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<b>Title</b>	Rationality, Reason and Regionalization
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<b>Publication date</b>	1981-12
<b>Publication information</b>	Buttimer, Anne. "Rationality, Reason and Regionalization." Mouton de Gruyter, December 1981.
<b>Publisher</b>	Mouton de Gruyter
<b>Item record/more information</b>	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10197/10737">http://hdl.handle.net/10197/10737</a>

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## Rationality, Reason and Regionalization

The term "region" has both emotional and political appeal. Emotionally it can evoke sentiments of "at homeness", security, and cultural identity; politically it can connote empire, spatial organization and decentralized administration. In the postwar crusade of applied social science, the regional concept has enjoyed an impressive mileage. Despite all its conceptual and analytical elusiveness it remains unrivalled, with the possible exception of its twin "community", as a powerful myth in contemporary life.

To future generations the story of mid-twentieth-century regional planning should make dramatic reading. To a "Humpty Dumpty" world reeling from the shock of war and uneasy with "inefficiency" and poverty, applied science offered promise for revitalizing the social and technical order. A priesthood of experts rekindled the Western world's waning faith in rationality and fashioned a utopian kingdom where both socialism and liberalism could reign.

In the execution of this promise, however, a Tower of Babel situation arose: the *ceteris paribus* assumption indoctrinated during its scientific training eventually encased each specialized sector within its own four walls. While each could boast of enormous gains in technical know-how and improvements in living standards scarcely conceivable to previous generations, the aggregate result was a bag of mixed blessings. Functional specialization was a Pyrrhic victory. The price was a fragmentation both of knowledge and life and an impasse on communication between its component members. Remote controlled prescriptions and proscriptions wove a complex web of legal and other constraints around even the most intimate realms of daily life.

Lewis Carroll's allegory of the Looking Glass Room could serve as dirge on the first era of this crusade:

\*This paper overlaps substantially with two others written around the same time: "Reason, rationality, and human creativity" prepared for a conference on human creativity at Sigtuna, June 1978, and "'Insiders', 'Outsiders', and the geography of regional life" prepared for the XII National Congress of Finnish Geographers, 22-10-1977, published in A. Kuklinski and O. Kultalahti, (eds.), *Regional Dynamics of Socio Economic Change* (1979).

Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall  
 Humpty Dumpty had a great fall  
 All the King's Horses and all the King's Men  
 Couldn't put Humpty Dumpty together again

Postwar regional planners tried, in some cases at least, to be the "King's Horses and Men" in restoring some cohesion to the Rational Utopia. To the fragmentation which sectoral planning had occasioned they heralded a comprehensive solution: scientifically based models could be offered for restoring Humpty Dumpty (Figure 1). The *region* was attractive not only to "folk" who belonged there but also to those political and administrative interests already vested in areally bounded units.

The functional region was also attractive as a guiding frame for planning the distribution, assembly, and processing of activities: why not have one's cake and eat it too? If one could resolve the issue of relating formal and functional regions one could have the best of both worlds! (Figure 2)

But "regional experts" had also been socialized within the same seminaries as their colleagues of sectoral expertise. Specialization and scientific methods marked the progressive pedagogy of the day. For each sector, of course, geographers and regional economists could spell out spatial or spatio-temporal implications of particular policies and plans. They could supply models for locational efficiency and optimal throughput of activities and services as well as for streamlining networks of transport and communications. They could even promise solutions to the knotty problems of interdependence between sectors and the dialectic of managerial versus "people" interests.

All the King's horses and all the King's men have not put Humpty Dumpty together again. Instead of a Phoenix Humpty Dumpty one finds Frankenstein structures which almost guarantee that no such personality should again appear. A later era of regional effort finds the mighty wall of rationality itself crumbling as each brick solidifies within its own sectoral domain. To discern a wise course for the next era one needs to look beyond the allegory itself—come out of the Looking Glass Room—and examine the ideological foundations and guiding myths which created the drama. Could one not begin this process with a careful discernment of the value choices which have been implicit in the rationalization of life and the life consequences of its cumulative effects within particular regions?

Few would deny that a comprehensive evaluation of regional planning would be a worthwhile endeavor. To those who have been socialized within the caste system of rationality, however, such a proposal would sound naive, distracting, or impossible. One can readily recognize that throughout most spheres of life there are similar processes at work but we lack a language or conceptual horizon which would enable us to understand or evaluate them.



Figure 1. *Shaping the future of regions.* (Perspectives on regional problems by 13 researchers. Report of the Expert Group on Regional Planning. Liber Förlag, Stockholm, 1978. Reprinted by permission.)

These processes do not confine themselves within national or regional boundaries, of course: throughout Europe today landscapes and life all bespeak common questions, common challenges. And it is especially in the so-called "developing societies" that the shadow effects of Euro-American rationality are evident. Ironical indeed that the Western world finds itself threatened economically and embarrassed technically by the enormous harvest reaped by entrepreneurial genius and managerial skill in parts of Asia. Ironical too that in an age which has experienced marvellous improvements in communications technology one continues to ignore one another's experiences with



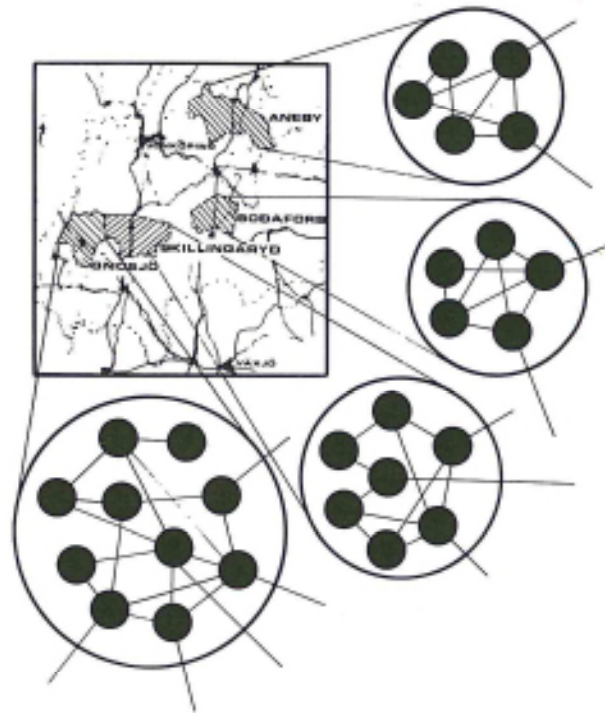


Figure 2. *Enterprise and local community—a study in organization.* (Research report on the needs of family enterprise at four sites in Jönköping. Bengt Johansson, Växjö, 1978. Reprinted by permission.)

ideas and their applications. The time seems indeed ripe for sharing reflection on the meaning and potential consequences of this era of unprecedented social change.

The argument raised here is that at the roots of our present situation lies a convergence of ideas and practice around particular human values to the exclusion of others. RATIONALITY in thought and RATIONALIZATION in practice have provided the twin foundations for value choices which eventually tend to overshadow and impede other human values associated with reason.<sup>1</sup> Under the rubric of "rationality and reason" it is proposed that experiences in various realms, e.g., health, agriculture, commerce, industry, education, and others, could be critically evaluated in a comparative way. Focus on the regional articulation of such experiences could direct attention toward the Achilles heel of all sectoral thought and planning, viz., their insensitivity to place and to the local constellation of circumstances which constitute the life horizons for people living within particular milieux.

The intellectual and social horizons required for such an evaluation are virtually impossible to achieve within present planning and consultant worlds unless there is a simultaneous attempt by the authors themselves to examine critically their own assumptions and value orientations. The long-term aim of such critique should be a provocation of awareness by all sectors of society concerning the implications of planning policy. Conventional media have failed, by and large, to achieve this aim and therefore there is need to explore alternative styles of research and communication.

#### RATIONALITY AND REASON

In pre-Enlightenment Europe few expressions could rival REASON in volume of controversy stirred or diversity of meanings evoked. In our day its unquestioned rival is none other than its own offspring, RATIONALITY, whose domination over thought and life progressively erases from consciousness many features of its own parent. A hermeneutical scrutiny of the extent to which cultural refractions in the definition and use of these two words have influenced the thought and life of civilizations would be a valuable enterprise. Only glimpses at some of the contradictions inherent in our own situation can be attempted here.

Introducing an essay on reductionism in contemporary science, Arthur Koestler cites Paul Anderson: "I have yet to see any problem, however complicated, which when you looked at it in the right way, did not become more complicated."<sup>2</sup> It is indeed an enduring myth of modern rationality that life experience can be best understood and controlled if it is first analysed in terms of its most minute component parts. The myth thrives because of its incarnation in social institutions and behavior via the structuring of academic disciplines and professional fields, unionized technology and production systems. The resulting social construction of ideas reflects a virtual "caste" system and the boundaries of one's specialized role become the horizons of life for an increasing number of people.

The irony of this situation is striking when one recalls an enduring myth in Western conceptions of reason: "The truth will set you free". Reason was meant to emancipate rather than enslave: "He who will not reason, is a bigot; he who cannot, is a fool; and he who dares not, is a slave" (Byron). Rationality and reason, initially rooted in the same basic human capacity for knowledge and wisdom (Nous), have bifurcated and become estranged from one another. The saga begins when Socrates and his disciples "emancipated" LOGOS (thought) from its moorings with PHYSIS (being). The Latin derivative "ratio" (reason, idea) already connoted a LOGOS unchained: no longer the "primal gathering principle" of being itself, as Heraclitus and others had

understood it. After Aristotle LOGOS has shrunk to LOGIC and has been understood as the human intellectual capacity to know the truth about being (things), to articulate such truth in logical statements.

Scholastic philosophers and others have indeed cautioned that the exercise of pure reason should demand a sensitive discernment of the actual nature (essence) of objects submitted to rational or logical enquiry. However, as reason gave birth to more rigorously bounded and specialized forms of science this connection between thought and being became more and more attenuated. Throughout all the diverse and complex ways in which reason and rationality have been construed one can notice the progressive dismemberment of the original unity of thought and being (NOUS): from LOGOS through RATIO (REASON) to RATIONALITY. To invoke the term "reason" today one can only hope to recall an earlier phase in this progression and ask what has been gained or lost in the emasculation through which it has passed in recent times.

The sociology of contemporary academic life could provide a good focus for such reflection. The administrative organization of knowledge has assigned divergent courses for "sciences" and "humanities". To the former has traditionally fallen the task of carefully controlled analysis and "explanation" of ORDER within processes and relationships, to the latter the loosely defined task of understanding MEANING, value, and human significance of life events. Specialization within academic life and a growing political and economic investment in maintaining liaisons with applied interests has dulled former distinctions but maintained their separateness. In both, however, an increasing distance between planning/consultant elites and the everyday-life experiences of people is evident.

Human reason ideally should be capable of drawing these diverse strands of knowledge and life together—to harmonize thought and action. In fact, can one envision a full flowering of human reason without a grounding in emotional, spiritual, and biological facets of humanness and a desire to harmonize these with thought? Rationality stems exclusively from mind and regards intellect as queen among human faculties. Its fruits are therefore more reflective of disembodied mind alone and are often insensitive to the total life consequences of its own practical applications.

The style of enquiry characteristic of scientific rationality has been primarily "outward oriented", i.e., it has sought objectivity and detachment in its analysis of life. The KNOWLEDGE which this has yielded is ideally dependable, logically coherent, and eventually useable for desired human ends. The style of enquiry which reason would demand is one which could lead to UNDERSTANDING oneself as well as one's world. It would seek, in fact, ways in which *knowledge* and *understanding* could interweave and afford mutual inspiration. For knowledge by itself seeks generalizations



grounded on statistical, mathematical or logical verification; it does not deal with constellations of particular attributes to be found in specific situations. Understanding by itself could become so immersed in the particulars of unique situations that it could lose sight of the general horizons which knowledge affords. Two distinct, but ideally reciprocal, movements of thought are thus needed in order to allow reason to flower: the "outward" movement of analytical endeavour and the "homeward" movement of reflection and synthesis.

Creativity within the Rational Utopia becomes channelled toward discrete and specialized *technical* ends which often lose touch with other *practical* and *speculative* human interests. Ultimately the values lived out through this process tend to overshadow other human values—even the essential inspiration underlying rationality itself. Human reason ideally should provide the springboard for many other forms of creativity, particularly the kind needed in the discernment of problems and the choice of solutions. Not only is creativity in judgement badly needed but also the flexibility and caring for the implementation of these solutions. Such qualities often slip through the net cast by rationality's division of labour.

#### THE REGION: THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Two clusters of issues which preoccupy modern political consciousness are (a) how to deal with "housekeeping" of local areas, and (b) how to decentralize administrative and economic power within national or macro-regional complexes. The two are inseparable in practice and the distinction should not necessarily imply a separation. Each could be traced back to the long-standing conceptual divide between two different notions of the geographical region: the areally circumscribed "homogeneous" or formal region, and the nodally organized functional region.

Malaise with the life consequences of implementing these two types of regional plan also follows distinct patterns: on the one hand one bemoans the loss of regional identity, the sense of place, and the loss of political/administrative discretion over local life. And on the other one hears the complaint that sectoral specialization and the perceived requirements of "efficiency" have led to an overconcentration of investment and political power in particular nodes.

Scholars have sought clarification of these issues through various alternative philosophical and empirical reorientations. Fresh insight has indeed emerged concerning the mutually reinforcing circumstances which have shaped both the sociology and geography of planning experiences. In many academic and applied fields today there is a growing concern about the



contrast/polarity of "insider" versus "outsider" ways of interpreting reality and a serious effort to revise research models so as to make them more sensitive to the lived experience of people and places. Rationalization in various spheres of life has been by definition an "outsider's" enterprise. More accurately it could be described as the projection of particular "insider" worlds on to the life horizons of society in general.

Initially planning goals tended to follow sectoral (particularly economic) lines. Models were offered to optimize the "throughput efficiency" of activities and to streamline processes of administrative organisation. And a basically Cartesian world view—in both its political and structural sense—provided an ideological frame within which economic, social, and spatio-temporal rationalization could be harmonized.

The aggregate result within concrete situations, however, was often an unwieldy juxtaposition of administrative and/or functional domains where people no longer had either the political or technical capacity to exercise discretion over their own lives. To look at the story of planning as a whole in terms of this tension between "reason" and "rationality"—in the broad sense defined here—one needs illustrative cases which could serve as microcosm of the whole. Could the "region" provide a framework within which experiences in various sectoral realms could be reflected upon in a comparative way? The dialectic of national versus local interests, of economic efficiency versus social well-being, of technological versus ecological optima—these and other tensions arising from sectorized, managerially oriented planning—could be studied from the vantage point of VALUES discerned and judged by the real actors in the regional drama.

The regional framework could supply some of the necessary conditions of *thematic focus* for comprehensive evaluation. The sufficient conditions, however, may be more demanding. These would include the openness and courage to share reflections upon experience rather than debates between various theoretical stances. Most essentially, however, they would include the capacity to CARE ABOUT the object of concern and how its total welfare may have been enhanced or impeded through the period of rationalization. This quality of caring about the total life consequences of regional policy has scarcely become part of conventional agenda. An unconventional question needs to be posed and explored in unconventional ways.

When designing a process which could lead to comprehensive awareness one needs to consider carefully who its potential authors might be, to what kind of audience its efforts should be addressed, and eventually what media/procedures would be appropriate for initiating and implementing it.

Conventional rationality in research takes such choices for granted: usually a specific interest group commissions a study by a specific set of experts who usually deliver a product in the form of a printed report or

symposium with a selected audience. The actors in the process are "experts" whose agenda are often predefined and whose styles of enquiry and interpretation are usually shaped by conventional models and methods. The audience is usually passive and media not usually conducive to dialogue or critical self-awareness either by researchers themselves or by their audience. Reports are often filed and issues buried once political consciences have been salvaged through the "publication" of a report. The positive hope underlying this type of procedure was that rational discourse over issues and scientifically based KNOWLEDGE of them could yield blueprints for solving problems. De facto only those dimensions of problems which are amenable to analysis and management via rational methods have received explicit attention; the rest is usually assigned to the never-never land of committees and subcommittees for further study.

Reason rebels at the fragmentation of life and thought which results. Its voice is stifled when knowledge becomes alienated from life experience and personal identity is constrained by social role. It fails to offer its appropriate contribution to the understanding of everyday problems. Little wonder then that it has become virtually impossible for people to exercise much creative discretion over their own lives and environments.

So preoccupying indeed were the repair and maintenance of structures that one rarely stopped to ask WHEREFORE? Ironically, too, in the confusion of ends and means one often lost sight of that vision which initially inspired efforts to ameliorate life quality and to solve urgent social and environmental problems. Those very individuals whose courage and creativity laid the foundations for postwar enterprises in applied science receded from view. Yet who better than they to offer insight into the tension between ETHOS and STRUCTURE as experienced in their own careers? The "ends" envisioned—whether it be rationalizing economic structures, equalizing opportunity, streamlining communication systems, or promoting efficiency in production, and service fields—these "ends" represented commonly desired goals. The actual means chosen to implement those goals led to structures which eventually became impediments rather than facilitators of such achievement. Would it not be reasonable to engage retired/retiring professionals and real life participants in discussions about the processes of "development" and change as they have witnessed them?

To appreciate the long-term nature and consequences of change one needs to hear from people whose lives and careers have actually spanned the period under consideration. There are many individuals who have exercised leadership roles in planning and development and who may now be approaching retirement from formal roles within their respective institutions and professions. These individuals could now have the freedom and openness to share their own personal reflections on those very processes which they set in

motion. If they were to examine the interweaving of ideas and praxis within their own experiences would they not be in a unique position from which to speak about long-term consequences and implications of planning? When it comes to understanding the multifaceted ramifications of sectoral changes within the whole, the lived experience of individuals may be a richer source of insight than all critical knowledge produced through "evaluations" done by outsiders. From the depth of their engagement in the processes of change too, they may have valuable insight to offer on contemporary problems and on potential future trends. Those best equipped to understand the tension between rationality and reason within the story of particular regions could be (a) those who have lived within it and identify with it as their "home region" in dialogue with (b) those who designed or administered plans affecting the life horizons of that region. What science fails to provide so far is a language or medium through which the perspectives of these two sets of actors could be discussed or evaluated. The style of "research" required for this type of critical evaluation would demand more long-term commitment and patience than is usually demanded by the "objective" analytical procedures of scientific investigation. Ideally it should involve small group contexts in which individuals from a variety of backgrounds could share insights and questions regarding their own experiences.

The central goal would be to assess the reasonableness of those social and environmental changes which rationality has initiated. So broad a question demands reflection and self-awareness by all sectors of society affected by these developments. Could the geographical "region" not provide a useful catalyst for initiating such a process?

Those of us whose lives are surrounded by the structures of rationality are ill equipped to take a comprehensive look at the larger picture. Yet we teach and train young people who deserve a wider and more hopeful perspective on their world than our specialized expertise can provide. To many young people today the future appears like a closed maze of bureaucratically controlled channels through which they must file in order to get employment or a market for their produce. They have never known the conditions of life which inspired the older generation during the postwar years to build the technological and administrative structures which now dominate their world. To understand a present situation one has to understand its historical rationale. Educational programs, however, often offer little orientation to recent history—it has not yet been written in many cases—and training courses necessarily emphasize technical expertise within fairly circumscribed fields. This prevents many young people from grasping the connections between their "worlds" and others or even from appreciating the overall human and ecological significance of specialization. To initiate opportunities for students to actually be in touch with members of the retiring generation and to



modulate (balance) empirical/technical study with periodic interviews with the shapers of history would add enormously to their education.

In listening to autobiographically based accounts of dream and reality, we might also be encouraged to dream up creative solutions to the many problems facing tomorrow's world. Perhaps it is this kind of inspiration that is most urgently needed among the generation who will inherit the legacy of 1984.

#### MEDIA AND MESSAGE: AWARENESS AND RESPONSIBILITY

If one of the most important "messages" is to evoke creativity in both thought and praxis, and to promote a more critical attitude toward means and ends, then it should be clear that alternative media of communication should also be envisioned. This is particularly true if a "Third World" contribution to the dialogue should be envisioned. The print industry has become such an entrenched part of the taken-for-granted world of consultancy that one rarely examines the extent to which it forecloses rather than opens horizons. In many ways the abuse/overuse of print epitomizes the whole process whereby great idealism becomes shorn of its concrete appeal and ideas themselves become dismembered in the Catch 22 of specialized committees and sectors. An invitation to awareness and the raising of consciousness on issues as broad as those involved in contemporary life might be better facilitated via audio-visual media. To hear the voice and see the face of one who cares enough to share insights from his own lived experience could be far more inspiring than to read tomes of elegant prose. Videotaped conversation could also provide a relatively efficient means of sharing questions and answers within a great variety of contexts.

Surely this could provide a challenge to creative technicians today: what is needed is not only a relatively uncomplicated set of gadgets to facilitate such conversations but also the cooperation and dialogue which could safeguard them from the kinds of commercial and political manipulation to which other media have succumbed.

#### CREATIVITY AND CONSCIENTIZACAO

Critical reflection grounded in *human reason* demands a radical departure from conventional procedures. The long-term aims would be to stimulate an ongoing process of education and discovery rather than to deliver a product like a printed report or blueprint for survival. Instead of relying on sectoral specialization and scrutiny of narrowly circumscribed slices of the issue,



focus would rest on the interconnectedness of various sectors within the whole. Most importantly, the actors themselves should have maximum freedom to formulate the specific questions to be explored, and in exploring them they should be free to rely on their own experiences, memories, and judgements as well as to listen to those of others in a shared attempt to provoke awareness of what has been taken-for-granted in their own particular "worlds". Thus, for example, the hopes and fears, myths and prejudices, successes and failures, which stirred them to make particular choices should not be silenced: rather their influences on what was or is considered "rational" should constitute data for critical reflection. The need to use conventional media, and language, e.g., the printed statement or statistically documented report, should also be relaxed. Emphasis should rest on face-to-face discussions among small groups of people in an atmosphere of trust and openness.

The choice of potential "actors" has emerged from what might be regarded as a negative attitude toward conventional research—a choice not likely to please the majority of this paper's potential readers. Most of us, to be sure, needed to proceed with the myth that we actually were scriptwriters for the Regional Utopia. Unquestionably too the models and blueprints nurtured within academic circles have profoundly shaped the structure and content of change. But to insist on maintaining this myth through the critique of the drama would surely blunt our senses to what needs to be learned.

In the original scripts the "real" actors were OBJECTS of analysis—producers and consumers, professionals and clients, residents and commuters—AGGREGATED ROLES rather than human beings. A strong motivation underlying the "blueprint" was to contain whatever "subjective" habits and idiosyncracies which might hinder the overall march of rationalization, economic efficiency and political order. One rarely questioned the value assumptions implicit in this approach to knowledge and praxis: far too deeply anchored were the *ceteris paribus* and other alibis of "scientific" methodology. Besides, problems loomed large—social and environmental problems which could not be analysed or solved by specialized disciplines.

The Tower of Babel continued to grow. Evidence of managerial "success" in several domains of technology and economy lent energy and enthusiasm for further applications. From any one vertical shaft within the Tower it is hard to look backwards, sideways, or out: the tunnel vision so carefully cultivated by "science" has become reified in the social segmentation of expertise.

If it be realistic to assert that the original roles played by academics and consultants were those of stage designers for a drama subsequently enacted by others, should it not also be realistic to claim a similar role in the critique of that drama? Each country, each region, will undoubtedly have its own cast of characters. In many countries there may be similar types of "key movers" behind the planning enterprise.

A distinct range of issues would undoubtedly suggest within each sectoral domain. In each, however, a concern for both knowledge and understanding should lead to the discovery of common denominators between them. A considerable documentation already exists concerning externally manifest changes, i.e., there exists a certain level of KNOWLEDGE but not necessarily an UNDERSTANDING of them. Some of the questions which we urgently need to understand today are:

- The long-term human and ecological consequences of rationalization within both "producer" and "consumer" fields
- the tension between requirements of economic or technological efficiency versus the minimum requirements of social justice and community life
- the tension between regional/national versus local interests—the center-periphery problem, centralization
- the definition of RESOURCES: beyond those which have been identified in terms of economic/technological growth, what about human creativity, culture, quality of local life and environment? Some "resources" are renewable, some only at a great cost, some not at all once depleted.

And when it comes to discussing resources, what more precious or more vulnerable than personal creativity? Should one not examine carefully the conditions which either foster or constrain creativity within individual human lives, noting those which implicitly or explicitly assign a passive (client or consumer) role to individuals versus those which evoke (or invite) an active sharing of responsibility by human subjects in their own growth as persons and in the building of human communities? That same rational process which dissects, analyses, dismembers and reassembles "parts" of life, could it not be regarded itself as an integral feature in the relative demise of creativity in recent history? Enormous achievements in science, technology, administration and programming display the double-edged nature of specialized innovation. Each of them also illustrates the cost of untamed *hybris* for life as a whole. To restore YIN to YANG, to allow the centering energies of reflection and caring to enrich and guide the horizon-piercing energies of calculation and analysis, to let knowledge and understanding speak to one another . . . the counterpoint melodies of Prometheus and Epimetheus need to rediscover one another. This is no longer merely a poet's dream but an urgent need.

Hold fast to dreams  
for if dreams die  
Life is but a broken-winged bird  
that cannot fly  
—Langston Hughes

## NOTES

1. The ambiguous terms "reason" and "rationality" are used with a deliberately heuristic purpose in mind. Diverse constellations of meaning which have surrounded these words—from Anaxagoras's conception of NOUS to the pre- and post-Socratic LOGOS through Roman RATIO to Enlightenment notions of REINE VERNUNFT and PURE REASON—reveal perhaps more about the civilizations which defined and used them than they do about essential human nature or creativity. This essay picks up some threads from a twentieth-century drama where commonly held brands of "subjective reason" became labelled as "rationality" and translated themselves into practical measures for transforming the everyday life horizons of people through a process known as "rationalization". The expression "reason" is used throughout in a metaphorical rather than any literal sense. It is intended to provoke questions regarding what it could or should mean in contemporary life rather than propose a specific definition. More tangible indeed seems "rationality" as an implicit or explicit ideology which governs academic thought and its extensions within applied fields. A distinction is recognized, of course, between what one might call "technical" or "instrumental" rationality and "critical" rationality which ideally seeks to retain some connections not only among its own various branches but also to remain open to qualities of understanding and insight formerly associated with human reason. The entire essay is an invitation to awareness of issues and not a proposal for their resolution.
2. See "'Insiders', 'outsiders', and the geography of regional life" (op. cit.) and "Home, reach, and the sense of place", *Acta univ. Ups. Symp. univ. Ups.* II (1978), pp. 13–39 for a fuller discussion of these points.