

Place, Technology, and Representation

JOHN F. SHERRY, JR.*

Three challenges of intellectual, political, and moral significance confront our discipline in the new millennium. First, a thorough understanding of sense of place must be harnessed in the service of ecotale dwelling. Second, our inquiry into materiality must expand to encompass the numinous dimension of technology. Finally, we must resolve the crisis of representation that limits our ability to express the insights we achieve in our research into consumer behavior. In this essay, these challenges are framed and responses imagined in light of a set of literatures from disciplines contiguous to our own.

If this essay seems a bit disjointed, it reflects more than my characteristically eclectic (even indiscriminate) reading habits. Like many of you at midcareer, I struggle with strategies for representing the interests of a multiphrenic self (Gergen 1991) that the postmodern era has encouraged to flourish. The struggle is both energizing and enervating; it is solemn as well as festive. I find the empirical and the critical commingling increasingly in my writing. Perhaps under the influence of the new millennium, more of my armchair time is devoted to the issues of ontology, epistemology, and axiology that have exercised our discipline a bit over the past decades. The sandy soil into which we seek to sink our interdisciplinary roots seems sometimes to shift fast enough to thwart our purchase. Or mine, at least.

I have spent a good portion of my professional life contributing to the construction of a cultural poetics of desire (Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin 1990) by exploring how consumers generate, transact, transform, and transmute meaning at the levels of subjective experience and social practice. Along with my ethnographically inclined companions, I have helped instigate some of the disciplinary disruptions we are weathering today. As Geertz (1997, p. 22) has observed, "Bringing so large and misshapen a camel as anthropology into psychology's tent is going to do more to toss things around than to arrange them in order."

Following Geertz (1984), I have sought to be a "merchant of astonishment," whose office is to "unsettle," to "hawk the anomalous," and "peddle the strange." Like Trickster, I

never met a doorway I didn't cross, or like Yogi Berra, a fork in the road I didn't take. Continuing in this tradition, I yoke several disparate issues together under the rubric of cultural poetics in this essay—phenomenology of place, the numinous dimension of technology, the expression of intersubjectivity—and harness them in the service of some normative notions I think should guide our discipline in the new millennium.

My remarks are shaped by encounters with radical economists and deep ecologists, by immersion in servicescapes of all manner of description, and by an increasing fascination with the role of design that our experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999) is elevating to a fetish focus. The dialogues I have conducted with several scholars in particular in the margins of their writings have informed my own recent research and teaching.

SENSE OF PLACE

I am intrigued by marketplace ambience in general and retail atmospherics in particular. As an avid wilderness camper and admirer of the poetry of Gary Snyder, I gravitate toward a bioregional view of culture. I combine these interests in natural and built environments in my recent work on servicescapes. Having whetted my appetite initially on a provocative little journal published by David Seamon out of Kansas State University entitled *Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology*, I branched out to explore the reemerging philosophical and social scientific literatures on sense of place. Two books by the same author have become the lodestar of this exploration.

Edward Casey, a philosopher from the State University of New York at Stonybrook, has produced foundational work on our experience of place. In *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (1997), Casey strives to reveal the hidden history of place—a notion largely eclipsed by our fixation on time—in Western philosophical discourse. He begins his investigation of the ontological primacy of place by probing religious and mythical creation narratives, as

*John F. Sherry, Jr., is professor of marketing at the Kellogg School, Northwestern University, Evanston IL 60208 (jfs306@nwu.edu). Sherry is an anthropologist who studies both the sociocultural and symbolic dimensions of consumption and the cultural ecology of marketing. He is a Fellow of the American Anthropological Association as well as the Society for Applied Anthropology. He is a past president of the Association for Consumer Research and a former associate editor of the *Journal of Consumer Research*. He enjoys wandering the world as a researcher, teacher, and consultant. In his spare time he writes poetry and is an avid flatwater paddler.

well as Platonic and Aristotelian formulations. He then considers the elaboration of place from Hellenistic and Neoplatonic notions through medieval and Renaissance thought. After reviewing early modern theorists (through Kant), he concludes with a view of space and place from the vantage point of late modern and postmodern thought. Employing a sort of critical incident approach to the history of ideas, Casey examines specific philosophical doctrines of place, analyzing them for their significant features.

Casey samples cosmogonic narratives and their ritual renewal from cultures around the world to describe the aboriginal "preplacement" and ongoing "implacement" of our world that allows us to master our terror of the void. He chronicles place as a "continuing cynosure" of Greek thought, emphasizing the vessel- or container-like aspect that makes it a primary metaphysical category (Casey 1997, pp. 21, 50). He demonstrates the ways in which cosmogenesis entails topogenesis: world making and local place making are inextricably intertwined. Casey traces the transformation of place in Western thought from a naturalistic (prominently vernacular) to a theological (oriented to spatial infinity) worldview and details the sociohistorical forces abetting that transformation. He characterizes this shift as the ascendancy of universe over cosmos, of transcendent geography over particularity.

As physicists and theologians focused on measurement and projection, scholarly interest in the individual's experience of local place-worlds receded. That is, space displaced place as a focus of analytic inquiry. By the end of the eighteenth century, place no longer figured at all in the discourses of philosophy and physics. Casey describes the disenchantment of place and its reconfiguration as a mere subdivision of universal space, inert and homogeneous. He is especially insightful in his treatment of the ancients' ability to contain absolutism and relativism in a coherent framework and the early moderns' determination to render these notions incompatible: the forced separation of place from space—the dissolving of the former in the latter and the reduction of place to position—is the legacy we have inherited today and which we are currently rethinking.

Place reemerges as a scholarly focus with Casey's recognition that "site does not situate," that place has "special nongeometric properties" and "unsited virtues" (Casey 1997, p. 201). Its rediscovery begins with a focus on the body, in terms of site and sentience, initiated by Immanuel Kant and Alfred North Whitehead, and developed by phenomenologists such as Edmund Husserl, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and perhaps most prominently, Martin Heidegger. These thinkers show how we access the primary world through the lived body, that is, how place and body are mutually interdependent. In contrast to Heidegger's search for traits of place, contemporary theorists surveyed by Casey seek place beyond formal structure, in process, history, nature, politics, gender relations, poetics, geographic experience, architecture, and religion, to name but a few of the sources of postmodern exploration. This revalorization of place discourse promises, in Casey's view, to "give point

to place," to "rethink space as place" (pp. 287, 309). Implacement has a rhizomatic (i.e., polyvalent, many-rooted) structure. That place is processual, heterogeneous, and omnilocal is the tone of much current discourse.

In his earlier book, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (1993), Casey provides a rich description of the experiential dimensions of place. His central concern is our human condition of implacement, our experience of the "enviroming subsoil of our embodiment" (p. xvii). He begins with a provocative meditation on placelessness and its emotional symptoms, as well as the anxiety that has led philosophers to focus on determinate being to the neglect of place, as a prelude to analyzing the ways in which place shapes us. Casey moves from a discussion of the distinction of place from space, emerging in antiquity and evolving through late modernity, to a consideration of our experience of the parameters of place as grounded in our bodies, through a sensitive exploration of the ways in which we dwell in built environments, to an examination of the notion of wilderness. He concludes with a deliberation of journeying and its significance for our experience of "home" and "away."

Casey begins his analysis of the power and presence of place with a discussion of the ancients' equation of the divine with place; God and place are coterminous. He proceeds to unpack our experience of implacement as irreducibly particular and formative both of who and how we are. Body and landscape are viewed as "coeval epicenters" (Casey 1993, p. 29). Casey is ever attentive to implacement as a cultural process, which he examines effectively in consideration of displacement. He is especially effective in accounting for the intertwining of place and body, probing bodily enactments that shape our experience of orientation, directionality, and dimensionality, from the annals of mythology through phenomenology. Whether parsing through *Genesis* or *Enuma Elish*, or sharing a close reading of Plato or Merleau-Ponty, Casey illuminates the way in which the spatial framework hardwired into our organism—and engaged both by our being in place and by our incorporation of place as an interior presence in our bodies—manifests itself as the genius loci of space.

Perhaps the most engaging aspect of Casey's work has to do with his treatment of the built environment and, in particular, our two modes of *dwelling in place*: hestial and hermetic. The two modes contrast architecturally as inward/outward, private/public, domestic/political, circular-vertical/straight-horizontal, in perpetual dialectical complementarity, requiring specific kinds of behavior. He is especially enlightening in his discussion of the margins of the built environment, where the natural abuts the cultivated. He chronicles our experience of frontier and our harnessing of the wild (e.g., through gardening). His analysis of the culturally constructed nature of wilderness, and his consideration of eco-ethics, are masterful. For all his rich descriptions of our place-worlds, he returns us inexorably to the experience of our lived bodies.

In keeping with his tacking between conceptual and par-

ticular places in helping us see how we come to know place, Casey ends with a meditation on journeying. He probes the experience of travelers, pilgrims, tourists, refugees, and other liminal characters as they move in and between places, reenacting homecomings and reinhabitations. Casey concludes by endorsing Bachelard's topoanalysis—an alternative to psychoanalysis—as a means of interpreting the connection between self and place.

Once a reader is grounded in Casey's immensely learned (and etymologically delightful) treatises and has developed both a thorough conceptual grasp and a holistic, intuitive feel for place and placeways, I recommend a foray into the renaissance literature in social science, beginning with two books. The first, *Senses of Place* (1996), edited by anthropologists Stephen Feld and Keith Basso, is a collection of ethnographic essays on local placeways in cross-cultural perspective. This volume is characterized by thick description, hyperattentiveness to subtlety and nuance, and sensitive interpretation, allowing us vicariously to experience place from a variety of perspectives. The second, *Dwelling, Seeing and Designing: Toward a Phenomenological Ecology* (1993), edited by geographer and professor of architecture David Seamon, is an interdisciplinary collection of phenomenological essays that examines physical and metaphysical construction of the built environment, from both theoretical and applied perspectives. The authors work with concrete architectural, aesthetic, and natural artifacts—porches and roofs, flora and fauna, commercial and sacred places—to unpack the possibilities for humane dwelling that practitioners might incorporate into design practice. Taken together, these books provide a solid cultural and material feel for the essence of *being in place* and can be read as an illustrative working through of Casey's foundational concerns. This grounding essence is a prefiguring of the experience of materiality we engender through our engagement with artifacts, an adventure to which I now turn.

TECHNOLOGY

I couch my observations on the numinous dimensions of technology in two brief anecdotes and alert you to the fact that I am basically a nineteenth-century kind of guy. I believe, as Arthur C. Clarke famously observed, that any sufficiently advanced technology is indistinguishable from magic. This is as true for me of cursive script as it is of hypertext. First of all, my youngest son recently asked me, "Dad, where is the internet?" The look on his face spoke of epiphany, as if he had just now imagined the (lack of) conjunction of ethereal and material place. (As I write this line, he is perched on his bed, earphones in place, CD player in his lap, manually working a controller as he watches a video game respond to his commands, ignoring my earlier request to begin his homework. *Where is Brendan?*) I think he found my fumbling description of the translation of notional to cultural space entirely lame. I lost him altogether with a digressive speculation on place/space, bricks-and-mortar/website convergence. But he found the resonance of magic and technology compelling.

Second, the editor of the *Society for Applied Anthropology Newsletter* recently alerted the membership, on behalf of an apologetic journal editor, to the following event: "[The Editor] . . . has asked me to inform our readers that his wood-burning computer crashed just before Hallowe'en." Again, the conjunction of the natural and the supernatural, the material and the immaterial, I found striking; the critique of knuckledragging and cleaving to the familiar is also resonant. (My guess is that most of the SFAA members are still archaic culture-bearers at heart, if not in practice; we cling to our heritage of stone-, bone-, tooth-, and wood-working.) Each of these anecdotes reminds me of the seductiveness of the American belief that technology exists primarily to allow us to rearrange nature so as to prevent us from having ever to experience it. But what if technology were actually a door of perception, opening onto a revitalized connection with nature?

Two books with profound implications for consumer research explore the interrelationship of technology and religion. Freelance writer and journalist Erik Davis has delivered a provocative and lyrical account of technoculture, entitled *Techgnosis: Myth, Magic and Mysticism in the Age of Information* (1998). York University historian David Noble has written a meticulous chronicle of technology's spiritual roots, entitled *The Religion of Technology: The Divinity of Man and the Spirit of Invention* (1997). Each of these books reminds us of the many ways the sacred pervades ostensibly secular experience and how technology is not simply a collective tool, but part of the fabric of culture.

Davis imagines information technology to transcend its existence as a thing by virtue of its ability to encode and transmit meaning and mind, spirit and soul. He explores the history of technomystical ideas, tracing the ancient hermetic tradition up through the modern era, examining the implication of Gnostic tradition in the evolution of cybernetics and informatics, and illustrating the spiritual imagination at work in postmodern social movements incorporating scientific beliefs. Davis examines the interplay of tool and trickster aspects embodied in technology, debunking the starkly dualistic Manichean view that blinds us to a holistic view of technocultural phenomena.

Beginning with an elaboration of the ways in which the Greco-Roman world envisioned invention, technology, and information, Davis turns to mythology, finding the apotheosis of engineering in Hermes Trismegistus, an avatar who becomes a main figure in the Western mystical tradition. A culture hero bearing material and symbolic technology to humanity in search of an engineered utopia, his views were widely dispensed from antiquity through the Renaissance in the *Corpus Hermetica* and figured prominently in the development of that hybrid of material investigation and psychic introspection we call alchemy. As empirical science emerges from the nexus of gnostic mysticism in the late seventeenth century, Davis (echoing Bruno Latour) finds the allegedly resulting disenchantment of the world to be a rhetorical denial, a kind of culture-bound delusional syndrome that fails to strip technology of its numinous cast. In

a concise social history of electricity, he explores this central tension as it gives rise to the information age.

The centerpiece of the book is a lucid and persuasive description of the spread of a species of gnosticism—an ancient mystical tradition emphasizing the direct personal experience of self-knowledge, a kind of unmediated transcendence—through the intellectual enterprises leading to the realization of cybernetics and informatics. Davis adroitly analyzes the American gnostic self in historical perspective and chronicles our pursuit of transcendence through technology. He employs the metaphor of “spiritual cyborg” to embody this pursuit and provides a fascinating social history of the confluence of hard and soft scientific ideologies and countercultural philosophies that gave rise to the engineering ethos pervading our present experience economy. His fleeting account of the subcultures of technopaganism virtually demands follow-up investigation by consumer researchers. His concise analysis of cyberspace is a mini tour de force; his description of the deregulation of reality pulls many of his central themes together with great impact. Finally, his Teilhardian view of the internet—a kind of noosphere or ecology of mind binding and integrating the biosphere, while in turn dissolving local boundaries—and his musings on scientific animism and mystical positivism, provoke the reader into a deeper examination of unarticulated assumptions shaping both everyday life and our collective future. Davis concludes with a meditation on mystic materialism and the salvific nature of our belief in technological progress. He observes that the demands placed on the cybernetic self to negotiate the multidimensional fields of experience imposed upon it by information technology require our careful psychological, cultural, and philosophical attention, obliging us to become, in effect, “netaphysicians.” He finds social, ecological, and spiritual renewal to be mediated by infomedia technology.

Noble's *The Religion of Technology* echoes many of these themes, but in less kaleidoscopic fashion. Noble offers an apocalyptic thesis: our infatuation with technological advance and confidence in the triumph of reason on the one hand, and our spiritual quest for transcendence reflected in a resurgence of religious revival on the other hand, are only apparently opposing tendencies. His book is a chronicle of the religious preoccupations of the hallmark technological enterprises of our era, an impulse at work from the Middle Ages, which the Enlightenment did little to dampen. The linking of the useful arts to salvation and the spiritualization of technology have millenarian overtones. Scientific advance in the Renaissance and the Age of Discovery was theologically charged and harnessed in the service of a redemptive vision. The utopian view of the Baconians drove the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. Noble details the millenarian attitude that governed the rise of the scientific ethos.

The second half of Noble's book is a fascinating account of the theological underpinnings of some of the major technological triumphs of the twentieth century: nuclear weapons, the space program, cybernetics and informatics, and

genetic engineering. Noble employs the words of some of the principal movers of these research regimes (e.g., Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller, Werner von Braun, John Medaris, Alan Turing, James Watson, Arthur Peacocke, etc.) to illustrate the religious sensibilities catalyzing, sustaining, and making sense of these advances. He captures the messianic fervor of these regimes and unpacks their utopian goals. He is especially adept at examining the intertwining of conscious and unconscious motivations that drive our notion of scientific progress. Consumer researchers might attend to this leitmotif with particular vigilance. Noble regards the millenarian premise of infinite perfectibility as an elitist program of escapist cast that may ultimately, perhaps inevitably, produce inhumane results. He urges the decoupling of technology from transcendence and yet, surprisingly, offers no explicit suggestions for accomplishing this divorce. It may be possible to infer, however, from an appendix Noble includes to demonstrate the historical linkage of technology with the ethos of masculinity, that corrective measures may be embedded in gender politics, and that techno-theological hegemony might be countered by feminist re-visioning. Divorce seems unlikely, but mediation is essential.

The reader who has absorbed the arguments of Noble and Davis might enjoy two other volumes that illuminate the spirit of technology and the essence of things. Turn first to the enormously entertaining and erudite study by architecture professor Indra McEwen, entitled *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings* (1993). McEwen's thesis, amply documented and etymologically resonant, is captured succinctly in a closing observation that, “before there could be wonder (or theory, or philosophy, or architectural treatises), there had to be the well-made thing” (McEwen 1993, p. 125). McEwen demonstrates that technology means more than “to build”—it also means “to give birth” and “to let appear”—in a penetrating study of the architectural roots of Greek philosophy. This book is a wonderfully practical look at materiality, at the numinous dimension of objects, and the ethereal interplay of production and consumption. Then turn to *High Technē: Art and Technology from Machine Aesthetic to the Posthuman* (1999), a volume by Randolph L. Rutsky, a professor of film, television, and theater. This treatment of the “high tech” ethos in science and art is a taut, insightful application of the work of theorists such as Heidegger, Karl Marx, Walter Benjamin, Donna Haraway, William Gibson, and a host of postmodernists, just tantalizing enough to send the reader racing back to the original sources. Rutsky finds rumors of the death of what Benjamin called the auratic object to be greatly exaggerated, and his view of the cybershamanic is refreshing. An understanding of technological fetishism such as Rutsky advances is essential for consumer researchers moving into the new millennium. Translating that understanding for postmodern audiences is the challenge I address next.

REPRESENTATION

Our discipline is finally being touched by the crisis of representation movement that has swept through a number of contiguous fields. Simply put, this crisis (Lincoln and Denzin 1994; Marcus and Fischer 1986) challenges not only the general paradigmatic notions governing our research regimes but also the narrative strategies we use to convey our findings. This challenge is leading to some interesting reconfigurations of the expression of intersubjectivity. In this final review section of my essay, I consider some of the issues taken up by poet, novelist, and anthropologist Michael Jackson in his book *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project* (1998).

Jackson outlines an existential cultural phenomenology of relationships that comprises both the centripetal and centrifugal forces of intersubjectivity, and the dialectic of particular and universal at work in the lifeworlds of his informants. He grounds selfhood in the flux of embodied interaction and dialogue and focuses on the interplay of subject and object throughout the book. Jackson advances his interpretation through the use of life stories collected as an ethnographer, as filtered through his own life story, an autobiographical account of fieldwork engagements in a number of different cultures. That is, he unpacks intersubjectivity by writing intersubjectively; he reclaims narrative in an effort to render an authentic account of his own knowing. He positions his hybrid of essay and story as "an attempt to radicalize empiricism by emphasizing verisimilitude and contingency over system and structure" (Jackson 1998, p. 36).

Whether viewed as vignettes, revelatory incidents, or slices of life, Jackson writes stories of the unfolding of a host of anthropological concerns—kinship, authority, sacrifice, fetishism, color categorization, nostalgia, friendship, grief—at the local level, confounding the conventional distinction between emic and etic. He provides a deeply personal and poignant meditation on "first contact" (between cultures), using autobiographical interpretation to illuminate and amplify a wrenching, large-scale cultural event. We experience the original encounter of New Guinea aborigines with European explorers, and Jackson's own emigration from Australia to the United States, in terms of each other. He analyzes mythology by showing it at work in contemporary interpersonal interactions. Tacking constantly between contexts to demonstrate the cybernetic nature of subjectivity, the (counter)articulation of aboriginal and contemporary apprehension, and the dialectical nature of lived experience, Jackson makes use of the kind of inductive intuition that is finally making its way back into the tool kit of consumer researchers. We are rediscovering our roles as research instruments. He is relentless in examining the microlevel detail that we (re)weave into the fabric of our culture, as engaged individual weavers. His stories comprise an effective tutorial in probing and plumbing in a field research setting. He warns against our tendency to hypostatize and ontologize our analytic concepts, even as his negotiated stories show us an alternative option.

Jackson's inquiry results in an especially telling observation: "The deeper one becomes involved in the lifeworld of the people with whom one lives and works, the more hesitant one is to use the existential complexity of that lifeworld as the basis for generalizations about humankind" (Jackson 1998, p. 189). His view of Being as "complex, ambiguous and indeterminate" is an invitation for those who seek universals to understand the "existential quandaries" that inhere within them (p. 208). His writing strategy is a challenge to all of us striving to infuse our research with authenticity.

After grappling with Jackson's analytic description of intersubjectivity, I encourage readers to sample the contents of two books that take us to the nexus of intersubjective expression. The first is a collection entitled *Introspections: American Poets on One of Their Own Poems* (1997), edited by English professors Robert Pack and Jay Parini. In this volume, each poem's author provides a commentary on its inspiration, meanings, and circumstances of composition. Such autocriticism brings us closer to the wellsprings of creativity and gives us some fundamental insight into the nature of intersubjectivity as experienced and construed. The second volume, edited by Stephen Kuusisto, Deborah Tall, and David Weiss, is entitled *The Poet's Notebook: Excerpts from the Notebooks of Contemporary American Poets* (1995). The editors sample the commonplace books in which poets have recorded observations, musings, intuitions, citations, and other provocations to the internal dialogue that become the nuclei of poems. More than *aides-mémoire*, these journal entries reflect the practice of bricolage, emotional simmering, and intellectual percolation central to the act of writing poetry. The immediacy of experience, the idiosyncrasy of the writer, and each reader's unique apprehension of universal resonance is captured in these excerpts. I have often wondered how many consumer researchers keep a *silva rerum*—a literal, literary "forest of things"—and how published access to examples from these journals might enrich our discipline. For better and for worse, how we represent our research findings determines ultimately their validity and usefulness. Inevitably, our claims to knowledge are situated and our texts are stamped with our own individuality, scientific rhetoric notwithstanding. Conscientiously employing and unpacking our author-ity encourages exploration of lots of genres in pursuit of authenticity.

CONCLUSION

Let me try to pull some of the wayward strands of this meandering essay together into one of the Gordian knots which I feel binds our discipline and then propose some ways of cutting through this very knot. Our philosophy and practice of consumption has all too often estranged us from the natural world and, especially, from the particularity of place as a lived experience. In many ways, consumption threatens the ecosystems upon which life itself depends. Cultivation of sense of place has implications more profound than improved design and delivery of servicescapes, whether material or ethereal; it is essential to the success

of short-term local cultural adaptation as well as to the long-term survival of the planet. In short, consumer research has a vital moral and political role to play in the new millennium.

Our discipline has not been attentive enough to the animistic beliefs and rituals that consumers (or designers) employ to vivify the built environment. Ironically (and perversely), such techno-animism might be enlisted strategically to reenchant the natural world from which consumer culture so often effectively insulates us. While we might not want to restore theology's standing as the queen of sciences, we do need to reexamine the metaphysics of material life. We clearly need to expand our inquiry into belief systems animating consumption beyond the Christian mythology researchers have begun to explore. As a bridge to such exploration, and since I have extolled etymology in this essay, readers might begin with the recent attempt by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) to reconcile cognitive science and philosophy through the medium of linguistics, which culminates in a fascinating discussion of embodied spirituality.

In order to capture authentically the lived experience of intersubjectivity that contextualizes consumer behavior, our discipline needs to move beyond the forced dichotomy it has erected between—and the differential evaluation it has imposed upon—introspection and exteroception. Crafting vessels that embody and emplace the researcher's grasp of consumers' experience is a challenge we must accept. Interdisciplinary methods of inquiry and inscription, as rigorous as they are experimental, must be encouraged to flourish. And, yes, rigor is as inherent in humanistic as in scientific enterprises; craft has its canons and paradigms, no matter its provenance. Conventional journal articles alone are insufficient. Our field is richer than we have ever imagined or attempted to describe.

In my own version of cohort analysis, where the tenure clock (seven years, plus or minus two) measures research generations like so many academic fruit flies, our disciplinary history can be succinctly recounted. Our pioneers (1974–1983) founded and shaped our field, laboring into the present to solidify our base. Our postmoderns (1983–1992) strove to expand the purview of our field on all manner of fronts, laboring again into the present to broaden our base. Our pluralists (1992–2001), the first generation to benefit from true multidisciplinary cross-training, are currently able to allow the subject of inquiry to determine the appropriate methods. They are triple threats and switch hitters, able to synthesize and integrate their research in multimodal perspective. We have been blessed by the occasional intergenerational hybrid as well. We are ready to launch a new millennial generation. Let's call its members *particularists* and encourage them to *re-place* our inquiry

and *re-embody* its accounting. How they tap our legacy to represent research is our discipline's gift to the future.

REFERENCES

- Casey, Edward (1993), *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- (1997), *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Davis, Erik (1998), *Techgnosis: Myth, Magic and Mysticism in the Age of Information*, New York: Harmony Books.
- Feld, Stephen and Keith Basso, eds. (1996), *Senses of Place*, Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Geertz, Clifford (1984), "Distinguished Lecture: Anti-Anti-Relativism," *American Anthropologist*, 86 (2), 263–278.
- (1997), "Learning with Bruner," *New York Review of Books*, April 10, 22–24.
- Gergen, Kenneth (1991), *The Saturated Self*, New York: Basic Books.
- Halperin, David, John Winkler, and Froma Zeitlin (1990), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jackson, Michael (1998), *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuusisto, Stephen, Deborah Tall, and David Weiss, eds. (1995), *The Poet's Notebook: Excerpts from the Notebooks of Contemporary American Poets*, New York: Norton.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson (1999), *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York: Basic Books.
- Lincoln, Yvonna and Norman Denzin (1994), "The Fifth Moment," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 575–586.
- Marcus, George and Michael Fischer (1986), *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McEwen, Indra Kagi (1993), *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Noble, David (1997), *The Religion of Technology: The Divinity of Man and the Spirit of Invention*, New York: Penguin.
- Pack, Robert and Jay Parini, eds. (1997), *Introspections: American Poets on One of Their Own Poems*, Hanover, NH: Middlebury College Press.
- Pine, Joseph and James Gilmore (1999), *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre, and Every Business a Stage*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Rutsky, R. L. (1999), *High Technē: Art and Technology from the Machine Aesthetic to the Posthuman*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Seamon, David, ed. (1993), *Dwelling, Seeing, and Designing: Toward a Phenomenological Ecology*, Albany: State University of New York Press.