Review of Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change

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Review of *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*

**Comments**
This review was originally published in *Comparative Educational Review*, volume 42, issue 2, in 1998.

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This book review is available at Chapman University Digital Commons: [http://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/education_articles/](http://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/education_articles/)
This impressive collection of essays represents the development of what Rolland Paulston calls "social cartography," or the visual mapping of pedagogical and ideological space. Social Cartography represents a wide range of efforts in what can be seen as a growing body of sociospatial analyses in the social sciences. The concerns of social cartography have been part of the discussion of critical theorists and postcolonial critics for decades, yet in various forms and to differing ends, they have resurfaced recently with a renewed urgency. As part of a renewed and intensified look at the mapping of social and epistemological space, this book offers scholarly testimony to the fact that artistic representations cannot elude the language used to interpret them as mapmakers are always intersubjectively located through the particular spatial signifiers that they employ in their various practices of "social cartography," "social mapping," "cognitive mapping," "cartographics," or just "mapping." As Christine Fox notes, "A social map is itself a metaphor of the language of space" (p. 298). The considerable strength of this book lies in the way in which Paulston models his conceptualization of social cartography by "opening" the idea to the criticisms and spatial mis/understandings of his various authors.

In the section entitled "Mapping Imagination," the development of social cartography is represented and contextualized as a current, pressing need in comparative education studies. For example, Paulston and Martin Liebman cast the postmodern as a real and imagined condition of interrelated and symmetrical discourses—whether modern, postmodern, or "Other"—that must be integrated and synthesized into "the field" of educational knowledge. They argue further that visually mapping the connections between modern and postmodern theories of educational knowledge (see p. 15) forces the mapper to "see" social connectedness through comparing, integrating, and physically drawing perceived shifts in subjectivities and material realities. Contributor David Turnbull is less optimistic about such relativistic cartographies because he understands mapping to be intricately imbricated in a colonial context that relies on Western science and nation-states as spatial tools of domination. In Turnbull's view, the postmodern and postcolonial represent a breaking through of dominated voices that have been historically and geographically subjugated and silenced for centuries, both in global and local contexts. He calls for a countermapping of the everyday private spaces that are produced in connection with normative relations of territorialization, mapping, and domination.

Emphasizing subjectivity, the "Mapping Perspectives" section explicates several metaphorical strategies for mappers that imagine "solving" the "postmodern problem" vis-à-vis integration and visual synthesis. For instance, Joe Seppi characterizes the social mapper as an integrator of competing social interests over land and its conceptual representation. Turning to the cartographic act, Anne Buttimer represents mapping as a "Phoenix" that is symbolic of Western humanism's breaking free
of its “Faustian container” in the struggle to create “new levels of understanding humanity and its terrestrial home” through conceptual synthesis (p. 153). Bringing the integration theme to the field of management, Anne Sigismund Huff’s mapping constitutes a semiotic modeling that reflects the scientifically produced and inscribed “mind” that undertakes technical decisions in an institutional environment that must “account for” postmodernism. Liebman’s mapping represents a type of “homing mechanism” for integrating the postmodern into a naturally “centering” self awash in a world of increasing spatial incongruities (i.e., postmodern perspectives and realities). To Liebman’s credit, he displays a poststructural visual mapping model where “known” discourses are named, related, and scaled while positioned on top of an earthlike layer of soil that buries and hides unnamed discursive representations and communities (p. 210).

The section on “Mapping Pragmatics” switches from concerns over questions about subjectivity to the challenge of objectivity in social mapping. While depicting the postmodern as a location for those in denial of “real” totalities, Nelly Stromquist makes the claim in a very powerful and provocative chapter that academic feminists have succumbed to the “blinding” distraction of postmodernism rather than embracing the universal reality of women’s global struggles as experienced by particularized political actors working in popular (i.e., “real”) educational projects related to gender. Other authors in this section, however, neither deny the importance of totalities nor uphold the truth of just any objectivity. A good example is Fox’s model of sociocultural critique where dialogical, intercultural theories, such as cultural identity theory and postcolonialism, offer enhanced possibilities for connecting with local groups’ realities and subjectivities while also seeking to implicate the construction of the cartographers’ identity in “more totalized” systems of social power.

The most engaging section, “Mapping Debates,” charts several ideological interrogations of the purported possibilities of social mapping. Reasserting structural historical analysis over the spatial, Carlos A. Torres posits, from a progressivistic, “critical modernist” view, that social mapping must evolve from metaphor to analogy in a marketplace of ideas for it to have social worth, a feat accomplished only by withstanding the binary “scientific test” of positivism and constructivism. However, other authors are cautious of mapping not so much because they require it have “inherent” value but because they are anxious about mapping’s spatial and temporal relationship to hegemony. For example, John Beverly argues that cognitive mapping is a new hegemonic form that reifies capitalist and state domination by failing to problematize the position of privilege of mappers and their maps in the reproduction of subaltern identities. Furthering Beverly’s position, Patti Lather contends that critical academics should direct more attention to the postcolonial problematics of assisting the subaltern in decolonizing space and opening spaces for self-determination and a radical politics of difference, in contradistinction to the postmodern problematics of “more accurately” representing the “Other.”

We agree with Turnbull in that maps are both product and producer of socio-spatial relations of power. Paradoxically, maps are texts that seek to contextualize but cannot escape the locationality of the mapper, the map reader, and the mapped. As Edward Soja argues in Postmodern Geographies (London and New York: Verso, 1989), spaces and spatial discourses (such as mapping) are already inscribed with
and given presence by power relations from the moment of their initial identification. The spatial discourse of social mapping, as outlined in *Social Cartography*, is already being touted as a way of integrating decentered postmodernisms into the field, a view justly contested by several contributors. We, too, question how scholars can begin to integrate the field of educational knowledge in comparative education when the field itself is considered by many to be a natural and evolutionary state of affairs ready and waiting to be mapped. We find it problematic to assume that any sort of synthesis of subjectivities can occur through mapping without first considering how spatial subjectivities and practices act to produce and exclude difference, while obscuring and occluding the identity of the privileged.

Furthermore, the colonization of the lived spatialities of the subaltern, as emphasized by Turnbull, constructs a general condition of spatial and representational violence in that the spatial knowledge of elites contradicts the spatial knowledge of the marginalized at the site of social institutions in ways that have serious material consequences. For example, an integrationist approach to mapping could be considered violent because it does not emphasize a deconstruction of the rationalities that are historically, geographically, and socially related to the production of the very category of “comparative education” along with its corresponding dominant and subaltern theoretical communities. In other words, the paradox that underlies some of these chapters is that while they define themselves as critical of the status quo they normally operate within larger structures that function to contain and neutralize them.

More specifically, we are concerned that the mapping of racialized bodies in relation to the construction of whiteness and capitalism is lacking from this text. The mapping strategies of Paulston and Liebman suggest the orchestration of a symphony with no instruments in mind or, more accurately, no bodies in mind.

The project of mapping must be, as Lather suggests, a space that is both decolonized and opened to the colonized. With this caveat in mind, *Social Cartography* should be read from the more critical perspectives on the social construction of space that are presented in some of its chapters. From a more sympathetic angle, we see this book as presenting important theoretical groundwork for a critical pedagogy of social cartography. We were struck by the alertness and openness of the authors toward the social terrain within which their involvement as cartographers takes place. The pedagogy that we see as accompanying some of the insights in this volume would explicitly foreground the agencies of spatial production: dominant discursive practices and social formations and relations, such as imperial narratives and systems of classification, as well as social relations of production. In other words, a critical pedagogy of social cartography would include a social and cultural politics that is firmly situated in an egalitarian politics of redistribution (i.e., a struggle against global capitalism) and an emancipatory politics of recognition (a struggle against systems of representation and the narrativizing authority of the state). As a counterhegemonic pedagogy, it is designed to rupture the continuity of dominant representational systems based on property and territory and the scientific cartography developed to inventory the “discoveries” of the West. Such a pedagogy would also deal with the production of the social space of everyday life and the ways in which racial discrimination, economic status, and epistemologies encapsulate, link,
or separate individuals from each other. Here, educators could rework the narrative codes of everyday life to make explicit the alternating and contradictory modes of subject formation that characterize postmodern, postindustrial society.

_Social Cartography_ is an ambitious, important, and timely collection that will be of considerable interest to educators, cultural workers, and critical social theorists alike.

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Pierre Bourdieu is among the most prolific sociologists concerned with the intersection of culture, economy, and the state in the world. Each year seems to bring a new translation of books that have appeared earlier in France. _The State Nobility_, translated elegantly by Lauretta Clough, originally appeared in 1989. In it, Bourdieu both extends and deepens his analysis of the relationship among education, privilege, and power.

Like a good deal of his work, _The State Nobility_ is expressly and determinedly empirical. This is significant in a number of ways. First, even though it is very critical of the ways in which dominant classes reproduce themselves through elite schooling, it does not simply assert this. Rather, it intricately documents how this occurs over time. This leads to my second point. Even though the book is socially critical, it never degenerates into the sloganized stylistics that frequently characterize the supposedly critical literature in education that centers around the sometimes vulgar and not very nuanced appropriations of some parts of postmodernism into education and that characterize even larger parts of the material on “critical pedagogy.” Unlike too many of these authors, while Bourdieu’s texts are difficult at times, they are definitely worth the effort of reading them carefully and unpacking their meaning.

_The State Nobility_ is specifically French. Because of this, while not imperative, it would be useful for the reader to have read the somewhat more general analysis found in one of Bourdieu’s earlier books, _Distinction_ (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984). _The State Nobility_ extends the arguments made there and goes into much more detail about the structures of elite schooling and their complex comparative connections within the field of social power in which they operate. Even though the volume focuses on elite education in France, it proves to be exceptionally helpful in thinking about other nations. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that if we were to make a small list of those authors whose work is essential for comparative research, Bourdieu’s name should be at or near the top.

All of Bourdieu’s writing provides cogent examples of what has been called “re-