

The Next Generation: Can There Be a Feminist Geography without Gender?

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After the first wave of feminist geographical research, which focused on the spatiality of women's lives, feminist geography began to concern itself with issues of equity in the discipline, the ways in which geographical knowledge is conceptualized, and how gender and other social differences interrelate. In this paper I consider how the current generation of women graduate students, students who came of age professionally in an era where feminism is often taken for granted and in which sex is considered but one of a multiplicity of social differences, negotiate the intersection of feminism and their scholarly lives. I am interested specifically in the role that feminism and feminist methodologies might have in the research agendas of those who are not explicitly studying women. Through these theoretical explorations, an autobiographical narrative, and an informal roundtable discussion with other women graduate students, I ask whether it is possible, today, to conduct a kind of feminist geography without undertaking a substantive study of gender.

Keywords: Feminism, feminist geography, graduate studies, reflexivity

In our various roles as teachers and students, many of us have been confronted, on a course outline or syllabus, with the clean slate that is “Week One: Introduction.” Week Ones are filled with logistical details: paperwork shuffled, introductions made, expectations outlined. But there is also the more complex matter of the staking of pedagogical territory: this is what we will be doing this year, these are the lenses through which we will all agree to view the world, for at least these few hours each week. And in geography we almost always also spend some time mapping ourselves in relation to others: this is what we will be doing this year, but this is what we *won't* be doing. In other words, in geography we almost always spend some time drawing boundaries.

Week Ones may differ, but they are almost always there, whether the introduction is to human geography generally, to feminist geography, or to something as specific as, for

example, qualitative methods for urban geographical research. Flashback the beginning of my career as a graduate geographer: having come from an interdisciplinary urban studies program, I was anxious to get a handle on this giant amorphous category called geography. Since my B.A. programme allowed me to dabble, to learn a little bit about a lot of things to do with cities, I was ready to Get Serious; I was ready to become a Graduate Student. Like most courses of study within geography, mine began with some consideration of what geography is, how it relates to other disciplines, and how it is organized into sub-fields. In a course on the philosophy of geographic thought, I was introduced to a diagram, one that presented geography as a circle with other circles revolving around it (see Figure 1). A Venn diagram of sorts, geography was shown overlapping with these other circles, which represented other disciplines. The areas where the circles intersected illustrated the various sub-fields of geography; so for example, economics and geography intersected to produce “commercial geography.” (Stoddard 1986, 211, reproduced from Fenneman 1919, 4). The context of this figurative conceptualization of the discipline was historic: Stoddard (1986) was reporting on the evolution of Thomas Henry Huxley’s 1877 text *Physiography*, and in so doing reproduced a figure from a 1919 presidential address to the Association of American Geographers given by Nevin Fenneman. The figure made an impression, though, because it seemed a striking visual representation of the notion that geography is ostensibly about space, that geography presents an approach to the world, rather than a more narrowly-defined subject matter, as in, say, economics. “The constant pressure,” wrote Fenneman (1919, 3), in his address on the scope and organization of geography, “is that by admitting alien subjects we shall sooner or later be absorbed by a foreign power and lose our identity.” And yet I interpreted the close ties geography had with other disciplines as exciting. Geography, it seemed to me as a new graduate student, offered the opportunity for a spatial analysis of topics I already knew something about, given my interdisciplinary background. I quickly forgot the specific context of the figure and began to think about how such a conceptualization might apply to the contemporary practice of human geography.

But what to do if you are interested in two entirely different circles, ones that do not intersect so neatly? In this paper, I

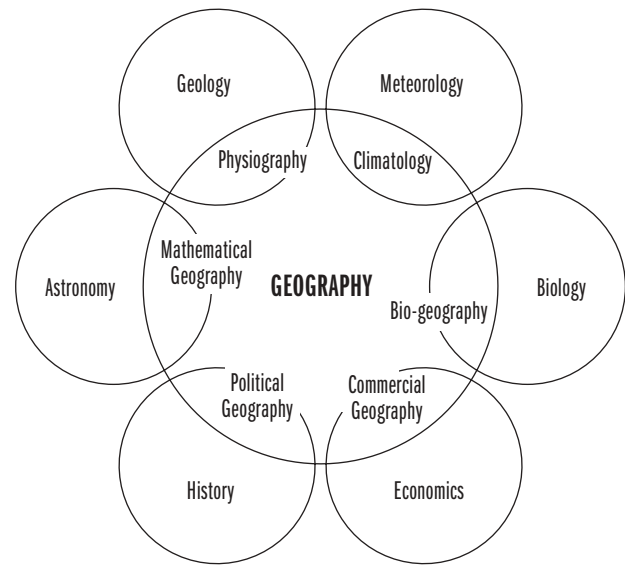


Figure 1: Geography and Its Sub-fields (after Fenneman, 1919)

explore this dilemma by reflecting on my own experiences and those of my graduate student peers, shared with me via a roundtable discussion. As graduate students, we have just begun to move along career trajectories. The particular forms that our careers will take will be influenced by choices we make now about research topics, professional society affiliation, and conference participation. In this context of graduate studies, of the “next generation” of feminism in the academy, I want to look back at these overlapping circles, and consider whether the practice of a feminist geography necessarily requires a scholarly interest in gender as a category of analysis.

Circle One: Feminism

What if, in a diagram like Figure 1, women’s studies were one of the disciplines revolving around geography? What do you get when you cross the disciplines of geography and women’s studies? If human geography is a way of looking at the world, if it is concerned with spatial causes and effects of human phenomena, what happens when you cross it with a discipline that is similarly thematic rather than topical? Women’s studies, one could argue, is *also* a way of looking at the world. Geography considers the relationship between space and society; women’s studies considers the relationship between gender and society. It is not the case,

though, that women's studies necessarily yields feminist research, so why should we necessarily find something called feminist geography in the overlapping space between the two circles on the Venn diagram? And what exactly is feminist geography, anyway?

The easy answer here is to clarify, to say that feminist geography comes from an interest in the spatiality of women's lives. According to Pratt's (1994) entry on feminist geography in the *Dictionary of Human Geography*, there have been three phases in the evolution of feminist geographies. The first was an empirical tradition that sought to document the geography of women's lives. So in this sense, we might say that if we have a circle with women (rather than the discipline of women's studies) in it and a circle with geography in it, what emerges at their intersection is feminist geography. In other words, the study of women plus the discipline of geography equals feminist geography. The diagram metaphor begins to break down here, because this is, of course, a gross oversimplification: the study of women does not in itself constitute feminist research, does not necessarily yield feminist geography.

Another flashback, this time to the early 1990s. The power of geography was evident in my introductory urban studies class. We had just read Dolores Hayden's (1980) answer to the question, "what would a non-sexist city be like?" In this Midwestern American city, most of us looked the same, and we came from similarly middle class, mostly suburban backgrounds. Until we read this manifesto on the design of non-sexist cities, it had not occurred to us that cities *could* be sexist. It had not occurred to us that cities could *be* anything. That ideology could shape land use and urban design was a startling revelation – but also one that, after reading Hayden, seemed undeniable. Indeed, had not our mothers' lives been affected more than our fathers' by the separation of land uses in suburbia? As we thought back to who picked up the dry cleaning, shopped for groceries, and picked us up from soccer practice our worldviews shifted just a little bit. "The logistical problems," Hayden wrote (1980, S176), "which all employed women face are not private problems, and they do not succumb to market solutions." This sentence is highlighted on my original copy. What must my nineteen-year-old self have been thinking?

In other courses, I went on to read, along with fellow students, Hanson and Pratt (1991) on the gendered division of labour and its limiting effect on the location of women's employment. We learned about the feminization of poverty. We read Engels (1993) on the condition of the working class in England and were introduced to the concept of the reproduction of labour: we were suddenly presented with the view that the division of work and home, along with the associated location of women at home served a greater (and perhaps insidious) purpose. We learned about the land use of cities, and at a smaller scale, the designs of individual homes. We learned about consumerism and ideology: Miller's (1983) paper on (among other things) the postwar marketing of appliances and cleaning products, made a strong impression. Although my colleagues and I may not have known it then, we were being exposed to what Pratt (1994) calls the second phase of feminist geography, a socialist-feminist critique of the world. Ironically, for many of us, our introduction to Marxism, which I would argue is much more entrenched as a theoretical framework in geography, came via discussions of material feminism.

My fellow students and I learned from Hayden and others that the world around us tended to have different effects on different kinds of people. When we learned this, we learned something about feminism and the lives of women, but we also learned something about the power of a geographical education. Perhaps the bigger lesson for us, as beginning geographers, was that human space is not neutral, that the landscapes around us are not just containers for our activities. As graduate students, we tend to forget those exciting moments of discovery, when it first began to dawn on us that geography was about more than just knowing your capitals. For me, it was Hayden's classic feminist geography that sparked a curiosity about why places are the way they are. By asking what a non-sexist city would look like, she gave me an even greater gift: the realization that cities reflect the cultures that create them.

Circle Two: Landscape

I have introduced two "definitions" for feminist geography, one relating to the empirical study of the lives of women, and the other constituting a feminist-socialist critique of the world.

According to these criteria, I am not a feminist geographer. My studies have always focused on suburbs, culture, and landscape, and have not incorporated gender as a category of analysis. I can clearly remember my first reading of Hayden, certainly, but books like Yi-fu Tuan's (1974) *Topophilia* made a much bigger impression. Tuan led me to volumes like Meinig's (1979) anthology *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, and Relph's (1987) *The Modern Urban Landscape*. When I began graduate school, I had no doubt that I would be a cultural geographer.

Certainly I could have integrated my interest in landscape with a kind of feminist geography. As Massey (1993) points out, different social groups experience landscape in different ways. The same place can have vastly different meanings depending on the social identity and subjectivity of the beholder. This is quite apart from saying, as Tuan and Meinig did, that there is a subjective and unquantifiable element to landscapes, that they are experienced differently by different *individuals*. What Massey and others like Young (1990) have taught us is that social *group* identity must also be theorized as it relates to space. In other words, categories like sexuality, race, and gender matter and they influence how we experience the world around us.

Social groups, though, did not particularly interest me; I did not want to study identity. As I began my PhD, I embarked upon an internal debate of sorts. I wanted to study culture, I told myself, mass culture. My interest in New Urbanism provides an example. I was interested in how the creation of quaint, generically old-fashioned landscapes reflected a new kind of nostalgia in American culture. I thought it curious that the quintessential New England small town was being recreated in cornfields in the American Midwest. I could have asked about how women experienced New Urbanist suburbs: I could have asked whether the smaller lots and public spaces typical of neotraditional planning ameliorated some of the problems identified by Hayden.

But in order to effectively investigate what these kinds of landscapes could tell us about North American *culture*, I had stop thinking at the level of the social group. I had some trouble until I realized this, because I was conflating cultural geography and the geography of social groups by asking myself questions more appropriate to a study of social relations in space – and subsequently finding that I could not answer these questions. I

have come to accept the fact that to address the kinds of questions that interest me, I have to employ a certain level of abstraction when I talk about culture – that is, I have to accept that according to the definitions of feminist geography presented so far, I do not “do” feminist geography. But thanks to Massey, Young, and others, talking about culture in an abstract, broad sense, is not, today, an unproblematic position to take. I make these points here simply to acknowledge that it is not that the feminist geography and landscape circles cannot be made to intersect; that is, I could have taken a more direct route if my only goal had been to integrate a study of landscape with feminist geography.

As I moved through graduate school, then, I left behind the geography of gender, but I discovered what Rose (1993) calls the gender of geography, and was forced to widen my definition of feminist geography. If Dolores Hayden's 'What would a non-sexist city be like?' was a benchmark of my undergraduate years, Gillian Rose's (1993) *Feminism and Geography* played an analogous role in my graduate years. For me, this discovery meant the establishment of a sort of secondary line of inquiry: the status of women *in* the discipline of geography. For me, this meant that perhaps there was a way I could be a feminist geographer, after all.

I discovered that in terms of indicators like faculty hiring and retention and attrition of female graduate students, it seems that geography, at least in Canada, lags behind other disciplines (I present some related statistics later in the paper). There has been much research on women in academia generally, and to some degree it is perhaps futile to inquire about geography in isolation from the rest of the academy. But the considerable lag between geography and even the other social sciences (see, for example, White 2000; Hall et al. 2002) would suggest that it is worthwhile to do so. To undertake such an exercise, we must return to our Venn diagram, to this ever-present question of boundaries. To ask why equity for women in geography has not been the resounding success we would have hoped for is to ask philosophical questions about our discipline – questions such as, how do we conceptualize geographic knowledge and inquiry? And what consequences do these conceptualizations have for women as subjects and producers of geographic knowledge?

Rose (1993) traces the history of feminism in geography and reports that in the 1980s feminist geographers began to critique the way the discipline organized knowledge, suggesting that the sphere of reproduction was as legitimate an area of inquiry as the sphere of production, that the family and the home were valid sites for scholarly attention. These feminist geographers asserted, Rose reports (3), that “the interconnections between the two spheres are central to a fully human geography which acknowledges women as social subjects.” She charts feminist geography as it extends its boundaries to include more than the study of the lives of women as topics of research and, further, suggests (33) that there is something about the nature of geographic knowledge specifically that is masculinist, that represents a “deep reluctance to listen to feminism and its focus on women.” This reluctance stands in contrast to standard claims that geography is somehow inherently a comprehensive discipline, concerned with knowledge of the world. And since women are part of the world, the argument goes, they are subsumed in this kind of comprehensive approach. This philosophy has consequences for the ways in which research is conceptualized: geographic knowledge, Rose writes, (1993, 7) “is a form of knowledge which assumes a knower who believes he can separate himself from his body, emotions, past and so on, and that he and his thought are autonomous, context-free, and objective.”

Rose’s words rang true. As I prepared to do fieldwork, I did not feel context-free and objective. I was going to study suburban landscapes, the very places in which I had grown up. I had spent my early life accumulating informal ideas about suburbs, and in university, reading Hayden revolutionized my thinking about suburbia. If anything, I had spent my whole life developing a context. In fact, I could not imagine wanting to devote four-plus years of PhD studies to something for which I felt only a detached and impartial curiosity. As I read more widely in anthropology I began to believe that that context-free objectivity was not necessarily something to which I should aspire anyway. Perhaps Rose’s analysis of the way geography organizes knowledge and the consequences that this mode of organization has for women was a kind of feminist geography – and one that would not fit neatly into our Venn diagram.

Can There Be a Feminist Geography Without Gender?

For this special issue on feminism and graduate geography, I convened an informal round table of my fellow women graduate students. I want to make clear that I undertook this project not with the intent to produce any original research: far from being scientific or comprehensive, I thought nevertheless that my ideas would benefit from some exposure to others who have come of age professionally in an era where feminist geography is no longer just about the geography of women. My aim for this discussion was to discover if other women graduate students, students for whom gender was not a central category of scholarly inquiry, thought that feminism informed their research. I believe that the theoretical explorations I undertake in this paper have been enriched by this session. I had many questions for my fellow geographers: Were we feminists? Were we post-feminists? What kind of debt did we owe to “phase one” of feminist geography, to the women who were among the first to suggest the worthiness of research topics in human geography that related to the spatiality of women’s lives?

Yes: We Don’t Need Gender Anymore, We Have Reflexivity

The major theme to emerge from this discussion was a belief that the primary legacy of the feminist movement in geography is the concept of reflexivity, the notion that research is situated in a social context, inextricably tied up with the identity of the researcher, and often imbued with power relations. All those present at this roundtable claimed to be doing research that required them to interrogate the research process itself. England (1994) reports that feminism has brought to us the idea of collaborative research, a belief that research findings are the property of the population under scrutiny as much as they belong to the researcher. Indeed, one of my colleagues has produced reports for the populations she studied and will be sharing the final results of her dissertation. England continues (1994, 85): “The researcher cannot conveniently tuck away the personal behind the professional because fieldwork *is* personal.” Another colleague, studying collective organizing around issues to do with schools, told of her overlapping roles as researcher and mother

as she attended school meetings. The notion that fieldwork is necessarily personal certainly spoke to my own experience more than the idea that I ought to aim for some sort of detached objective scientific perspective.

In an introduction to a collection of papers on feminism as method, Moss (1993, 48) suggests that a feminist method is one that “builds on experience and accepts subjective experiences as valid forms of existence.” Perhaps, then, the greatest contribution feminism has made to human geography is to “ethnographize” it. It is probably not incidental that many of my colleagues have taken coursework in ethnographic methods and theory. Certainly, ethnography is not any more inherently feminist than geography, but it is worth elaborating on the relationship between ethnography and the reflexivity that is often embraced by geographers and other social scientists. Ethnographic fieldwork, writes Tedlock (2000, 455), “connects important personal experience with an area of knowledge.” A comprehensive discussion of ethnographic method is beyond the scope of this paper, but most ethnographers undertake research in which, as Wolcott (1999) writes, the self is the research instrument. The interest geographers have shown in reflexivity has not necessarily, or even usually, meant embracing the self as the primary research tool, but it has meant recognizing that one’s own identity and experiences inevitably leak into the research process, that there is not a clear delineation between a researcher and her research subjects, and that explicitly thinking about this fact ought to be part of the research process (see also Frohlick, this issue). There is a clear link between feminism in geography (and in the social sciences more generally) and reflexivity as a guiding concept for research. England writes (1994, 81): “part of the feminist project has been to dismantle the smokescreen surrounding the cannons of neopositivist research – impartiality and objectivist neutrality – which supposedly prevent the researcher from contaminating the data.” I believe it is likely – it is certainly the case in my own academic trajectory – that many geographers-in-training are first exposed to reflexivity as a concept in the context of reading about feminist research. This, coupled with the relative lack of courses and other opportunities to train in qualitative research methods, leads many of us to make links to anthropology, an approach which has a longer history of thinking about the relationship between subjectivity and field research. Certainly,

at the roundtable, feminism seems to have worked its way into the methodologies of the current crop of women graduate students as much as it informs our choice of study topics.

Many of my peers grew up in feminist households, where equity, if not always woven into the fabric of our day-to-day lives, was at least espoused as a worthy principle. I do not mean to imply that a feminist position was, for us, inevitable, only to point out that many of us are the children of second-wave feminists, of those who organized in support of women’s rights in the 1960s and 1970s. In my case, in university, Hayden’s paper and the women’s studies courses I took provided a framework for an almost-ineffable set of beliefs that had always been there, lurking beneath the surface of my consciousness. And yet we are not *only* feminists. Between us, at the roundtable, we represented several different countries of origin, ethnicities, and native tongues. So we spent a fair amount of time considering the many axes of difference that have been incorporated into geographic theory in recent decades. We came of age professionally in an era in which gender was one among many differences, in which, according to McDowell and Sharp (1997), the category of women had been decentred by postmodern and postcolonial critiques. Pratt (1994) charts this “postcolonial” stage as phase three of feminist geography. Postcolonial feminists have attacked the Eurocentric nature of Western feminism; postmodernists have challenged claims of absolute truth and universality. Among my peers, postcolonialism and postmodernism are at least as important as feminism as a theoretical base – and perhaps even more important.

The timing of our tenure in graduate school coupled with our diverse social group identities makes it unsurprising that our feminism is more intuitive than explicit and that it is inflected with postcolonialism and postmodernism. By no means do I intend to suggest that this position is somehow universal among graduate students today. I simply want to point out that many of us grew up in feminist households and were exposed early in our academic careers to postcolonial and postmodern critical theories. The term “post-feminist” has been bandied about a good deal in wider society lately, and in most cases seems to mean that young people today have no use for feminism, that feminism has somehow become obsolete. As I worked through these issues, I wondered, since my colleagues and I were not

explicitly studying gender, were we somehow post-feminist? Why *weren't* any of us studying the lives of women? There are no easy answers, but I like to think that in the context of academic geography, maybe what we call ourselves does not matter so much, as long as we keep the status of women in mind.

No: Having Our Cake and Eating It Too?

But maybe not.

"Women," writes Rose (1993, 4), "live with the costs of arguments that they are less capable of producing knowledge than men, because these are not merely arguments but also practices." In other words, reality intervenes.

Lest we get carried away with the appealing notion that as graduate students working some thirty-plus years after the advent of feminist geography, we are reaping the benefits of the work done by those who came before us in the form of a kind of unproblematic feminism-as-method sensibility, let me note that the second theme of our roundtable discussion was, as one participant noted, "it's still the women who will make the sacrifices." In other words, as much as I intended for our discussion to focus on research and scholarly pursuits, the conversation inevitably turned toward the complex intertwining of personal and professional lives that women academics experience. Faculty couples hitting the job market and worries about childbearing while on the tenure track are paramount among my peers. The topics in the hallways are: how to snag interviews at institutions that practice spousal appointment, whether to plan pregnancies to coincide with the last year of a PhD or the first post-tenure year, how to seek academic appointments when partners and young children are not geographically mobile (see Nash, this issue and Murphy and Cloutier-Fisher, this issue).

As reported in the introduction to this collection of papers, statistics seem to bear out these concerns. In 1989 Mackenzie published a report on the status of women in Canadian geography. She reported a growing gap in student-faculty sex ratios – that is, since 1981 the majority of undergraduate geography students have been women while female representation among geography faculties has not kept pace. In 1984 women constituted 5.8% of faculty members in Canadian geography, versus 15.7% across all

disciplines. In 1988 these percentages were 9.0% for geography and 18.6% across all disciplines.

Geography is lagging, relative to other disciplines. The obvious question, then, is whether this gap is closing – this is an especially relevant question, given the context of this issue on women in graduate geography. According to White (2000), in 1998-1999, 117 women made up 14% of geography faculty members in Canada. The figure for full professors in geography is only 2%. Compare this to the social sciences as a whole, where women are 15% of full professors. In mathematics and physical sciences, disciplines that have traditionally been more male-dominated than social sciences, women make up 4% of full professors. This makes me wonder if Rose is onto something with her suggestion that there is something about geography specifically that is inherently exclusionary of women. The good news is that in this same year, 1998-1999, 22% of associate professors of geography were women, and 30% of assistant professors were women. This seems to bode well for those of us who will soon be on the job market. The bad news is that even these numbers only bring geography in line with where the social sciences as a whole were in 1989 (White 2000).

These statistics must cause us to question whether the form feminism takes among the current generation of graduate students, myself included, is really something to celebrate. This is not a new question: many writers have pointed out the tension between the liberatory and divisive possibilities inherent in a world where we recognize and affirm a multitude of differences. McDowell (1999) summarizes this paradox effectively when she asks whether we need a category called woman to make any substantive gains. In other words, can recognizing a multitude of social differences within the project of feminism be counterproductive? While not a new question, I think it is worth posing in this particular context of graduate studies, in this discussion of the generations of feminism in our discipline. If my sense that the current generation of women graduate students operates with a sort of taken-for-granted feminism is correct, who will ask why geography lags so far behind other disciplines in terms of indicators of equity for women? In other words, is our second-nature feminism, which would seem possible to read as evidence of the *success* of the feminist movement, going to result in a sort of diluted, decentred, and disabled feminism when

it really counts – when it comes time to confront disciplinary practices that do not seem to be working?

A Qualified Yes: Practice is Argument

My co-editor Brenda Murphy and I joke about the number of times we have begun sentences with phrases like, “I’m not a feminist geographer, but...” Neither of us studies gender or women. Yet here we are anyway, editing a collection of papers on how feminism and geography intersect in the context of graduate studies. But we are feminists and we are geographers, and somehow geography has not arrived at a place where we can comfortably *say* we “don’t do” feminist geography. We may not study the geography *of* women, but the reality of our academic lives is such that we cannot escape a responsibility to study women *in* geography.

Can there be a feminist geography without the study of gender? My answer is a tentative yes: there can be a feminist geography without gender because we are here, because we are doing it. McDowell (1999) writes that the specific aim of feminist geography is to investigate and make visible the relations between gender divisions and spatial divisions – to uncover their construction and unmask their seeming naturalness. Some of us do this explicitly in our choice of research topics. Others have chosen our daily lives in the academy and the discipline of geography as the sites of our feminist inquiries. As graduate students who will someday be faculty members we may not all share a scholarly interest in the geography of gender, but we ought to take care to look after the gender of geography. We may indeed have come to a place where studying the lives of women is not a necessary component of feminist geography, but we do have a responsibility then to make sure that feminist geography continues to concern itself with disciplinary practices. Rose (1993) noted that arguments about the role of women are also practices. This statement can be reversed, too: practices are also arguments. That is, if we find equity indicators in our departments to be lacking in practice, this means we will be called to make arguments from the perspective of feminist geography, after all. For example, the feminist principles of organizing and building solidarity can help us as graduate students resist and

criticize disciplinary, institutional, and departmental practices that marginalize women.¹ And when we as geographers highlight disciplinary and departmental practices that do not seem to be working, are we not practicing a kind of feminist geography?

My “qualified yes,” though, is based on more than just a feeling of responsibility. Earlier in this paper, I recalled my initial exposure to Hayden’s idea that cities could be sexist. Knowing that the way cities had been fashioned could prop up particular ideologies changed forever the way I looked at them. And since I have made looking at cities my profession, what my eyes see today is not the same city that existed for me before I came across Dolores Hayden. My sense is that for many women in graduate geography today, the feminist critique served as our initial exposure to the idea that places – the settings of our everyday lives – are permeated with power relations. As we move through graduate programs, it is becoming clear to many of us that this is true whether the places we are talking about are cities or the very universities in which we work.

By way of conclusion, I want to revisit this issue of sub-disciplinary boundaries: I want to rethink the Venn diagram model of geography, which despite its initial appeal early in my graduate studies, proved insufficient as a way to conceptualize the discipline. Instead of imagining my dual interests in landscape and in feminist geography as circles that must be made to overlap, perhaps it is better to conceive of them as stacked. Underneath my study of landscape, underneath my interest in disciplinary equity, underneath everything that I do, is that circle labelled “feminism.” It may be a more complicated feminism than that of the second-wave days, it may be tweaked by postmodern theory, and it may be too easy to forget on a day-to-day basis. But it *is* there, and, not incidentally, it was there first. It was there before I ever discovered the writings of Relph and Meinig and Tuan and became a cultural geographer. I have no doubt that it makes me a better geographer.

Endnotes

¹ My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting that the feminist principle of building solidarity be applied to my discussion of institutions.

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