1. Cross Section

Our first intention was to compare the names that actually have participated in the production of the ‘cultural turn’ in geography with the names which are actually available in Portuguese libraries and bibliographies. To do that we have made a very simple exercise that consisted in collecting ‘all the names’ which were present in the 4th edition of *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, and that were intimately correlated with cultural geography themes. The first blow was eminent: most part of them are not present in the various undergraduate courses available in Portugal, and neither in most of academic dissertations. Feeling rather alarmed with the extension of the list, we tried to make out some order of all these names by mapping them into a ‘conceptual landscape cartography’.

The result is the one we can see on this map. This exercise would then consist of a sort of ‘cross-section’ in the conceptual landscape of cultural geography presenting ‘all the names’ arranged in conceptual spaces (the labels that structure the map) and by date: 1960s, green; 1970s, blue; 1980s, red; 1990s, orange.

Being aware that this rhetorical device is subject to the same criticisms of its original exemplar, namely, that it is a freezing moment of a very complex process with differential temporalities which require a heterogeneous concept of time, that does not blur the different processes that are at work here.

Vertical Themes

With the aim of identifying some of the changing processes present in this ‘horizontal slice’ in time, we develop a ‘vertical’ arrangement of the politico-intellectual projects underlying this map. In no way it should be considered as a linear narrative nor subsume to genetic or progressive sequences. Even if the ‘settlement continuity’ metaphor may be appealing to us, the questions that lie behind the processes of appearance, disappearance and coexistence of research programs are of a complexity that can not be framed in simplistic notions of evolution or revolution. In science studies one may be tempted to use this simplistic notions guided by the maintenance of a certain grounded vocabulary, an entirely illusory device where the same words refer to quiet different things, as some quiet different words may refer to very similar things.

2. Berkeley School

The 1960s books or papers that are still referred to in the year 2000, almost without exception, belong to the Berkeley school of cultural geography, and its related exemplar of work, the morphology of landscape. This research program is still productive during the 1970s, but is nowadays under severe attack, and maybe dying.

At its origins the Berkeley program of cultural geography is characterised by a strong anti-determinist orientation, a necessary point to make at the time. Its strongest influences came from the anthropologist Carl Sauer who wrote in 1925 the ‘Morphology of Landscape’, a work which inaugurated the morphological approach into cultural geography, and which was responsible for a decisive trait of the landscape concept in the discipline.
The interest that Carl Sauer showed in bio-geographical studies, as they were precious indicators of the morphology of landscape, led to develop from within the discipline some environmentalist concerns, in which we can see one of the origins of modern environmentalism. The historical themes also attracted the attention of Berkeley School investigators, once they were a necessary task to perform in order to comprehend the way landscapes evolved, and therefore understand the nature of its formation. In US this kind of work raised important questions in what concerns to colonialism, because of the intertwining between some essential features of the landscape morphology and the process of colonisation.

The Berkeley School research programme was still very active during the sixties, time when the book of Wagner and Mikesell was edited. There we can detect the main themes that this programme most favoured.

Diffusion, more than innovation or convergence, was one of the themes that has been favoured by the Berkeley programme. That certainly has something to do with the strong anti-deterministic bias that Sauer's geography supported, and shows the inertial effect that those speculations produced in the development of future paradigms. It was specifically at this level that the tension evolved and that the attack of other currents of thought became more acute, for scholars suggest that this morphological approach establishes an abusive relation between things and people, even if the Berkeleyans claim that the cultural traits that they trace are not only material.

The ontology of 'thingness' should have a direct methodological expression – the plotting of culture regions. These regions were of varied nature, from settlement to more spiritual traits. Nevertheless, the plotting supposes that the materiality of distributions is sufficient enough to understand the Other.

The cultural ecological approach is still a ongoing research programme and it has certainly some common features with the work that Berkeley developed. But independently of the different expressions of this programme, the 'morphological' approach in cultural geography is progressively being discredited by strong accusations to the inner core of its programme: a
reified concept of culture, that prevents or at least minimises the study of the social and political conditions unveiled by material expression.

3. Humanistic Geography

One other significant nucleus that could be individualised in the year 2000, refers to the major research programme that most directly inspired cultural geography in the seventh decade; the so-called 'humanistic geography'. Drawing mainly on phenomenology, humanistic geography is one of the first serious blows in the traditional material-objective relationship with the world. Humanistic geography is distinguished by a genuine belief in the capabilities of the human subject. It came to life during the 1970s, in part as a natural reaction to the excessive abstraction present in spatial science.

Some inherited features from previous intellectual and political movements do not prevent humanistic geography to be also a 'new geography' at its time, for it brought to human geography a theoretical and methodological armour that was distant from some other more naïve forms of science.

At the same time, human geography developed a parallel path, more critical and therefore more suspicious of the autonomous effects of 'culture', that would be rather important in the radical geography movement, and that since the beginning has put some pressure in the benevolent type of human subject supported by humanistic geography. Nevertheless humanistic approaches were maybe dominant in the sub-field of cultural geography during these times.

It would be natural that humanities should figure among the sources of humanistic geography, for they directly pointed to those aspects of expression of human knowledge and being in the world that there were stressed. Within a range of techniques focused on the appeal of the intimacy of daily life representations, hermeneutics became crucial for spatial analysis and texts were favoured as the most important materiality of meaning.

Not only agency but also structure became more recognisable in the work of the investigators of humanistic geography. The materialist naïveté of some previous morphological theories were superseded by more sophisticated approaches, namely the range of interpretative methods imported from anthropology. This theoretical and methodological standing found in phenomenology a poignant source of derived exemplars of work.

Human agency and structure approaches were integrated at various levels and criticisms at one of the two extremes allowed the pass to new structure-agency integrated forms, drawing upon some external theories, namely the socialist-humanism or structuration-theory.

Nevertheless anti-humanist present-day approaches challenge the notion of human subject that is at heart of the humanistic geography. The claim is that the human subject is fractured and the conditions of subject formation do not give much room for an independent and socially aware human subject. This question turns itself into a geographical question for it is widely recognised that spatial processes intervene deeply in those complex and heterogeneous processes of subject formation and identity politics.

The tension around the character of the humanist subject grows when considering arguments which highlight its alleged fictitious character, suggesting that most of human actions are permeated by unconsciously structured drives that makes most of human beings unaware of the reasons of their own actions. In this sense human creativity, much favoured by the humanistic approaches, is nowadays embedded in more deeply rooted processes, in which intellectual processes turn out to be very much dependent on fantasy and desire.

But during seventies other important research programmes were beginning to come to life, even if they were to be more relevant only during the eighties. All these seeds of work, these 1970s 'anticipations' would become regular research programmes during the 1980s. Here are some examples, which do not intend to be considered exhaustive.

4. Production of Space

Another major blow in the traditional material-objective relationship with world that the positivist approach upheld, came from Marxist authors, who claimed the irrelevance of human agency when compared with the dominant structures of capital and state. Here, Castells
symbolises a whole range of work on the area of ‘production of space’, which would be fundamental in some re-readings of Marx among cultural geographers in the following decade.

The ‘production of space’ research programme has one of its sources in the theoretical discomfort caused by spatial separatism of spatial science. In turn, those critics favoured a vision of space focused in the practices, which create and structure social relations, in such a way that social and spatial relations could not be studied separately. A general convergence is the outcome, in the sense of recognising that there could be no social analysis independent of spatial practices and no spatial analysis independent of the social practices.

This reconceptualisation of space took a distinct move among Marxist critics of spatial science, and involved a re-reading of Marx's historical materialism in terms of what Harvey would call an ‘historico-geographical’ materialism, stressing the mutual interdependence of social-spatial dialectics in the structuration of the diverse modes of production.

Some features of this programme, reworked through new more recent contributions, are widely accepted in human geography. Space and time are bound in an intertwined process, acting dialectically, and not even for analytical purposes should they be separated.

In intimate connection with the previous remark, space-time cannot either be measured extensively, for extension is not socially relevant. This has an important practical effect of questioning any type of ordering as a relevant context to explain and explicate social practices. Conflict and multiplicity seem to be much more relevant than order when it comes to describe the nature of production of space. Space itself is used as a valid means to structure conflict relations, either of ‘strategic’ production and ‘tactical’ consumption.

The main lines of this research programme came ultimately under the scrutiny of more recent politico-intellectual research programmes. In one hand the class based social relations are being enriched by the recognition of other equally constitutive social differentiation levels of identity. In another hand culture is no longer viewed as a mere reflection of socio-economic structure, what allows some work to be directed to cultural instances as relatively independent constitutive practices.

Post-structuralist approaches go further on saying that there is no production of space that isn't itself a production of subjects, diluting the essentialist boundaries that had been erected between Self and the world. While several voices from other paths also point to the inner constitution of those boundaries erected between space and Self, understood as strategies of masculinist power in order to create opposed and asymmetrical spaces of representation. They question the substance of ‘real’ space empowered to induce masculine qualities and field of action and the symbolic spaces engendered as feminine, the distinction reiterating and fixing Self by allegedly fixing difference.

5. Post-colonialism

One of the most important re-readings of cultural geography have its origins in the work of a Palestinian-American author, Edward Said, who would depict the biased way of Western representation of non-Western cultures and civilisations, namely the Orient. The traditional material-objective relationship with world of the positivist approach must come to terms with the notion of ‘cultural relativism’ and ‘privileged point of view’. It would give origin to a range of studies that ultimately would niche under the banner of post-colonialism. The ‘Orientalist’ program was mainly focused in the biased representations of non-Western cultures especially connected with European imperialism, and that would eventually develop to the study of more profound and multidirectional concept of ‘otherness’.

Orientalist research programme is being progressively enriched with the contributions of other politico-intellectual research programmes.

Text, in its various forms, has been from the beginning the most important analytical construct of Orientalist critique. Post-colonial approaches enrich this notion of text with discursive features. Not only the content but also the form of cataloguing Other are relevant in order to fully apprehend the magnitude of colonialist enterprise.

The kind of encounter that colonialism produced is of a fractured nature, and of varied results, what prevents to consider stereotyped types of relating. Post-colonialist approaches can be touched by Eurocentrism, or other form of ‘centrism’, that would deny the
presuppositions of its own work. Subaltern studies seem to configure the kind of ‘double’ rupture that this kind of work may demand.

Post-colonial spaces are therefore spaces of intense encountering and of hybrid nature. It is not a matter of imaginative geographies of Other but more and more a not entirely dissociated construction of foundational narratives that make these spatial and social practices transcend the previous cutting-edge exclusions on which earlier anti-colonialist approaches have been erected. More than retelling endlessly the history of colonialism, post-colonialism is a matter of reworking the concept of colonialism itself, for neo-colonialism is produced and represented by spatialities that transcend the binary oppositions that usually lie behind more naive conceptions of otherness.

6. Cultural studies

In geography, this means that place is called into the realm of political negotiation not only as a setting or as a stage for events, but as a dialogical physical entity through which identities are nurtured in a deeply rooted map of meanings. There, cultural landscapes are reshaped so as the concept of landscape itself, superseding simplistic morphological notions.

7. The text metaphor

Another important research programme in cultural geography that had origin in the seventies is the ‘text’ metaphor. The names of Ricoeur and Geertz symbolise the origins of that programme. Geertz, by applying the ‘text’ metaphor in ethnography, Ricoeur by sustaining that the text metaphor would be capable for dealing with social constructions of meaning, once text and society are characteristically of similar nature in what concerns to the production and reception of meaning. The ‘text and art’ programme is mainly focused on alternative modes of reading and interpreting representations of place and landscape, dealing with textual analysis and iconography. This would eventually evolve to the study of representations in diverse mediums such as film or music.

The text metaphor has a long history in the development of Western thought, because the written word has always been addressed to have a reality more tangible than other forms of cultural production. Diverse methods were developed to extract meaning out of texts since Dilthey inaugurated the scientific use of hermeneutics during the nineteenth century. This method was followed by several others, like formalist and content structuralist analysis and, more recently, deconstruction or discourse analysis. The historicity of the methods themselves suggests the kind of shifts that are also present in the way text is considered.

Ricoeur noted some similarities between text and social formation that would permit to replicate the techniques of the former into the study of the latter: inscription, plasticity, reinterpretation, and polisemey, seem to be common attributes to both of these realms.

None the less the most important exemplar of work that dealt with text metaphor has its sources in anthropological studies, what is far from being unexpected, while text always has been the most common construct of the discipline since its beginnings. Geertz suggests that the interpreter of different cultures can hardly do more than actively interpret social action as one reads or interprets a text. Moreover, he suggests that it is a necessary operation not only to imposed external interpreters but for everyone who intends to understand it, even for those who participate from within. This continuous and often asymmetrical translation poses a double problem of theoretical and ethical sides: theoretical for what it means of fluidity of representation, ethical for what it means of speaking for the Other.

For this reason the text metaphor is under severe scrutiny, and progressively being enriched or even substituted by other conceptions and metaphorical devices that would turn away from essentialist suppositions. Post-Marxism focuses its critique in the problem of loosing the material factors that lie behind the conditions of production of such speeches. Other authors argue that this textocentric narrowing of cultural production studies leaves behind some other forms of signifying practices that are revealing themselves as important as text in the structuring of subject formation, namely performative practices that have an ephemeral but central role in defining and positioning subject.
Therefore intertextuality, the textual context of texts that used to give ground to the text metaphor when used in geographical studies, seem to be loosing its pure textual conditions endorsing all types of signifying spatial practices and meaningful place representations.

8. Anti-Humanism

We can see a name present in the 1970s that would become a major reference of the following decades, and whose influence is significant in present times research programmes. Foucault, here symbolises a whole generation of French investigators that were to be called 'post-structuralists' and which include other names such as Kristeva, Lacan, Derrida, Deleuze and Guattari. Despite major differences between them, they would become common ground of the final and definitive blow in the traditional material-objective relationship with the world, for human subject definitely lacks the capacity of human agency which characterised the humanist approaches in geography.

There are some previous accounts of anti-humanism, of which Althusser is not of less importance. While never fully detouring himself from the notion of a humanist knowing subject, Althusser structural Marxism highlighted some of the most important features that would characterise the socially constituted subject formation. Subjectivity here is far from the creative and knowing subject of humanistic geography, as it is a place of inevitable conflict and contradiction. Post-structuralism would go further in this process of accentuating the social construcrionist condition of subject formation, underlining that subjectivity could not, in any case, contrast itself with any kind of putative external or 'real' measure of itself.

Post-structuralist authors are eager to defend that subject formation is not only constitutive of identity but also of knowledge. This means that the constellations of power and knowledge in which we are embedded make inevitable that we develop a sense of identity as also puts limits to our knowledge.

This is an important distinction of anti-humanism when it is compared to other philosophical traditions present in human geography. Unlike humanistic geography anti-humanism would never admit the extensive social role of the creative and acting individual. Unlike Marxist and even some post-Marxist approaches, anti-humanism does not confine anti-humanistic dimension of subject to alienation, because that would presuppose that some external contrast of our positionality would be possible. On the contrary, that same impossibility of contrasting ourselves to whatever external dimensions of ourselves we could consider, that impossibility is constitutive of identity itself.

It is not unexpected, therefore, that anti-humanist works should address the intertwined themes of the effect of power relations in subject formation and to show how this effect on identity is also an intended cause of misidentification of the Other. Modernity, from this point of view, can be viewed not only as an effort to discipline knowledge but also and necessarily as an intention to acknowledge discipline.

This refusal of binairity as foundational in human subjectivity or objectivity encounters some sort of favourable arguments. The binarity is not entirely excluded from the regular process of subject formation, as the works in the theme of abjection seem to suggest. Nevertheless what post-structuralists are eager to show is that this kind of relationship with the other has been erected to legitimise a project of power relations, be it gender, class or ethnical based.

If there is a prescriptive moral context in the formulations of anti-humanism, this would be, in one hand, to depict the situations of empowered abjection contexts and mechanisms of subject formation, and, on the other hand, to demonstrate that it is possible to assert subjectivity without necessarily stigmatise the Other nor essentialise difference.

In geography it is possible to work at those two levels. At the 'descriptive' level post-structuralist geography would be eager to depict different situations in which spatial structure and place representation cohere to build asymmetrically empowered subjectivities; at the 'prescriptive' level, post-structuralist geographies give visibility to those particular spaces where human subjectivity can develop without necessarily adapting to binairity and discipline. This is the case of 'thirdspace', the spatial equivalent to social 'hybridity', whose flexive borders, mobility and cultural nomadism may permit emancipatory tactics.
9. Feminist Geographies

The ‘feminist’ research programme is mainly focused in the biased production, representation and structuration of gendered social constructions. It would evolve to be one of the strongest research programmes in human geography, developing a diversified range of work, from deep analysis and re-writing of geography’s intellectual history, to the role of unconscious in the structuration of human action. Feminism tends to become more inclusive for has abandoned the class notion of gender to a broader conception of gender. Feminist geographies especially defend participatory action research and active engagement of academy in the real world.

Feminist geographers work spreads through varied themes in human geography. From the revision of the history of the discipline to the theoretical dismantling of previous strong research programmes like humanistic geography, feminist geography makes sure that every sub-field of work goes under their scrutiny.

One of the reasons that account for this is that feminism is obviously more than knowledge claims, it is in itself a dismantling process of social inequalities based on gender. Feminist geographies exfoliate into the multiple layers that historically and presently constitute feminism as a whole.

The gender motivation has directed from very early the work of feminist geographies towards the descriptive identification of production and representation of difference. Some criticism emerged from within feminism against the narrowing of women's role that a too protective and denouncing programme would convey. A more active and participatory action research was promoted in order to overcome liberal feminism.

One of the theoretical efforts pursued in this context was to mutually enrich the concept of class and gender, and to understand the levels and mechanisms of articulation between patriarchy and capitalism. Some fundamental questions were raised by this theoretical process, like showing that progressive class issues could coexist with conservative sexist ones, as it was the case of the role of women inside labour unions.

Feminism as a political-intellectual research programme becomes more complex and stimulated by varied situations with which it had to contrast itself. In one hand, the very notion of gender is contested and the whole theoretical and methodological armour of feminist geographies is being directed to other forms of exclusion and subject formation. Gender and sexuality are not easy concepts to grasp and hybrid social formations and identity politics are more and more a chosen theme of work. This is particularly visible under the auspices of post-structuralism and anti-humanism reworking of human subject and identity concepts.

Feminism includes a persistent claim for participatory action research as a natural consequence of the dismantling of all objectivist epistemologies endorsed by humanistic and Marxist geographies. The material-objective relation with the world has lost almost all of its previous attributes.

For this reason, feminist geographies are extremely engaged in all forms of multiple and fragmented qualities of subject formation, here included those gender and sexual performative and instable identities that are more adequate in describing the actual process of building up subjectivity, rather than other more monolithic previous concepts of race, class or gender. This constant challenging of normativity and destabilisation of a taken-for-granted world is therefore the necessary path to prevent any other form of exclusion.

10. Cultural Geography Landscape circa 2000 AD and Anomie

All this said, here and again we can see the ‘cultural geography landscape circa 2000 AD’.

The previous dominant research programmes (Berkeley and humanistic geography) are somehow fading away. Post-modernist geographies and feminist geographies are responsible for the major part of the work that is actually being done, diluting the last remains of the traditional material-objective relationship with the world.

Looking at this map, Portuguese undergraduates would quickly come to the conclusion that all these names are not familiar to them and that the substitution of names and research programmes is accelerating in the last decades. Their own feelings about this problem could be pointed out quite well by these words of the Portuguese writer José Saramago:
The papers pertaining to those no longer alive are to be found in a more or less organised state in the rear of the building, the back wall of which, from time to time, has to be demolished and rebuilt some yards further on as a consequence of the unstoppable rise in the number of the deceased.

This 'filtering' process of neighbourhood change in Portuguese cultural geography mirrors the peripheral position in which we stand, and that the editorial time delay makes almost inevitable. Sometimes it leaves us in a kind of 'schizoid' position, working, 'at home', differently from what we know other people are doing. The different research programmes are presented in a fragmented and many times stereotyped way. Each one of these research programmes goes through a maturation time and produces some exemplars of work that are applied in alien contexts of fieldwork. Rarely a Portuguese undergraduate has a full notion of each one or both of these two features, which creates confusion and raises problems of epistemological identity. From the point of view of a Portuguese undergraduate student these coexistence of different research programmes takes the form of a succession of almost abstract 'new geographies'. It is not easy to this undergraduate student of a peripheral country like Portugal to get all this information in real time, in face to all this immense list of names who come to life and names who are leaving it, the scientific-deceased of much a wider academic politics.

If we let the answer to this problem to Saramago’s wits, scientific-suicide would be the answer:

When he at last reached the section of suicides, with the sky already shifting the still-white ashes of the dusk, he thought that he must have gone the wrong way or that there was something wrong with the map. Before him was a great expanse of field, with numerous trees, almost a wood, where the graves, apart from the barely visible gravestones, seemed more like tufts of natural vegetation, You could not see the stream from there, but you could hear the lightest of murmurs slipping over the stones, and in the atmosphere, which was like green glass, there hovered a coolness which was not just the usual coolness of the first hour of the dusk.

But one should not be much willing to these Wertherian peaceful landscapes of burials, nor worrying too much with these accelerating times. After all, we can still see Sauer’s 1925 reference in the map.

This paper is a representation of itself. We believe it makes a point, showing that when 'all the names' that we have found in the entries of The Dictionary of Human Geography are not to be found in Portuguese academic libraries, at least the vast majority of them, then what we have left is an immense apud.

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1 José Saramago, All The Names. Translation by Margaret Jull Costa.