See Harris, this volume, for discussion).

But even such criticism was relatively rare in the exploratory period. Geographers were busy mastering the classics of the respective approaches, and applying their ideas to a critique of the still dominant, but decreasingly so, positivism. The hard work of learning to see the world in a new way, the missionary zeal which accompanied each new discovery, the adoption of mutually incomprehensible language, and the apparent urgency of finding the fit between a framework that worked and a set of disciplinary contents which had been produced in quite different contexts, all ensured that initial explorations proceeded upon parallel tracks, and that forays across the tracks were both ill-informed and antagonistic.

This myopia assured that our growing expertise at criticism of positivism was also put to good use in our first attempts at communication. We criticized one another, sometimes to good effect, often with outmoded or dimly conceived ideas of what the 'other side' was doing.⁹ There were more and more articles which outlined the basic premises of humanism as it selectively emerged into geography, and historical materialism as it selectively emerged into geography. There were explorations of how we could and would adapt these perspectives to answer questions about people and the environment.¹⁰ All of this rested upon, ignored or misconstrued a pitifully small body of empirical work where people actually tried to *do* humanism and historical materialism.

That impasse has now been overcome in a number of ways, as we continue to face, or face again, a social reality which is raising new questions, and stimulating methodological response. Although the 1960s and 1970s may have been bewildering periods to live through, in retrospect they are becoming more coherent, as are our own earlier responses. For this was a period when social equilibrium was the conventional wisdom, and where, as a consequence, the conventional 'solution' was social engineering. The answers had been found. Science was carefully naturalizing, and where necessary rectifying, minor problems in the adjustment of different groups, classes, genders, races.¹¹ It was a period where the shattering of the conventional wisdom was thrust upon us by open and evident protest which articulated, if not elegantly, very forcibly and occasionally violently, the existence, even the

dominance, of disequilibrium. It was a type of education in which confrontation was accepted as the appropriate, perhaps the only, form of teaching.

A decade later, we have learned to analyse the problems articulated in the earlier period as social injustice, as inequities in the production and distribution of resources, as the need to incorporate meaning and value. The problems have deepened. Yet we look for responsive protest and find what appear to be adaption and acquiescence. Conditioned to a forcibly articulated change, we see instead an unremarked and unresisted disintegration of the conditions of economic and social life, and of political activity. The responses are there, in fact, but they are different from the responses we expected, so different that we often do not see them.

We had looked to humanism or historical materialism to help us understand the protests, and the reality they articulated. We have been forced to restructure these paradigms in order to grasp the quieter responses to what is perhaps a more fundamental alteration of life. The issues discussed in the first section of this book may perhaps require a very fundamental alteration of our theories, of the concepts through which we see life. Furthermore, over the past decade, we have accumulated a decade's theoretical rigour, and more importantly, altered the two paradigms internally as we adopted and adapted them into geography. We have also seen the slow emergence of the outcomes of this philosophical labour in empirical and historical studies we are now carrying out. These have moved us from a position of mutual, often fine-tuned misunderstanding toward a *rapprochement*, even, in some respects, a convergence, if not of theory then at least of mutual respect. This book is an outcome of this *rapprochement*.

The remainder of this introduction is concerned first with the nature of this convergence and second with the continued diversity, as exemplified in the chapters themselves, in the way we do geography.

CONVERGENCE

The way we define issues is in large part a function of what we are able to see, and what we are able to see is in large part a function of our perspectives. None the less, the current form of social and economic restructuring has forced both humanists and historical materialists to look and listen in new ways, and has motivated some form of internal change in our perspectives. Historical

materialists have moved toward a concept of history centred on 'human agency' (as Mackenzie & Harris argue explicitly) and humanists have developed a concept of human situated more firmly in what Ted Relph calls 'the geographical imagination' and what other authors (Harris, Barnes, Ley) call, in different ways, the 'context'.

Within Marxism as a whole, there has been a move from the bad old days of economic determinism, in which the social totality was conceptualized as a determining base and a liquid, often flatulent and always determined, superstructure. We have largely moved through the Althusserian moment, which dissolved the social totality into a series of mutable 'instances'. Structuralism focused the social agenda on to the political, but at the same time, by reducing human agents to structurally determined 'bearers of relations', precluded the agent from any power to effect change. We are now moving into a relational concept of the totality, powered by intentional human agents. This internal evolution was powered by people's continued insistence on altering the conditions of their own lives, and their social world, and thereby altering the nature of human.¹²

Humanist perspectives have, over the past decade, undergone an opposite, but complementary transition. Early work in the humanist tradition by geographers such as Lowenthal (1961), Tuan (1971, 1974) and Buttimer (1974), challenged the often complacent assumption that fact could be separated from value and excited a generation of young geographers with its challenge to orthodox epistemology. In retrospect, however, the earlier attempts to use humanist perspectives, especially phenomenology, to establish the link between the material world and lived experience, succumbed to the epistemic fallacy of holding that epistemic traits provided the key to knowledge of the world, and idealism was thus an appropriate substitute for materialism.¹³ Knowledge became a reflection of the world rather than an engagement of reality. Not only were such positions philosophically untenable (Samuels 1978), but they precluded the development of a method suitable to either the traditional concerns of social science (Entrikin 1976, Smith 1981) or the emerging concerns to resolve the issue of structure and agency (Cosgrove 1983, Gregory 1978, 1981). More recently, the central lessons of humanism – the anthropocentricity of social life, the need for reflexivity, and the inseparability of fact and value – have been carried forward in a growing trend toward empirical work that is both philosophically informed and firmly rooted in material existence (Ley 1981, 1983, 1985).

A number of authors note that once we begin to do our work, the apparently irreconcilable differences become tractable, even amenable to synthesis. This spirit allows tolerance as well as (stubborn) eclecticism, and encourages what Ley (quoting Johnston 1987) refers to as 'mutual accommodation'. Cosgrove argues that the tension between humanism and historical materialism 'can be a creative one. . . in teaching our geography as a celebration of the diversity and richness of the natural world and of the places human societies create in their collective attempts to make over that world into the homes of humankind'. Kobayashi insists that the study of landscape, which she assigns a pivotal role in the geographic project, necessitates incorporating the strengths of both perspectives. What unites this work, and perhaps gives cause for optimism, is that the chapters are concerned with theory as a guide not only to understanding *per se*, but to understanding as a guide to action.

DIVERSITY

Talking about convergence throws another difficult issue into the milieu created by the debate on the meaning of humanism (Ley, Harris, Relph) and the orientation of the variety of terms utilized to identify historical materialism/Marxism/political economy. Perhaps it is easier to say what convergence is *not*, for the editors, and for the contributors to this collection. Convergence is not the collapsing of philosophical distinction, but rather the refining of philosophical categories and a drawing away from formerly intractable positions slotted into simplified conceptual pigeon holes. The present mood, represented in this collection, is to avoid confrontation or labelling for their own sakes, to attempt to transcend our mutual philosophical naïvety, and to ground our research in the real social problems that we face as geographers and as members of society.

Convergence also implies that we are moving beyond, or at least directly facing the dualism of structure and human agency which has replaced the geographer's previous quandary with the dualism of social process and spatial form, and which has formed the epistemological basis for dialogue between humanists and historical materialists. Convergence in this respect does not imply a choice of one or the other – human agency or structure – as the primary agent or motor of social change, but emphasizes the need for an incorporative understanding of their relationship and interdependency in the emergence of social history. At the same time

two chapters, by Ley and Kobayashi, provide the basis for going beyond duality in resolving the structure/agency debate.

Diversity remains, and in fact dominates, this collection. The attempt to achieve common ground on the definitions of historical materialism and humanism, as a starting point, has been difficult, and it remains clear that at least some of the chapters in this collection are at odds in their use of terminology. This is a diversity within, however, rather than a diversity between two insulated and apparently homogeneous paradigms facing each other as self-contained opposites. This collection is not a dissolution, it is not a watering down, and it cannot be a search for common ground. It is rather an attempt to provoke, sometimes awkwardly, an opening, which allows us to unleash our imaginations in an attempt to learn not only from the newly seen (because newly created) reality around us, but from one another.

The search for common ground (Gould & Olsson 1982), as the recent spate of work on the history of geography indicates, is endemic to the field, whether motivated by a desire for intellectual security or simply by a desire for a shorthand with which to define ourselves relative to the academic community as a whole and to indicate our relevance and worthiness for funding. Apparently common ground, at least in its epistemological terms, is not available just now. What is available, and this collection makes this evident, is a community of concern, concern to understand, to communicate and to control the process of change. This particular outcome of the debate about structure and human agency comes from human beings steeped not only in an academic but in a political tradition which denies the separation of 'personal' and 'political', of 'what I do today' and 'what the world is', and which also denies us the luxury of discounting our own effectiveness. Believing that what you do in all aspects of your life, in your personal and your academic lives, matters, at once liberates and imposes heavy responsibilities. Very little is certain, almost nothing is finished, and the possibilities for creation are infinite.

As a consequence, this collection is diverse in a number of other ways. One of them is the differences in the modes of presentation, the ways in which different authors write. This is not only an indication of different points of departure, of the ways in which our different traditions have influenced us to write, but also an indication of unlearning common or standard forms of academic discourse. These chapters perhaps indicate that we have room for a diversity of styles, of ways of communicating. Above all they

indicate that we have room, and we have need, for a variety of ways of expressing a new content. It is not just that existing concepts did not fit, and often obscured the content, but often that the words themselves did not fit, that the *given* did not fit. This, in some respects, is the most difficult kind of change. Often, even after we can see in new ways, even speak in new ways, we continue to write in ways which not only cannot contain, but which obscure, our seeing. Rigour is necessary, internal consistency is necessary, the kind of mutual respect which utilizes adequate footnotes and comprehensible language is necessary. But sameness is not only not necessary, it is not possible.

NOTES

- 1 'Restructuring' is a term which is coming to encompass a variety of social and economic processes, including 'de-industrialization', the growth of the 'informal economy', a more international economy and a greater reliance on home and community-based strategies. As the strategies of many people in the first world come to resemble more closely the strategies employed in third world countries, and the strategies of unemployed men to resemble more closely many aspects of the locality-based feminist tradition of organization, we would also expect some convergence in analysis of first and third world developments and a growing adoption of feminist concepts into pre-feminist analysis. Some indications of the nature of restructuring and its analytical implications are found in Gershuny (1978), Mattera (1985), Murgatroyd *et al.* (1985), Pahl (1984) and Redclift & Mingione (1985).
- 2 For discussion of the establishment of the positivist tradition in geography and the emerging break with it, see, for example, Holt-Jensen (1980, Chs 3 and 4); Johnston (1987, Chs 3, 4, 5 and 6).
- 3 Within the historical materialist tradition as a whole, this creativity resulted in a refocusing on the 'political' as in the works of Louis Althusser and Nicos Poulantzas, and on a re-examination of the basis of class constitution, in the 'French school' of urban sociology, most notably the works of Manuel Castells.
- 4 The re-examination of human nature and early discussions of human agency went on in a variety of forums, including critical psychoanalysis (Brown 1973, Chesler 1972, Fromm 1962, Mitchell 1974), discussions of 'everyday life' within the historical materialist tradition (Bosquet 1977, Sennett & Cobb 1972) and of construction of life worlds in the re-emerging phenomenological tradition (Husserl 1970, Kockelmans 1967, Schutz 1962, Shmueli 1973, Tuan 1974). It was perhaps most forcefully articulated in radical and socialist feminist writing, including, for example, de Beauvoir (1961), Firestone (1971), Foreman

- (1977), Greer (1971), Millett (1969), Morgan (1970), Rowbotham (1973, 1983) and Wandor (1972).
- 5 Some discussion in the early relevance debate included Anderson (1973), Berry (1972), Blowers (1972), Chisholm (1971), Prince (1971a), Smith (1971, 1973), and Zelinsky (1970). Some retrospective discussions of this period are found in Johnston (1987, Ch. 6) and Peet (1977).
 - 6 Discussions of the origins and objectives of advocacy included Breitbart (1972), Bunge (1977), Corey (1972), Ernst *et al.* (1972), Roach & Rosas (1972) and Stephenson (1974). This work and concomitant developments also elicited discussion of new methodologies. See for example, Amaral & Wisner (1970), Harvey (1973, Part I) and Horvath (1970).
 - 7 The most extensive critique in geography was Breitbart (1972). The seminal argument for a new theoretical basis was Harvey (1972a). A range of other proposals and counter-proposals is found in the comments on Harvey's article, included in the same issue of *Antipode*. Also see Slater (1977).
 - 8 The concept of paradigm, if it was ever useful, is becoming less so. As Johnston points out (1983, 216) a paradigm model is popular because it offers 'a framework within which certain disciplinary changes can be accommodated (if not fitted) and it provides a propaganda base for the exhortation of further changes'. It is in serving these ends that the concepts of humanism and historical materialism have become so deeply embedded in geographical lore, and it is ideological clinging to one paradigm or the other that has resulted in their juxtaposition as mutually exclusive. At the same time, however, this does not become an argument for convergence for convergence's sake (Stoddart 1986).
 - 9 See for example, Gregory (1981), Eyles (1981) and the exchanges among Ley (1980, 1982) and Greenberg & Walker (1982), and Duncan & Ley (1982) and Chouinard & Fincher (1983). Recently, the debate has shifted toward a more fine-tuned discussion of the specific relationship between agency and structure (e.g. Ley 1982, Gregory 1982).
 - 10 Within the broadly historical materialist tradition, see for example, Dear & Scott (1981), Edel (1981), Gregory (1978, 1981a), Harvey (1975, 1978), Massey (1978), Sayer (1982b) and Smith (1979). Within humanism the emphasis has been on the social/cultural importance of the relationship between people and landscape (Gold & Burgess 1982, Ley & Samuels 1978, Meinig 1979, Relph 1981, Tuan 1979, 1982). Recent progress in landscape studies in cultural/humanistic geography is reviewed in a series of papers by David Ley (1981, 1983a, 1985a).
 - 11 For discussion of the social engineering implications of positivism see Fay (1975).
 - 12 This relational concept of the social whole in which the classic base-superstructure model and the 'articulated instances' of the structuralists are replaced with 'internal relations' is most clearly represented in the work of Bertrell Ollman (1976). These ideas have

been criticized and adapted into realist structuration by, for example, Keat & Urry (1975), Sayer (1982a) and Giddens (1976, 1977, 1979, 1981).

- 13 Husserl (1970), and those who adapted his ideas, concentrated initially on the structuring of individual consciousness (Collins 1968, Kockelmans 1967, Natanson 1963, Schutz 1962, Wild 1963). Within this tendency in the social sciences as a whole, humanistic geography developed initially as an attempt to incorporate the ideas and methods of phenomenology (for a review, see Jackson 1981). The idealist alternative is most forcefully argued by Guelke (1974).

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