Sensitizing Structuration Theory:

A Literature Review and Proposal for Further Studies

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Abstract

The following dissertation traces the developments in structuration theory during the past thirty years in order to assess the theory's ability to critically analyze geographies of inequality. The urban geographies of Canadian Aboriginal street youth provide a testing ground upon which to operationalize and subsequenlty assess a structurationist analysis of 'race,' gender, class and age. Since its initial conceptualization by Giddens in the 1970s, structuration theory has evolved as numerous academics have developed its various strands. In the 1980s, structuration theory began to intrigue geographers as they explored its potential to uncover the inherent spatiality of social life. The interest in Giddens' theory has persisted into the 1990s, with its most recent applications reflecting the influence of critical and feminist theories. This dissertation attempts to trace particular developments of structuration theory for the purpose of determining its ability investigate issues of 'race,' class, gender, and age.

In order to further sensitize structurationist studies to the emotional and cultural geographies of the subject of study, this dissertation recommends an ethnographic approach to empirical research. While there are numerous methodologies that may be used in gathering the data for structurationist accounts and their time-geographies, ethnography provides a powerful tool that allows greater depth to these studies. An underlying ethnographic study may add cultural and emotional dimension to a structurationist analyses. Furthermore, ethnography may aid in teasing out the intersections of 'race,' class, gender and age. Traditional ethnography, however, displays several short-comings which have stirred the movement towards a 'new ethnography.' The nature of ethnographic research is qualified through a discussion of the

controversies surrounding ethnography. In particular, a feminist critique of traditional and the new ethnography emphasizes the importance of destablizing the dichotomy of categories of ethnography. The practices which evolve from the discussions of a critical 'new ethnography' offer a sensitive approach that have the potential to enrich a structurationist study.

The dissertation then attempts to operationalize a sensitized structurationist analysis to explore the geographies of female Aboriginal street youth. Short of conducting its own ethnographic study, this dissertation relies upon a study performed by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994) which contains detailed accounts of interviews with three young Aboriginal street youth. The findings of the study are placed in a structurationist framework in order to explore the implications of structure, agency, locale and the role of knowledge in lives of these young women. From this analysis, the dissertation summarizes the advantages a sensitized structurationist analysis is able to offer in understanding the geographies of inequality that marginalized populations experience within Canada's urban centres.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Opening Words:

> How does one move from the streets and drugs to the university? It is necessary to unpack what is loaded behind that question before going further. The question presumes that there is intrinsically something "better" about the university compared to the street. And the same goes for the people that occupy both spaces. I have walked both roads and I do not find that presumption to be true. There are good hearted people in both places....I have learned important lessons both at university and on the street. What makes the lessons different is one type of knowledge is sanctioned and the other is disregarded. If what we truly value is knowledge, these presumptions ought to be questioned.
>
> (Monture-Angus 1995, 47).

In choosing the words which would introduce the following paper and, by default, designate a starting point to its multi-faceted and theoretically pluralistic approach, few words seemed more appropriate than those of Patricia Monture-Angus. The excerpt from Monture-Angus' book, *Thunder in My Soul - A Mohawk Woman Speaks*, reflects in part the mellowed knowledge gained from eight years of residency in the streets of Canada's urban centres. Provocative and powerful in her questioning of knowledges as she looks out from the university at the path taken from the streets to the institutions of education, Monture-Angus also raises questions for the practice of moving from the university to the street. Knowledge, when used to approximate the truth or discover the rules by which society functions, must itself be suspect in its definition and application; knowledge makes visible particular doors that it opens with its slippery application of value-laden assumptions. It is the intent of this dissertation to determine if the knowledges revealed and produced by the union of critical social theory with geographical inquiry can successfully provide a medium through which the lives, knowledges, and voices of street youth may retain their expression and meaning even after their existence is transcribed to paper.

My interest in pursuing a study of Canadian street youth, and in particular female Aboriginal street youth, evolves from a strange melange of city-gazing and theory-grappling. Few can fail to notice the increasing number of youths who are living either on or in the streets of Canada's urban centres. Soja has commented that "[t]o be alive is to participate in the social production of space, to shape and be shaped by a constantly evolving spatiality which constitutes and concretizes social action and relationship" (Soja 1985, 90). Canada's street youth are part of the dynamic which constitutes the fabric of Canadian society. These youth participate in a process of interaction and expression that becomes both the means and the ends of their marginalization. Canada's street youth are at-risk youth, many of whom have been "abused, are unemployed, and are engaged in prostitution and other criminal activities" (King et al. 1988 in Galambos and Kolaric 1994, 105). Far from a disorganized and disorderly homeless population, street youth and proto-street youth[1] represent a form of youth subculture which recruits its members from children fleeing their home situation, children rejected from their home situation, and children or youth who temporarily hang-out on the street until returning home. Within the city streets, youth are re-defining what it is to be youth - a process tempered and directed by life-experiences as the street youth negotiate their existence within a social-spatial context framed by time and space. Unfortunately, evolving Canadian youth subcultures have been met with the classist, racist, sexist and ageist assumptions of contemporary urban society. The resulting social constructions of street youth promote the criminalization of youth and are sensationalized through the media's portrayal of "negative aspects of youthfulness, like crime, deviance and disorder" (Hollands 1995, 5).

The relationships among youth, urban space and systems of social interaction remain little

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[1]Youth who are flirting with street life.

explored despite the increasing prevalence of street youth in Canada's urban centres during the late twentieth century. Street youth, and in particular Canadian street youth, remains an under-studied and ill-understood phenomenon whose growing presence promises to loom well into the twenty-first century. Studies in the social sciences have been few but not undivided on matters of appropriate ontological frameworks and corresponding epistemologies. Marxist and humanist attempts to understand the growing numbers of street youth and related youth cultures have emphasized structure and agency respectively; these attempts have alternately ignored or criminalized youth who appear decontextualized from their time and space embedding.

In order to delve deeper into the phenomenon of street youth, the present analysis revisits structuration theory to retrieve from its quasi-doctrines Giddens' ontological lens which bridges the theoretical space between objectivism and subjectivism. Arising from the structuralist and humanist debates of the 1970s, structuration theory offers a balance of individualist and structural perspectives. Initially the work of a sociologist, structuration theory has come to bear upon the discipline of geography, largely through the transcribing efforts of Derek Gregory, Allan Pred, and Nigel Thrift. Built upon grounded yet flexible tenets, structuration theory mediates between the over-deterministic approaches of structuralists and the individualism of humanists. Keeping apace with developments in social-spatial theories, structuration theory has recently been applied in conjunction with critical theory in an attempt to reveal geographies of inequalities. While the sensitivity of structuration theory and time-geography in examining issues cross-cut by 'race'[2] and gender has been disputed, its burgeoning union with critical theories refines its perspective for the study of socio-spatial

[2]To acknowledge the socially constructed nature of race and its foundation in racism (Kobayashi and Peake 1994), 'race' appears in single quotation marks throughout the dissertation.

inequalities. Structuration theory, with its emphasis on the duality of structure and agency in time-space, is "a novel and bold attempt to resolve the persistent structure versus agency causal quandary that has plagued studies of social inequalities in the social sciences" (Wilson and Huff 1994, xxiv). The processes in which urban Canada's street youth are involved must be understood in terms of their situatedness in a time and space context that receives and gives meaning to the actions of human agency.

Reportedly, Giddens "likes least works in which authors attempt to import the whole ...[of structuration]...theory" (Eyles 1994, 103). In compliance with Giddens' suggestion, and in keeping with the scope of the dissertation, the following chapters will rely upon and critically review only certain aspects of structuration theory which aid in elucidating the geographies of exclusion and the geographies of resistance of Canada's street youth. In particular, the present analysis of street youth relies upon the duality of structure and agency, the social distribution of knowledges, and the importance of locales in grounding social constructions. Furthermore, in keeping with the practice of numerous academics whose interpretations and applications of Giddens' theory reflect the compatibility of its tenets with adjunct theories, the selected aspects of structuration theory will be elaborated upon through the contributions of radical feminist and critical theory. Chapter Two is therefore dedicated to a critical review of the development of the noted aspects of structuration theory through the 1970s, 80s and the early 90s.

Structuration theory, in amassing the information from which it conducts its case studies and time-geographies, relies frequently upon the tool of ethnography. Despite the raging debates over the practice of ethnography, discussions relating to the theoretical and epistemological strengths and weaknesses of structuration theory rarely fall upon its ancillary tool. While the pages of

structurationist debate seldom yield to discussions of authorial self-reflexivity and the 'burden of authorship', issues of representation bear an increasing weight in structuration studies as they attempt to discover geographies of inequalities. Accordingly, Chapter Three diverts from structuration theory proper as it delves into the disputes instigated by radical and feminist critique concerning the popular tool of many structurationists: ethnography.

Finally, the sensitivity of structuration theory in studying a phenomenon cross-cut by issues of age, 'race' and gender is critically reviewed as it is applied to a study of female Aboriginal street youth living in Canada's urban centres. While the information in Chapter Four is based upon numerous sources rather than an independent study, it is meant to contain a prototype for a critical or sensitized structurationist analysis of Canadian female Aboriginal street youth. Finally, the conclusion argues that through maintaining a balance between structure and agency while simultaneously incorporating the tenets of critical theory, a sensitized structuration theory supported by ethnographic research may successfully uncover the enmeshed geographies of Canada's street youth and recognize the importance of 'race,' class, gender, and age.

Chapter 2 - Recent Paths in Structuration Theory

Situating Structuration Theory

The emerging literature labelled "structuration theory" illustrates geography's enduring interest in the dynamically intertwined concepts of time and space as they affect society. An extension of, or perhaps an evolution in, the structure-agency debates of the 1970s, structuration theory attempts a theoretical integration of individualist and deterministic approaches. Drawing upon the arguments of humanist and Marxist academics in sociological, anthropological and geographical bodies of literature, structuration theory subdues the essentialist elements of each camp in order to bridge the distance between objectivist and subjectivist thought. In denying the Kantesian division of structure and agency, structuration theory offers a provisional lens through which geographers may perceive the duality of social structures and spatial relationships in a contextualized time-space setting. Furthermore, structuration theory's association with time-geography provides its researchers with a means of uniting theory and empirical study while delving deeper still into the socio-spatial relationships involved in the structuration of society.

Since its early beginnings, structuration theory has spanned both space and time in its applications, engaging in historical, social, and political issues grounded in vastly different times and places. During the past two decades, structuration theory has developed from a critique of existing ontologies to an insightful theory which continues to strive towards a fuller explanation of the spatiality of social life. Lacking the structure of an all-encompassing theory, the abstract propositions of the structuration school remain in loose alliance, changing still with the findings of current and on-going studies. As Gregory suggests "[s]tructuration theory then appears as a loose-knit web of

propositions" of varying degrees of centrality (Gregory 1989, in Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991, 96). This web of propositions finds its common threads in four key elements of the fragmented structurationist argument: an anti-functionalist[3] approach; the recognition of the duality of structure and of structure and agency; an emphasis on time-space; and a theoretical pursuit of action (Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991, 18). Through the development of these core elements during the early 1980's, structuration theory has amassed a prolific set of writings that serve to ground the more critical approach adopted by contemporary studies. While criticized for its foundations and its exclusive focus on class, structuration theory's shortcomings are compensated for in part by an eclecticism that allows for new discussions and radical additions to its theoretical basis.

Early Beginnings in Structuration Theory

While associated with a limited number of works written during the 1960s[4], structuration theory finds its scattered origins within the Marxist and humanist traditions of the 1970s. Bringing forth a new branch of theory within an already prolific, yet fragmented, academy, Giddens began in the 1970s to re-theorize the production of social systems in a literature that would become structuration theory. Critical of the dualism inherent in the humanities and the social sciences as they pursued their subjects through divergent paths of structure and agency, Giddens revolutionized the divided disciplines with his innovative synthesis of structure and agency. Three themes lie central

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[3]Functionalism argues that society necessarily operates in the manner it does in order to continue its functioning or survival.

[4]The writing of P. Berger and T. Luckmann (1967) contain elements akin to those of Giddens' structuration theory (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991).

to Giddens' structuration theory[5] and represent a significant turn from the popular theoretical and methodical practices of the 1970s: a rejection of the perspective which depicts humans as unknowledgeable agents; a recognition of the importance of cognitive faculties and the embeddedness of the language in everyday activity; and the marginalization of the empiricist philosophies of natural sciences in the study of social phenomena (Giddens 1984, xvi). Transcending the differences of objectivism and subjectivism, Giddens provides a synthesis that is critical of both the over-deterministic approach of structuralists and the unconstrained individualism of humanist geographers (Rose 1993). Giddens' structuration theory is an attempt to advance social theory and conceptualize the "concrete processes of social life" (Giddens 1984, xvii) through postulating a duality of structure and agency in the production and reproduction of systems of social interaction. This duality exists to the extent that "each exerts a determining influence on the other that is again of equal weight" (Gregson 1986 in Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991, 98). The meeting of structure and agency on both a theoretical and applied plain of study is approached by investigating their linkages through a medium of everyday interaction.

More than simply a critique of the orthodox consensus, structuration theory postulates a relationship of interdependency between actors and structures, which formulates a critical connection between structure and agency that bridges the gap between objectivism and subjectivism. Central to the workings of structuration theory is a recognition of the duality of structure: structures that enable

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[5] Giddens has developed the tenets of structuration theory through numerous publications, of which only two are cited in this paper. This select reading of Giddens' significant contributions to the structuration theory reflects the intent of this paper to source ideas from the large and diverse scholarship which is involved in structurationist discussions. Similarly, the works of other key contributors to structuration theory and time geography, such as Gregory and Pred, are also but briefly mentioned.

behaviour are themselves reconstituted and even transformed by the behaviour they enable. It is the recursive and reflexive actions of human agents that reproduce the structures which both enable and constrain their actions. Existing in a relationship of reciprocity, structure and agency are reproduced even as they become involved in action. The integration of the actions of decentralized human actors and the structuring tendencies of economic, social and political structures requires an acceptance of the mutually enabling roles of agency and structure. Giddens' depiction of the structure-agency relationship as one of interdependency develops his thesis of structuration as the "conditions governing the continuity or transmutation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of social systems [i.e.] the reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organized as regular social practices" (Giddens 1984, 25).

The feasibility of structuration theory hinges, in part, upon the constitution of its human agents and their ability to share and communicate knowledges as they pursue individual and public projects through time-space. Structuration relies upon the notion of a continuous flow of human actions performed by "individual human agents knowledgeably undertaking everyday routine tasks through time and across space produced and reproduced the structures of society, the economy, the polity, and culture" (Rose 1993, 20). In anticipation of the knowledgeable behaviour of its agents, structuration theory attributes to human actors an inherent capacity to perceive the nature of their actions even while they are performing them. Agents are endowed with a "knowledgeability" (Giddens 1984), or a consciousness, that ascribes their recursive actions with a purpose dependent upon their awareness. The nature of the actor's understanding exists on both a discursive level and in practical consciousness, a psychological layer that mediates between the consciousness and "explosive" subconsciousness and enables the routinization of life (Giddens 1984). The practical

consciousness of agents necessitates a "reflexive monitoring of activity ...[as] a chronic feature of everyday actions and involves the conduct of not just the individual but also of others" (Giddens 1984, 5). Giddens also acknowledges the importance of the unconsciousness as a motivating force in human conduct. The results of the actor's actions, be they intended or not, constitute a continuum of interventions in social systems by individuals and represent collective phenomena (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991). It is through the chronic and collective actions of human agents, whether acknowledged or not, that the conditions providing for the activity are recreated.

In order to ascribe meaning to their activities, agents rely upon the resources of built up stocks of knowledge that are historically and geographically specific (Thrift 1985; Dyck 1990) and which are used in their day-to-day pursuit of projects and their interactions with other agents in particular locales (Giddens 1985). Related to the ability of agency to monitor its actions at the levels of unconscious, practical consciousness and discursive consciousness, actors possess knowledges which are involved in practices of social interaction. Being both knowledgeable and reflexive, human agents are "skilled practitioners, with taken-for-granted knowledge, who not only know the meanings of rules but can use them in interaction" (Dyck 1990, 463). During this interaction, agents call upon knowledges to inform their actions as they engage in "practices that both provide the medium for and the outcome of social structure" (Thrift 1985, 368). Furthermore, both the intended and unintended actions of agents are involved in the reproduction and transformation of structures (Giddens 1985). Reflexivity is established through agency's knowledgeability which makes the reproduction of social life a skilled accomplishment.

In conjunction with the premise of knowledgeable agency, structuration theory emphasizes the recursiveness of structures, the duality of which exist not as barriers to action but as both the

means and outcome to its continuous reproduction. Structures are the "recursively organized rules and resources ... [that,] ... unlike systems, do not exist in time-space, but have only a virtual existence" (Dear and Moos 1994, 5) which is realized as agents call upon them during social interactions. Structures are "constituted beyond specific times and places and not restricted to the interaction of specific individuals" (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991, 101). Situated agents, however, employ structures in determining the nature of their interaction with other agents: in signification, semantic rules are called upon to communicate meanings; legitimation involves the communication of moral norms; and domination occurs as agents interact using resources or rules of power (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991; Dear and Moos 1994). The ephemeral existence of structure avoids its conceptualization as a finished product through which action is directed, and allows its resources and rules to interact on a daily basis with the collective phenomena of individual actors. The duality of structure occurs as "structural properties of social systems exist only in so far as forms of social conduct are reproduced chronically across time and space" (Giddens 1984, xxi). It is through the distribution, and the ensuing redistribution, of resources and rules that structures are reproduced and the structuration of society occurs.

The Incorporation of Hagerstrand's Time-geography into Structuration Theory

Reflexivity and recursivity are two of the three pillars that underlie Giddens' structuration theory. The third pillar, that of regionalization, derives from the contextualization of systems of social interaction within time-space locales. While considerations of time and space figure even in the early works of Giddens' structuration theory, they are only developed to a crucial extent midway through Giddens' project under the term 'regionalization.' The introduction of space through the

notion of regionalization comes to structuration theory from Heidegger's philosophy and the subsequent incorporation of Torsten Hagerstrand's time-geography (Gregory 1994). Drawing heavily upon a model of time-geography proposed by Hagerstrand, Giddens encases his model of time-space dimensions within an elaborate theoretical framework of human agency and social structure. Time-geography is both useful to and compatible with structuration theory for each shares a concern with the nature of daily activities, the points of social intersection, and their structural constraints (Giddens 1985, 269). In particular, Hagerstrand's time-geography provides a corroborative account to structuration theory's patterning of agency's interaction within a institutionally structured time-space, allowing the influences of socio-economic, political factors to be observed.

While incorporated into structuration theory by Giddens in the early 1980s, time-geography had been introduced to the social sciences twenty years earlier by Torsten Hagerstrand (Gregory 1985). The model (Figure 1) relies upon what Hagerstrand describes as the "surprising stability of the movement patterns of people over their lifetimes," from which the Swedish geographer devised the notion of "time-space" patterns which he subsequently plotted along axes labeled time and space (Gregory 1985, 306). Time-geography's potential for historical-geography was demonstrated in its early years through Hagerstrand's reconstruction of the life biographies of each member within a small population in the Swedish parish of Asby from 1840-1940. The study of Asby is indicative of Hagerstrand's interest in "the geographical shape of the network of social communication" (Hagerstrand 1984 in Gregory 1985) which were suggested by the nodal points of social interaction. Initially used in a study of historical-geography, time-geography appeared throughout the following two decades in a variety of applications relating to projects such as scheduling concerns and public

utility service assessments. The successful applications and increasing incidence of Hagerstrand's time-geography model procured its praise as a "useful research and policy perspective" (Ley 1983, 97).

Based in the biological and physical sciences, Hagerstrand's time-geography reflects a simplistic mapping notation with little geographical content. In order to map the daily life-paths of human agents as they pursue particular projects, Hagerstrand constructs a three-dimensional model consisting of: three axes, one labelled 'Time' and two 'Space'; arrows indicating the life paths; markers indicating stations of intersection and interaction; and concentric rings indicating bundles (actions of groups of actors) and domains (areas of structures).

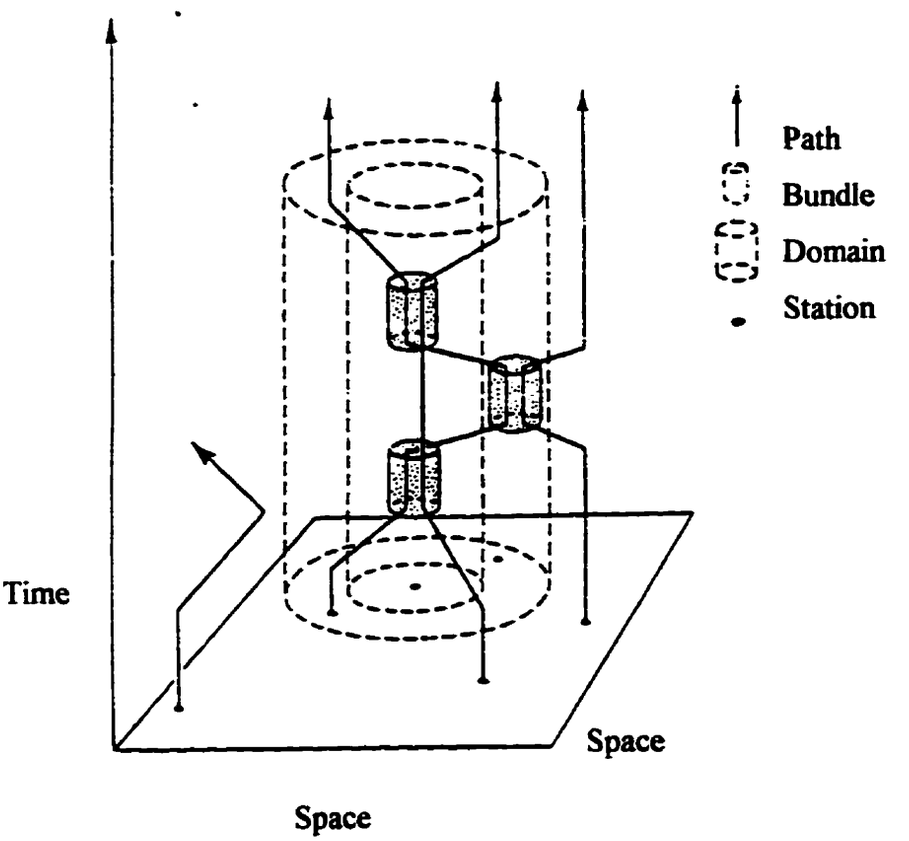

Figure 1: Hagerstrand's web model of time-geography (Gregory 1985, 307).

Hagerstrand refers to his model as a 'web model' in order to suggest its matrical nature, wherein its time-space grid, a myriad of life-paths are possible (Gregory 1985). These possibilities however, are ordered by three factors including:

i. the resource-scarcity of time and space for the pursuit of particular or institutional projects, which are constrained by:

ii. three forms of constraint, identified as :

capability constraints: arising from the resource scarcity of time and space

coupling constraints: involving the co-ordination of group activities

administrative constraints: also referred to as steering constraints, including laws and restrictions imposed by the state;

iii. the interaction of these three constraints, which further determine 'possibility boundaries' and are reflective of and connected to an underlying and dynamic structure.

Hagerstrand's incorporation of life biographies into his time-geography relies upon several assumptions, revealing the manner in which its author conceptualises the human body and the routinization of daily life. Hagerstrand assumes that the body of an agent is naturally restricted in movement and perception by its corporal reality. Furthermore, the corporal reality of the body entails a finite life-span, effectively limiting the amount of time available to an agent. Each task or project requires time and only one project may be pursued at any given time. Movement in time is necessarily reflected as movement in space. Finally, there exists a limited packing capacity in time-space (Giddens 1985; Gregory 1985).

Refurbishing Time-geography and Structuration Theory

While offering structuration theory the potential for more than mere notation, Hagerstrand's time-geography requires further elaboration in order to align its tenets with those of Giddens' social theory. In order to discover and exploit the potential in Hagerstrand's time-geography, structuration theory develops the model's limited notions of human agency, projects, and the stations. Giddens' constructions of structure and agency come into play through time-geography's trajectories, which signify the life-paths of actors as they pursue individual projects and interact with other agents in institutional projects. Deriving the notions of 'body presencing' in time-space from Heidegger's work, Giddens develops a principle of 'presencing' in his theory of structuration which is illustrated in the ideas informing time-geography.

Despite concerns over the limitations of time-geography as a means of studying social interaction (Rose 1993; Gregory 1994), it has nevertheless provided the grounds upon which to further develop the notions of space, agency and structure. Hagerstrand's time-geography shares with structuration theory an interest in the day-to-day activities of human agency, their points of intersection, and their situatedness in time-space. Placed in the wider context of structuration theory by Giddens, the incorporation and ensuing development of Hagerstrand's time-geography has resulted in an increasingly distinguished set of structurationist constructs. Emerging from Hagerstrand's life biographies, and developed by structuration theory's patterned systems of social interactions, the trajectories of human agency through time-space become a fulcrum for theoretical elaboration and empirical investigation. In response to Hagerstrand's simplistic assumptions, structurationists have developed time-geography while refining the notions of agency and structure by contextualizing them in a time-space framework.

Dissatisfied with Hagerstrand's conceptualization of agency and space, Giddens redefines elements of time-geography through encapsulating its practice within a structurationist background that reflects, even as it refurbishes, the tenets of structuration theory. A reading of Giddens' reconceptualization of time-geography reveals the extent to which he has infused the model with the dualism of structuration. While the capability, coupling and administrative constraints appear in Hagerstrand's model as imposed limits upon agency, these features reappear in Giddens' interpretation as both barriers to and the means of action. In addition to re-envisioning the nature of constraints affecting and affected by agency, Giddens attempts to redress Hagerstrand's "defective conception of the human agent" (Giddens 1985, 270) through merging it with a structurationist agency. The agent, who holds time-, space- and socially- specific knowledge is actively and constantly involved in the negotiation of meanings through actions informed by practical and discursive consciousness.

In Hagerstrand's time-geography, the interpretation of space as simply location skims only the surface of the important role that space plays in the structuration of society. Giddens attempts to compensate for time-geography's deficiencies by elaborating upon the nature of place and the importance of time-space in the constitution of systems of social interaction. The notion of space, as employed by Giddens, is a composite - an abstraction and synthesis of humanist and Marxist concepts of space - which in turn Giddens applies to Hagerstrand's use of space as 'domain.' Giddens matures Hagerstrand's use of space as synonymous with location to a contextualized setting of social interaction; the recursive relationship between agency and structure is affected by the 'locale' and its zoning, or 'regionalization,' in time-space. 'Locales' exist as more than passive, boundless and indescript space; rather, they actively "provide the settings of interaction, the settings of interaction in turn being essential to specifying ...[their]... contextuality" (Giddens 1985, 271). The 'locales'

envisioned by Giddens are situated in specific time-spaces in which the life-paths of human actors intersect on a day-to-day basis as they pursue their individual projects. Based upon the notion of these locales wherein social interaction is constituted by a combination of presences and absences, Giddens develops a concept of social interaction in which he emphasizes the scarcity of time and space resources, which are described in terms of the individuals who draw upon them in a repetitive and frequently simultaneous manner.

Locales are subject to modes of regionalization, which are decided by the linkages between agency and structure, and subject to their production and reproduction of social conduct in a time-space. Both physical attributes and human artifacts create a contextuality which is invoked "in a chronic way by agents in the constitution of encounters across space and time .... the features of settings are also used, in a routine manner, to constitute the meaningful content of interaction" (Giddens 1985, 272). The contextuality of locales is therefore dependent upon the recognition of their meaning by the human agents. The boundaries of locales also invoke meanings and inform context by determining the "sets of presences and absences that help mold the content of human interplay" (Wilson and Huff 1994, xx). The ability of space to provide a setting which includes some actors while excluding others is central to Giddens' refurbished structuration theory and time-geography. In neglecting the meanings of spaces for actors as identifiable places, Hagerstrand's time-geography is insensitive to the meanings conveyed through the presence or absence of actors (Giddens 1985). Giddens evolves an understanding of social interaction in the place of Hagerstrand's oversight. The nature of these regions is affected by the presence-availability, or the potential for interaction, of actors. The presence or absence of actors of various distinctions and of structures across time-space underlies Giddens' proposals of social integration and time-space distanciation

respectively. Social integration occurs in the daily interaction between actors co-presencing in a time-space, while system integration represents an extension of situated practices that have spanned beyond their locale constitution and created interconnectivity between social integrations in distanced time-space. From the confined time-space arenas of Hagerstrand, Giddens recasts the boundaries of the time-space to a pan-scopic realm, in which the events and social relations of one regionalized space become part of the functioning of all other spaces.

Incorporating Structuration Theory and Time-Geography into Human Geography

Through significant reworking, Giddens has encased time-geography within his social theory of structuration theory, which in turn has been translated into the discipline of human geography by academics such as Pred, Thrift and Gregory (Giddens 1985; Gregory 1985, 1994; Pred 1986, 1991). Since the introduction of time-geography and structuration theory to geography, geographers have continued to contribute innovative arguments to its still growing literature through the development of insightful applications and critiques. While demanding intensive research, structuration theory and time-geography provide geographers an exciting and insightful medium to uncover the socio-spatial relationships occurring as immediately as the present or as distant as the historical past, in dimensions ranging from the smallest corner to the expanse of the globe.

The ways in which human geographers have received and employed structuration theory and time-geography are best described through a series of stages broadly defined as its introduction to and subsequent development by geographers, the critique of its developed theory by geographers, and its adaptation by critical theorists. During the 1980s, a loosely associated scholarship led by Giddens produced a series of papers edited by Gregory and Urry and published in 1985 under the title of

Social Relations and Spatial Structures. By the late 1980s, structuration theory had established "its general claim ...[which]...is now commonplace among many geographers" (Rose 1993, 20) and which continues to provide fertile grounds for thought in the 1990s. In 1994, Wilson and Huff edited a new collection of structurationist essays which bear the markings of critical theory. Structuration theory's span of over twenty years of influence in the discipline of human geography represents a period of critique and appraisal through which structuration has continued to develop and advance its claims.

Early Introductions and Developments of Structuration Theory in Human Geography

The incorporation of time-space into the conceptual grounds of structuration theory dove-tailed with the interests of human geography, as a consideration of space became an increasingly popular ingredient in studies of socio-economic studies of the 1980s. The triadic foundation of Giddens' theory intrigued an audience of geographers whose sensibilities had been influenced by the recent progression of positivism, post-positivism, and historical-materialism through their discipline (Gregory 1994, 113). Structuration theory's induction into geography was further eased by the transcribing work of geographers who recognized the theory's potential for analyzing modernity's spatiality (Gregory 1994, 115). Owing to its complexity and its non-geographical origins, authors such as Pred, Thrift, and Gregory became the interpreters and elucidators of structuration theory for an intrigued body of human geographers (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991, 96). Giddens' work has spawned a proliferation of structurationist approaches within the discipline of human geography, as geographers have begun advancing the claims of the theory through a process of critique and contribution that in itself has refined and developed structuration theory.

The 1980s marked a period of significant shift in human geography as theorists began to look

at space as more than simply place or location, and the discipline's interest in the making of history extended to the making of geography (Soja 1985; Gregory 1994). Occupying varying degrees of centrality and marginality within the social sciences, space was still considered in 1985 as a term "both familiar and apparently unproblematic, and yet mysterious" (Sayer 1985, 51). The "apparently unproblematic" nature of space reflects the failure of pre-1980s western academy to problematize a concept whose importance appeared to not exceed the depth of its surface (Soja 1985). As the spatiality of social life began to occupy an increasingly central stage in the debates of geographers, Giddens' theory began to reflect the notion that people make geographies which are integral to the constitution of societies. For Giddens, a crucial element of structuration theory relies on the observation that social practices occur in time and space. Structuration delves deeper into space as it explores its centrality in the constitution of systems of social interaction. Space, in structuration theory, acts in conjunction with the agency-structure duality to form the central pillars upon which Giddens constructs his social theory. The recursive relationship between space and social life, which Giddens proposes, "permits context, through a set of integrated concepts, to be placed at the centre of analysis" (Dyck 1990, 461). Geographers have been instrumental in exploring how space, in conjunction with time, creates time-space settings within which agency and structure are reproduced through the features that are both present or absent from each locale.

Since its initial attention from Giddens, space has developed progressively through the attention of geographers. Structurationists employ various meanings of space which elaborate upon Giddens' conceptualization of space as locale. In particular, Pred's 'theory of place' develops Giddens' notion of space to include places, or regions, as "active systems comprised of conscious individuals, events, social formations, relationships, and physical features that continuously interact over time and

across space" (Rogers 1994, 107). For Pred, places are more than Hagerstrand's domains and more than Giddens' locales; place is a "historically contingent process that emphasizes institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features with which those practices are interwoven in usually unacknowledged ways" (Pred 1985, 338). Furthermore, Pred proposes the useful notion of "messy" locales, wherein exists an "assemblage of partially overlapping yet distinctly identifiable interaction networks and associated power relations" (Pred 1990, 27). While retaining a physically grounded concept of space, Pred's theory encapsulates the action of becoming of place which is open to the processes spilling over from other locales.

Pred's work constitutes an important voice in the structurationist debate and provides a progressive and geographical articulation of structuration. Despite being given more credit for translating and applying Giddens' theory than for developing structuration theory(Philo, Cloke and Sadler 1991, 119), Pred's contributions are significant in particular to geographers. Pred is attributed with "[t]he most comprehensive articulation of ... [structuration's]... dynamic and inclusive conceptualization of place" (Rogers 1994, 107). For Pred, place "involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time space" (Pred 1985, 337). Pred's "becoming of place" appears to extend to space a duality similar to that which Giddens accords to structures; the setting for social interaction is itself both the medium and outcome of structuration. Furthermore, Pred attempts to go beyond the limited locale of Giddens, which is definitionally restricted to a time-space setting for interaction, in the conceptualization of place and region as a "historically contingent process" that continuously takes place and involves both institutional and individual practices, and structural features (Pred 1985, 1990). Pred incorporates his theory within a structuration framework that emphasizes the 'becoming

of place,' the formation of 'life biographies,' and the importance of power relations. For example, Pred's study of Boston's late mercantile period 1783-1812 reveals the interconnectedness of socialization with knowledge acquisition and reproduction, as well as that of life-biographies and the becoming of place occurring in time-space as projects and life-paths intersect (Pred 1985).

In addition to the contributions made by Pred, Derek Gregory has also furthered Giddens' theory through his critiques of time-geography and structuration theory. Gregory provides geographers an evaluative account of Hagerstrand's time-geography and of the direction and progress of structuration theories (Gregory 1985). While less than dismissive of time-geography as a means of contextualizing social theory, Gregory is indeed critical of a model which he describes as "the least 'geographical' of all geographies" (Gregory 1985, 298). In weighing the value of Hagerstrand's time-geography, Gregory concludes that its dimensions lack an encompassing ontology. The completion of Hagerstrand's time-geography is dependent upon "incorporation of both the knowledgeability of human subjects and the authenticity of their experiences and of the structures of social relations within which and through which these are sustained" (Gregory 1985, 329). In preferring rational abstractions to vague generalizations, and while searching for an appropriate ontology, Gregory suggests that time-geography "must draw on substantive theory of structuration" which requires more than simply using "time-geography to bind the abstract to the concrete ...it means understanding the hierarchy of concepts involved in empirical work and moving patiently between the levels" (Gregory 1985, 329-330). It appears from Gregory's critique of time-geography and structuration approaches that he wishes to retain the theoretical emphases on both the structuration and anatomy of the dynamic relationships among state, civil society and capital. To this end, Gregory counsels that structuration theory's time-space paths be located within a wider context that is sensitive to locational

structures and the role of the state. It would seem, in fact, that Gregory is particularly mindful to promote the contributions of post-Marxist analyses within structuration theory to retain a critical approach to the dynamics of capital accumulation and the role of the state.

A further element of Giddens' theory that is relevant to a discussion of geographies of inequalities, and those of exclusion and resistance, is the theorized potential for transformation within a system of social interaction. Through the momentum of creative acts and collective action, the economic, social, political and cultural structures of society and hence the (re)production of social interaction in time-space may be transformed (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). Such an understanding allows for geographies of resistance and change as it unlocks social interaction from a static and chained existence. Elaborating upon Giddens' conceptualization of transformation which emphasizes the recursive, reflexive and reciprocal nature of social interaction, Sibley (1995) addresses its spatial component and its asymmetrical nature in support of his social-spatial theory of exclusion. Geographies of exclusion are made possible through the relationships of domination and resistance. According to Sibley, the role of space in social relations will only be understood once structuration theory accepts "that the relatively powerless still have enough power to 'carve out spaces of control' in respect to their day-to-day lives" (Sibley 1995, 76). Resistance is therefore not a spontaneous and singular event, but an equally reflexive and recursive action that is situated within contextualized locales.

Geographers have also contributed to the notion of knowledge embraced by structuration theory. Knowledge is a resource integral to the structuration of social systems as "structure can only exist through the knowledge that informs agents about their day-to-day activities" (Dyck 1990, 461). While Giddens originally envisioned knowledges as being either discursive (verbally communicated)

or practical (undiscussed), other theorists such as Thrift develops the notion of 'knowledge' to include a more elaborate differentiation of knowledges as well to establish a critical awareness of the social distribution of knowledge (Thrift 1985). Thrift devises two categories of knowledge that juxtapose 'types of knowing' (knowledges that are unconscious; practical and unarticulated; empirical; and natural philosophies) and 'types of unknowing' (knowledges that are unknown; not understood; undiscussed; hidden; and distorted). These types of knowledges are available to human agents through a "social distribution of knowledge ...[which is]...dependent upon all the numerous dimensions of social group structuration, such as biological differentiation (gender, age, 'race,' etc.) class (the capital labour relation), the state, the region and all their cross-correlations" (Thrift 1985, 369).

The Reception of Structuration Theory and Time-geography in Human Geography

Owing to its origins within two contending schools of thought, structuration theory is subject to criticism from Marxist and humanist geographers alike, as well as from those who find its seemingly amorphous theory to be wanting in direction or critical content. Within geography, Marxist and humanist scholars have offered the greatest resistance and critique of structuration theory(Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991, 94). The concessions which structuration theory allows to each school of thought, in their respective conceptions of structure and agency, offend the principles of both Marxists and humanists. While relying upon a decentred notion of agency, the role accorded to human agency in structuration by far exceeds the limited ability of agents in an ontology that looks to the functioning of overriding and underlying structures in the determination of socio-economic spheres. Deriving its agency component from the humanist conceptions of human actors who exhibit

a consciousness, structuration theory nevertheless decentralizes its human subject and denies the unrestrained voluntarism of actors. From a Marxist perspective, the admission of human agency is counterpoised to their affirmation that structural determinism reigns supreme amidst capitalist societies. The critics of structuration theory suggest that its foundations are ideologically unsound, as they derive from "two traditions ...[that]... are so fundamentally opposite in method, substance and political implications that the actions of any attempt to combine them can only be incoherence, eclecticism, or the denaturing of one or both" (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991, 105).

Giddens' initial criticisms of Hagerstrand's web model led to a refurbished model, which was later criticized and expounded upon by theorists such as Pred and Gregory. Time-geography has been toted as a means for identifying the interaction between structure and agency by mapping the life-paths of individuals and their points of intersection or co-presence. Perhaps, as Hagerstrand himself noted, the most obvious hazard of such an approach is the potential to become overwhelmed by the mapping of life-paths, to the point of being distracted by the defining of aggregate behaviour without discovering how the system as a whole functions (Gregory 1985, 308). In anticipation of such distraction, Hagerstrand proposed instead that the constraints should serve as enlightening features to identify answers to what choices were available.

Time-geography has also been criticized for the inflexibility of its framework of time-space. Time-geography is grounded in the physical realities and, despite the sometimes onerous task of compiling life-paths, gives the conceptual nature of structuration theory empirical support. The time-frame used by this theory as a medium to connect structure and agency is perhaps too exclusive. The generalized daily interaction excludes long-term trends, and creates a twenty-four hour zone which jeopardizes the transition of meaning between activities undertaken in the daytime by one set of actors

and those occurring in the evening. While acknowledging that clock-time is socially conditioned, a linear day continues to exhibit its presence, as does the calendar year. Furthermore, time-geography is criticized for its inability to represent the development of historical geography as a continuum. The core tenets of structuration theory, which emphasize the becoming of systems of social interaction risk negation in a system of notation that freezes the landscape within its graph. The maps it produces are fixed in time and space, and are seemingly independent of their origins within a time-space setting. Gregory describes Hagerstrand's model as "exceptionally difficult to explicate its developing historical geography...vitally important to do so because the casting and recasting of webs of interaction is clearly not independent of the production and reproduction of the locational structures which contain them...these are not constants" (Gregory 1985, 314). Gregory's underlying concern is to recognize the inherently unstable nature of the space and the mutability of patterns of social interaction which arise with technological innovation and acts of innovation. As Giddens cautions against equating time with transformation, Gregory warns against endowing space with stability (Gregory 1985, 315).

A Feminist Critique

While shared interests in the daily structuring of space and society have led some feminist scholars to conduct structurationist studies and time-geographies, many feminist scholars continue to suspect Giddens' theory of an inherent masculinism. Feminist scholars have conducted numerous studies of the everyday spaces of women by using both structuration theory and time-geography to map their paths through time-space; these studies have produced insightful accounts into processes of oppression and resistance of women in particular time-space settings (Dyck 1990; Rose 1993;

Antwi-Nsiah and Huff 1994; Staeheli 1994). In feminist circles, however, suspicions flare over the nature of the knowledge which informs structuration theory and time-geography; a knowledge that seems to espouse the constructions of a singular space that leaves little room for critical perspectives.

Structuration theory maintains a predominant interest in class, as is evidenced in its frequent depiction as a post-Marxist discourse, which provides a conflicting assortment of theoretical advantages and disadvantages for feminist studies. Contemporary feminist theory, while originating in part from a socialist feminism, has distanced itself from historical materialism owing to the latter's almost exclusive emphasis on class which negates issues of gender, 'race,' and sexuality. While Marxist interpretations offer critical analysis, post-Marxist and critical geographers have come to recognize "the very idea of landscape is shot through with ambivalences, tensions, and grids of power that cannot be reduced to the marionette movements of the economy" (Gregory 1994, 99). Giddens' theory, which he held as a critique of historical-materialism (Gregory 1994), nevertheless retained a predominately class-based focus, to the extent that the " irony is that Giddens could be so perceptive when it comes to a critical analysis of the changing nature of property relations under the logic of capitalism and so blind to the patriarchy that dominates the structuration of traditional social structures based on kinship" (Antwi-Nsiah and Huff 1994, 180). Geographers applying structuration theory have held strongly to Western Marxism, more so than Giddens, to the extent that feminist theorists have found the modalities of gender and sexuality to be marginalized in structuration theory and analysis (Gregory 1994). In its emphasis on a class divided society and its reliance upon a masculinist version of psychoanalytical theory, structuration theory is held by some feminists to be a masculinist discourse which inadvertently relegates women to the peripheries of study (Gregory 1994, 111). Certainly, the neglect of emotions and the overriding emphasis on the knowledgeability

of agents frustrates the efforts of particular feminist scholars to discard the images of rational man and validate the existence of emotional actors (Rose 1993).

Feminist scholars have also scrutinised time-geography, exploring its advantages and constraints for unveiling geographies of inequalities and geographies of resistance within urban settings. Time-geography (Figure 2) has provided feminist geographers with a tool for revealing the

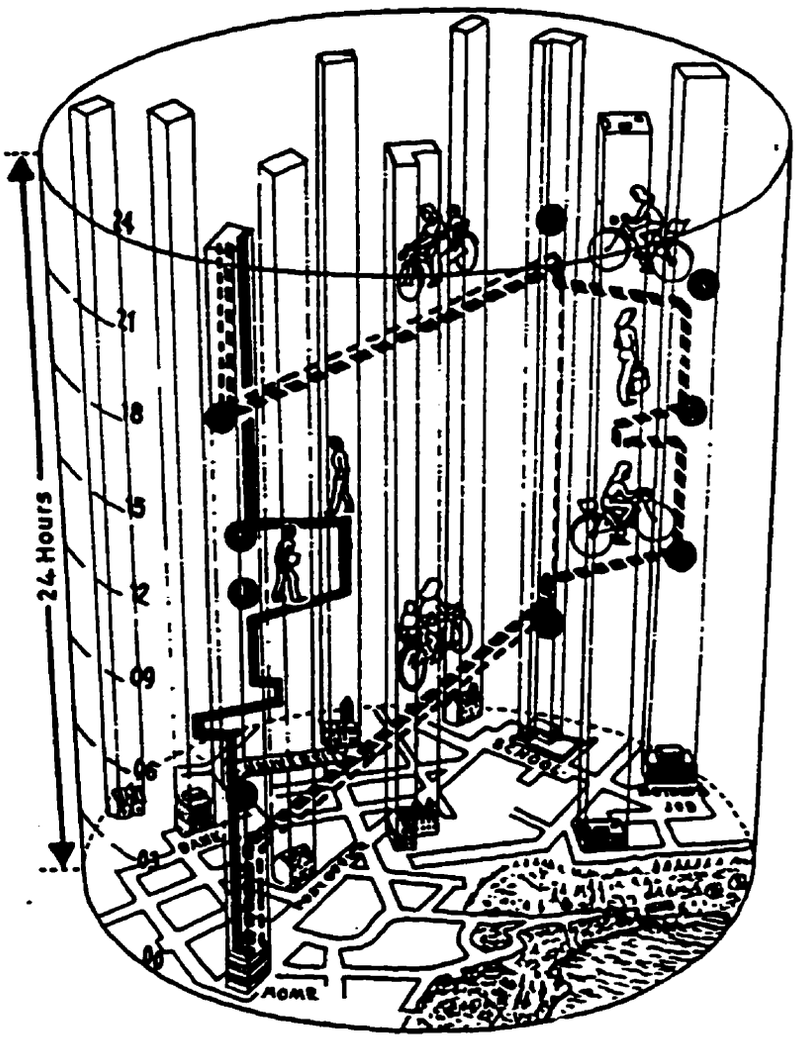

Figure 2: A time-geography diagram which indicates the difference in paths of women, who are also the care-givers for children, and men (Rose 1993, 21). Diagrams such as these have helped geographers uncover the impacts of gendered social norms on the daily routines of men and women.

masculinization of space and the exploitation of women. Time-geography has been applied by feminist scholars attempting to uncover the power structures which direct and restrict the behaviour of women. The focus of time-geography encapsulates the arena of the everyday in its time-space prism, exposing the routinization of women's daily activities even as they experience the power structures of their society and conform to social obligations and expectations. In a study conducted by Miller, the 'temporo-spatial' constraints that structured the lives of women during the mid 1800's are reviewed to reveal patriarchal "unwritten rules and customs" that were ascribed to women (Rose 1993, 24). Other studies have reviewed the amounts of time spent in waged work and domestic work, to elucidate further constraints and the roles ascribed to women in industrial societies; in general, the time-geographies undertaken by feminist geographers reveal maps of patriarchal structuration of everyday patterns in women's lives. An important result of these studies has been to uncover not only maps of oppression, but also those of women's resistance to structured roles (Dyck 1991).

A leading voice in the feminist debate over time-geography is Gillian Rose, who has explored the nature of both applications and foundations of time-geography in feminist theory. Time-geography intersects with feminist research in that it "shares the feminist interest in the quotidian paths traced by people and, again like feminism, links such paths, by thinking about constraints, to the larger structures of society" (Rose 1993, 18). In her review of feminist studies using time-geography, which are largely uniform in the emphasis on women in the private sphere, Rose acknowledges the ability of a structuration- based time-geography to discover both the constraints and abilities of women in contextualized settings. Time-geography allows feminist researchers to perform "bottom-up" studies, which uniquely capture the lives of groups of actors who are

marginalized from mainstream space and society and which reveal processes of resistance and transformation by marginalized groups, and to "access the way in which women are shaped by the changing masculinist definitions of femininity and domesticity" (Rose 1993, 25).

The advantages which time-geography offers to feminist studies in its bottom up methodology, however, are limited by the model's constructs of space, structure and agency. The nature of time-geography's assumptions and their extenuating constructs provide the basis upon which critical theorists rest their critique of the model as distinctly masculinist. Feminist critics have found the type of knowledge espoused by structuration theoryand time-geography "replicates a masculinist mode of knowing which is inclined to be abstract, authoritarian and univocal" (Gregory 1994, 111). The criticism that time-geography is a masculinist knowledge rests upon its inability to represent agents in their existences as emotional persons. Even Dyck's time-geography of suburban mothers, which is supported by ethnographic research, fails to allow its actors to speak, to feel, and to break the masculinist conception of the physically and emotionally bounded person (Rose 1993). Rose suggests that time-geography's universalist approach to representing space fails to acknowledge the emotions that exist in and disrupt the order of space; time-geography creates an artificial order which glosses over "the emotional, the passionate, the disruptive, and the feelings of relations with others" (Rose 1993, 28). Gregory suggests that "Giddens' conception of human subjectivity is not only insufficiently attentive to the process of gendering but also installs at its centre a model of subject-formation drawn from a profoundly masculinist version of psychoanalytic theory" (Gregory 1994, 111). Furthermore, time-geography fails to recognize the body as a contested site of meanings and uses, which affects its ability to travel through social space. Time-geography's indistinct, "bounded body and its role as a neutral container of rationality" presupposes the body of white,

heterosexist males - the only bodies which travel without the feelings or impediments of 'race,' sexuality, and gender that derive from social constructions (Rose 1993, 33). In addition to conceptualizing inherently masculine bodies, time-geography relies upon similarly masculine conceptions of space when it assumes the neutrality of public space (Rose 1993). Rose argues that the masculinist-filled gaps of time-geography frustrate feminist attempts to uncover the differences of women which relate to subjectivity and sociality (Rose 1993, 27).

While Rose's critique reveals troubling assumptions and significant oversights in its traditional applications, time-geography retains the potential to uncover geographies of inequalities by contextualizing its model of space and agency. The time-space tracking of particular populations can provide for the cross-cultural, inter-spatial, and cross-temporal analysis of life-patterns. Time-geography allows its analyst to visually recreate the geographies of silenced and marginalized populations, revealing the intricate patterns of interaction that reflect their relative position with society. Furthermore, while time-geography's time-space grid provides little insight into the emotional geography of space, its analysis may be further contextualized through a corresponding investigation into the emotional geographies of marginalized actors.

Developing a Critical Structuration Theory in the 1990s

While some authors have declared structuration theory to be *passe* (Sibley 1995; Cadwallader 1996), others continue to mine its literature for creative ways in which to explore both historic and contemporary societies (Dyck 1990; Gregory 1994; Wilson and Huff, 1994; Dear and Wolch 1994; Janelle 1994; Staeheli 1994; Langton 1995). While Rose (1993) and Gregory (1994) effectively present the concerns of critical theorists and provide insightful critiques to reflect these concerns,

neither analysis entirely rejects structuration theory nor time-geography. Feminists argue that the omission of gender considerations in structuration theory and time-geography are "not simply an absence to be made good by incorporation" (Gregory 1994, 111); similar arguments may be made for 'race,' sexuality, ability, age and other like constructs. Social scientists, however, have been reluctant to dismiss the theory in its entirety. Recent intersections of critical theory and structuration theory continue to try to compensate for the oversights and misrepresentations inherent in a masculinist ontology. While its preoccupation with class leads structuration theory to neglect other forces which contribute to the structuration of society, critical structurationists are attempting to rectify this oversight through the inclusion of gender and 'race' in their analyses and discussions. In recognition of time-geography's inability to convey the emotional components of life-worlds, additional methodologies may be used to compliment the time-space mapping of structuration. In particular, an ethnographic account that is sensitive to the principles of structuration theory and time-geography may be used to tease out the emotional life-worlds which escape graphical representation.

The 1990s have witnessed the merging of structuration theory with critical theory, resulting in a series of studies focusing on the marginalization and isolation of sub-populations defined by their 'Otherness'. Structuration's social lens has become more attuned to the subordination of groups who are identified by the socially defined differences of 'race,' gender, and class. While geography was one of the last social sciences to exploit the insights of critical social theory (Wilson and Huff, 1994), its pursuit and incorporation of radical critique has advanced both bodies of knowledge. Despite Giddens' "careful use of nonexclusionary language" (Gregory 1994, 128) in constructing his social-spatial theory, its ungendered and class centred analysis is detrimental to discovering socially defined inequalities. During the 1980s, the structurationist agenda of discovering geographies of

subordination through 'bottom up' studies was hampered by the failure of its theory to recognize the importance of socially constructed identities. The introduction of critical social theory in the 1990s to the transferable tenets of structuration, however, allows academics to surpass Giddens' oversights and successfully pursue "diverse interpretations and applications" (Wilson and Huff 1994, xxiv) while revealing geographies of inequalities through a structurationist lens. Structuration theory has become an ontological source from which "sparing use of concepts is applauded while the overall framework is relevant to anyone writing broadly about social organization and transformation" (Eyles 1994, 103).

Sensitizing Giddens' Structuration Theory

Prone to the weaknesses of all grand theories, structuration theory and its discussions of place, time and knowledge suffer from over-simplifications and imbrications of subject matter. By the close of the 1980s, the need to sensitize structuration theory to issues of 'race,' class, gender and the ways in which they inform knowledges became increasingly apparent to academics engaged in its discussions. Giddens' concept of knowledge demands further elaboration to problematize the means and values of knowing. While Thrift's (1985) work is progressive in its recognition of the differentiated nature of knowledge, it is based upon an arbitrary distinction which assumes delimitable and objective knowledges. Nevertheless, by differentiating knowledge into knowing and unknowing, Thrift suggests that variations exist in the quality of knowledges actors may obtain. The inequalities of knowledge and the agency implicated in their social distribution invites further investigation into the significance of knowledge in the construction of geographies of inequalities, which are marked by marginalization on the basis of 'race,' class, ethnicity, gender (Wilson and Huff 1994) and,

arguably, age. The differentiation and distribution of knowledge results in a scarcer or less valuable supply of resources that will in turn limit the resources that agents may reproduce. Perhaps paramount to a discussion of knowledge is the recognition that knowledge is power: the greater the knowledge an agent may resource, the greater the agent's ability to effectively interact with other agents (Dear and Moos 1994). The use of the term "greater," however, must be understood as existing within social contexts wherein knowledges are socially weighted in accordance with the position of the speaker professing them (Alcoff 1991). The origin of the knowledges that actors call upon must be acknowledged as value-laden constructions, which are regulated by the "white, heterosexual male domination of the western knowledge industry" (Sibley 1995, 115).

While both agents and the systems in which they exist are conceptualized by structurationists as possessing knowledge (Giddens 1985; Thrift 1985), only the distribution and content of knowledge was problematized by theorists while 'knowledge' remained undisturbed in its empirical and objective garb throughout the 1980s. Thrift's categorization of knowledges ambitiously states that knowledge may be structurally divided into separate and distinct bodies of knowing and un-knowing. Furthermore, Thrift's argument assumes an empirical basis to the contents of both knowing and unknowing. The empiricism of the institutions and technologies involved in the dissemination of knowledges to social agents in particular time-space locales is unproblematized. While recognizing important social variants that affect the social distribution of knowledge, the process of knowledge origination is itself unsuspect of the same social differentiation.

Issues of knowledge and the constitution of the body in time and space find resonance within feminist literature *en masse*, and in particular within radical or anti-rationalist feminist approaches to, and critiques of, structuration theory. As with structuration theory and time-geography, feminist

scholarship shares a concern with the day-to-day interactions of human agency and structure as "the everyday routines traced by women are never unimportant, because the seemingly banal and trivial events of the everyday are bound into the power structures which limit and confine women" (Rose 1993, 17). While critics deplore "Giddens's conception of human subjectivity...(as) insufficiently attentive to the process of gendering" and his use of masculinist psychoanalytic theory (Gregory 1994, 111), structuration theory and time-geography have provided feminist scholars with the tools to uncover the social practices which reproduce power structures. Studies conducted using time-geography have shown their theoretical and methodological capability in "access[ing] the way in which women are shaped by the changing masculinist definitions of femininity and domesticity" (Rose 1993, 25). Through critical reviews and practical applications, feminist scholars have developed the theoretical underpinnings of structuration theory and augmented its sensitivity as a research tool (Dyck 1990; Rose 1993; Gregory 1994; Staeheli 1994).

The sensitivity that feminist theory contributes to structuration theory derives from its radical critique of traditional epistemologies. Amongst numerous issues which may be included with the 'feminist agenda' is the search to develop a "different 'way of knowing'" (Dyck 1990, 465) that challenges patriarchal structures of knowledge. Through constructing the praxis upon which theory, empirical study and activism may meet, feminist theories attempt to uncover the "ways in which social groups and identities interact with political, economic, and social processes" (Staeheli 1994, 131). Feminism is involved in tracing the origins of social constructions of social differentiation through their historical and cultural roots, from which it erects a critique of such identities and their naturalization by "revealing parallels in their social construction and in the ways in which they have been independently conceptualized" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994). Through questioning the means

of knowing and representation, and by recognizing the constructed nature of knowledge, feminist theory promotes a sensitizing of structuration theory to issues of 'race,' class and gender.

Feminist standpoint theory, one of three schools of distinctive epistemological perspectives in feminist geography (McDowell 1993), contributes to the literature of structuration theory by its challenge to researchers to "develop methods to identify and analyze the positionality of individuals with respect to the structures that shape and define society" (Staeheli 1993, 133). The synthesis of structuration theory with a feminist perspective that deepens the understanding of structure and agency represents a significant contribution to the social content of Giddens' project. The studies by Dyck (1990) and Staeheli (1994) represent attempts to sensitize structuration theory through an incorporation of feminist theory. Dyck's study is sensitive to the processes of situated knowledge construction that are (re)constituted through the actions of human agency. In particular, Dyck investigates the role of gender identities through feminist theory wherein "the notion of a sexual division of labour and a refinement of the concept of reproduction further sensitizes our understanding of the local context in which the women of the study live, and within which their knowledge of their social and geographical worlds are constructed (Dyck 1990, 460). Knowledge, in Dyck's study, is contingent upon presence within particular locales, which in turn is a function of the sexual division of labour. Establishing the division of labour as the grounds upon which relationships are built and reproduced, Dyck investigates the social constructions that arise from both its social and spatial worlds to influence "all knowledge" (Dyck 1990, 459). Paramount in Dyck's study is the discovery of the mutability of knowledges, which are transformed by female agents as they reconstruct the meanings of motherhood within its labour-defined role.

The incorporation of social constructionism into structuration theory is complicated, however,

by the numerous roles an individual may play. While progressive in its recognition of the constructed nature of motherhood in a particular Canadian suburb, Dyck's analysis fails to consider implications other than those of gender and class. Defining the intersections of identity constituents, such as 'race,' class, gender, age and sexuality, is a necessary pursuit as "[n]one of these roles and identities should be analyzed in isolation, because people do not live them in isolation" and yet a complicated one as "each of these roles and identities may be conditioned by power relations at several scales and settings" (Staeheli 1994, 133). The difficulty of such an endeavour, however, may be mediated by a structurationist approach which emphasizes contextuality. Staeheli suggests that the activism of agents may be shaped by their presence in a particular locale (Staeheli 1994). According to structuration theory, actors call upon structures of knowledge in order to interact with other agents through a communication and interpretation of bounded meanings. Situated meanings may be internalized by agents from their locales which house the immaterial structures "that individuals reproduce or transform through their activities and searches for sources of identity" (Eyles 1994, 89). It is feasible that while an actor's identity may be constructed of various socially defined identities, certain constructions will prevail within particular time-space settings in accordance, or defiance, of the presiding structures of knowledge. In this sense, locales affect identity as they exist "in a dialectical relation with what an individual is and what he or she sees himself or herself to be" (Eyles 1994, 88-89).

In addition to critiques of its ungendered approach, structuration theory and time-geography also receive censure for being "uninterested in the cultural politics of postmodernism" (Gregory 1994, 123). The conceptualization of systems of social interaction in structuration theory tends to neglect a consideration of culture and emotion. For example, the agents of structuration theory are

conceived of as being "active, knowledgeable, and reasoning" (Dear and Moss 1994, 7) yet without emotion. While structuration theory accredits human agency with reflexive thought, it neglects to acknowledge the emotions elicited by their existences, their interactions and their co-presencing. In defining locales, Giddens (Giddens 1985) employs a concept of boundaries which are used to define the region; these boundaries exist as physical or symbolic markers which permit or exclude objects of presencing into locales. According to Giddens, locales are composed of combinations of physical properties and human artifacts which elicit distinction only when the observer is able to grasp its nature and context through a "range of other properties specified by the modes of its utilization in human activity" (Giddens 1985, 271). Actors, who are capable of recognizing boundary markers and locale properties, appear to do so without emotional responses to these intelligences. Similarly, time-geography overlooks "the emotional, the passionate, the disruptive, and the feelings of relations with others" (Rose 1993, 28) as it diagrams the life-paths of agents through specific locales.

A recognition of a culture-determined context, however, is not beyond the scope of structuration theory; rather it may be seen as a contingent theory that adds another strand to the web-like body of structuration literature. According to Giddens' structuration theory, space is more than a container for action - indeed it constrains and enables activities and contextualizes social interaction. The nature of locales becomes involved in human activity as the "(p)roperties of settings are employed in a chronic way by agents in the constitution of encounters across time and space" (Giddens in Sibley 1995). In order to elaborate upon the nature of Giddens 'settings' and provide a more descriptive analysis of space and its involvement in systems of interaction, Sibley emphasizes that "particular social and spatial outcomes are tied to particular cultures, to particular histories and to individual life experiences" (Sibley 1995, 75).

Summary

Although articulated as a grand theory of socio-spatial science, structuration theory is meant to be applied to the local in "sensitize[d] empirical research through emphasizing the knowledgeability of the individual agent in the reproduction of social practice, the time-space contextuality of social life, and the hermeneutic or interpretive nature of analysis" (Dyck 1990, 461). Structuration theory provides only theoretical guidelines, and not procedural laws, for those who would pursue it as a means to conduct studies at the community level. There exists an extensive and intensive literature comprised of arguments and debates that focus open certain elements of structuration, such as the balance between structure and agency, the nature of space, the role of knowledge, and the delicate balance that ties these strands together.

Despite its uncertainties, structuration theory approaches a realism which is absent in the idealism of human geography and the excessive structuralism of Marxist geography. Structuration theory is a means of putting the space back into geography, a means of grounding investigation in the immediacy of daily living. Giddens' theoretical and methodological guidelines are subject to and available for modification and elaboration by academics conducting case-specific studies. Numerous geographers have seized upon and developed particular strands of its theoretical mass, conscious of its lacuna, yet accepting it upon its merits rather than rejecting it for its deficiencies. Many interpretations of structuration theory have developed insightful perspectives of social interaction, exploring the role of knowledges, be they conscious, subconscious, or ideological, even while maintaining a balance between structure and agency. While there remain within the realms of structuration theory both questions and avenues to be explored, there is little to establish the claim that the theory is incoherent. The eclecticism of structuration theory reflects the wealth that may be

recognized from its ontological perspective.

As critical and feminist theories develop the foundations of structuration theory, its analysis becomes capable of extending to issues other than class with a sensitivity that unveils the complex geographies of inequalities. Furthermore, this sensitization paves new in-roads to the realms of culture, the influence of which may be observed in the patterning of life-paths as it infiltrates the social and spatial outcomes of systems of social interaction. In order to discover these geographies, the structurationist requires an equally sensitive research tool that is able to provide an in-depth and descriptive analysis. Ethnography's 'thick description' lends itself to a detailed account of cultural and emotional geographies, which offer new insight to the elements of structure and agency even while it contextualizes their locales. Chapter Three investigates the ability of ethnography to provide detail and description to the systems of socialization embedded in time-space frameworks.

Chapter 3 - Empiricism in Structuration Theory: Discussing the New Ethnography

Probing the Relationship Between Structuration theory and Ethnography

While several forms of empiricism lend themselves to a structurationist study, ethnography provides a penetrating research tool to discover and explore the stocks of knowledge, the structures of signification, legitimation and domination, and the constitution of life-paths within a particular community. Ethnographic research allows academics a glimpse into "the rationalization of conduct ...[which] becomes the discursive offering of reasons only if individuals are asked by others why they acted as they did" (Giddens 1984, 281). Further, ethnography cultivates the notion of knowledgeable actors to encompass emotional dimensions, allowing researchers to explore the life-worlds of their subjects in greater depth. Ethnography, however, is subject to questions of representation which, while rarely discussed amongst structurationists, make suspect its findings and communications. While some structurationists rely upon ethnography to inform their studies (Dyck 1990; Antwi-Nsiah and Huff 1994; Staeheli 1994), too frequently are their findings accepted without question as to the reliability. Having sensitized structuration theory to the constructed nature of knowledges, radical and feminist theories offer equally valuable insight for the collection and interpretation of the empirical data supporting its practical applications.

Even as critical theory sensitizes structuration theory and radical critique revisits the foundations of ethnography, there remains a significant gap in communication between the two movements. In sensitizing structuration theory, critical and feminist theory have attempted to flesh out the nature of agency while further exploring the dynamics of power that result in geographies of inequalities. Applied to ethnography, critical and feminist theories have been instrumental in turning the mirror upon the researchers as they observe their population in the field and once again as they

construct their narrative from at home. Radical critique is eroding the claims to traditional objectivity and arousing suspicions as to the extent to which ethnography may be relied upon as empirical fact. The relationship between the researcher and the subject is unfastened from the base of neutrality, and the representation - the very writing - of ethnography is under scrutiny. Even though ethnography grapples with the legacy of knowledges constructed by white, male heterosexist thought, there is little overflow of its radical discussions into structurationist studies. Structurationists who have chosen to exploit ethnography for its wealth of thick description must come to terms with the New Ethnography and its implications for its empirical usage in their studies. Without a form of self-reflexivity, "time-geographers become the invisible observers of social life, tracing its patterns and making sense of it all, its reproduction, resistance and contradiction" (Rose 1993, 39).

Recent Applications of Ethnography in Structuration

While recognizing that "all social research has a necessarily cultural, ethnographic or 'anthropological' aspect to it," Giddens suggests that 'thick description' is rarely needed for structurationist studies (Giddens 1984, 284). The lack of enthusiasm, which some structurationists display towards ethnography, arises largely from the view that detailed participant-observation needlessly expends the efforts of the researcher in the collection of what is thought to be extraneous information; the detailed and individualized ethnographic discoveries are subsumed most often under the aggregate of agency. Furthermore, the personalized detail of participant observation is held unnecessary when a 'typical' agent may be assumed, or the practices in which the agent is involved are familiar and general activities (Giddens 1984). Such assumptions, however, are dangerously held in a time where radical critique is challenging socially constructed knowledges and identities and

questioning the epistemological foundations upon which categories have been built.

Structuration studies which employ ethnographic research, exhibit an awareness of the 'double-hermeneutic' employed in interpretation yet fail to inquire into the power relationship inherent in participant-observation. In 1984, Giddens recognized that researchers undertaking ethnographic study would become embroiled in tasks of interpreting the 'frames of meaning' in both the field and at home as the agent's experiences were translated into the realm of socio-spatial theory (Giddens 1984). While questions of translating the field experience into text continue to linger in structurationist accounts, the debate over ethnography remains one of practicality rather than one of authorial subjectivity. Few studies contain a detailed discussion of the issues rocking the foundations of ethnography in the social sciences and humanities. While a detailed discussion of both structuration theory and ethnography likely exceeds the scope of any singular study, it is unconscionable for a researcher employing these practices to avoid a discussion, even if only brief, as to their strengths and weaknesses.

Even in recent studies which employ ethnography as a means to inform a structurationist analysis, there appears to be inadequate consideration, if not discussion, of the sensitivities necessary for ethnographic research. While these accounts exhibit a sensitized structuration approach capable of emphasizing the impact upon identity, expectations and actions in gender-based systems, they ill-attend to the questions arising over their research methodology. In her analysis of suburban practices of motherhood, Dyck (1990) employs ethnographic field methods which form the basis of her interpretive analysis. While Dyck is sensitive to the social construction of knowledge and its impact on gender relations, she provides little description of other critical features affecting the lives of the participants. In a similar study of the impacts upon women of gender basis of property rights in

Ghana, Antwi-Nsiah and Huff (1994) recognize the differences in the voices of women who are separated by locale, and differentiated by social and economic conditions. While the depth of their research is not elaborated upon, it is reported that their study investigated the experiences, attitudes and intentions of 100 men and 104 women (Antwi-Nsiah and Huff 1994, 179). The structurationist aspect of their study enabled the researchers to place the individual in a framework which connects his or her experience and activities to broader social change. Similar to Dyck's study (1990), the Antwi-Nsiah and Huff study engages identity as a barometer of change as women struggle over the restructuring of society for the control of their lives.

A recent study by Staeheli (1994) exhibits a greater awareness of the complexities involved in ethnographic research affecting both fieldwork and 'homework.' The Staeheli study begins with the feminist assertion that politics are situated in a social, economic, political and cultural setting which affects experience, actions and intentions. Based upon a consideration of situated actors and structures, Staeheli conducts empirical research in order to discover the differences of gender in framing and acting upon issues relating to a growth control movement in Boulder, Colorado. In describing her research methodology, Staeheli speaks to concerns over an ethnographic methodology that originate in both the fieldwork and the 'homework.' In recognition of the power differentials that may inhibit or impede communication between the researcher and the subject, Staeheli purposefully chose to conduct interviews in an "intensive but loosely structured" format. Furthermore, in analyzing her research, Staeheli attempts to accurately represent the words, meanings, in a study she claims to be consistent with the values and beliefs of at least some of the participants. The awareness Staeheli exhibits is unusual amongst the collection of structurationist essays considered in this dissertation. It alone begins to knock at the door of a complicated and contentious discussion that

is evolving over the practice of ethnography.

The radical critique instigated by postmodern thought has left few, if any, of the social sciences with a sense of security in the theoretical and epistemological foundations of their discipline. Ethnography, as a tool of research used by several of these shaken disciplines, including cultural geography, is itself under critical review as questions of reflexivity challenge its use as a credible means of representation. From field to text, and author to academy, ethnography is shedding its simplistic and uncontested garb of objective authority, and donning that of self-reflexivity of which the implications remain to be measured. According to Geertz, the results of this radical critique have been to create a "disordered ... haphazard and various" field of study, and an increasingly weighty "burden of authorship" as issues of moral authority and epistemology enter into centre stage (Geertz 1988, 148). Despite its state of disarray, ethnography is unlikely to succumb to a sentencing as fictional literature. As Geertz suggests, ethnography "has been [in] that [state of disorganization] before and found a direction" (Geertz 1988, 148). While disciplines remain divided upon which direction, if any, to follow, feminist theory is establishing progressive and responsible approaches to conducting ethnography that transcend the potential paralysis inherent in postmodernist theory.

Cultural Geography and the Role of Ethnography

Through time and application, the term ethnography has come to embody a plethora of practices divided according to discipline and school of thought. Despite the fairly rigid boundaries that distinguish among disciplines, there has been much borrowing and adapting of ethnographic theory and methodology amongst the social sciences. The adoption of ethnography by researchers writing from estranged disciplines has resulted in numerous methodological and epistemological

hybridizations of ethnographic study, making "disciplinarity ... the most important determiner of how one defines a research area and what methods one chooses to study it" (Lal 1996, 189). The diversity that exists under the umbrella of ethnography is further augmented by the intra-disciplinary dissension and critique addressing the manner in which ethnographic study is to be undertaken. The framework of dissension that characterizes ethnography has recently been added to by postmodernism's radical critique which, while still resisted by most academics, is fragmenting opinion across the social sciences (Marcus 1994). With critical retrospective gaze, ethnographers are revisiting the premises of the ethnography of old and erecting from its critique a new ethnography of still undefined boundaries.

What is now termed traditional ethnography is meant to refer to the dynamic forms of cultural representation that span almost a century of writing which began in the mid-nineteenth century. While ethnography has existed for centuries in one form or another, contemporary authorities consider traditional ethnography to originate in the professionalization of the social sciences (Marcus and Fischer 1986) and the arrival of ethnographic pioneers such as Bronislaw Malinowski, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, and Franz Boas (Clifford 1988). While subject to the differences of academics, the departure point of ethnography is estimated to have occurred at the turn of the twentieth century as its writers began to distinguish themselves from less 'authoritative' and less 'professional' sojourners and explorers. Assuming an authority based upon the masculinist thought of the day, ethnography developed into a practice of representation that relied upon assumptions of achievable objective and holistic interpretation (Bird 1992). Born of Cartesian minds, boundaries were erected and fortified with time that separated the same from the Other, the observer from the actor, and the home from the field. A product of its time, ethnography became a tool of colonial repression that imprisoned

the Other into a cage made from unmalleable bars of Western 'knowledge'. Amongst its text-trapped population of Others, ethnographic writing produced objectified and marginalized positions for the women upon whom its masculinist gaze chanced to rest.

Feminist Ethnography

Emerging from an ethnographic tradition of thick description about the exotic Other as seen from the perspective of a foreign participant-observer, feminist ethnography attempts to redefine the relationship between the researcher and researched while fostering activist agendas. Despite its tendency towards the use of Cartesian dualisms which naturalize the hierarchical division between the researcher and the researched, the ethnographic lens continues to provide researchers with a unique perspective of community life. The transferability and utility of ethnography led to its adoption by feminist scholars in the late 1960s. Borrowing the term from social anthropology, feminist theorists developed a feminist ethnographic sociology (McRobbie 1990) which was intended to speak for the Other from the position of the Other (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989). Central to the practice of feminist ethnographers is a concern for the "power and the unequal hierarchies or levels of control that are often maintained, perpetuated, created and re-created during and after fieldwork" (Wolf 1996, 2).

While beginning as a largely theoretical pursuit, feminist scholarship has developed strong practical and activist approaches that bind theory to empirical research in innovative ways. Recognizing that "[w]ho is speaking, who is spoken of, and who listens is a result, as well as an act of political struggle," feminists practise an ethnographic method that centralizes women in both academic and political spheres (Alcoff 1991, 15). The struggle to be heard, however, has been

particularly difficult for ethnographers of marginalized positions who seek to overcome their oppression using the very tools which have historically oppressed them: a language of binary opposites and a forum of objectifying practices. In Western societies, the structures of knowledge have by and large been constructed by masculinist and colonialist minds to the marginalization of the thoughts of Others. The feminist critique of traditional ethnography has therefore experienced a slow and, at times, a silenced journey into popular literature. Through increasing vocality and visibility, however, feminist theory is being increasingly recognized for its critique of traditional scholarship and its "debunking of the myth of value-free scientific enquiry" (Renzetti and Lee 1993, 177).

In addition to its enlightening critique of masculinist theories and epistemologies, feminist scholars have introduced new sensitivities and agendas to the practise of ethnography. A fundamental criterion of feminist ethnography is to conduct collaborative and empowering research to establish women as subjects in a literature wherein they have been portrayed as objects by a predominantly white male authorship. A related criterion has been to acquire political affectivity through the medium of speaking for others and giving voice to the silenced (Alcoff 1991). While accepting that there are many feminisms (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989; Wolf 1996), the proponents of feminist theory claim that it "is an intellectual system that knows its politics, a politics directed toward securing recognition that the feminine is as crucial an element of the human as the masculine, and thus a politics skeptical and critical of traditional 'universal truths' concerning human behaviour" (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989, 8). The aims of feminist ethnography differ from those of traditional ethnography in their intention to extend the reach of ethnographic research past the textual dimension of description into the dimension of political practice.

Since its appropriation by mid-twentieth century feminist scholars, the theoretical and

methodical approaches to feminist ethnography have been altered by a succession of rationalist, essentialist and, most recently, post-modernist theories. While rationalist feminism was "centrally located in the modernist tradition with its belief in rationality and equality" and thereby attempted to diminish differences between the genderized identities, its successors have pursued the valorization of the differences of gender (McDowell 1993). In response to the social constructions of women as objects of a masculinist gaze, anti-rationalist feminist ethnographers began the reconstruction of the identity of women which emphasized and glorified their differences. During the development of essentialist thought in the 1980s, feminist ethnographers claimed a position of epistemic privilege based upon tenets of feminist standpoint theory, which proclaimed "the gendered nature of the construction of knowledge" (McDowell 1993, 306). Speaking from this assumed position of privilege that was the shared existence of the oppressed, feminist ethnographers claimed a solidarity with their subjects of study; the boundaries between the researcher and the researched were believed to be dismissed by an essentialist identity of woman.

The emphasis that feminist ethnography places upon studying the relationship between the researcher and the researched has led it to "easily accept the complicity of subject and object in knowledge production" (Grosz 1987, in Bird 1992, 255) and explore methodologies which attempt to unbalance the dynamics of power within ethnography. In addition to its critical theoretical approach, feminist theory boasts an equally innovative methodology that challenges traditional research processes. In general, feminist methodological critiques demand a form of self-reflexivity, a denaturalizing of Cartesian dualisms, an unbalancing of the power relations between the researcher and the researched, and an underlying agenda of empowerment for women (Renzetti and Lee 1993). These elements of critical methodology have been incorporated into feminist ethnography in an

attempt to help the Other find expression. Feminism's "critique of objectivity" and its "foregrounding of the researcher's subjectivity" (Bird 1992, 254), which emerged prior to that of postmodernism's radical critique (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989), placed its scholarship ahead of other epistemologies in discussions of representation.

Introducing Postmodernism into Ethnography

While feminism had been discussing issues pertaining to the relationship between the same and the other as well as contested codes of meaning and the inseparability of language and politics (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989), these issues only entered mainstream discourse in the early 1980s as the "spectre of post-modernism took shape in general awareness" (Marcus 1994, 384). While a dynamic concept throughout its existence, ethnography's most recent challenge by radical critique has left its field in a state of disarray as researchers struggle to overcome the tensions of its unveiled colonial and masculinist past in a present of uncertain direction and dimensions. From the literatures of critical theory, feminist theory, post-structuralism, and anti-colonialist theory, there has emerged a chorus of voices which have successfully challenged the neutrality of the speaker and rejected his or her claim of objective authority (Alcoff 1991). The ensuing difficulties of ethnographic description are encapsulated in the contentious 'crisis of representation'. This pause in academic thought reflects a crisis of interpretation which encompasses the author, the researched and the reader.

The postmodernist critique of ethnography has provoked a radical rethinking of its theoretical and methodological approach to studying culture and speaking for the Other. While traditionally labelled "an objective, scientific exercise," ethnography has become "an interpretive, humanistic

enterprise, in which the subjectivity of the researcher is crucial in both fieldwork and writing" (Bird 1992, 252). Despite the circumscribed authority of ethnographers, their mission remains to "salvag[e the] distinct cultural forms of life from a process of apparent global westernization...[and to] serve as a form of cultural critique for ourselves" (Marcus and Fischer 1986, I). Such a directive is indicative of the enduring attempt of ethnography to discover the exotic and know its Other, as well as of the difficulties encountered by ethnographers attempting to conduct cultural studies. The first of the goals of ethnography, as set out by Marcus and Fisher, places the researcher in the role of a retriever or rescuer of a foreign cultural practice. The second of these goals places that same individual in the context of cultural surveyor. Together, these goals demand that one individual be infinitely knowledgeable of both cultures, and capable of discovering and devising a relationship between the two. Furthermore, neither goal speaks to the ability of the audience to either understand and subsequently act upon the observations of the ethnographer. Indeed, the audience, much like the researched, remain mute through this process of cultural discovery.

The task of the ethnographer must therefore take into account the limitations and abilities of the individual, those of the subject of study, and those of the receiving audience. Having discarded the notion of objective and unprejudiced accounts, ethnography has accepted the biased nature of ethnographic description and is progressing towards a recognition of the value of emotional writing as passionate research (Haraway 1988). The ethnographer's task is to evoke culture (Marcus 1990), through the inspiring or inducing of memories, feelings, images in response to thick description. By definition, such a directive both limits the claims of ethnographers while empowering their pursuit of an interactive relationship with both subject and audience. In addition to evoking culture, feminist scholars call for the provoking of action (Lal 1996). The recognition and development of

ethnography contains within it the potential practice of a passionate ethnography, wherein emotions and politics are duly acknowledged and necessary. Moments of evocation are the "moral-aesthetic sensibilities" of a critical analysis, they are"not thresholds or supplements to intellectual inquiry but essential moments within it" (Gregory 1994, 83). Such a proposal, however, is but a simplistic answer to the complex questions which still threaten the epistemological foundations of the social sciences. Its implications must be teased out, and its meaning must be accompanied by direction and purpose that can surpass the paralysis that lies inherent in definitions of ambiguity and dead ended reflexivity.

The complexity and uncertainty that the teasing out of details requires has proved a formidable barrier to the progression of ethnographic study. The complexity arises in part from the reluctance of academics to enter into a discourse that centralizes postmodernism. The introduction of postmodernism to the social sciences coincided with "integral critiques of fields such as literature, history, sociology, and anthropology, in effect, radicalizing these critiques and consolidating them" (Marcus 1990). The timely introduction of postmodernism to the social sciences has resulted in its marginalization by academics who continue to hold its tenets at arm's length. While initiating some discussions and influencing others, postmodernism has remained a largely theoretical construct with little empirical experimentation. Despite the innovative responses to radical critique, such as a handful of 'messy-texts,' it remains a limited endeavour by a scholarship which will not fully acknowledge its interest in postmodernism (Marcus 1994). Furthermore, while discussion over the intersection of postmodernism and ethnography is growing increasingly abundant, empirical exercises to discover its terms of union are not. Confused yet content at 'home', ethnographers experiencing the postmodern paralysis have allowed "ethnography...[to be]...subsumed into that theorizing, with

little empirical work" (Bird 1992, 252).

The costs of postmodernism's denial of authoritative accounts have proven to be prohibitive to many academics within the social sciences. The 'mutability of interpretation' has been problematized and politicized, resulting in a variety of responses by the ethnographers who once wielded the power of authoritative voice. The very possibility of writing ethnography has been questioned by prominent scholars, such as Crapanzano and Tyler, who deny or severely curtail its ability to produce knowledge (Bird 1992). Those who have accepted unequivocally the pronouncement by radical critique, declaring the practice of speaking for others to be fraudulent, have accepted the very high costs of academic integrity. For example, Joyce Trebilcot has renounced her ability to speak for lesbian feminists, thereby positioning herself within a framework where she may represent only her own voice (Alcoff 1991). The fragmented and unsettled nature of ethnography is symptomatic of its unparalleled mission to discover the Other and capture its essence through the eyes of the foreigner. Difficulties abound as ethnographers engage in the process of giving voice to the Other. Postmodernism has unveiled the complications inherent in ethnography by bringing to its forefront issues of representation, identity politics, and power dynamics that are constantly at play during stages of field work and textual reproduction. The trials and tribulations that researchers are likely to experience from field to home effectively constrain their ability to act independently or participate in an unmediated environment (Bird 1992; Lal 1996; Williams 1996; Wolf 1996).

Despite a postmodern pause that threatens to bury an ethnography shrouded in uncertainty, some authors have taken this state of unsure direction to proclaim "a pregnant moment in which every individual project of ethnographic research and writing is potentially an experiment" (Marcus and Fischer 1986, ix). The challenge of epistemological discovery is given to researchers working in both

'the field' and 'at home', authorizing new forms of expression and awakening new realizations in each stage of ethnography. Graduate students, in particular, are encouraged to continue and develop the new ethnography through innovative writing and fieldwork (Marcus and Fischer 1986; Wolf 1996). The new ethnography, with its reliance upon postmodernist theory, is meant to incorporate styles of reflexivity which includes the recognition of the ethnographer as an influential actor within the field and its textual reproduction. Furthermore, it may be used to play with traditional texts and style in order to present "a commentary on cultural difference through the highlighting of intersubjective interactions...or it can offer a close scrutiny of global systems of domination through the examination of symbolic manifestations in the lives of individuals" (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe, and Cohen 1989, 8). While varying amongst the population of ethnographers, early results of this experimental new ethnography are a sensitized process of research as well as a splintering of writing styles that illustrate various forms of reflexivity and polyvocality (Marcus 1994). The diversity of responses to the challenge of the new ethnography reflect, for better or worse, a potential liberation of authorship as well as an unannounced and uncertain agenda that is characteristic of postmodernism.

Unions and Intersections of Feminist Theory and Postmodernism

Since the mid-1980s, feminist scholarship has entertained a number of differing positions on postmodernism according to the various leanings of its academics. The interpretation of what appears to be a multi-faceted, multi-definitional and altogether slippery concept referred to as postmodernism has occasioned various responses in feminist theory. Feminist scholars range from rejection to tenuous consideration to endorsement of postmodernism. Initially, the reception of postmodernism was tainted with contempt and scorn by feminist scholars who felt that their contributions to

ethnography had been belittled and obscured by those of a male-authored radical critique (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989; Bird 1992). The flames of resentment were fueled when the social sciences received postmodernism with a novelty that bespoke their inattention to fifty years of feminist debate over the very same issues of objectivity and reflexivity. The failure of feminists to initiate inter-disciplinary debate, or reciprocally, the failure of mainstream theorists to respond to feminist perspectives, is indicative of a marginality of feminist scholarships within academic discourse.

The adoption of postmodernism by feminist scholars has also been slowed by suspicions of its authorship and its implications for feminist theory and practice. Despite similar critiques of objectivity and holism in ethnographic writing, some feminist scholars deemed postmodernism to be theoretically incompatible with feminist theory and methodologically inapplicable to its activist agenda. Suspect for its largely masculine authorship, postmodernism was interpreted as but another means of suppressing marginalized groups, such as women and minorities, by bastardizing collective voice as it attempted to address former social constructions and re-author new identities. This suspicion is rooted in the belief that post-modernism, which emerged even as the western structures of power and knowledge felt their grounds shaken by post-colonial expression (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989; Marcus 1994), is but a renewed means for the dominant to maintain their privilege over "women and non-Western peoples [who] have begun to claim themselves as subject" (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989, 17). Furthermore, the apparently unilateral dissemination of postmodern theory through the social sciences fostered its elitist image. In the early 1990s, feminist writers commented that postmodernism "[a]s a discursive practice ...is dominated primarily by the voices of white male intellectuals and/or academic elites who speak to and about one another with coded familiarity" (hooks 1990, 24).

Owing to its appearance of elitism, postmodernism was greeted with concern and skepticism by feminist scholars who noted the absence of the Other in both its authorship and its discussion. A cyclical process of exclusion ensued as "[t]he absence of discussions of sexual difference in writing about postmodernism, as well as the fact that few women have engaged in the modernism/postmodernism debate, suggest that postmodernism may be another masculine invention engineered to exclude women" (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989, 17). The lack of feminist participation in the postmodernism debate led to a negligence of feminist issues, such as sexual difference, and reinforced the notion of postmodernism as an elite epistemology. Having no voice inside the discussion, feminist scholars feared that the voice of the marginalized would be lost as "[p]ostmodernist discourses are often exclusionary even as they call attention to, appropriate even, the experience of 'difference' and 'Otherness' (hooks 1990, 23). The Other risked not only appropriation by the dominant, but a marginalization which derives from the postmodern emphasis on reflexivity. As few academics exist in the margin, the replacement of authoritative ethnography with one of self-reflexivity threatens to further marginalize and potentially eclipse the Other, creating a monologue which centralizes the dominant position of the already speaking ethnographer. In a related concern, postmodernist denial of authoritative representation threatens to leave uncontested the ethnographic assumptions that are more "obscure and thus, difficult for anyone but highly trained specialists to dispute" (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989, 10). By declaring the grounds of social construction illegitimate in their authority, radical critique consequently denies a ground upon which reconstructions may be authored.

Initially, feminist theory was strongly opposed to the incorporation of radical critique. Contemporary feminist ethnographers, however, have sought out similarities between epistemologies.

Prior to the introduction of radical critique, feminist stand point theory privileged the position of female writers by proclaiming their existence as Other as a vantage point for understanding all Others. The concepts of gendered knowledge, meant to valorize the differences between women and men, resulted in an essentialist notion for each gender, thereby obscuring the differences created by experiences of 'race,' class, ability, sexuality and age. The inattention to factors influencing social construction, other than gender, led to the critique of feminist standpoint theory by postcolonial feminists, who "problematized not only the representation of Third World women by Western feminists but also the entire fieldwork endeavour"(Wolf 1996, xi). The emergence of a postcolonial voice addressing feminist reconstructions has begun to break down the essentialist identities of women in its call for the recognition of difference. While early feminist responses to postmodernism presented the two bodies of thought as competing frameworks of analysis, recent writings exhibit reconciliatory approaches which suggest their similarities and integrated development. Feminist writers, such as bell hooks, welcome the arrival of postmodernism and its polyvocality, in the hopes that it will provide a forum to further immobilize essentialist definitions and introduce difference into social constructions of identity (hooks 1990). While feminist ethnography has traditionally focused upon the relationship between the researcher and the researched, its sensitivity to difference has developed through the influence of radical critique. Evolving in the shadow of the postcolonial presence is a feminist call to rethink the relationships between researcher and the researched. With the development of a postcolonial internal critique, the arguments of postmodernism are finding greater resonance and influence within feminist thought. Postcolonial and postmodern voices have echoed each other in their calls for a research and writing process that is more sensitive to difference. The freedom from conventional ethnography practices promotes " opportunities for further

innovation in research methods and the post-fieldwork process, articularly representation and writing" (Wolf 1996, 6).

Overcoming the Paralysis

While the new ethnography may challenge the shortcomings of traditional ethnographic practise, its celebration of perpetual experimentation poorly disguises the academy's failure to overcome the paralysis of postmodernism. Responses to the postmodernist challenge vary both between and within disciplines, as "[t]he epistemological uncertainty ...may discourage some from beginning or continuing the fieldwork endeavour....others, however, will feel at home in and challenged by such uncertainty" (Wolf 1996, 6). Recently, an increasingly vocal faction of feminist ethnographers has begun to participate in the postmodernist discourse, thereby allaying suspicions of its masculinist overtones. The participation of feminist scholars within this growing debate has produced a thread of writing which both acknowledges and surpasses the paralysis that lies at the extremes of postmodern thought. Certain feminist writers, working within the field of ethnography, have devised theoretical and practical stances that allow for the recognition of power differentials and a reclamation of limited authority.

One of postmodernism's more important contributions to the awakening of a new consciousness in the academy is its emphasis on self-reflexivity. Despite its threat to the continued production of ethnographic description, postmodernism demands that the researcher acknowledge his or her biases in the authoring of cultural interpretations. The predominant response amongst researchers has been to re-examine theoretically their role as researchers and writers of culture. The findings of this exercise in self- discovery have led to experimentations in the representation of voice.

While some ethnographers have attempted to experiment with poly-vocality, others have revisited and re-presented historic ethnographic accounts in defiance of the age-old tradition of 'one Tribe, one ethnographer' (Marcus 1990). Both endeavours represent an attempt to write ethnography with a greater awareness of self. Other attempts to disrupt the ethnographer's claims of holistic representation include the writing of 'messy texts,' which are inconclusive, aware of an uncapturable space between observation and representation, and defiant of an academic colonialism which artificially unites the interests of the researcher and the researched (Marcus 1994). Even with the thinning of an already threadbare cloak of objective authority, ethnographers have been reluctant to alter radically the practice of their art. By 1994, radical critique had produced much theoretical debate, yet little experimentation in practice (Bird 1992; Marcus 1994). According to Marcus (1994), self-reflexivity has "dead-ended" in studies with little more than a challenge to the authority which had defined ethnographic accounts from their early beginnings in travel accounts

The challenge of self-reflexivity raised by postmodernism has found a different reception in feminist theory and practice. The postmodernist notion of reflexivity was integrated into feminist theory as the practice of 'positioning,' a doctrine of objectivity based upon the recognition of the situatedness and partiality of all claims to knowledge (Haraway 1988). In a pursuit of more than just "radical historical contingency and modes of construction for everything" (Haraway 1988, 579) Haraway attempts to reconstruct an objectivity that disputes masculinist objectivity which is "simply a form of male subjectivity" claiming exhaustive knowledge (Wolf 1996, 4). Opposed to dissembling theories of transcendence, Haraway argues for the recognition of the partiality of knowledge by 'positioning.' More than a simple acknowledgement of the author's identity, which all too frequently is forgotten after initial introduction, positioning is the reflection upon the relationships that constitute

ethnography and that ethnography creates. The ethnographer, who is sensitive to the practice of positioning, continually reflects both upon her position and that of her subject of study (Williams 1996). The innovation introduced to practices of reflexivity by Haraway's positioning has been hailed as a "program ..[that]...parallels and expresses more completely the implication of the sort of study encouraged by the locational politics of reflexivity in anthropology" (Marcus 1994, 403). Haraway's positioning succeeds where other forms of reflexivity have failed as it considers both "an openness to possibilities and an open-ended politics" (Marcus 1994, 402) that challenges hegemonic practices of representation. Through the critical inspection of socially constructed essentialist definitions, their foundations may be destabilized to reveal differences of 'race,' class, gender, culture amongst other constructions that constitute identity.

Reflexivity in Practice

Despite the strengths of positioning, concerns over the exploitation of the subject continue to develop amongst feminist scholars as the recognition of difference reveals the perseverance of power dynamics within ethnography. While positioning diminishes the abuses that flow from power differentials by recognizing the situated nature of all knowledges, its potential to transform the exploitive nature of ethnography is limited. Despite attempts of feminist researchers to temporarily disable the mechanisms that establish and reproduce power differentials between them and their subjects, most authors acknowledge the perseverance of difference in both field and text. The rejection of essentialist thought and the subsequent recognition of exploitation within the process of research has challenged the ability of feminist ethnographers to employ empowering and collaborative methodologies, causing "a major identity crisis for many feminist researchers" (Wolf

1996, 1). The revelation of imbalanced relationships, and perhaps unbreachable boundaries have disillusioned some feminist ethnographers; the extent of this is evident in the writing of Zavella, who states "I have no delusions that our research was collaborative in some type of panfemale sense that was based on special bonding or that broke down status difference between us and our subjects" (Zavella 1996, 154). Practices meant to empower the researched, such as disclosure, reciprocity and falsified identity, do not overcome the differences that create relational identities of powerful and powerlessness (Patia 1991; Scott and Shah 1993; Berik 1996; Stack 1996; Williams 1996; Wolf 1996). Rather, the nature of these practices strengthens the already advantageous position of ethnographers by privileging them with the power to decide both exchanges and identity. For "in the end, it is the ethnographer who lays her finger on the keyboard to play the final note in the chorus of voices" (Stack 1996, 106) or who is able to exit the field and disentangle herself from the researched (Lal 1996).

As both feminist and postmodernist critiques challenge the practice of speaking for Others, ethnographers are attempting to minimize exploitive research through various means. Thus, concern over the potentially exploitative relationships that may result from a researcher occupying a position of advantage over the researched has occasioned calls for the ethnographic lens to be directed away from the vulnerable towards the elite. Ethnographers refer to their relational positionings and the subsequent inversions of gaze as the processes of 'studying up' and 'studying down.' 'Studying up' entails a situation in which the researcher chooses as her subject those whose class, gender and 'race' are more powerfully situated than her own, thereby skirting the issues of exploitive ethnography. The apparent impossibility of overcoming the power dynamics in research supports the arguments of those who conscientiously support the altered agenda of studying up. Rabinow states that "[b]y 'studying

up' I find myself in a more comfortable position than I would be were I 'giving voice' on behalf of dominated or marginal groups'" (Rabinow in Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989, 19). Conversely, 'studying down' engages ethnographers in research relationships wherein the subject occupies a more powerful and less vulnerable position than they do.

Despite the disillusionment with feminist methodology as a source of non-exploitative ethnography, many feminists refuse to discontinue studying the acclaimed victims of a system of prevailing and embedded power relations. While recognizing the potential threat of misrepresentation by 'giving voice' to the marginalized from a privileged position, many feminists continue to conduct ethnographies of 'studying down'. The drive to understand and represent the dominated remains a priority in a scholarship which claims to be grounded in its politics; to abdicate their self-acclaimed responsibility to represent women is to imperil their agenda for "[b]oth collective action and coalitions ...[which]...would seem to require the possibility of speaking for" (Alcoff 1991, 11). The risk of exploitation is rationalized by fears that "[a]n exclusive focus on the elite, eschewing the dominated or marginal, is a dangerous, if comfortable, correction" (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989, 19). Such a focus would once again remove women from a central position within ethnographic literature and relegate them to the objectified position they occupied in traditional ethnographic accounts. Furthermore, the viewpoint to the subjugated is argued, by some authors, to be a privileged perspective; while recognizing that viewpoints are never innocent nor easy in their abilities to see, those of the subjugated are "preferred because in principle they are least likely to allow denial of the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge" (Haraway 1988, 584). The practice of 'studying down' and speaking for others continues to retain its stronghold within ethnography, despite its potential to victimize the less powerful.

A resolution to the quandary over the ethical nature of studying down may be sought in the denaturalizing of boundaries between the self and other. The difficulty of both studying up and studying down is that the terminology superficially dichotomizes both the roles of the researcher and the researched. It is the colonial heritage and the remnants of masculinist thought which continue to reproduce boundaries of the self and other. The foundations of these boundaries are built from the romanticism that exoticized the Other even while it naturalized the self (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989). The application of the differentiating terms 'up' and 'down' simplifies the existence of the researched and translates their experiences into a minimum or maximum of power. The researcher assigns the participants a position from which to speak according to her perspective on what is 'up' and what is 'down.' Once assigned, all participants appear as existing within a homogeneous population where internal dissension is not possible (Lal 1996). The framing of a researcher's relationships in terms of Either/Or ethnography positions both her and her subjects within a singular framework, in which the researcher occupies in a mid-point existence from where she can see both Up and Down existences. The relational positioning of the researcher and the subjects assumes a quantifiable difference which becomes the standard along which each participant is ranked, positioned and distanced. The polar configuration of the relationship between an ethnographer and her subjects precludes commonalities and hinders the exposure of power dynamics other than that identified by the standard. Shared characteristics are perceived to exist solely amongst the members of the researched group, thereby keeping the Other exotic and the self central.

By denaturalizing the boundaries between self and other, or even field and home, ethnographers are allowing power relationships to be expressed along axes other than those which originate in colonialist discourses. While structures of oppression are reinforced when concepts of

self and Other are expressed as binary opposites, they continue to persist even when power relations are explored or challenged through less structured means. The methodological quest by feminist towards an uncovering of hierarchies through non-traditional means will not remove the power differentials that exist between researchers and their subjects (Wolf 1996). Feminist endeavours to express identities by means other than simple binarisms, however, does hold a particular promise in its search to discover the Other.

Summary

Contemporary ethnography bears an unsettling resemblance to the mythological figure of Argus, whose hundred eyes that covered his body placed him as the protector-servant of the jealous queen of the gods. Despite his ocular endowment, Argus saw from but one perspective; subservient to his queen, his eyes beheld the world only through her power of jealous authority (Hamilton 1940). Similarly, ethnography has gazed upon its fields through the singular lens of Western perspective, contextualizing the world within structures of knowledge and power that reify its position of privilege. The struggle to retain authority and the prolonged practice of claiming objectivity has led to a collective yet uncommunicative process of domination by ethnographers of every discipline. While boasting hundreds of Arguses, ethnography has yet to initiate a discussion which benefits ethnographers with the perspectives of others so that they might know themselves more clearly. Good intentions alone will not perfect the methodology (Bird, 1992) nor can fieldwork in itself provide a correction to perspective (Lal 1996). Rather, academics must free up ethnographic description by supporting its extension from its textual reproduction of field-home experience into continuous, pluralistic, and critical dialogue.

Using the tool of positioning proposed by Haraway, ethnographers have within their grasp the partial means through which they may overcome the paralysis of postmodernism. While the feminist notion of reflexivity demands authorial responsibility, the movement towards re-establishing authoritative, informative and progressive ethnography must be accompanied by a re-organization of the elitist sphere of academia. By loosening the peripheries of the estranged social sciences, the grounds would open for a forum in which academics from differing fields might discuss commonality and difference. Situated knowledges require correspondence with other situated knowledges. In recognition of the limitations and partiality of individual knowledge, positioning attempts to elicit discussion and debate from those in other positions. The model of polyvocality that exists within texts that are singularly authored should be extended to a collective of horizontally integrated disciplines. What is to be gained may not be viewed as the missing pieces to a jigsaw puzzle, but a kaleidoscope of perspectives that is ever-changing. Such a flexible structure would benefit from the practice of positioning, allowing for an "objectivity that privileges contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connections, and hope for transformation of systems of knowledge and ways of seeing" (Haraway 1988, 585). As an ethnographic account travelled within this structure of fluidity, researchers would be called to task, forced to accept the weightier burden of prolonged discussion, defence and hopefully development of their perspective. Furthermore, all views would be considered relative and relational to one another. This is not to propose a search for "easy relativisms and holisms built out of summing and subsuming parts" (Haraway 1988); rather, it is a search to learn more about ourselves as we learn about others and in doing so, remove the layers of shrouds from our individual perspective. As "we are not immediately present to ourselves" (Haraway 1988, 585), it is only through exploring the self more intimately that the researcher is able to see from

his position the tangled distances to others.

Despite Haraway's insistence upon the futility of the dominant's perspective, there remains worth in conducting ethnographic enquiry from unlimited positions. The worth of the multi-perspective could be mined through its pooling within a receptive and critical population. Haraway rejects the testimony of the dominant as being "self-identical, unmarked, disembodied, unmediated, transcendent...truly fantastic, distorted and irrational" (Haraway 1988, 586-587). And yet, if ethnography is not to start 'from scratch,' the position of the dominant must remain to engage in discussion and claim responsibility for its voice. An empty body which once held such sway must retain a voice and a subjectivity unless it is to become further removed from the grasp of its surveyors and objectified by this distance, if it is to be understood. When considering subject populations, it must be recognized that the benefits of studying the dominant are equally as insightful as those of the dominated, as both are integrally involved in a power dynamic (Alcoff 1991). Similarly, the same axiom may be applied to the population of researchers; there are benefits, perhaps even a synergism, that may be gained from exchanges among ethnographers in various positions.

Finally, there remains a need within ethnography to develop a readership that is responsible for its discernment of 'truth'; discussions of radical critique should not be spoken in a language that academics alone may correspond with. As much as an overly reflexive account reinscribes the author as the subject and marginalizes the observed population (Bird 1992), so does a discipline centralize its academics in an exclusive readership as it engages in an elite and jargoned discourse. Feminist writing has emphasized the need for a pedagogical restructuring based upon a praxis of "erasing the boundaries between theory, methodology, and practice, and between field and the home" (Lal 1996, 205). The obligation to question continually the theoretical and epistemological underpinnings of

ethnography arises not only from an ethical responsibility to the researched nor from the ideological pursuit of greater knowledge, but also from a conscientious endeavour to be accountable and accessible to the reader. It is the reader of ethnographic accounts who receives the final communication and evaluates it according to his or her position. While "[i]t is not that everything ethnographers say is accepted once and for all simply because they say it ...[a] very great deal, thank God, is not. It is that the grounds upon which it is or isn't accepted are extremely person-specific. Unable to recover the immediacies of field work for empirical reinspection, we listen to some voices and ignore others" (Geertz 1988, 6). The residing question of who ethnography is written for must extend itself across temporo-spatial dimensions of ever-changing meaning, and position itself within the grasp of the ethnographer, the researched and the readership. In the many attempts of feminist ethnographers to refine ethnography, all is for nought unless the reader's vision is similarly considered, for it is there that ethnographic accounts are finally reconstructed. The longstanding structures of colonial and masculinist knowledge which continue to prevail within the general readership are little challenged by an elitist academic discourse. Ethnography cannot claim a comfortable nor responsible presence within its privileged position while it remains ethnography for ethnographers alone.

The questions of representation and interpretation that arise in ethnography require researchers to be continually aware of both their abilities and limitations as they undertake studies of particular populations. The following chapter explores the geographies of female Aboriginal street youth as they negotiate their existence upon the streets of Canada's urban centres. Owing to the complexity of the emotional and cultural geographies of these women, the study proposes an ethnographic basis to its structurationist analysis. While relying upon a study conducted by an

independent source, Chapter Four attempts to recognize and accommodate the sensitivities that the new ethnography reveals.

Chapter 4 - A Structurationist Analysis of the Geographies of Female Aboriginal Street Youth

A Foreword

In attempting to capture the processes that define the contemporary geographies of urban Aboriginal youth, it is necessary to acknowledge the constraints of this paper. The impacts upon Aboriginal peoples since colonization exceed the scope of this analysis. The changes wrought by colonization, the Indian Act, and cultural and economic marginalization have occurred over a period of five hundred years and will not be subsumed easily nor adequately in the printed word. Similarly, a documenting of the courses of resistance practiced by Aboriginal peoples also exceeds the scope of this paper. Admittedly though, this dearth in description jeopardizes a contemporary analysis as it is this accumulation of historic processes that continues to inform the practices of today. The processes of colonization and resistance that have transpired since the fifteenth century in the social spaces of Canada's Aboriginal peoples are fixed within the locales of their twentieth century descendants, as are their enduring cultural practices. Institutional practices are preserved by "locales ...[which]... provide for a good deal of the 'fixity' of underlying institutions" (Giddens 1985, 271). In Canada, the locales that are inhabited by these descendants are regionalized zones wherein the practices of cultural, social and economic marginalization are continually reproduced as agents call upon the structures of signification, legitimation and domination that bear the marks of yesteryear's practices. Furthermore, colonialist structures continue to be preserved by the stocks of knowledge that are socially and differentially distributed amongst each successive generation (Thrift 1985).

Existing within an asymmetrical power relationship with a hegemonic culture, the participation

of Aboriginal agents within the daily reproduction of structures reflects the unbalanced power of the dominant culture. Conflict arises, however, from cultural differences in the ways in which Aboriginal peoples and the dominant white majority construct truth, knowledge and wisdom (Monture-Angus 1995, 218). The transformation of structures is slowed, however, by the uneven distribution of power which allows "practitioners who have more of it have the capacity to marginalize or exclude the work of dissenters" (Sibley 1995, 115). The result of these practices, which rely upon and reproduce stocks of knowledge, is that Aboriginal peoples find that their "experience, historically and presently, is mediated by colonial policies, practice and attitude which regulate and mediate our experience on a daily basis" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.1). It is this daily mediation of experiences that structuration theory investigates in order to discover and document the reproduction of systems of social interaction. By studying the meeting of structure and agency in particular time-space locales, researchers may better understand the enmeshed geographies of marginalization and resistance as they recognize that "the production of inequalities is both a skilled human accomplishment and a societally influenced outcome" (Wilson and Huff 1994, xxv).

Structuration theory is well suited to the task of uncovering geographies of resistance as it recognizes that "[t]he distribution of power in a relationship may be asymmetrical, but an agent always maintains some control in the relationship and may avoid complete subjugation" (Dear and Moos 1994, 9). By establishing a reciprocal relationship between structure and agency, structuration theory avoids the determinism of a functionalist approach which falsely attributes phenomena to the needs of the system rather than those of its agents. A structurationist perspective of Aboriginal geographies of resistance recognizes Aboriginal agency in the production of phenomena by acknowledging their mediation of both the constraining and enabling natures of involved structures.

Similarly, the recognition of these structures in a social system denies explanations which would blame the victims without duly acknowledging their existence within a system of asymmetrical power relations.

Additionally, it should be noted that the information regarding social and economic upheaval presented in this dissertation appears to overshadow, albeit unintentionally, the strength that prevails in Aboriginal communities. Post-colonial studies of ethnic re-organization, which includes social, economic, political and cultural reorganization are challenging the limited depictions of ethnic annihilation and assimilation (Nagel and Snipp 1993). Furthermore, it is not the suggestion of this dissertation that Aboriginal youth arriving on the streets of urban centres did not benefit from their participation and experiences within their communities. Rather, it is the intent of the paper to focus upon female Aboriginal youth who have arrived upon the city streets in search of independence and escape from particular duress. It is equally noteworthy that many of the Aboriginal youth take with them the strengths they derive from their cultural heritage and from enduring relationships with their community.

The Nature of the Study

This chapter suggests a particular ground upon which a sensitized structurationist study may be conducted. In considering the analyses of the two preceding chapters, it appears that a structurationist study would benefit from the incorporation of a critical or feminist perspective, as well a reliance upon an ethnographic study that acknowledges the importance of 'positionality.' This chapter attempts a structurationist analysis of the practices of resistance and survival of female Aboriginal street youth against a contextualizing backdrop of socio-economic disparities and cultural

strengths. The purpose of this exercise in theory and methodology is two-fold: to test the ability of a critical structuration theory in detecting the nuances inherent in geographies of inequalities; and to discover what findings may benefit an understanding of street youth. Accordingly, a brief description of Canadian street youth is followed by a more in-depth description of female Aboriginal youth situated within a temporo-spatial framework of social, economic, and cultural change. In order to develop the grounds for a structurationist study, the particular locale of Vancouver is selected as a quasi-delimited setting in which agency and structure are explored through the situated perspectives of three female Aboriginal street youths.

Structuration theory benefits a study of Aboriginal geographies as it establishes an arena in which to observe the working out of general processes in a specific locale through its structure and agency. Structuration theory provides researchers with the "ability to represent certain groups...whose lives do not frequently take place within the 'national political-economic arena of debate', yet who experience political and economic change in their everyday lives" (Dyck 1990, 460). Dyck's description suggests the suitability of Canada's Aboriginal street youth as a target population for a structuration study; urban Aboriginal youth exist in marginalization from economic and social arenas of both national and community scale. Furthermore, a structurationist analysis that is sensitized to issues of 'race,' class, gender and age becomes an effective tool for the study of general processes that impact differentially within a locale according to the composition of its heterogeneous population. While general practices may involve particular populations, such as the perpetration of colonialism against Aboriginal peoples, they impact differentially upon the members of heterogeneous populations existing within the same time-space locale. The difficulty of conducting a structurationist study to a particular group lies in "translating Giddens's general propositions into

propositions that relate to specific social structures that mediate and are reproduced through particular kinds of situated practices" (Antwi-Nsiah and Huff 1994, 179). Singling out particular practices and processes involved in the urban geographies of young Aboriginal women is an exercise of simplification which, while necessary, partially decontextualizes the subjects from their surroundings. Therefore, although limited, a structurationist study illuminates the intersections of globalization, urbanization and marginalization upon Aboriginal youth living in the streets of Canada's urban centres. Furthermore, as exemplified by Dyck's (1990) study, a structurationist analysis supported by ethnographic research is able to uncover geographies of resistance created by particular groups as they negotiate "ideological limits placed on what they are allowed to do" (Rose 1993, 25).

Ethnographic research would also benefit a study of female Aboriginal street youth, providing that it would exhibit an awareness of the power dynamics which exist between the researched and researcher. As discussed in the previous chapter, questions of representation and risks of appropriation arise as ethnographers attempt to give voice to marginalized populations. The present analysis is mindful of practising a labelling that turns discrimination against its victims by pretending to know its nature or understand its experience. In speaking of the experiences of Aboriginal peoples encountering racism, Monture-Angus suggests that "these emotions are not captured in the academic definition of racism...the definition is incomplete" (Monture-Angus 1995, 38). The gap between experience and account remains significant, despite the advances made by the new ethnography to diminish the distance by confronting its presence. In recognizing academic practices which alienate, it becomes easier to avoid "[a]ttempts to fit Native women into a white, Western feminist model which is based on the assumption of patriarchal culture ...[which]...can itself represent a colonizing project" (Harris 1991, 15).

The Case Study: Female Aboriginal Street Youth in Canada's Urban Centres

Short of conducting an independent ethnographic study, the analysis of Aboriginal street youth in this chapter relies upon excerpts from the edited testimonies published in the *Urban Survivors: Aboriginal Street youth; Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Montreal* (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994). *Urban Survivors* is a sociological study intended to provide a descriptive interpretation of the street life of Aboriginal youth. The study consists of in-depth interviews with street youth, ex-street youth, parents of street youth and street services personnel residing in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Montreal. This publication includes numerous excerpts from a series of interviews conducted with three young Aboriginal women living on the streets of Vancouver, British Columbia during the 1990s. Three women were interviewed: a 17 year old Tsuu Tina youth named Etah, who has lived in the streets for a period of nine years; 15 year old Karen of Nis'ga/Haidla ancestry, who has lived on the street for two years; and 17 year old Joanne, a status Cree/Salteaux youth who has lived on the street since she was 15. The Royal Commission has been selected as a primary source of information as it pursues a qualitative case study and reproduces large excerpts of the youths' personal accounts of street living. The goal of the study is to give voice to the concerns of the youth using their own words, while conducting a structural analysis "to avoid blaming the victims of marginalization and oppression" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 1).

The extensive ethnographic research of the Gilchrist and Winchester provides a compatible, albeit uncritical, corollary to the methodology proposed in this dissertation. Rather than marginalizing youth through a structural analysis that emphasizes the power of structures, this dissertation mediates between the effects of structure and agency even as it explores the role of time, space, and knowledge. It should be emphasized that the remainder of this chapter is not a detailed

analysis of the Gilchrist and Winchester study, but rather an attempt to reframe some of its information according to a structurationist perspective. The readership is therefore warned at the outset that care should be taken in relating the limited nature of this analysis to the potential of research directed specifically to the dissertation's proposed study. While there is insufficient information from which to construct a time-geography, it is nevertheless possible to suggest a structurationist analysis that emphasizes the importance of locales, agency and structure in the geographies of female, Aboriginal street youth.

Finally, having discussed the limitations and strengths of ethnography and structuration theory in the preceding chapters, it is important to draw the reader's attention to the layers of position that underlie the following analysis. The structurationist analysis that derives from the ethnographic research of Gilchrist and Winchester contains numerous interpretations and reformulations of the individual accounts of street life. The perspectives of street youths, the ethnographers, the editors, myself and finally the reader filter and frame the stories told, creating intersecting and mutable layers of meaning.

By using an analysis that espouses the theoretical integration of structure-agency perspectives and a practical emphasis on empirical study, the ways in which female aboriginal street youth negotiate their daily lives in an urban environment characterized by racism, sexism and ageism may be examined in terms of social integration and system integration. As young Aboriginal street youth pursue their daily paths through the city, the participate in a time-space routinization that brings them into contact with other agents occupying the same time space; together, the actors affect a social integration through their co-presencing of the same locale. These relations between actors are affected by a time-space distanciation, that is "the 'stretching of social relations over time and space

.... through the interconnections between structure and agency (Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991, 111). In the present study of Aboriginal street youth, stocks of knowledge may be seen to affect social integration by informing the structures called upon by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agents in acts of signification, legitimation and domination. Established within a system weighted by a hegemonic culture of colonialist and masculinist ideologies, these stocks of knowledge retain the vestiges of colonial thought and influence contemporary social constructions of Aboriginality. The implementation of culturally constructed and weighted stocks of knowledge within public and private institutions compounds their contradictions within the lives of affected agents. Both the stocks of knowledge and contingent social constructions of identity are employed by female Aboriginal street youth and other co-presencing agents as they mediate their presence in urban locales.

A Context of Socio-Economic Disparities

In addition to the stratifications of homelessness and occupation, street youth may be classified according to ethnicity. Aboriginal youth, in particular, comprise a disproportionately high share of the local homeless population in Canada (Dear and Wolch 1994; Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 1). The increasing number of homeless Aboriginal youth may be linked to high rates of Aboriginal urbanization and family dysfunction. The trend towards urbanization reflects, in part, an attempt to mediate the deleterious effects of political, economic and social events that have contributed to the low standards of living and the lack of housing, employment and services existing within Canadian reserves. Historically, Aboriginal urbanization has been "promoted by the political agenda of assimilation that has been the 'central pillar to Canadian Indian policy'" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 1). The post-war industrialization of Canada, which diminished the importance

of the agricultural basis that Aboriginal communities depended upon, is also cited as a catalyst to urbanization (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994). It is misleading, however, to suggest that economic conditions alone have provoked, and continue to provoke, movement to urban centres; social and cultural factors are also integrally involved in the dynamic of aboriginal urbanization and homelessness.

Amongst those deciding to move to the city are the children and youth of Aboriginal families and communities. While Aboriginal youth decide to move to the street for many of the same reasons as non-aboriginal youth, such as family deterioration or abuse, the prevalence of adverse social and economic conditions tends to be augmented in Aboriginal communities. A study conducted in 1986 by the Special Senate Committee on Youth suggests that relative to the non-Aboriginal Canadian population, Aboriginal families experience "more single-parent families, higher rates of alcoholism, more child abuse, and more family violence" (Galambos and Kolaric 1994, 105). Motivated by political and economic agendas, Aboriginal communities have been relocated and destroyed, leading to social deterioration characterized by poverty, substance abuse, physical, sexual and emotional abuse of partners and children, rape, unemployment and crime (Shkilnyk 1988; Osennontion and Skonaganleh:ra 1991; Gilchrist and Winchester 1994; Razack 1994; Monture-Angus 1995). Of the three female Aboriginal street youth whose testimony will be used in the following analysis, each comes from a dysfunctional family wherein alcohol, emotional, physical and sexual abuse are present. Furthermore, the political division of Aboriginal identity as being either status or non-status fractures Aboriginal communities and is "directly, if only partially, responsible for our youth feeling lost, caught in the middle" (Monture-Angus 1995, 47). The street presents an escape for abused youth who "don't know how to talk about themselves and they don't know where to go except for the street and getting

high" (Natasha in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 5). The flight to the street by Aboriginal street youth suggests an inseparable fusion of resistance and escape.

The disproportionately high number of Aboriginal street youth and the age at which they enter the streets has made Canada's educational institutions suspect for their role in an adverse socialization of Aboriginal youth.[6] In a study of the San Diego School District, the structures employed by the educators were seen to "yield... a sophisticated notion of causation ... that dissolves the artificial distinctions between micro and macro, society and agent" (Browning 1994, 166); by revealing 'race' as the basis for allocation of resources and rules by educators, Browning establishes a causal link between the use of structures and the differences in achievement observed in particular 'racial' groups. The insensitivity of the Canadian education system to Aboriginal youth is evidenced in its provision of school setting wherein structures of knowledge inform and are preserved by colonialist and racist practices of students, teachers and administrators alike. The knowledges of Aboriginal identity created in the classroom centre around the colonization of Aboriginal peoples by European forces. Mired in the past, these knowledges neglect a consideration of contemporary Aboriginal culture, thereby reinforcing the popular but negative stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples as primitive and wild Indians; located in nature, the Indian appears "less civilised and in need of purification" (Sibley 1995, 64). These stereotypes are employed by agents co-presencing the same setting, they create a "distancing from others who are represented negatively, and because of the way in which group images and place images combine to create landscapes of exclusion" (Sibley 1995, 14). The assortment of knowledges presented within the classroom results in an alienation of Aboriginal

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[6]While other factors, such as media portrayal, may contribute to the negative socialization of Aboriginal youth, this dissertation considers only educational institutions in acknowledgement of the concerns voiced by the street youth in the Gilchrist and Winchester (1994) study.

youths, whose identities are displaced from this contemporary setting to that of the distant and untamed past.

Educational systems, which fail to address the vestiges of colonial thought displayed in racist practices, inhibit the production of positive self-images within Aboriginal youths and promote negative social constructions of Aboriginality within the student body. During her interview, Etah expresses feelings of anger towards an educational system which made being Aboriginal an uncomfortable and alienating identity. Etah's experience of attending a school in which her Aboriginal heritage was distanced in history and discriminated against in the classroom allows her to "picture a lot of Aboriginal people disliking being Indian, in school, just because when I was younger I looked Indian, I felt disliked, you know" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). The knowledges, reproduced through structures of signification and domination within these institutions, reflect the values and beliefs of a hegemonic culture which fail to adequately represent Aboriginal histories and which work against the establishment of a positive identity for Aboriginal peoples. Of the street youth interviewed, all had received only superficial schooling, if any, in Aboriginal history as the institutions they attended "don't really teach you very much about the history of Aboriginal peoples. They teach you the history of the White English and French peoples but not a lot about Aboriginals" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.3). Having received no education in Aboriginal culture, feelings of emotional and spatial isolation from her Aboriginal relatives risk being intensified amongst Aboriginal youth.

The loss of Aboriginal children from the school setting reinforces stereotypes of the uncivilized Indian within the knowledges of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agents. The result of this system of interaction is reflected in the 1986 Census, which records the percentage of

Aboriginal peoples holding a high school certificate as 8.1% of the Aboriginal population. The alienation and Othering of Aboriginal children within the setting of the school results in the loss of Aboriginal children during junior high who are "always pointed to as the problem; they never think of themselves as the solution. And that is how they grow up" (Hammersmith in Monture-Angus 1995, 78). Similar interpretations were found in the San Diego School District study, where cultural practices formed the basis of "a distinct ideology, one that blamed the victim's supposedly deficient cultural background" (Browning 1994, 173). The interconnectedness between structure and agency expressed in the institutional setting of the school marginalizes Aboriginal youth while reifying the prevailing structures of domination and signification.

Knowledges, while contained within time-space situated practices, may spill over the boundaries of 'messy locales' as agents carry with them the stocks of knowledges which they have gained from their experience. The effect upon the agents is to take with them the knowledges they have gained as the travel across time-space, reapplying these knowledges in accordance with the structures of other settings. For Aboriginal children, the lasting feelings of alienation and difference accompany them, spilling across locales where they inform the children's interactions with other agents. One Aboriginal youth recalls the scars left by the knowledges professed in the school she attended. These knowledges from the public sphere, when combined with knowledges contained within the private sphere of her home, left her feeling "uncomfortable and ... really pissed off because I was uncomfortable and because I shouldn't be made to feel uncomfortable around my natural born family" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). According to Sibley, "personal space defined by the self and the intimate spaces of the home are integral elements of social space" as each reciprocally conditions the other (Sibley 1995, 77). The existence of Aboriginal youth within settings

which inhibit the reconciliation of identities and feelings must also be implicated in the flight of youth to the city streets.

Enmeshed Geographies

The following analysis attempts to identify the systems of social interaction involving female aboriginal street youth in Vancouver, British Columbia. Having fled from a family home or public institution to the streets of the city, many street youth search for freedom, safety and forgetting within a setting that offers viability in both its human and physical urban artifacts. The new time-space routinization they discover upon the street provides an alternative to an existence in settings where they experience "abuse, physically, mentally, sexually or whatever...just something that's not very healthy for them .. [They]'d... rather stick around to get friends on the street and take care of each other rather than go home" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). Having lived within a dysfunctional family which was subsequently replaced by a racist institutional setting, Etah's decision to fade into the city streets was prompted by her dislike for "the cages that I was put in from school ... the levels that I was categorized to be, the judgements that I was given. I didn't like the lifestyle that I had and the streets seemed a little bit more free" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). Karen, at age fifteen, is a survivor of sexual assault, who goes to the street in order to calm "the flashbacks of what my cousin has done to me, and I couldn't talk to no one about it, so I'd run" (Karen in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). The streets provide an alternative set of structures and agency that interrupts the abuses of their previous pattern of their daily routines.

While each young woman comes from a case-specific background, all three are motivated by a desire to escape the abuses hidden in bounded, private spaces in search of the freedoms offered by

the public spaces of Vancouver city. Within the city where they are both limited and enabled by socially constructed identities and socially differentiated stocks of knowledge, these female aboriginal youth consciously and subconsciously engage in actions which redefine their 'youth' and identities. Prevailing constructions of youth, femaleness, and 'race' however makes their presence within the city's streets seem alien, as a"group can be in the wrong place if the stereotype locates it elsewhere" (Sibley 1995, 100). Even while evading the social structures of the institutions which have been the settings of their subordination, such as the home or the school, the youth continue to participate in a structuration process that reproduces their social and economic marginalization within Canadian society. The remainder of the chapter is an attempt to distinguish the elements of locale, agency, structure and knowledge as they interact in the lives of female Aboriginal street youth living in urban Vancouver, British Columbia.

The Locale: Streets of Vancouver as the Setting for Social Interaction

The one-hundred and fourteen square kilometres that comprise the area of Vancouver provide the settings of interaction for its population of five-hundred thousand residents. Through the collective lives of its agents, Vancouver exists as a 'messy locale' that is continuously in the process of becoming. Within this milieu of business, manufacturing, tourism and shipping, human agents participate in the practices of structuration which reproduce and transform these same spaces, their agents, and their structures. More than simply a setting for its human artifacts, Vancouver's physical landscape provides a hospitable and ready setting for street living which is taken advantage of by the homeless in their daily and seasonal survival practices. Climatically, Vancouver offers its street youth a favourable environment characterized by warm summers and mild winters filled with rain as

opposed to snow. Economically, the city thrives upon revenues from its numerous industries including tourism, shipping, banking and natural resources which provides the youth with a setting ripe for 'squatting,' 'dumpster diving,' 'table scrapping' and 'panhandling' (Gilchrist and Winchester, c. 3). Geographically, the city and its busy streets lie within near proximity for youth living in neighbouring Aboriginal reserves or in any of the numerous Aboriginal communities contained within Vancouver's districts. Specific regions of the city are frequented by street youth, including the Downtown South, the Downtown Eastside, and Mount Pleasant. In particular, Aboriginal agency is concentrated within Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, where Aboriginal youth gather daily in area characterized by "poverty, unemployment, housing shortage, crime and high welfare tolls" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3).

While elements of Vancouver's setting may enable a life on the streets for many youth, other aspects of its setting act to constrain the agency of street youth within its boundaries. Urban centres represent regionalized locales wherein "the need to mesh individual life with the time demands of social and economic obligations helps establish the temporal ordering of life in Canadian cities" (Janelle 1995, 103). Vancouver exists as a process of temporo-spatial ordering that fuels a "transformation of time, the commodification of space ... [which]... establishes a 'created environment' of a very distinctive character" which is characteristic of modern capitalist cities (Giddens 1985, 295). Having entered the city, street youth must enter into the spatial and temporal ordering of their urban locales. A successful or conciliatory 'meshing' of the lives of Aboriginal street youth with the urban order of production is made difficult, however, by their lack of education and employable work skills demanded by the 'social and economic obligations' of Canadian cities. Furthermore, the socially constructed identities of young Aboriginal women, reproduced in both knowledge and locale, informs

the terms upon which their urban existence is lived. The inability to successfully 'mesh' their individual lives with that of the productive urban order distinguishes Aboriginal street youth as a group "for whom exclusion is a part of their daily experience, who will be highly sensitive to alien environments, but their spaces of control are too small to interrupt to the reproduction of socio-spatial relations in the interest of the hegemonic power" (Sibley 1995, 76).

Having escaped a landscape of domination within the private space of the home, Aboriginal street youth enter a new landscape of domination, that of the "built environment ... [which]... is alienating, and action on the part of the relatively powerless will register in the dominant vocabulary as deviance, threat or subversion" (Sibley 1995, 76). While Sibley's statement provides a useful description of urban systems of social interaction, it is a generalization which needs to be geographically and historically contextualized in order to adequately describe particular time-spaces. Applying Sibley's generalization to the social systems constituted in Vancouver during the early 1990's requires an understanding of the structures and agency involved in the marginalization of female Aboriginal street youth. Furthermore, the nature of the agency that constitutes the 'relatively powerless' and the knowledges that inform the 'dominant vocabulary' must be teased out in relation to the study population.

The Agency: Aboriginal Street Youth

Before engaging in a description and study of Aboriginal street youth, it is insightful to outline the phenomenon of street youth in a wider context. Describing the already heterogenous population of Canada's street youth is a task made difficult by its dynamic composition, its transient nature and its hidden presence. While determining the number of Canadian street youth is equally an inaccurate

science, services such as Covenant House suggest that over 150,000 youth move through Canadian cities on a yearly basis (McKenzie 1996). Homeless youth comprise a large percentage of Canada's street youth, who are the growing number of children, adolescents and young adults who are identified on the basis of their age and curb-side presence in Canada's urban centres. Street youth, in its broadest terms, represent socially and situationally stratified youth who engage in street life for varying periods of time and for differing reasons. In most cases, Canadian adolescents chose street living as an alternative to a family life characterized by physical, emotional, sexual abuse or neglect (McKenzie 1996). Some street youths, however, are 'throwaway youths' who have been rejected by their parents and expelled from the family home. In addition to the youth who reside in the streets for significant periods of time, there are "weekend kids, summer kids ... [k]ids that think it's cool to be living on the street because they don't have to be home at 10 o'clock" and "kids from the suburbs, jocks and so-called weekend warriors" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 5). According to one street youth, street life is socially stratified based upon "how long you've been on the street and ... if you sell drugs, if you prostitute" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 5). Through participation in their daily routines of existence and survival within the city, street youth come into contact with the structures of an urban setting which are reified through the very actions of youth, reproducing their position within systems of social interaction.

The heterogeneous population of urban Aboriginal street youth also escapes easy description and explanation. Its socio-spatial manifestations, however, are particularly inviting to a structurationist investigation. Despite being attributed with a generalized notion of 'Indianness' through their interactions with non-Aboriginal agents, Aboriginal youth represent a heterogenous population that is internally fragmented by differences in gender, age, cultural heritage, and

relationship with cultural identity (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994). Even while recognizing the importance of such differences and the unique experiences of the youth, it is possible to study a sub-population of Aboriginal street youth by analyzing the social and spatial practices in which the youth participate. Canadian Aboriginal street youth are affected uniquely within their street spaces by the "remanents of colonialism...and over representation in social pathology statistics ...[which].... makes us more visible, more overtly affected by structural racism and more vulnerable to attitudinal racism" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 1). While structuration theory may be used to investigate any of the numerous practices involving Aboriginal agents in the systems of social interaction, the current review will investigate the marginalization of female Aboriginal youth living on the streets in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Within the collectivity that fashions the spaces of Vancouver exists a population of homeless youth. An estimated 400 to 450 street youth, of whom approximately 60% are Aboriginal, live within this dense urban space (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c 3). In addition to these youth whose presence on the street is of a more permanent nature, there are approximately 800 'yuppie weekenders' and 'curb kids' (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c 3) who participate in street culture for short durations of time before returning to their homes. Together, both consciously and subconsciously, these youth take part in a play of production which casts each and every actor into the becoming of Vancouver.

The Structures: Rules and Resources in the Lives of Female Aboriginal Street Youth

According to structuration theory, structures are the rules and resources that "exist temporally when 'presenced' by actors; that is, when drawn upon as stocks of knowledge in day-to-day activities"

(Dyck 1990, 461). These rules and resources are drawn upon by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agents as they copresent the urban environment of Vancouver. In a locale where the structures called upon by agents in instances of legitimation, signification and domination can create a hostile setting for Aboriginal street youth, survival entails both physical and mental endurance which may be facilitated by resourcing alternative elements of the urban system of social interaction. Through the establishment of street communities and street families, 'knowledges' may be gained and shared through communications and actions which recreate their structurally incorporated existence.

The presence of a significantly large population of homeless youth within Vancouver acts to attract transient youth seeking to take advantage of the structures and artifacts which support the city's population. Socially, Vancouver's numerous and homeless youth offer newcomers a wide range of persons from which to construct a street family. Street families play an essential role in street survival; members are "there for each other to help each other out, give each other support, talk to each other whenever you know you gotta talk about something" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). These social networks perform essential functions in the generation and provision of goods and services which support both the physical and mental health of their members. It is common for members of a street family to travel together, squat together, and depend upon one another in daily activities and in incidences of special need. Security and safety on the streets is also derived from membership within a street family: "if someone gets in trouble then everyone's there to make sure that nobody gets hurt or damaged" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). In the cases cited, there appears to be no gender distinction in the provision of these services. The relationships engaged in by the women interviewed establish their roles as both providers and recipients of the human and physical resources held within their families. For example, Etah speaks

of her role as a guardian of several female Aboriginal youths whose inexperience upon the streets has made them prey to a local 'pimp'. In another case, Karen is protected by a member of her street family, who accompanies her on her walks through the city streets. Rather than gender, knowledge seems to be a key determinant in the roles played by street youth. Etah describes a maternal relationship to a particular youth whom she views as "a daughter who got on the street when she was ... too young to take care of herself and a young girl brought her down here ... she didn't know me very well, but she knew that I'd squatted and she asked me if I could take care of her...I accepted the responsibility...making sure that she knows how to survive, live on the street" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3).

Street youth develop stocks of knowledge in which services are evaluated according to the interests of the youth. As a nine year resident of the street who has built up a supportive agency network referred to as a street family and stocks of knowledge best described as "street smarts," seventeen year old Etah describes survival as "a pretty easy thing physically. Mentally, survival is pretty hard but you go on a day by day basis, if you are patient" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). While undervalued by the dominant majority, the knowledges gained upon the street provide agents with lessons that they may carry with them across the dimensions of time-space locales. Patricia Monture-Angus describes the formative experience of her street living as the place "where a lot of my values were shaped. I still carry many of those values with me today. It is how I think because it is honest and makes sense. All those pieces of my history are important" (Monture-Angus 1995, 46). Newcomers to the street, however, must acquire the knowledges which are necessary for survival. Furthermore, many of their 'knowledges' consist of both 'knowing' and 'unknowing' which affects the decisions made by the new homeless. In witnessing the survival of

hundreds of street youth in the city of Vancouver, other youth interpret a life of the street to be easily come by; such knowledges have led many youth to the street as "[a] lot of people don't know how it is, they think it's all fun and games. Like you've got a place to go and you've got food to eat. They just kind of assume that happens ...when they get on the street" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). Knowledges are of paramount importance on the street; without them "people can't ... [manage], they just don't know, they're very naive, very vulnerable" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3).

In addition to aid provided by other street people, street youth can also access numerous agencies in the Vancouver area which provide food, clothing and employment services. The size and destitution of Vancouver's street population has inspired the provision of services aimed towards equipping the homeless with temporary shelter, meals, birth control, needle exchanges, clothing, employment and counselling services. Similarly, street youth develop shared geographical knowledges which categorize both the cities and the regions within them. In smaller cities, street populations tend to be smaller and effectively draw fewer transient youth as the settings provide fewer services than larger cities do. Additionally, in settings where there are limited human or physical resources, less knowledge is generated and subsequently communicated. Without a knowledge of the social and spatial dynamics of a particular town, the space becomes inhospitable and unfunctional to street youth. Limited by her 'unknowing,' Etah's experience within the small town of Amos, Quebec, was one of extreme deprivation, as its setting "was really alien to me and .. where they don't really have any services for people on the street. I ended up having to live off of dry bread that we got out of the garbage ... and I got really sick and lost one of the children in my stomach" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.3). Aboriginal street youth also appear to experience greater

tolerance from the residents of larger cities as "[i]n bigger cities, it's more open because there are more ethnic people everywhere...You go to smaller town and you experience a lot of racism because...they're accustomed to having all White towns"(Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). The combination of a comparatively receptive community, accommodating structures and serviceable artifacts contained within the Vancouver area has made its streets home for hundreds of Aboriginal street youth.

Locales in Action

Once in the city, the opportunities of young Aboriginal women are constrained by "barriers of racism, lower education levels and lack of marketable employment skills for the urban environment" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.1). The experience of homelessness is self-perpetuating as the minimal resources of the homeless are employed towards sustaining daily survival rather than future advancement. As street youth engage in their daily routines of survival, they "are without consistent adult supervision, they lack sufficient shelter, they must fend for a living on the street and so, inevitably, they become part of the street culture" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 1). For many, becoming part of a street cultures is synonymous with entering a 'culture of chronicity' wherein "[a]ppearance and cleanliness become a problem; privacy is almost totally sacrificed; rest and undisturbed sleep become a rarity; cold nights become an enemy (Dear and Wolch 1994, 304). Without shelter, food, and rest, employment becomes a near impossibility especially for youth battling the residing physical and emotional effects of the events which occasioned their move to the streets.

Existing within a landscape of domination affects both the dominators and the dominated as "place itself is therefore seen in a dialectical relation with what an individual is and what he or she

sees himself or herself to be. In short, sense of place and place-in-the-world both suggest the centrality of material existence and identity in explicating these forms" (Eyles 1994, 89). The setting of Vancouver is contextualized by the presencing of its agents, whose interaction is guided by the structures that exist within its time-space locale. While participating within the Vancouver's system of social interaction, Aboriginal street youth occupy a marginalized position which informs and is informed by the social constructions of their identity. Much like the origin of gender identities, which are "actively constructed through practices varying over time and space"(Dyck 1990, 460), the identities of Aboriginal youth vary with the situated practices involving their age-defined cohort. The identity of Aboriginal street youth in Vancouver bear the markings of a marginalized culture and obscured history which "has serious consequences for youth identity -- they must grow up in a world where there is little to look back on with pride ... and very little to look forward to in the future... (where) ... they are faced with current poor socio-economic statistics reflected in many aboriginal communities" (Gilchrist & Winchester 1994, c. 1). In addition to constructions of 'race,' the experiences of female Aboriginal youth are complicated by constructions of gender, which is also a basis of oppression with Canadian society (Monture-Angus 1995). Social constructions of 'race,' gender, and age, which are political constructions created for ideological ends (Kobayashi and Peake 1994, 225), combine dramatically in the streets of Vancouver, as female Aboriginal street youth participate in a system of social stratification that leads to prostitution, destitution but above all, survival.

The perpetual mixing of agency with structure grafts to the social constructions of identity to young Aboriginal women living in the streets of Vancouver. The identities of Aboriginal peoples have been undergoing radical redefinition since the meeting of Aboriginal peoples and Europeans in

the fifteenth century. The colonization of Aboriginal peoples has had enduring effects upon both cultures, remembered within both structure and locale by the conscious and subconscious actions of their human agency. The story of Aboriginal colonization is not simply one of images, but of social constructions employed for political, economic and cultural domination. A masculinist and colonial ideology intertwined thought and experience in the process of redefining Aboriginal identity. The colonization of Aboriginal peoples involved an "ideological transformation ... backed up by coercion" and exhibiting the racist and sexist tendencies of the Europeans (Harris 1991, 15). The process of racism was begun with "[the tendency to evaluate, indeed, to judge, other races from an ethnocentric European-Christian perspective...[which]... led many scientists to arrange these races in an hierarchical order of innate superiority and inferiority ranging from primitive to highly civilized" (Kallen in Monture-Angus 1995, 37). The western ideologies introduced by Spanish, French and English colonizers censured and supplanted Aboriginal notions of civilization through the institutional practices of trade, religion and education. The imposition of European values over those of Aboriginal peoples radically altered the practices which structured Aboriginal societies, resulting in altered roles for women and children. As one Aboriginal women recalls, "We talked about the colonization. The English came in. Their women were chattel and their children had no rights. They had to pass acts to protect children - child labor laws and all that kind of stuff....The men we know, that's where they get that idea of women walking two steps behind" (Betty Laverdure in Wall 1993, 102). The results of enforced coercion in conjunction with demographic decline, economic and spatial marginalization, are a displacement of Aboriginal identity and an internalization of Euro-centric images of Aboriginal women.

Images popular in the fifteenth century continue to inform the social constructions employed

in contemporary Canadian society to the detriment of Aboriginal women. Underlying these images are the constructs of 'race,' class and gender which intersect to create a framework of comparison that emphasizes difference or deviance. Begun in the racist and sexist ideology of the colonizing Europeans, the social construction of young Aboriginal women continues to be preserved in the knowledges relied upon by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal actors existing within urban locales. While transformed through the weighted actions of agents who have called upon these knowledges throughout the centuries, the social constructions of Aboriginal women continue to reflect a colonialist and masculinist ideology. The hegemonic culture has largely succeeded in socially estranging Aboriginal peoples through "its ability to incorporate 'deviant' ideas which have become popular, through historical processes, in the public discourse so as to maintain its dominance" (Harris 1991, 16). Selective images of Aboriginal women have become naturalized through a masculinist and colonizing discourse that sexualizes their identities and emphasizes their Otherness. In 1975, Rayna Green proposed the Pocahontas Perplex, which identifies the demands upon Aboriginal women to be "exotic, wild, collaborationist, crazy or 'white' to qualify for white attention" (Harris 1991, 17). The Pocahontas Perplex exemplifies the colonial model of Indianness that has been used to colonize Aboriginal women who satisfy its social, sexual, and aesthetic qualifiers. When an Aboriginal woman fails to comply with these standards, she is classified as the squaw and relegated to the social margins of society.

Reproduced within the actions of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agency and unattended to by public concern, knowledges containing the social constructions of Aboriginal identity continue to be called upon in structures of signification and domination. The identity of Aboriginal women is continuously (re)fashioned through the interaction of Aboriginal and non-aboriginal actors in specific

time-spaces and preserved in both the structures of knowledge and the underlying foundations of locales. These structures, in combination with a deficiency of available resources, can act to either inhibit or enable the agency of female aboriginal street youth in the city. Despite the rejection of 'Aboriginality' within the city proper (Peters forthcoming), the masculinist orientation of the systems of social interaction allows for the incorporation of particular Aboriginal identities into specific areas. Included in the allowances is the social construction of the Indian temptress. The image of the Indian maiden has not been lost with the urban transformation of her wilderness, rather she too has been domesticated amidst the city's street corners. The sexualization of Aboriginal women's identities has created a market for its consumption within the city. Her new identity as the temptress is reproduced in the predatory behavior exhibited by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal actors alike towards young Aboriginal women. Framed within a masculinist ideology, the "degradation of women, particularly Aboriginal women and children, is considered a right by white males, they are not held accountable by this society" (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.7).

While historically used to appropriate the sexuality of Aboriginal women, the social constructions of Aboriginal women serve to commercialize this subjugated sexuality in contemporary Vancouver. The sex industry that feeds upon Aboriginal women is structurally reproduced as the impacts of marginalization force increasing numbers of Aboriginal women into its ranks of 'subsistence prostitution' (Dear and Wolch 1994, 304). According to Joanne, Aboriginal women engage in prostitution for numerous reasons, including the need to feed their drug habit or to provide for their children. Others are unwilling participants who are "doing it out of fear ...No one is going to accept them if they just go somewhere else...these pimps or whoever are accepting them into them and you know people feel comfortable with that for awhile. Then they want to get out of it a lot of

times it's hard" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.3). The social constructions of female Aboriginal sexuality are reproduced amidst the street corners of Vancouver, where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agents observe and engage in the industry of prostitution; images of female Aboriginal street youth are preserved amongst the knowledges of those who "see a lot of Natives on Hastings Street, usually drunk or using heroine...I see the occasional straight youth down there, males occasionally, females I see a lot more often they usually work in the street prostituting" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). Each of the three street youth from the Vancouver, interviewed by Gilchrist and Winchester, have received unwanted proposals for prostitution. Based upon Karen's reluctance to return to Granville Street, Karen's mother suspects that her daughter is the survivor of gang related abduction and forced prostitution during a three week period.

Female Aboriginality also suffers under class-based constructs that are called upon within the urban settings that host the co-presence of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agents. The temporo-spatial structuring of the street youth's activities results in their presence upon the street corners of Vancouver during the daytime hours, when they panhandle in order to sustain their street life existence through the coins of strangers. The activities engaged in by street youth during their co-presencing of this space with other agents successfully engaged in the productive economic ordering of the city, (re)produces the construction of their 'deviant' natures which in turn, (re)establishes their marginal positions within Vancouver's social and economic order. The sidewalk encounters between the street youth and their Others estranges their populations through geographies of fear and guilt: "a lot of people look at them and want them off the street so that they don't have to deal with them daily, so that they don't have to walk down the street and see them, ... they don't have to feel their guilt with it in their heads that it ..[is] actually happening"(Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994,

c. 3). Geographies of guilt and fear evolve within the streets as community-based opposition to the homeless spurs misinformation about the youths, their practices and their impact on surrounding properties (Dear and Wolch 1994, 307). Fears may be augmented and boundaries energized by the actions of media and the state which represent the dominant culture's claims of space (Sibley 1995, 46). Heightened distinctions of class within the public consciousness informs the relationship between street youth and the working or upper classes; youths asking for money on street corners find their efforts scorned by "people with money ... because you're not at the same social level as them, you're not living like them, you're not thinking like them..people that have had money in their life have never gone through any of that so they don't know how it is" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.3).

In addition to divisions of class, Aboriginal street youth are subject to practices which take and give meanings to the social construction of 'race' as a source of difference and deviance. Already stigmatized in their relationship with the property owning classes by their existence as street dwellers, Aboriginal street youth may be identified and 'othered' on the additional construct of 'race' which associates Aboriginality with deviance and unworthiness. Based upon the stocks of knowledge which flow between locales, non-Aboriginal agents, regardless of their class status, discriminate against the Aboriginal street youth

> because they think that since we're Native the government has given ...[us]... all these handouts. We shouldn't be out on the streets asking for a meal, because we've been given this land and we should go and work the land ... and you've got reserves and you're getting money... A lot of people stereotype youth because you are Native, that automatically you're an alcoholic, or you sniff gas or glue, that you're good for nothing, that you're always going to be drunk and bumming money
>
> (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3).

The meeting of 'race,' gender and class in female Aboriginal street youth is further complicated by the final element of this quadripartite of constructions, 'youth'. As mentioned earlier, a common stereotype preserved within the stocks of knowledge and applied to Aboriginal peoples is that of the primitive American Indian, whose home is the wild and whose time is the past. Existing within Nature, the Aboriginals were considered somewhat less than human by the Europeans and could only be saved by "accepting Christianity ...[and]...also adopting European styles of dress and the discipline of a Christian education in a mission school" (Sibley 1995, 26). Constructs of children being simultaneously pure and defiled developed as the processes of industrialization and urbanization brought them into the city, wherein their purity might be either impinged upon by stereotyped city-dwellers, or assured by the civilizing influences of the urban home or residential school. Both the constructions of Aboriginal children as being wild and yet strangely innocent and in need of salvation persists amidst the streets of contemporary Vancouver. The image of dirt-covered innocence that accompanies youth casts a gentler shroud over Aboriginal street youth than that received by their elders. According to one street youth, "[a] lot of people do stereotype but, I find a lot of the stereotype goes towards more the older street Natives. The younger ones, some people I think would ...[like]...to give hope to, because they are younger and they think these older people are fucked up, and they're ...more fucked up than these kids because they've done more and they drink more" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). Similarly, based upon notions of youth, Gilchrist and Winchester appear skeptical of Karen's ability to survive the streets as they found her to be "removed from much of the youth peer related activity. She is flirting with hard core skid row life ... her street peer group are older (skid row bar waiters and waitresses)" (Gilchrist and Winchester c. 3). Ironically, the constructed vulnerability of youth that necessitates their flight to the street becomes

their strange protection as the negotiate their lives and identities within the urban spaces of Vancouver.

Intertwined with the physical and human geographies of Vancouver's street youth are their emotional geographies: ever-present socially and spatially constituted feelings that influence street youth as they negotiate their presence in the time-spaces of Vancouver city. Attempting to renegotiate or forget their experiences and knowledges of 'youth', street youth search the city for a modern Lethe, a river of forgetfulness, in the maelstroms of drugs and alcohol which are readily available within the streets of Vancouver. A national study of Canadian street youth suggests that approximately two-thirds of all street youth use drugs and/or alcohol on a daily or weekly basis (McKenzie 1996). Patricia Monture-Angus, a Mohawk woman and Canadian law professor, relates her attempt to quell the anguish of her father's death and her subsequent rape by a family member: initially escaping her anguish through books, Monture-Angus eventually turned to "drugs as my spirit screamed higher" which led to a four-year period of street living (Monture-Angus 1995, 47),. Drug and alcohol abuse are rampant among street youth, as these children attempt to escape both the engraved histories that lie within their memories and their destitute present which is ingrained before them on the streets of Vancouver: "it's a different reality from the reality they live in -- it's kind of like a fake happiness till they can find their happiness -- if they ever find their happiness" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c.3). Street living and drugs, however, do not always provide with the happiness they seek; they may act to worsen youths' emotional status as they become part of their emotional geographies, causing youth to experience "a lot of stress, a lot of bullshit, had bad trips and think about a lot of weird things (laugh) the drugs help too" (Joanne in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3).

The relationship between street youth and substance abuse is but one faceted response to their social and spatial geographies, which house contextualized practices informed by ageism, sexism, racism and classism. Of the three women interviewed, each possesses a knowledge of drug and alcohol use by street youth that is configured by experience, observation and communicated knowledges (Gilchrist and Winchester 1994). As a survivor of sexual abuse, fifteen year old Karen is aware of the difficulties experienced by youth on account of their age and social status in a society wherein the sexual abuse of children is rampant. Stating that she does not use drugs or alcohol, Karen recognizes that while it is necessary to "keep the kids away from needles, drugs and alcohol....that'll be difficult for them" owing to the abusive situations they have experienced in their past and that they continue to experience in their present (Karen in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3).

In addition to recognizing the relationship between sexual and emotional abuse with drug and alcohol use by street youth, both Etah and Joanne also implicate racism as a contributing factor to the addictions of Aboriginal street youth. As Etah recalls "I remember when I was in Winnipeg and I went into the a washroom and it had all these things against Native like, you know, Natives are just rubbing alcoholic drunks, you know, blah, blah,... and I guess if a Native looks at that and looks down on themselves maybe they might start drinking because of it" (Etah in Gilchrist and Winchester 1994, c. 3). Etah's statement draws the connections between the social, spatial and emotional geographies that constitute her relationship with society. Existing as one of numerous agents who traverse the public spaces of Vancouver, Etah's actions are given meaning in both social and personal contexts. Embedded within situated and socially constructed knowledges, racism pervades the public spaces of Vancouver as agents call upon these stocks of knowledge during in the settings of social

interaction. The internalization of these ideologically limiting knowledges, which are reproduced by through the agency of Vancouver's actors, is detrimental to female Aboriginal street youth who encounter the limits of these social constructions as they negotiate their lives within Vancouver's streets.

Conclusions and New Beginnings

The presence of female Aboriginal street youth within Canada's city centres marks the daily erection of geographies of resistance against the socially constructed practices of the hegemonic class. The social constructions of 'race', youth and gender make the urban presence of these street youth an 'unnatural' and deviant occurrence. At home within Vancouver's streets, female Aboriginal youth seem oddly displaced from the social constructions which situate them in residential schools, on the reserve, or in the wild. By carving out spaces within the Vancouver's streets, however, the street youth participate in the becoming of urban geographies of resistance. These geographies may be described as time-spaces of "social cleavages... marked by inversions - those who are usually on the outside occupy the centre and the dominant majority are cast in the role of spectators (Sibley 1995, 44). Amidst the daily interactions of agents within a social system, most people are unaware of the processes of domination and socio-spatial systems are reproduced rather than significantly transformed. The 'unnatural' presence of female Aboriginal youth within Vancouver's streets, however, raises the awareness of co-presencing agents as it challenges some patriarchal and colonialist stocks of knowledges, even while reproducing others. Even as critical ideas originating amongst the oppressed challenge the white, heterosexual male domination of the western knowledge industry, so does the presence of female Aboriginal youth amidst the streets of Canada's urban

centres defy the hegemonic structures that construct their identities.

One strength of structurationist theory that has yet to be fully explored is its recognition of outcome and interpretation as unforetold events. While structuration theory relies upon the assumptions that agents recognize and give meaning to properties that have been built into specific locales, authors such as Thrift suggest that there may be a range of outcomes based upon these knowledges and enacted through the recursive behavior of individuals of social groups. In part, the differences in signification and legitimation may be culturally based. For example, Monture-Angus notes the profound differences that Aboriginal peoples encounter in Western constructions of knowledges and the systems of social interaction which result from these structures. In addition to cultural differences which exist in the context of locales and their systems of social interaction, 'individual life experiences' also contribute to significant differences in the interpretation and outcome of events. In order to identify these differences of interpretation and witness the importance of individual life experiences upon social systems, empirical research must be conducted. While there are "great problems transferring ...[structuration's]...ideas directly into practical research" (Cloke, Philo and Sadler 1991, 18), an application of time-geography is well-suited for tracing the daily interactions of actors as they travel through the contested time-spaces of Vancouver city. Time-geography, while capable of mapping out geographies of exclusion and resistance involving female Aboriginal street youth, is a geography of "the disembodied, the universal, the individualistic, the passionateless, the masculine, the public" (Rose 1993, 28). Derived from the tenets of structuration theory, time-geography is sensitive to issues of time and space and yet requires further elaboration upon issues of culture and identity. In order to sensitize time-geography for a study of female Aboriginal street youth, an ethnographic approach may be incorporated into its writing. The

researching and writing of an ethnographically-sensitized time-geography is the next stage in uncovering the geographies of female Aboriginal youth living within the streets of Vancouver.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

The motivation which inspired this dissertation originates in the distress that manifests itself upon the city streets, yet takes its seed in time and space that far exceed any narrow confines. Witnessing in Canada's urban centres an increasingly younger homeless population congregating in increasingly larger numbers led to questions regarding the nature of what appeared to be the development of a strongly patterned existence. These observations prompted an initial researching of the material relating to street youth, of which there was very little and the material that did exist alternately adopted the extremes of individualism and determinism. Furthermore, the material contained few geographical threads that would allow themselves to an understanding of the emergent patterns of street youth. Unable to accept these largely aspatial and theoretically divergent studies, a search began for an alternative framework that would neither blame the victims nor strip them of their agency. In describing the phenomenon of street youth in Canadian cities, words of agency, structure, space, time, and knowledge, flow unabatedly and disorderly unto a widening whirlpool of reality. Two models eventually emerged in response to this search; structuration theory as the framework and ethnography as a methodology to provide a thick description by a better informed, albeit positioned, observer. The intent of this dissertation has been two-fold: firstly, to determine whether a sensitized structuration theory supported by ethnography would provide an insightful perspective into the life-worlds of street youth; and secondly, to discover what inroads into a deeper understanding of street youth would be made.

Having explored its theoretical underpinnings and reviewed its development by critical and

feminist analysis, this dissertation comes to the conclusion that a sensitized structuration theory provides an appropriate and insightful framework in which to explore the phenomenon of street youth according to the intersections 'race,' gender, age and class. Furthermore, the implications of its reliance upon ethnography as a research methodology have been explored through reviewing the recent debates over ethnography's foundations and its perspectives. While accepting the limiting positionality of the observer, ethnography remains a valuable tool for conducting a structurationist analysis of a situation little known to the researcher. Furthermore, ethnography provides the structurationist with the research necessary for the construction of a time-geography. The conclusion in this dissertation is to continue to advance the proposition that structuration theory exists as more than a relic from the 1970s, and for fair reason. Its ability to balance a contextualized structure and agency through theoretical propositions that are tailored by the academic fosters new insight through a medium amenable to the researcher, the researched, and even the audience.

Finally, in response to the question which first stirred this dissertation, street youth may be better understood when more than their mere presence on the streets is observed. They are more than the product of large over-riding and all-pervasive structures, even as they are more than blameworthy and unconstrained individuals. Street youth are knowledgeable actors who participate in and are affected by the wider production of society. The identities of the youths' become grafted with the inscriptions of social relations that dissect according to constructions such as 'race,' gender, class, age, ability, sexuality, and utility. Their worlds are more than simple life-paths traced without emotion in blank settings; rather, their life-worlds are emotionally encased experiences that are enmeshed within the geographies of inequalities that characterize Canadian cities. There is no conclusive word to the phenomenon of street youth and no final nor encompassing answer - there is simply a continuing

experience that demands an open and liberating dialogue.

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