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AUTHOR Liebman, Martin; Paulston, Rolland
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ABSTRACT

Comparative educators can enhance research by developing and including in their research findings a cognitive map to show perceptions of how knowledge claims interrelate. Three research relationships utilize different methodologies: (1) the researcher objectifies the phenomena; (2) the researcher position is preferential to the research object but allows subject input; and (3) the relationship is one of interaction. Mapping represents the intercultural dialogue in the third research relationship, and two figures illustrate examples of the social map. Social cartography helps comparative educators order and interpret the relativism and growing fragmentation of cultures. Three types of maps identify ways to provide visual explanations: (1) the phenomenographic map positions phenomena in relation to one another; (2) the conceptual map develops perceived relationships within or between categories; and (3) the mimetic map imitates reality and has a geographic nature. Map utilization as a part of comparative studies provides a visual dialogue of cultural flow and influences appropriate for future work in comparative education. (CK)

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Social Cartography: A New Methodology
for Comparative Studies

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Martin Liebman
Rolland Paulston

Department of Administrative and Policy Studies
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania USA

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This study expands our thesis that when comparative educators address the cultural values and differences revealed by different and often competing knowledge claims, they can enhance their research by developing and including in their findings a cognitive map showing their perceptions of how knowledge claims interrelate. Our early work in this area explained how social mapping borrows scaled representation of a larger real world from geographic cartography, and noted social cartograph's heuristic value and implications for furthering comparative investigations through a hermeneutics concerned with extending understanding. (Paulston and Liebman, 1994, 1993). In this article we present arguments taken directly from recent comparative studies to explain our social cartography rationale and practice. We note where we believe cartographs could enhance recent comparative studies, clarifying findings, and inviting dialogue. We also model the several social map types we have identified, and map the cartographic possibilities we offer to recent research articles in Comparative Education.

A Call for New Research Approaches

Many of us reviewing our field's literature would probably agree with Anthony Welch (1993) that comparative education's common core "has to do with the dynamics of cultural transactions and interaction" (7). He makes an argument for developing new investigative methods that recognize the reciprocal relationships that emerging cultures can realize, noting new methods are needed because the "major

research traditions which have been employed in comparative education, are often fundamentally deficient in the ways they conceive...culture, and that therefore much of the reality of other cultures is lost, or misconceived" (7). We consider this argument's importance centers on the fact that comparative methodology remains keyed to modernism's positivist and historicist methodologies. These metanarratives smothered what we today recognize are the mininarrative knowledge claims of cultural clusters. (Paulston and Liebman, 1994) Our social cartography project develops cultural and other relational maps based on observed similarities and differences found in the theoretical constructs developed in fellow comparativists' discourses.

Welch's stated concern - developing new research methods - focuses on identifying research forms "based on more reciprocal, less coercive, cultural relations" (7). His conclusion is that Gadamer's thesis (1986) offers such a method. We will review these arguments momentarily. The cultural milieu we comparativists now recognize and devote our attention to has expanded, not only in terms of the changes effecting persons living within a given milieu but in our perception of the multiplicity of cultural values and forms. Welch identifies two dominant cultural/educational perspectives, describing the first as "an integrative force in society" (7) because it represented the cultural form all persons in a society supposedly aspired to achieve. While he

does not name this cultural form, we consider it to be the culture of commodity because it offers individuals an opportunity to acquire the cultural capital others define and validate as offering the greatest social success prospect in a society with "a venerable and largely fixed tradition" (7). In other words persons can buy into the culture of commodity by accepting its tenets and working to attain its standards. He identifies these cultural traditions as those assigning performance conditions to preferred intellectual objectives and content. These traditions are reflected in elite education institutions. Until recently this cultural form was the dominate "ideal-type advanced [in] Western economy and society" (18). From this platform "modernization theorists were unrelenting in their desire to impose the structural attributes of an ideal - typical modern society upon less developed nations" (18). It seems this is the coercive cultural form Welch identifies when he calls for "new forms of investigation which are based on more reciprocal, less coercive, cultural relations" (7).

The other cultural form discussed is "more reciprocal, less coercive." It is the perspective where culture is "an arena of social contest, largely unequal, in which the dominant group gains, or retains, control over a cultural definition which is thus seen as more legitimate, and of higher status - and which is subsequently confirmed in schools" (8). This cultural form Welch calls the "selective

tradition" removes itself from the integrative aspiration culture, substituting a cultural contests field where many self-identified ideologies seek recognition. This perspective of culture, evident more in contemporary societies, is identified by the advancement of Western cultural mininarratives and third world political and economic independence. It is the perspective that not only opens the field to distinctive new methods to identify competing cultural claims and explain how these claims differ from and challenge one another, it also lends itself to social cartography, the method we choose to support our research of these competing cultural claims.

Welch notes that contemporary hermeneutic study focuses on understanding rather than knowledge, rejecting "the traditional (Cartesian) stress on dualisms," the dichotomy of the subject and the object by which traditional positivist and historicist methodologies manipulated and controlled the object of studies. Understanding occurs presumably when controls and manipulations are not methodologically enforced on the object. As we noted earlier, Welch expresses a concern for developing new methods facilitating comparative education's research focus, noting that he has identified less coercive and more reciprocal forms in Gadamer's work. This interpretation provides a new locus for social cartography's theoretical rationales developed and identified previously in our work. (Paulston and Liebman, 1994) We will review our

project in terms of these three relationships. We will then consider how social cartography can fill the lacunae Welch suggests still exist in the favored methodologies utilized in comparative education's studies of intercultural relations.

In the first research relationship the researcher "rigorously sets out to rid oneself of any presuppositions with regard to the other, in order to discover its [sic.] essence" (20). The researcher is self-distanced just as a scientist objectifies phenomena. This methodology "leaves no room for the expression of the other culture in its own terms...This is the realm of pure theory...in which morality plays no role" (20). This positivist science methodology allows no input from the research object because it "objectivises another culture" (22).

The second research relationship also positions the researcher preferentially to the research object, but here, according to Welch, the researcher allows the research object to have input. But as in critical theory, the research object does not speak for itself. The researcher claims both greater knowledge, "true" consciousness, and the control of the research object's consciousness and knowledge. This research methodology "does not provide a base for mutual reciprocal relations between cultures" (Welch, 22).

The third research relationship is one of "interaction, [where] there are no privileged epistemological or cultural positions, there are just forms-of-life, or language games, in

Wittgenstein's sense" (21). The researcher's cultural background cannot be taken for granted, but is viewed in the other culture's terms. This is "an open dialogue in which each protagonist accepts that their understanding of the other as well of themselves is substantially changeable" (22).

We find some of these basic assumptions of the problems and directions of comparative methodology agreeable to our perspective. However, there is a weakness we identify in Welch's argument. While he advocates an interactive cultural relations study model, he does not propose a workable or working model meeting the criteria he advances. For example, his conclusion notes: "The implications for a meaningful and relevant comparative education are that decisions and analysis should be based on genuine attempts at developing mutual understanding" (22). We agree, but while we continue to await what seems to be a promised forthcoming revelation - a new comparative methodology proposed to provide such understanding - we are instead left merely with an observation: "throughout comparative education, forms of genuine partnership are being called for which can herald a new intellectual and practical style, so that understanding based on mutuality is given more scope, and the 'indissoluble individuality of the other' is recognized" (22-23). While at the beginning of his argument he informs us "newer forms of investigation which are based on more reciprocal, less coercive, cultural relations, are advanced as one means to

develop new forms of comparative research" (7), in the end we find nothing more being advanced than the refrain that the comparative education field is calling for new methodologies. This conclusion is to his argument what a glass of water is to a drowning man. We offer that our social cartography project provides the scope for viewing the social milieu, and what he calls a "new intellectual and practical style" necessary to promote understanding between what we have coined the "cultural clusters" (Paulston and Liebman, 1994) of contemporary society.

Such observations of old methodological forms and the need for a new methodology serve well the social cartography project which we see overcoming "the supposedly objective knowledge...and scientific outlook which deforms praxis" (Welch, 22). Mapping, in its more loosely constructed forms (Figure 1-B), as well as the highly structured form (Figure 1-A), represents the inter-cultural dialogue the third research relationship advances. The social map becomes a playing field welcoming all into the game with the single caveat that they continue rather than stifle the dialogue. To stifle dialogue presumes control or power, a detrimental proposition we argue against strenuously. (Paulston and Liebman, 1994)

The Mapping Rationale

Social cartography rejects no narrative, whether it is a metanarrative or that of a localized culture. Instead, the breadth of research possibilities and understanding social

cartography envisions accepts all points-of-view, their general validity opens opportunities for comparison because mapping does not "deny integration of cultures and harmonizing values" (Rust, 191, 616). Social cartography arises from what Rust notes are the possible "legitimate metanarratives...open the world to individuals and societies, providing forms of analysis that express and articulate differences and that encourage critical thinking without closing off thought and avenues for constructive action" (616).

Constructive action evokes expansion and analysis of the human condition which currently is experienced "within the tension produced by modernist and postmodernist attempts to resolve the living contradiction of being both the subject and object of meaning" (McLaren and Hammer, 1989, 31). Social cartography's discourse style acknowledges the researcher's prerogative to create a perceptual or cognitive social milieu map. Rules and external powers not only constrain the mapping project, they would force centering or decentering on others. The map locates contemporary human conditions, providing multiple cultural clusters with a grounding - a place in a perceived social reality that juxtaposes each with the others sharing that reality. Map position is not determined, it occurs from the relationships perceived by the mapper. Jeffrey Alexander (1991) might include social cartography in his "claim to reason" definition, that the cartographic exercise might demonstrate how "sociological theory can

achieve a perspective on society which is more extensive and more general than the theorist's particular lifeworld and the particular perspective of his or her social group" (147).

McLaren and Hammer's (1989) view that contemporary social actors are situated within the modernity and postmodernity tension suggests that the social milieu's shape is determined by the interactions of multiple cultures. This shape cannot be discerned from within. The social cartograph provides a comprehensible scaled model of the social milieu, modeling society's shape in a way permitting our study from wherever we may be situated on a map representing the perspectives we have of cultural relations in the social space. The creation and study of the social map offers us the possibility to achieve an enhanced understanding of the postmodern world, creating what McLaren and Hammer note would be "a sensibility or logic by which we appropriate in the contemporary context, cultural practices into our own lives" (34-35). Social cartography, then, in our analysis, identifies with the sociology of knowledge.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) amplify this grounding in their introductory discussion differentiating three reality and knowledge understandings. The first is that of the man in the street who presumes both reality and knowledge are something taken for granted. However, there is the problem that every man on the street is not formed from a single social mold, but that societies each form their individuals

differently. A second understanding identifies the differences among the conceptual realities as they are understood by the society, and as these realities are differentiated and understood by the sociologist. The third understanding of reality is the philosopher's who takes nothing for certain while striving to clarify the human reality and knowledge the man in the street takes for granted.

We join with King (1990) in the second category of understanding where we identify within the framework of a social map the juxtapositions of emerging cultures' knowledge realities, aiding the development of understanding in terms of cultural realities and knowledge bases. Brian Holmes (1984) maintains that the complexity and distinction "between our social, mental, and physical worlds draws attention to the need for simplified ideal typical models to describe our 'real' worlds." We offer that social cartography, as constructive hermeneutics, is a discourse style answering Holmes' call for a simplified model because it describes the world. However, we stop well short of claiming that our conceptualization of a social cartography is an ideal model.

Constructing a social cartography model is similar to any geographic mapping (although cartesian coordinates are not mandated) that reduces a 'total' space to a much smaller scale. While the purpose and goal of positivist geographic cartography is to create an empirically perfect model, our purpose is more aletheistic. Creating mapped social models

cannot finalize with any exactitude a true representative. Maps created by social cartographers are not to be replicable by other social mappers. Social cartographs may be added to or amended, and they are certainly open to debate, change, and even personalization. (see Figure 1-B) Thus, while a geographic cartographer of empirical space can win an argument that a map should be altered because it does not replicate the physical world measurements, social cartographers do not argue validity because they understand that others are encouraged to question the spatial relationships of social realities identified and mapped by others because social maps are not empirical, mathematically correct representations. The social world cannot be measured, but it can be viewed, reported, and compared. Because of this, we see social cartography as post paradigmatic: it will not create new paradigms, nor will it initiate a revolution of paradigms as suggested by Thomas Kuhn. (1962) Rather, it provides "a perspectivist orientation for which there are no facts, only interpretations, and no objective truths, only the constructs of various individuals and groups" (Best and Kellner, 1992, p. 22). Social cartography, in short, helps comparative educators order and interpret the relativism and growing fragmentation of our time.

Two examples of mapping already noted illustrate the possibilities of social cartography. The first example (Figure 1-A) is representative of the structure emerging from

textual exegesis and the mapping of semiotic space. The second example (Figure 1-B) is free of the orthodoxies of both method and structure. Both are examples of what we call the map, but whether they are maps, or what mapping category in which they are located, was considered by environmental geologist Joseph R. Seppi.

Seppi (1992) has informed us that the term map when applied to the social cartography project is used "loosely." Seppi offers a framework for two models of cartography and then suggest a third that describes some of our proposals and expectations for social cartography. His first framework treats mapping in its conventional style, the abstracting onto a two-dimensional plane, limited in a cartesian coordinate system, the forms and shapes occupying physical space. Conventional maps include a number of variables predetermined by the mapper, variables set by accepted scientific standards, including the Cartesian plane, scientific measurements, and symbols. These variables are then represented as depictions of real physical space in a manner consistent with what is found in that space.

The second framework Seppi offers builds on the work of Bertrand Russell (1937). According to Russell, knowledge expressed in terms of mathematics offer the possibility that knowledge can be represented in geometric shapes. Since symbols on maps represent the mapper's perception of the physical environment, a mapper also should be able to express

a mapped geometric vision of knowledge. It follows that the map's features explicitly illustrate the mapper's perception of some reality - "physical subaerial phenomena," "subjective cognitive phenomena," or "conjective metaphysical phenomena."

Seppi specifically identifies the Figure 1-A map as neither of these models, but as a visualized reality. This social cartography model is an "a-textual definition" of a complex textual network as read and interpreted by the mapper. The Figure 1-A social cartograph is a geometric pattern system that is "subject to posteriority and even iconification."

Seppi's well developed argument suggests we social theorists have a great deal more to learn about cartography. In our interpretation, however, we entreat some leeway for disagreement, believing that social cartography borrows from his first model because it does identify and represent on a two dimensional plane features perceived to occupy physical space, though in the case of social cartography the features are not mountains, rivers, and cities, but the networks of humanity built on the variety of understandings and interpretations of numerous socially constructed associations, or cultural clusters' knowledge claims. Because cultural clusters occupy physical space that as often as not is contested, we believe social cartography often identifies with geo-political maps because one group's political features are what attract persons to a particular space. The ideological space they choose, their affiliations, directly informs their

choice of real space so that when we as social cartographers map our vision of ideologies and social theories we are, in a way, also mapping the isolated pockets of real space people occupy because of their choices as well as the real spaces they choose not to occupy because of those same choices.

While we call those who practice this particular style of discourse 'social cartographers,' Seppi has coined a wonderful word for those who create social cartography: 'cognographers' are those persons whose mind's eye visualizes an image of social reality and express that vision on what we will still refer to loosely as 'the map.'

Social cartography, mapping the plane of multiple social paradigms and theories, locates itself eclectically. It is indifferent to ideological and theoretical controversies. The irony of social cartography is that its only practitioners and audience will probably be found among those who share the world view of Lyotard (1984) who identifies the postmodern consciousness as an "incredulity toward metanarratives," a consciousness skeptical of universals embracing a philosophy of local knowledge claims. Map Types

As a part of our thesis we have identified three map types. These types are not hard and fast, but often overlap. These types motivate mapping ideas and provide mappers with origin points to develop a significant map illustrating a research perspective. The first map type, the phenomenographic, positions phenomena in relation to one

another. Phenomenographic maps may take any form presenting the reader with research information. Generally we believe the phenomenographic map is more extensively researched and referenced. This, of course, is our perception and not a hard fact. Figure 1-A falls in the phenomenographic and conceptual map overlapping.

The conceptual map develops perceived relationships within or between categories. Unlike the research based phenomenographic map, the conceptual map is more open to the mapper's ideas and world view. The intensity of research and references is not as vital to the conceptual map. Graham's idiosyncratic map (Figure 1-B) falls in this conceptual category.

The third map type, the mimetic, simulates or imitates a reality. Mimetic maps have a geographic nature. They indicate the location of a variety of social or cognitive phenomena not normally associated with geographic cartography. An excellent mimetic example is Eaton's (Figure 1-C) illustration of the mental images United States military officers have of other nations. Eaton's map exhibits phenomenographic and conceptual characteristics, locating these characteristics on a perceptual geographic plane. Eaton's project asked military officers to utilize symbols to geographically locate other nations as well as indicate the size, population, and other conceptualizations the officers held of these nations.

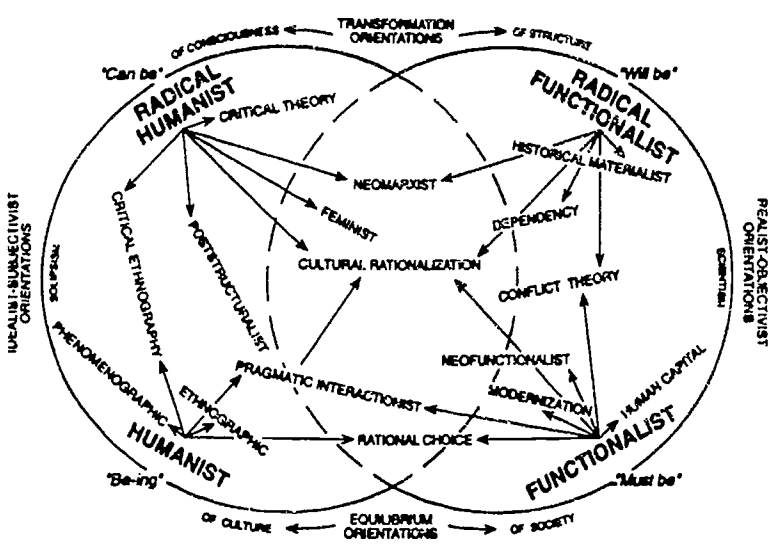


Fig. 1-A: A phenomenographic/conceptual landscape of contemporary theories in education discourse. Source: Paulston, 1994.

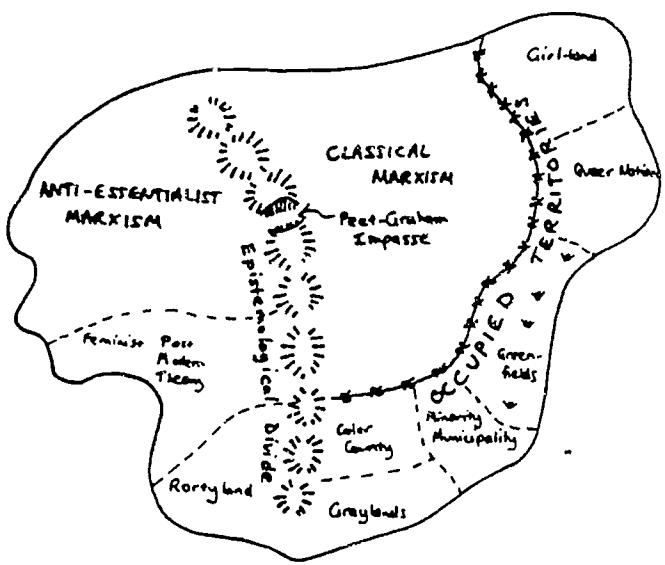


Fig. 1-B: A conceptual landscape of contemporary ideologies. Source: Graham, 1992.

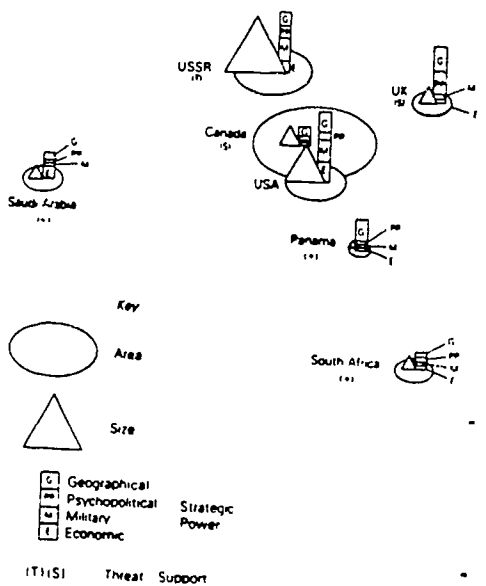


Fig. 1-C: A mimetic map exhibiting phenomenographic and conceptual styles. Source: Eaton in Gould and White, 1986.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

The mapper may use any word or symbol system to represent the mapped information. When symbols are used, combinations and varieties of shape, size, line width, or any variable may indicate meaning differences. Again, Eaton's comparative phenomenographic analysis effectively uses this iconographic method. (Figure 1-C)

Where Mapping Could Amplify the Thesis

We will now review some recent Comparative Education articles which illustrate how social cartography, had the method been available to the authors, could enhance research presentations. Because we believe the authors' knowledge of their material positions them as experts best able to determine the form and content of a map, we will not create maps for them. However, to illustrate our point, we will be bold in our use of their material to suggest maps we believe could enhance their presentations.

Clayton MacKenzie's (1993) interesting study of missionaries in a variety of historical contexts compares the short and long term educational, political, and economic results of missionary schools from perspectives including indigenous peoples influenced directly by the missionaries; these peoples' descendants; the various church organizations who sent missionaries to Africa, South American, and the Orient; and the European governments or monarchies colonizing those areas. MacKenzie's research offers substantial

possibilities for phenomenographic and mimetic map types. A phenomenographic map might create categories illustrating reactions, experiences, and outcomes of missionary education from various perspectives. A mimetic map could use icons to show where missionary schools were located and their denomination affiliation. This information could be enhanced with icons showing education influences of the church, the colonial government, etc. Overall, these combinations of factors result in conceptions of positive or negative educational, social, and political outcomes, which could also be mapped.

In his study of occupational stress among teachers, Hiam Gaziel (1993) reports his research in terms such as "an analysis of variance between groups" including "a regression analysis of variance," "a two-way analysis of variance," and "a matrix of correlations" (71-72). We wonder whether these positivist analyses fulfill Gaziel's objective: providing "a fuller understanding of the personal and environmental contexts in which they occur" (Gaziel, 67). Rather, this article seems an example of comparative education's long running dependence and deferment to the positivist and historicist metanarratives, the belief that, as Rust states, "knowledge and truth are based on abstract principles and theoretical constructs rather than direct, subjective human experience" (Rust, 615). We suggest Gaziel's argument might benefit if he includes a phenomenographic or conceptual map

illustrating effective and ineffective coping strategies based on the determinants listed in the article: education, gender, personality, organization size, and culture. (Gaziel, 68-70) Mapping coping methods and teachers' experiences could lead to conclusions beyond merely reinforcing "what was known from other studies conducted in other contexts, namely, that choosing a coping mode is significantly attached to the source of the occupational stress" (77).

Ratna Ghosh and Norma Tarrow's (1993) article on professors' attitudes toward multicultural pedagogy also suggests a number of possible maps. The most revealing and relatively easily accomplished would present icons on a conceptual field, where the icons represented factors of multicultural perspectives (culture, race, gender, ethnicity, etc.), each sized accordingly with a professors perspective on the issue's importance in relation to teacher education pedagogy. The map would be enhanced by locating these icons on a conceptual field isolating professors grouped by these same multicultural factors.

Geoffrey Partington's (1993) study lends itself to a very structured phenomenographic mapping of the ways of seeing, similar to Figure 1-A. Too, a mimetic map illustrating the various governments' rationale regarding their emphasis and perceptions of best or preferred curricula areas might also benefit the reader's understanding of policy making.

Liz Gordon (1993) immediately provides us with a mapping exercise when she writes "the basis on which market educational reforms can be understood as transnational, if not global, is as part of a solution to a common set of economic circumstances, including the falling rate of profit, the growth in multinational corporations, increasing national debt, rising unemployment, high levels of inflation and spiralling welfare costs" (281). These five economic circumstances as they affected Britain, the United States and New Zealand could be mapped, possibly in a time series, indicating changing circumstances and altered perspectives regarding market educational reforms. Here, again, a conceptual map using a variety of icons representing the five economic circumstances in terms of strength, policy influence, etc., would be an excellent choice.

Fiona Wood (1992) finds national policies exploit the affinity between "the technology base, export earnings, and intellectual skills" (293) creating a collaborative effort in the areas of research, teaching, and service between higher education and industry. Wood's article is researched and detailed so finely as to recommend a highly structured phenomenographic map detailing the relationships between any or all of those concerns taken from the article's first paragraph. Also, her discussion concerning the protection and ownership of intellectual property might be mapped

phenomenographically, building the map's axis around poles of ownership, liability, industrial property and copyright.

Pam Poppleton (1993) notes that the "interpretation of findings in a cross-national study is much the most difficult part of the researcher's task" (215). We identify with this concern, seeing interpretation as a problem in terms of what criteria best situate themselves in terms of understanding and mapping. Poppleton quotes Melvin Kohn who realized "a necessary first step is to try to discover which of the many differences...are pertinent to explaining the differences in social structure or in how these social structures affect people's lives" (Kohn in Poppleton, 215). With regard to mapping possibilities, Poppleton has made our task relatively easy. She notes her arguments "will be grounded in teachers' perceptions of their work" (216), and that the study "was carried out in England, the USA, Japan, Singapore and West Germany" (216), noting, too, that these countries "varied along a number of important dimensions: size, demography, political ideology, and religion, though all can be described as having modern industrial enterprises and capitalist economies" (216) and were chosen "because researchers in each of the countries were concerned about aspects of the supply, recruitment, selection and training of secondary school teachers" (216). These factors suggest a mimetic map using icons representing the teachers' perceptions in the categories

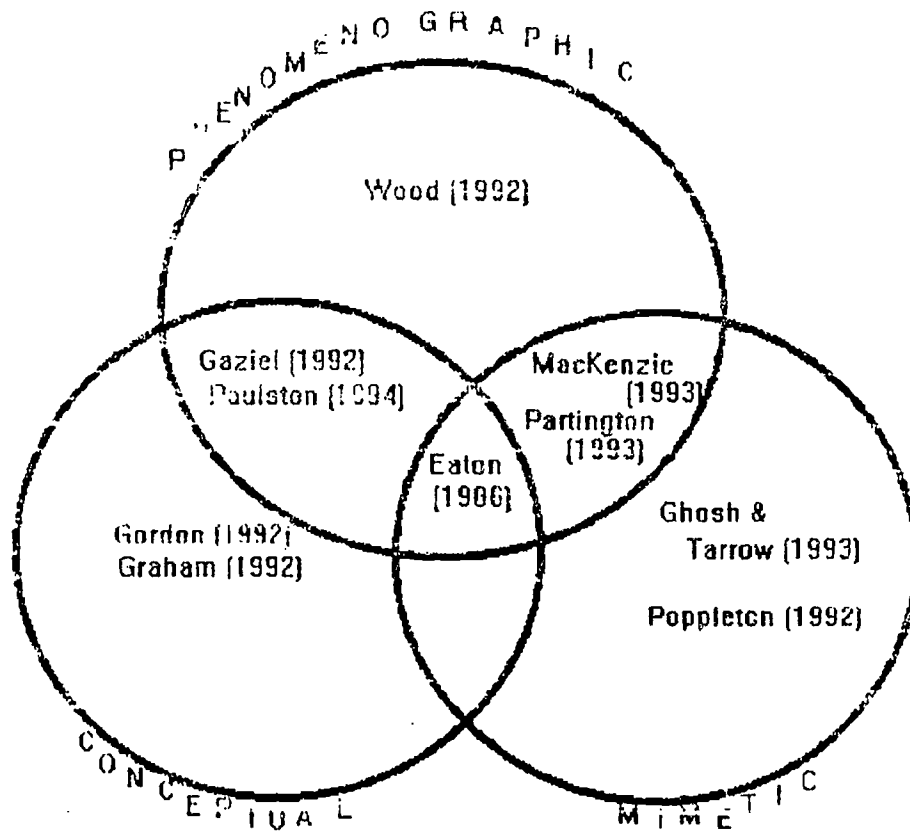


Figure 2: A conceptual map locating texts in a field of map types.

Poppleton discusses: teaching as work; teaching as career; teaching as pedagogy; teaching as professionalism.

It should be evident that any number of factors presented in comparative research articles can be conceptualized as material recommending the creation of a social cartograph. We have illustrated in Figure 2 our map choices for these articles, locating the cited articles (as well as Paulston, Graham, and Eaton) within the context of the three map types we have identified with social cartography. Figure 2, of course, is a conceptual map because it develops perceived relationships within or between the categories of phenomenographic, conceptual, and mimetic on a two dimensional space. [FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Conclusions

Our project is neither a rebuttal of modernism nor a headlong plunge over the postmodern cusp. We agree with Val Rust's observation that metanarratives have an important place and societal influence, as well as with Habermas that modernity is not a failed project. What we envision is not an inclusive move away from the statistical analysis such as Hiam Gaziel's cited above, but a move toward encompassing the perspectives and methods we can find which serve to advance both knowledge and understanding. To replace one totalizing perspective with another would not improve social and comparative research but create a new focus for argument, misunderstanding, and exclusions. Social cartography's

method, however, decidedly favors the postmodern and the study of cultural clusters' narratives and influences. By using maps as a part of our comparative studies we will provide a visual dialogue of cultural flow and influences appropriate for future work in comparative education.

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