

Mapping and Imagined Futures: Beyond Colonising Cartography

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Abstract

This paper invites wide dialogue on the ways we map the world and the future. It also asks how dominant ways of mapping might affect our sense of agency, ethical regard for others, and levels of active community participation in shaping the future. Evidence is provided that what has been presented traditionally as the "exact" science of cartography is often deeply embedded in knowledge-power interests. There is critical consideration of what is "left off the map" and of what this might reveal.

From a peace education and futures education perspective, many critical issues are raised. These issues include whether our children are given enough opportunities to build better understanding of other people and places, as well as learning relevant image literacy skills.

Rethinking the Ways We Map

Our images of self, society, peace and war, and the future all rebound on what we do or feel able to do. Such images are in many ways deeply embedded. They affect our mentalities, mindscapes or worldviews. They influence what we come to accept or condone, what we become resigned to or what we resist in the present.

Metaphorically and genealogically speaking, our guiding images may be seen as forms of cultural maps. Such guiding images "naturalize" our orientations to the physical and social world, the steps we take in every day life and our anticipated future journeys are. After the approach of cultural theorist and social critic Raymond Williams, this paper invites a rethinking of key concepts

and ideas associated with "maps" and "mapping". (Williams 1983)

A case is put in this article for the significant need in our contemporary world to encourage more critically reflexive and cross-cultural mappings. Integral to this approach are considerations of how to enhance our image literacy on alternative futures. As part of this invitation to rethink some key concepts is a concern with practical ways of enriching educationally and socially our imaginative landscapes.

Rather than reproducing the flatlands of apathy and resignation, how might we non-violently resist? Critical issues are raised about our maps not just as cultural and historical artefacts. They are also contemporary sites of cultural politics (see Table 1)

Steps Beyond Predictive Paths

The Dutch sociologist Fred Polak in his classic two-volume work, *The Image of the Future* (1961) highlighted the importance of seeking to understand the importance of the interrelationships among dominant cultural imagery, social structures and deep culture, and socio-cultural dynamics. Whilst leading social theorists and macrohistorians, such as Marx, Hegel and Toynbee, had provided valuable insights about the processes of history and of

historical interpretative frames, Polak argued that their theorizing failed in certain respects. He found that their theorising did not sufficiently transcend a predictive cultural lens on future cultures, societies and times:

...their time-concept is incomplete...Indeed, they all make predictions about the future, but they do not conceive of the future as a part of, and itself a factor in the dynamic time-flow. More particularly, they do not conceive of a dynamic interaction between past, present and future (Polak 1961: 15)

Table 1 Some Conventional and Alternative Approaches to Mapping

Inductivist	Structuralist	Culturalist	Conflict trans-formationalist	Critical futurist
Mapping as empirical science method, measurement, electronic data collection and visual representation of spatial relations- physical geography and terrestrial space , oceanography and under-the-seas space , geological and siesmological sciences and beneath-the- Earth's surface space , meteorology and atmospheric space , astronomy and celestial space , cognitive and biological sciences and inner space , management/organisational science, dataveillance and marketing/advertising space , criminological and military sciences, new surveillance technologies, electronic panoptican, and conflict threat-assessment spaces	Mapping as structural analysis and ideology critique of centre-periphery relations, class relations, gender relations, structural inequalities	Mapping as deconstructing cultural landscapes , imagined geographies, imagined histories, imagined communities. Mentalities studies Poststructuralist semiotics Discourse analysis	Mapping as charting and clarifying needs and fears of parties to a conflict , whether at local or global levels. Creatively exploring non-violent pathways Intercultural and intercivlisational dialogue on alternative maps	Mapping as scanning emergent trends , critically reflecting on various future roadmaps or scenarios, and exploring beneath the surface of what is taken-for-granted Causal layered analysis

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Polak went on to advocate ways of thinking about reality and potential reality that would get beyond the endeavours of the various social science disciplines to emulate the natural and physical sciences in searching for invariance-confirming laws of existence and development. He challenged the widely-held positivistic assumptions and largely conservative, linear-time worldview of western science that privileged prediction about the future over active participation in shaping futures. In terms of the trajectories of human societies and cultures, he sought alternative mappings rather than a predictive cartographic gaze on the terrains of times to come.

Polak also contributed in his critique of narrowed assumptions about "the future" some useful conceptual tools for beginning to unsettle our images of "the future" from predictive mindsets. Critical cognition of how embedded our knowledges and visual and metaphorical representations of reality and potential and reality are or may become, whether through, for example, the formal and informal curriculum in schools or in contemporary mainstream electronic media coverage of war by "embedded" journalists, is arguably an important start in unsettling the taken – for-granted. Such critical image literacies are likely to be especially so in terms of socio-cultural dynamics and for developing any effective resistances to tightly foreclosed representations of what is and what might be. (Boulding 1990; Boulding & Boulding 1995; Hutchinson 1996)

For Polak, predictive frames are indicative of deeper mindsets. These mentalities risk imaginative impoverishment and denial of the potentially rich engagement with "the Other". Utopian dreaming of other places and other times, which are so important for beginning to transcend "the push of the past", may, he cautions, go into decline or even, paradoxically, become rationalizations for eternal vigilance against an alien other. Rather than "the Other" as an invitation to meaningful interpersonal or intercivilizational dialogues, it may become a dystopia, a fearful time, a fatalistic place. Writing at the time of the Cold War, Polak commented on how easily our sense of the other

might flip over in dichotomous representations of heaven/hell, of good/evil, of utopia/dystopia:

...The utopia joins its attackers and becomes anti-utopia and negative utopia, proclaiming and triggering breakdown, reviving essence-pessimism and cultural fatalism. It is then no longer active, but passive; its previews become post-mortems. Its no longer unites the possible and the desirable in its portrayal of the future, but now demonstrates either that any possible social reconstruction is undesirable, or that any desirable reconstruction is impossible... (Polak 1961: 456)

Mappings of Time and Space

Our sense of place, our sense direction both spatially and temporally, our sense of the sacred or the secular, our sense of utopia and dystopia have often found expression in our mappings. Often ignored, however, have been how culture-bound and historically conditioned are our representations of what is real and what is potentially real. Other ways of knowing or representing the world may be edited out culturally and our own interpretive frames over-generalised and universalised in their truth claims. Often lost sight of are the knowledge interests, worldviews and power relations that privilege certain ways of depicting time and space. (Yamamoto 1979)

Lewis Mumford some years ago argued the importance of contextualising historically and culturally the key concepts of "time" and "space" in Western civilisation:

...The interests in time and space advanced side by side. In the fifteenth century the mapmakers devised new means of measuring and charting the earth's surface, and scarcely a generation before Columbus' voyages they began to cover their maps with imaginary lines of latitude and longitude. As soon as the mariner could calculate his position in time and space, the whole ocean was open to him...So [these newer concepts] of time and space took possession of the European mind. Why dream of heaven or eternity, while the world was so wide, and each new tract that was opened up promised, if not riches, novelty...? Secure in his newly acquired knowledge, the European trav-

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elled outward in space and, losing that sense of the immediate present, which went with his old belief in eternity, he travelled backward and forward in time. An interest in archaeology and in utopias characterized the Renaissance. They provided images of purely earthly realizations in past and future: ancient Syracuse and The City of the Sun were equally credible... (Mumford 1955: 13)

There was a lack of critical awareness that such images could be in any way colonizing or that particular projections, such as Mercator's rendering of the curved surface of the Earth as two dimensional space with compass directions between places as straight lines, would be ascribed with universal iconic status. With the scientific revolution in Europe, "voyages of discovery" where infused with a deep sense of civilisational progress on a European model. Western notions of linear time were increasing combined with Western mercantile and industrial capitalist notions of possession and laws relating to the ownership and control of property.

Mapping and Western-centrism

The intensity of the mapping of the world was not simply a new-found curiosity after the end of the feudal era in Europe, nor was it just a matter of science shining a lamp in the darkness, as founding fathers of the modern Western scientific paradigm, such as Bacon, Descartes and Newton, implied. These mapping endeavours, whether on land or at sea, were depicted as techniques of scientific progress and neutral tools of navigation. Philosophically speaking, unprobed were whether the epistemological and cosmological assumptions of these visual artefacts might serve the interests of imperial expansion in the broader circulation of ideas and images about capitalist endeavour and the attractions of empire increasingly enabled by the new print technologies in the West.

When, for example, in the late seventeenth century the Royal Society for Improving Natural Knowledge was established in England the proclaimed knowledge interests were in dispassionate cartographic and horological sci-

ences that would secure the measuring of the world and efficient time-keeping for tracking longitude. A celebratory poem issued at the time of Charles II's issue of a royal charter for this new scientific body included the lines:

*The College will the whole world measure,
Which most impossible conclude,
And navigators make a pleasure
By finding out the latitude.
Every Tarpalling shall then with ease
Sayle any ships to th' Antipodes*
(Matthews 2000: 38)

Western science through a combination of reason, quantitative method, and empirical observation and precision would extend, it was predicted, the frontiers of human knowledge and conquer ignorance. There was crucial importance attached to images of the scientist as dispassionate observer, surveyor and measurer. Reality was to be mapped "objectively" through empirical observation and "value-free" research techniques, such as triangulation and gridlines in the trigonometric surveys in India, Africa and elsewhere. Additional "exact science", ethnographic methodological tools included craniometric, anthropometric, photographic and taxonomic surveys for classifying, ranking and measuring sampled populations, artefacts and resources in so-called "primitive", "less civilised" or "less developed" societies and cultures.

There was a claimed disembodied, machine-like detachment in science with its standards and techniques for accurately surveying the world. Given such an objectivist epistemological framework, there was a strong tendency to deny that imaginative mindscapes or social imaginary about the past or the future could have any real influence on the cool and dispassionate application of the scientific method. Unacknowledged in this conventional discourse on "what is science" was any critical consideration of possible reductionist impacts from underlying myths, metaphors and metaphysics about scientific progress and development, of theory-dependence of observation, or of paradigmatic perspective-taking. (Matson 1964; Easlea 1983; Gare 1996; Urry 2000)

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In terms of nineteenth century Comptean positivism, for example, the modern physical and social sciences were leading the advance beyond the earlier "primitive" and "metaphysical" stages. Yet, as the cultural historian on Western science, Thomas Kuhn was to later suggest, scientific theories and methodologies, whether conceptualised primarily in the language of conventional mapping, measurement and development or some other language, are far from metaphysics-free or paradigm-free:

[In its role] as a vehicle for scientific theory, [the paradigm] functions by telling the scientist about the entities that nature does and does not contain and about the ways in which those entities behave. That information provides a map whose details are elucidated by mature scientific research. And since nature is too complex and varied to be explored at random, that map is as essential as observation and experiment to science's continuing development...paradigms provide scientists not only with a map but also with some of the directions essential for map-making. In learning a paradigm, the scientist acquires theory, methods, and standards together... (Kuhn 1970: 109)

So-called "Blank Spaces"

Joseph Conrad is perhaps best known for his late nineteenth century novel, *Heart of Darkness*. Whilst critical of aspects of the history of colonialism, Conrad uncritically accepted, like many of his generation, the legitimations for empire that Western science made. Dominant scientific discourses claimed a thoroughly "objective" cartographic gaze on colonial territories and the so-called "blank spaces on the earth":

The voyages of the early explorers were prompted by an acquisitive spirit, the idea of lucre in some form, the desire of trade or the desire of loot, disguised in more or less fine words. But Cook's three voyages are free from any taint of this sort. His aims needed no disguise. They were scientific. His deeds speak for themselves with the masterly simplicity of hard-won success. In this respect, he seems to belong to belong to the single-minded explorers of the nineteenth century; the late fathers of militant geography whose only object was the

search for truth. Geography is a science of facts, and they devoted themselves to the discovery of facts in the configuration and features of the main continents... (Conrad 1963: 143-4)

There is further enthusiastic discussion on the strengths of the new mapping ventures and their ties with more precise scientific measurement:

Map-gazing, to which I became addicted so early, brings the problems of the great spaces of the earth into stimulating and directing contact with sane curiosity and gives honest precision to one's faculty. And the honest maps of the nineteenth century nourished in me a passionate interest in the truth of geographical knowledge, which was extended later to other subjects... (Conrad 1963: 145)

Here we have a heroic image of Western science as symbolized by Captain Cook's voyages of discovery and contributions to mapping the world aboard his flagship, Endeavour. Yet, left out of such literary and historical accounts were critical considerations as to whose interests the new scientific advances in navigating the seas, surveying the land and arming the gunboats benefited most. Pushed to the background or left invisible were other civilisational traditions about science and the world. (Ballantyne 2002; Hobson 2004)

Maps and Denied Alternative Tracks

To understand how some maps of reality and potential reality take precedence over others or in making others invisible, it is important to return to some of the issues raised earlier about the complex interrelations among the formation of guiding images, power relations and regimes of truth, and the cultural politics of the reproduction and resistance to violent or colonizing imagery:

...It is hard to step back from a compelling metaphor in order to see alternative realities...But [if we do not attempt to do]so, we lose the imagination and creativity that come with complexity of meanings and multiple realities... (Rosenblatt 1994: 26-7)

As part of a critical futurist theory and practice, there are ongoing efforts to welcome alternative futures thinking. There are also efforts to resist foundationalist, essentialist or universalising claims to discovering the underlying reality, permanent ground or sole truth about "the nature of things", or to possessing unequivocal blueprints for the future. Moreover, critical futurist metaphoric analyses offer one of several potentially significant ways of resisting impoverished social imagery within formal and informal education. Monocultural or taken-for-granted metaphors about how we live may be problematised rather than assumed as destiny. (Inayatullah 2002)

Rather than uncritically accepting objectivist fallacies and taken-for-granted cultural metaphors, we may begin to question strongly reductionist forms of mapping reality or "truth" and associated linear projections about the future. The latter forms exclude the possibility of learning anything much of significance from other knowledge traditions, different guiding metaphors or cross-cultural maps. Epistemological difference becomes, within such a directionally homogeneous model of development, largely a problem of disciplinary border-protection and system-maintenance against departures from the norm of socially sanctioned routes. Such cultural arrogance and image illiteracy exemplify aspects of what Johan Galtung has conceptualised as cultural violence. With cultural violence, some of our guiding metaphors, symbols and myths "naturalise" or rationalise assumptions of deep culture about direct and structural violence. (Galtung 1990, 2004)

With dialogical forms of mapping, however, there is a much greater openness in the ways we imagine the futures of our scientific and educational communities. There is also a willingness to critically engage with cross-disciplinary research and communicate cross-culturally. There are efforts to transcend violent, taken-for-granted mindscapes through inviting creativity and dialogue on imagined geographies and imagined future journeys for peace, reconciliation and intergenerational equity. Rather than exclusivity of journey, certainty of

methodology or arrogance of epistemological perspective, intersubjective, interdisciplinary, intercultural and intercivlisational spaces and dialogues are celebrated. Alternative cultural maps and tracks are not denied. (Jantjes 1999; Smith 1999; Ekinsmyth 2002; Winchester, Kong & Dunn 2003)

In our interdependent yet strife-torn world, a great need exists for much more work, whether in formal or informal education contexts, to actively resist such denials. To the extent that impoverished imagination, damaging stereotypes and unquestioned assumptions about "the nature of things" and fear-laden images of "the Other" are left unchallenged, there are risks of self-fulfilling prophecies. Such self-justifying images or cultural maps may reinforce, for example, suspicions or distrust of "the Other" that intensify conflict and escalate into physical violence and war. (Ryan 1996)

Maps and Militarised Mindscapes

Conventional accounts of the history of Western mapping largely leave invisible the intricate entwining of military power, economic interests, nationalistic jingoism and imperialistic expansionism. (Samson 1999; Monmonier 2002) Rather what is told in these accounts is a triumphal story of the progress of Western cartography in its dispassionate and systematic use of science and technology to more efficiently and precisely map the world. Yet, such accounts omit important dimensions of the Western cartographic imagination:

...Although surveying was increasingly important within metropolitan European contexts, it was even more important in colonial possessions; it allowed not only the mapping of the resources, political boundaries and urban centres pivotal to commercial relations and colonial authority, but also facilitated the ideological project of empire. Indispensable for the effective exploitation of resources and effective deployment of military force, maps and atlases were increasingly deployed as instruments of rule and, at an intellectual level, to order the different parts of the empire into a coherent picture of a global empire... (Ballantyne 2002: 119)

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The condoning or facilitating of military force against colonised peoples was disguised by cartographic silences. There were the associated myths and metaphors that rationalised military force or policing of troubles as rebellions against legitimate rule. A major genre of myth-making related to claims of colonial benevolence such as "civilising missions", "taking up the whiteman's burden" and "sacrificing for empire". Such narratives were taught to the children of empire as they studied the schoolroom wallmaps of imperial order and colonial possessions, but critical cartographical questions were rarely raised. The cartographic consciousness of the colonisers left unchallenged whether the maps of the Western imperial powers were in any way culturally violent in their interpretative frames and transmission:

...An ever-growing stream of cartographic knowledge flowed along the political and cultural networks of empire. Colonial maps featured regularly in print and politics. In the early nineteenth century a rich assortment of maps was published in the British Parliamentary Papers including, for example, over one hundred maps of Australia.⁸ Such information was even more important in the colonies themselves, where maps played a pivotal role in commerce...as well as in military campaigns against "natives"... (Ballantyne 2002: 120)

The twentieth century was to witness the loss of 200 million lives in war, many of whom were civilians. With two world wars and later the Cold war between the super powers, military – related cartographic work came to be pursued with a vengeance. It meant, within a conventional strategic studies frame, enhanced war-fighting capacities. Much of this was backed by major research and development funding from military budgets, such as the Global Positioning System developed by the US Department of Defense. Both in the USA and the former Soviet Union extensive satellite surveillance or imaging systems were installed. The metaphors used to describe these systems, as has been increasingly the case with developments in military science and technology generally over the past century, edits out any direct association with possible killing and human rights abuse. In a world where ministries of war

have been retitled ministries of defence, the euphemistic descriptor for the new satellite surveillance systems is "overhead assets".

The current generation of spy satellites offer extremely high-definition global scannings. Some independent analysts put the latest military "key hole", feasibility-focussing levels as close as 0.10 – 0.20 metres. With such a superior resolution imaging potential in electronic mapping, it would be possible for a trained intelligence analyst to zoom in sufficiently to be able to see "a truck's windshield wipers or an airplane's rivet lines." (Monmonier 2002: 32)

"Natural Defences"

In the early twenty-first century, the scope of this form of cartographic activity has intensified in the context of the current "war on terror". One such project draws upon the concept of so-called "natural defences" or neo-social Darwinian competitive-jungle, strategic foresight theorising. Andrew Parker, a Royal Society research fellow at Oxford University has been working with American and British military consortia in developing a totalising mapping program linking evolutionary science with comprehensive societal scanning. Of this project, dubbed the "Cambrian program", Parker recently has spoken enthusiastically:

...I and a team of experts at the Ministry of Defence's defence science and technology laboratory have already begun work on the program in Britain and a similar consortium is planned at the Pentagon under Tony Tether of the defence advanced projects agency (DARPA).

To understand the thinking behind the idea, picture the Cambrian explosion as an arms race. An eye evolved in one animal, representing a revolutionary weapon...Other life then reacted to deal with the weapon. What followed was a cycle of evolutionary one-upmanship-predators evolved to outwit prey, and prey in turn bolstered their defences. What use is any of this to the defence community? In short, knowledge of the way creatures evolved to encounter emergency threats may give defence officials tips on how to deal with new threats to themselves...

The Cambrian program...instead of processing

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fossil data. Will...be fed information on the state of our society: Data on the way we travel, the way we use energy and water; our postal services and internet traffic, will be processed alongside information on the availability of weapons, chemicals, radioactive material...It will then attempt to piece together possible threats that could emerge in the future... (Parker 2004: 21)

How pervasive "natural" assumptions about threat and war remain within dominant discourses may be illustrated by important metaphors beyond the military-industrial complex. Whether in the fields of competitive sport, Hollywood drama or computer gaming, there is a recurring genre of violence-sanctioning imagery. Even within Western medical science, threat-laden imagery has been and continues to be a frequent feature.

In influential medical atlases, such as the *Mitchell Beazley Atlas of Body and Mind*, older machine images of clockwork mechanisms and factory production lines are often combined with newer computer or cybernetic images. The essential task of medicine is widely imaged as working to restore or repair broken parts or damaged systems. Through relevant repairs or therapies, the body's natural mechanisms or systems of defence will be again strengthened:

...The human body is constantly faced with assault by disease-causing bacteria, viruses and parasites and with the threat of injury and damage to tissues. It is, however, remarkably resilient and has coped with its vulnerability by developing a range of integral defense and repair systems.

The first line of defense is provided by the body surfaces through which the hostile organisms seek entry...and here protective filter mechanisms and chemical action attempt to defy the invaders. If they do manage to penetrate the surface defenses and enter the bloodstream, they are attacked by specialized blood cells, which destroy and dispose of them. This process is backed by a complex system, which deactivates the offending micro-organisms...Understanding of all these natural defenses has led to advances in medicine which reinforce the body's own efforts... (Rayner 1976: 137)

Genealogically speaking, the "natural defences" assumptions underlying such discourses may be traced over many centuries.

They may be discerned in the knowledge-power interests of the ancient Roman empire, with its notion of peace-through-military-might or *pax Romana*. They emerged too in the narrowed and increasingly institutionalised reading of the Christian cosmological assumptions about original sin and the fall from the Garden of Eden from the third century AD onwards. In the early modern period of Western civilisation, they found key exponents in the "realist" political mappings of Machiavelli and Hobbes.

Questioning Dominant Cultural Maps

Dissenting cultural maps or alternative images of the nature of human nature and the world have often been dismissed or marginalised as "naïve", "irrational", "overly emotional" or "unduly optimistic". Dominant readings of Gandhian theory, for example, have been of this kind. This has been in spite of the accumulating evidence of the valuable insights it offers about direct and structural forms of violence and of the major potential of non-violent action and civil society movements. (Sharp 1973; Ackerman & Du Vall 2000)

Within Western civilisation, among those dissenting voices and visions that have been marginalised include those offered by Erasmus on the folly of war in the sixteenth century. (Chapiro 1950) Over the past two centuries, there have been numerous others. Among these are the alternative visions of humanity and development put forward by Kropotkin in the late nineteenth century. Kropotkin in his critique of social Darwinist precepts, elaborated on the value of cooperation or mutual aid. (Kropototkin 1939) This alternative tradition questioned the axiomatic assumptions about "nature red in tooth and claw". It offered a dissenting perspective to the "realist" readings of the perceived commonsense knowledge about the functions of aggressively competitive mechanisms, whether in economic systems or institutional contexts such as schools and universities, for surviving and thriving. (Kohn 1986; Argyle 1991; Hinde & Groebel 1991)

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There is also the neglected work of Sorokin in the twentieth century in his classical peace theorising on civilisational mentalities, ethics and the potential value of amitology. (Johnston 1998; Weinstein 2004) Similarly, too, may be mentioned the dissenting work of poets, artists and novelists such as Virginia Woolf. In her feminist critique between the two world wars, Woolf spoke eloquently and prophetically of the need to get beyond hegemonic maps of masculinity and engage in genuine peacemaking:

...we are not passive spectators doomed to unre-sisting obedience but by our thoughts and actions can [begin to challenge violence-condoning images]... For such will be our ruin if [militarised forms of masculinity continue to deny] the capacity of the human spirit to overflow boundaries[of fear and hatred] and make unity out of multiplicity... (Woolf 1938: 258-9)

Mapping and Fallacies of Instrumental Reasoning

Reductionist assumptions persist strongly today about "war is in our genes", of "preparing for peace by preparing for war" and of "strengthened surveillance and better weapons systems as the way to security." Such assumptions may be seen as the naturally rational way to go. Alternative mappings and alternative journeyings associated with "preparing for peace by preparing for peace" are left invisible or denied in such regimes of truth.

The possibility that the former may be ultimately self-defeating in terms of creating a sustainable peace and long-term security tends to be pushed beyond the horizon with such mindscapes of the future. Even though macro historical studies show little relationship between military preparedness and security and of arms build-ups actually inciting destructive conflict rather than containing it, this evidence is pushed aside. (Boulding 2000: 27) Reason is seen as dictating "eternal vigilance as the price of peace".

Yet, the reasoning involved takes a rationalising monocular eye to the world. Its fore-

sight is that of what C.Wright Mills described in his classic critique of the military-industrial complex and of trends in militarisation as "rationality without reason", of instrumental or strategic reasoning without any real ethical consideration. (Mills 1959) Matters of ethics are defined by the binary oppositions of "you are either with us or against us." Aspects of deep culture such as hegemonic masculinity and "toys for the boys" mentalities, whether it is a Bin Laden or a George Bush, do not enter into any critical reflection. There are the "natural" assumptions about the inevitability of the continuance of war as institution forever more.

Hope for meaningful alternatives is denied or rationalised within such an imagination. It is delimited and commodified. Sites of imagined hope tend to be increasingly narrowed through rationalised market-segmentation maps and the surface paradises of individualised "consumer choice".

Maps and Educated Hope

In terms of foresight and possible peace education and futures education action, this argues strongly the importance of rethinking literacy/literacies for our generation and coming generations. This implies in turn actively welcoming dialogical and multicultural mappings, rather than passively accepting a monological and monocultural interpretive frame.

It also implies more critical awareness of the importance of a sense of active hope. Such hope, whether in schools or in other institutional contexts, is linked with resilience in negotiating alternatives from the local to the global. (Hutchinson 1996; Hicks 2002; Bauman 2004; Eisler 2004; Giroux 2004) From a futures education perspective, fostering "resilient communities is a process and not a program. Essential to it is a sense of...hope." (Deveson 2003: 95)

Rather than assuming trends are destiny, it is important in terms of cultural-change politics to recognise varying sites of non-violent resistance, such as within schools, the media and a range of civil society organisations. To become more critically aware that the future is far from

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surprise free is also important. Fatalism about feared futures may become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Yet, to question fatalism is not the same as uncritically embracing top-down forms of hope, which might be distinguished from more democratic, politically literate and participatory ones. Uncritical or fundamentalist faith in deliverance from a time-of-troubles via the salvation of new medical, military and environmental technologies needs to be challenged as potentially colonising. So too do those unthinking forms of both traditional and secular salvation that reinforce fatalism, egocentrism and denialism.

The latter secular forms include the promise of pathways to shoppers' paradises and individual consumer bliss and sovereignty. In these imagined, globalised shopping-malls of the future, there is denial of lived realities. Denied are sharp gradients of power and wealth as to who gets to shop and for what, who lacks sufficient money to purchase other than basic necessities, and who is excluded altogether.

Related secular narratives include the

myths of the magic of free-marketplace mechanisms correcting any temporary difficulties in the situation and so ensuring economic growth or progress. Such dominant or hegemonic cultural maps hide many problems in centre-periphery relations, including hardships from trade injustice, the global arms trade, oil politics and environmental destruction, whilst making exaggerated claims as to the benefits flowing to the world's poor from "trickle-down development".

To question such assumptions is not just a matter of seeking to deconstruct top-down hope, with its often-illusionary maps, whether in formal or informal education. From a critical futurist and peace education perspective, it is important to attempt to negotiate pathways of practical hope rather than make a labyrinth of cynicism, fatalism or despair convincing. Through deeper cross-cultural dialogue and learning journeys of active hope, more creative peace mappings of ways forward for our children and future generations might begin to emerge. (see Table 2)

Table 2 Maps and Educated Hope: Some Contemporary Conventional and Alternative Discourses

Orientation / would-be traveller dimension	Imagined geographies	Imagined temporal journeys/ shape of history & times to come
Hopelessness	Fear-laden, impoverished images of "the nature of things" (eg endless horizon of "war on terror"), futility of political engagement, hope-engendering movements delusional, fatalistic gaze	Descent into sensate society "hell" (eg over consumption and environmental dystopia)
Top-down, monological hope	Promise of consumer paradise, free-market deliverance, individual consumer joys, redemptive powers of scientific breakthroughs and technological fixes, politics of complacency and denial, rich-world narcissistic gaze	Ladder of progress-development/modernisation/globalisation on a Western hyper-industrial model
Emancipatory, dialogical hope	Enriched, culturally diverse imagined geographies of peace, ecological sustainability and social justice, politics of non-violent transformation of conflict and active global citizenship	Alternative futures, dissenting futures, journeys of creative peacemaking and peacebuilding, intercultural and intercivlisational dialogue

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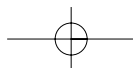
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