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Unthinking Social Science. The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms. by Immanuel Wallerstein

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me due to my being a human geographer, and they opened my eyes to a new and important field in epidemiological research. The detailed contact tracing partly presented in the charts, in-depth interviews and careful analysis of the earliest steps of the epidemic in the San Francisco area provide an interesting view into the details of how the epidemic spreads.

After this detail-packed tour, the book takes us back to where the HIV pandemic probably began: to Africa. In the eighth paper, Douglas A. Feldman reveals the disconsolate future of many Central and East African countries. Knowing already how hard life in many African countries is, yet another burden may well be the straw that breaks the camel's back. And this time, the burden is laid on the weak shoulders of the old and the young: the majority of the working-age population has already died of AIDS in some limited areas round Lake Victoria. Even if a curative medication or an efficient vaccine for HIV infection is found within the next ten years, AIDS will remain a severe problem in many African countries for generations.

If the developing countries are often forgotten in our daily life, so are women and children. In a paper by Beth E. Schneider, these sufferers are approached through a research proposal of five questions that should be asked. Without going into the details of Schneider's well-reasoned agenda, I think that more attention should be paid to the "second wave" of the epidemic yet to come: the heterosexual majority. Unless the biomedical puzzle of HIV is quickly solved, then what we may

be facing quite soon is the growing number of heterosexual women transmitting the virus to unborn babies.

The last article in the book, by Ernestine Vanderveen, is a short overview of the federal funding and research policies concerning HIV and AIDS in the U.S. Most of the contents of this final paper is of interest only to Americans, although it does provide some interesting points of comparison, e.g., with the funding provided by WHO and some national governments in Europe. In general, *AIDS and the Social Sciences* is a well-edited book and the articles are written in an easy-to-read manner supported by clear tables, charts, and maps. The book is not merely a collection of papers only loosely connected—a problem that often plagues edited publications.

Instead, the editors have carefully planned the organization of the papers so that they form an interesting book. I enjoyed reading the book and I warmly recommend it to every person, whether within academia or not, regardless of one's field of specialization. I don't know of any other equally comprehensive and thorough presentation of this utterly important subject that requires growing interdisciplinary attention. Medical geography and other social sciences may not represent the main stream in AIDS research, but they certainly have the power of providing us with better educational tools to intervene in the HIV pandemic.

Key Words: HIV, AIDS, spatial diffusion, epidemiology.

Unthinking Social Science. The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms. Immanuel Wallerstein.

Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991. viii and 286 pp., biblio. and index. \$47.95 cloth (ISBN 0-7456-0876-0) and \$19.95 paper (ISBN 0-7456-0911-2).

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Anybody browsing through this book will find difficulty in resisting deeper engagement. With chapter titles such as "Does India Exist?" and "Capitalism: The Enemy of the Market," a

reader would have to be brain-dead not to be intrigued by what is on offer here. The offering is in fact a collection of Immanuel Wallerstein's essays originally published between 1982–91

in a wide range of quite disparate outlets. The book passes the first test of such volumes; the essays do constitute a coherent body of ideas on an important subject and hence warrant being brought together under one cover.

The important subject is the nature of the knowledge we generate as social science. Wallerstein argues that the paradigms we work through with their associated agendas, frameworks, and debates have become fundamental constraints on understanding our social world. They are a legacy of the nineteenth century, and it is time for them to be replaced. Hence Wallerstein is not a revisionist; rather than "re-think," he believes we must "unthink" the paradigms that fetter both our thought and practice. That is what Wallerstein's world-systems analysis is about—it is not a theory about the social world, but a "protest" against how social scientific inquiry is structured (p. 237). There is no "replacement paradigm" here, merely the encouragement to search for its like. Put another way, Wallerstein relocates epistemology at the center of our critical concerns for society.

There are twenty essays divided into six parts. In part one, it is shown that the ways we think about our social world is part of the fallout of that great "world-historical event," the French Revolution, honed through the nineteenth century to be bequeathed to us as an unproblematic world view. Two key elements of this paradigm then become the subject-matter of parts two and three. The idea of development, our celebration of the progress myth, is at the very heart of contemporary social thinking—there is no government anywhere in the world whose policy is not to enhance the "development" of its country. "Catching up" is the great illusion of our time. In contrast the "great omission" of our time is the idea of time and space as being constitutive of social processes. Instead, the common sense and social science view of them as the container of social events has been accepted unproblematically, which Wallerstein attempts to rectify in part three with his notion of TimeSpace. His epistemology is not about countries marching through time to the promised land. Parts four and five then deal with how Wallerstein relates his ideas to Marx and Braudel respectively. Clearly he borrows many ideas from each but his project aspires to go beyond both. In the final part, world-systems analysis is presented as one "unthinking" of social science.

All of this material is relevant to geographers in many ways. Our discipline is part of the nineteenth-century legacy that is to be unthought, although Wallerstein recognizes geography as always marginal to the orthodox social science project. Hence he is able to assert that "Maps are a neglected tool of the historical social sciences" (p. 61) and locates geographical research tasks at the center of future scientific endeavors. In addition, the neglect of theorizing space is at the heart of Wallerstein's epistemological concerns, and so he qualifies as the latest of a whole cohort of social scientists who are "bringing space/geography back in." Since geographers are probably most familiar with Wallerstein's ideas on development and his world-systems analysis, here I will concentrate upon his interpretations of Marx, Braudel and TimeSpace.

Chapter 11, on "Marx and Underdevelopment," is Wallerstein's clearest statement on his relations with Marxism. He identifies the three "primary messages" drawn from Marx's work by his orthodox followers as giving priority to the proletariat, the "advanced" countries and industrial capital in the economic and political processes of our social world. Taking each in turn, Wallerstein quotes Marx at length to show that he provided "significant cautions" (p. 153) concerning such interpretations of his work. The purpose of this exercise is not to find the "correct Marx"—no such entity exists—but to begin to understand the contradictions and ambiguities in Marx in order to make sense of the cul de sac that is orthodox Marxism. In this argument, Wallerstein goes beyond previous "discoveries" of a "Third-Worldist Marx" by enumerating six major theses (pp. 160–61) from Marx that are still relevant today, but only if interpreted at the level of the world-economy and not separate states.

In chapter 13, Braudel is treated very differently. His *Annales* school of history is seen as one of three resistances to the "Anglo-Saxon" (first Britain, then the U.S.) intellectual hegemony of "universalizing-sectorializing thought" (p. 195). Along with German *Staatswissenschaften* and Marxist theory, the *Annales* historians rejected both the search for universal laws (= projecting "Anglo-Saxon" preferences) and the division of social knowledge into specialized disciplines. Hence at the time when geographers were engaged in their nomothetic versus idiographic debate, Braudel was tran-

scending these categories in his holistic history. Above all Braudel is a "*homme de la conjoncture*," with the *Annales* resisting in the French academy as a "third force" in the period of the cold war (p. 196). It is in this spirit that we should understand Braudel's unusual definition of capitalism in terms of monopoly dominance—the antithesis of competitive markets, no less—which Wallerstein celebrates in chapters 14 and 15 as turning capitalism "upside down." I think Wallerstein is correct in arguing that social scientists have yet to appreciate the challenge Braudel's work represents.

In his development of the notion of TimeSpace as constitutive of social systems in chapter 10, Wallerstein combines specific types of "social spaces" with Braudel's well-known "social times." Although very interesting, this does not appear to be successful. Although the typology works when adding the structural space of core-periphery to Braudel's structural time, the *longue durée*, other combinations are not adequately justified. Perhaps this is our problem in seeing space and time as a single construct when we are used to treating them as separate dimensions. I think it is more than this. The problem is Wallerstein's method of equating a particular type of space with one type of time. This is actually quite a big step in limiting combinations and I do not think we have yet thought enough about a single "space-time" construct to constrain our theoretical options so. Wallerstein says as much when he finally offers his "five kinds of TimeSpace" as "starting down a very difficult,

very unsettling road of questioning one of the bedrocks of our intelligence, our certainties about space and time" (p. 148).

Wallerstein's ultimate purpose is to construct frameworks that illuminate rather than presume the historical choices that lie ahead (p. 184). His framework for space and time may be premature but in general we are provided with patternings of constructs that are invariably insightful and force us to "unthink." In this context, the first and the final chapters are perhaps the key to the whole project. Chapter 1 sets up what we have to unthink in terms of frameworks that link world ideologies with social sciences and political movements that between them define our twentieth-century (*née* nineteenth-century) certainties. Chapter 20 describes Wallerstein's prescription for the "second phase" of world-systems analysis which confronts the economy-polity-society trinity as separate arenas of social action (p. 271). If none of the trinity can ever be autonomous, what is the function of the division of social action in the modern world-system? Rather than reflect reality, perhaps our social science, including so-called multidisciplinary studies that reify the divisions, obscures that reality. This illustrates my final point. Opponents of world-systems analysis often treat it as a dogma. Readers of this book will appreciate that its *raison d'être* is to open up questions, not close them down.

Key Words: Wallerstein, paradigms, social science, world-systems analysis, epistemology, TimeSpace.

History and Theory after the Fall: An Essay on Interpretation. Fred Weinstein.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. x and 205 pp., index and bibliographical footnotes. \$29.95 cloth (ISBN 0-226-88609-9).

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In the original fall, Adam and Eve got into trouble because they knew too much. With the fall of history and theory, argues Fred Weinstein, historians get into trouble because they know too little. Of course, they still get some things right—that the Declaration of Inde-

pendence was signed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, and other such issues of fact. But these "when" and "where" questions are always relatively easy to answer. The more difficult one is "why"? Until recently, argues Weinstein, many historians considered even this question not