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INVITATION
TO
DIALOGUE

A Progress Report

The hope that inspires this process is a hope I have in human beings — that in every human being there is a fundamental quest for centering and wholeness. And if we can translate that into our own thinking and its application — we may then be able to work together toward a more centered way of living with the earth, making a home with the earth.

A.B.

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PREFACE

The progressive division of tasks and specialization in knowledge and skills have made many academic disciplines and practicing professions and occupations into unknown foreign countries for each others' inhabitants and for lay outsiders. This situation creates difficulties and even dangers. Channels of communication that ought to exist have narrowed to next to nothing. Cross-disciplinary or applied work seems many times to be more a power-game or an exercise in diplomatic negotiation than fertilizing cooperation.

Today a growing number of efforts are being made to try to counteract fragmentation and lack of mutual understanding. Our joint Dialogue Project is one of these efforts, trying to attack the problem from a new angle.

One can travel in foreign countries in different moods and with different ambitions. For the sake of recreation, tourists are curious about new scenery, habits and languages. Explorers go deeper. They make maps of the landscape and try to understand the culture. Some - who do not even have a classification of their own - are looking for mirrors in order to better understand themselves and their own cultures. Correspondingly we find tourists and explorers in the world of learning. Popularization and marketing of information is a growth industry. A few practitioners in the theory of knowledge and the history of ideas have set out to do some serious mapping across boundaries.

The third variety, however - that without a name - is largely missing: to look across boundaries in a climate that furthers reflection and self-understanding. And yet, the disadvantages and dangers entailed in fragmentation and specialization are maybe best counteracted by encouraging everybody to look inwards as well as outwards and to develop a deeper feeling for his/her own place in the larger context.

The Dialogue Project, initially designed by Anne Buttimer, aims at developing a practical instrument for transcending boundaries and providing mirrors for reflection. The main purpose is not to achieve research products of the ordinary kind. So the term 'project' is not really adequate. It is instead a matter of initiating a process. But clearly, in this process a source of data will accumulate which might help to explore certain aspects of how knowledge is created and maintained as well as distorted. The more central idea, however, is to construct a simple vehicle for communication that is able to reach deeper into matters of mutual understanding than print can do as a rule.

In 1976, when Anne visited Sweden as a Fulbright lecturer, we came to talk about the perspectives on learning that would be needed in order to give coherence to work on 'future oriented research' for which Torsten had responsibility within the new frame of national research councils. We agreed that in this time of boundless expansion of knowledge and its sometimes questionable application, a centering effort was long overdue. This effort could appropriately be called 'care of knowledge' or perhaps better 'care for knowledge' (*kunskapsvård*), a concept which from that moment on has played a leading role in the design of projects and seminars of the Committee for Future Oriented Research, in Sweden.

The Dialogue Project is a contribution to the 'care for knowledge'. It has now gone through a period of experimentation since its beginning in spring 1978. The following is an account written by Anne, of the experiences thus far. It is in the nature of the endeavour that it is difficult - or indeed impossible - to report fully in print. The major purpose is not to study people and their ideas. It is to involve them. One has to take part in the process in person in order really to feel the gist of it. So what can be rendered here are only some outward features and some preliminary conclusions.

The reader of the following pages should keep in mind that the Dialogue Project, in the longer perspective, aims at creating an international community of concern about the quality and implications of contemporary thought and life milieux. Only a few first steps have been taken. Nevertheless, the report is composed in a fairly broad way in order to give an impression of the whole frame of thinking. The Project in itself aims to create a front against the

negative aspects of fragmentation. It would be contrary to its own purpose to cut it up in separate pieces. Therefore, many issues will be dealt with, but they should be looked at in the same way as one looks at a holographic picture rather than as a mosaic of discrete parts.

The preliminary work reported in the following pages has been supported by grants from *The Committee for Future Oriented Research* and from *The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation*. We gratefully acknowledge the generosity of both institutions.

Anne Buttimer

Torsten Hägerstrand

ABSTRACT

Fragmentation of knowledge and life milieux, so often associated with specialization in science and planning, provided the broad challenge for a DIALOGUE PROJECT initiated by Torsten Hägerstrand and Anne Buttimer in Sweden during the Academic Years 1977-1979. The initial incentive for confronting such a wide-ranging set of issues arose from a paper on *Values in Geography* (Buttimer, 1974), after which the author was invited as a Fulbright lecturer to offer a series of seminars in Lund on problems of knowledge and experience. More than forty participants from ten widely different disciplines took part in this seminar, and foundations were laid for an experientially-grounded approach to the problems of communication across disciplines. The present project was initiated when Anne Buttimer was invited to accept a full time position in Sweden by the Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet (Council for Humanities and Social Science) in 1977. Financial support for this pilot phase of the Dialogue Project was granted by the Swedish Committee for Future Oriented Research and the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. The geography department at the University of Lund continues to provide material and administrative help, with Torsten Hägerstrand as Co-Director.

From the beginning, it was assumed that the sociology of academic praxis and the language and media normally used in proposing and implementing research tended to impede rather than to facilitate communication across disciplinary and sectoral boundaries. Existing power relations within the present organization of academic institutions, too, were seen to prevent rather than promote such sharing of results as could lead to mutual understanding or a comprehensive grasp of life problems. Basic principles

for an alternative philosophy of knowledge were proposed at the outset, and alternative approaches to research and its applications were to be explored through a process of dialogue.

Primary sources of inspiration for this Dialogue were in-depth TV-recorded interviews with senior and retired professionals who shared insights from reflection on their own career experiences. A series of such interviews around the theme 'Dream and Reality' has provided accounts of contexts in which models and theories were developed and applied in a variety of sectors - accounts based on the perceptions and evaluations of key leaders and witnesses of movements in applied science. These interviews were then shown to audiences of various kinds (students, consultants, professionals), their responses recorded, and discussions generated. The aim of these discussions was to evoke awareness of historical and contextual influences on the development of theoretical and applied models in various sciences, and simultaneously to elicit critical reflection on the taken-for-granted ideas and praxis within the viewer's own discipline or sector. Through a process of dialogue, common denominators of concern over human values emerged. The long term objective is to pursue this method of experientially-grounded reflection in order to discover alternative approaches to both research and planning which would permit better communication among specialists, and help each to place his/her special expertise in a larger horizon of understanding.

Three distinct but interrelated foci of attention have guided the initial 2-years phase of this dialogue project: 1) the history of ideas and praxis, with particular attention to the history of geographic thought, 2) the social and ecological implications of 'rationalization' in the planning of selected spheres, and 3) human creativity and its contexts. The Progress Report summarizes the current stage of progress on each of these themes. Through a variety of formal and informal exercises, some guidelines for alternative pedagogical and research directions have emerged. Autobiographically-based reflections on the post World War II era in any one sector tend to encourage similar reflections in others, and doors have been opened for sharing insight across boundaries which conventional research does not easily permit. Just as diversity of disciplinary background tends to encourage more openness among specialized researchers within Sweden, so, too, the presence

of 'foreign' participants has helped to place the Swedish experience in a cross-cultural frame of reference. The project has established ongoing links with scholars in a wide variety of European countries, with catalysts for the Dialogue process already engaged in Finland, Norway, Israel, Austria, Ireland, and the USA. Each of the other countries involved has procured minimal 'host' expenses for initiating the Dialogue process, but continued work will depend on joint funding, on a cost sharing basis.

Two potentially fruitful avenues for progress with the Dialogue process seem justified:

1. More careful scrutiny of texts, oral and written, toward an experientially-grounded clarification of:
 - a) the sociology and power relations surrounding research and planning, and the forces which impede or facilitate mutual understanding or sharing of results among specialists;
 - b) the relationships between human creativity (practical, speculative, or technical) and its total environment.
- 2) More experimentation with a Dialogue approach to education at all levels, but particularly to test its efficacy in enriching the training of specialists, whether in academic, managerial, or professional lines.

I. INVITATION TO DIALOGUE: A PROGRESS REPORT

Introduction

Three major concerns have motivated this invitation to dialogue. One related to the fragmentation of knowledge and difficulties of communication between functionally-specialized fields of expertise. A second was the impact of applied science on the quality of contemporary life and environment with particular emphasis on rationalization in the planning of selected spheres, e.g., health, housing, education, enterprise, and others. A third related to human creativity, not only in speculative realms of thought but also in practical and technical aspects of life.

To adumbrate such seemingly disparate problems within the framework of a single project may, at first glance, seem absurd or naive. A priori, it is difficult to sense any potentially common threads in either the analysis or solution of these problems. Yet it was precisely in order to seek connections between them — to pose a radical challenge to this perceived disparateness and its perpetuation in conventional fields of knowledge, that this Dialogue Project was first conceived. To focus on any of these issues independently necessarily impedes a discovery of their interdependence. To break the total picture into discrete parts, as is customary in conventional research, would impede an elucidation of essentially common concerns about thought and praxis. To discover an appropriate method of generating dialogue over such complex issues was regarded as a challenge to human creativity both on part of the research team itself and on that of all potential participants. From the beginning, therefore, the project did not proceed with a priori hypotheses to be tested or forgone conclusions to ratify; it opened a direction for shared effort rather than a path to a particular destination. From the outset we recognized that the very language and media conventionally used in formulating and discussing such problems, tied as they are to the sociology and power relations characteristic of contemporary research, were inadequate and inappropriate for much more than

further critical study - 'autopsy' - of our present situations. A need was felt for alternatives - alternatives to be sought by scholars themselves, each beginning with his/her 'home' situation or discipline, and all eventually reaching toward common denominators of concern about human values in thought and praxis.

The project began in Sweden, a country where the experience of such concerns may differ more in degree than in kind from that prevailing elsewhere. Because of its particular academic and social history, however, Sweden offers good illustrations of processes which are becoming increasingly dominant elsewhere. Through this dialogue process we hoped to develop a philosophically critical stance which could place the Swedish situation in a cross-cultural and comparative perspective. Rather than attempt a conventional 'outsiders' analysis and report on problems, the dialogue process initiated critical evaluation and reflection by members of various sectors within Sweden and simultaneously encouraged other groups from Euro-American and developing societies to engage in a similar process of enquiry. The aim was to complement existing scientific approaches to the conceptual and practical problems mentioned above by first elucidating basic issues of human values arising from lived experience with ideas and praxis. Ultimately, our intention was to invite, from as wide a spectrum of people as possible, responsible engagement in both the discernment of problems and the design and implementation of solutions.

Initial Assumptions

*'There is a center in us all
where truth abides in fullness
and to know
rather consists in opening out a way
where this emprisoned splendour may escape
than in effecting entrance for a light
supposed to be without'*

Robert Browning

Credo language rarely intrudes itself in project prose. Emotion, intuition, hope or despair are normally banished from the mirrors

and masks of the researcher's symbolic interaction. Yet without some bases of intuitive trust - some glimmers of certainty about the value of the enterprise - why should one engage in a research project at all? An act of faith in human beings, and in HUMAN REASON and CREATIVITY, a faith which is neither defensible nor reprehensible on purely logical grounds, underlies this whole adventure in dialogue. This Progress Report can only offer a surface impression: a narrative of events which constitute the stepping stones on the pilot phase of what hopefully may become a fresh orientation to academic life and its interface with the lived world of human experiences.

Browning's lines could be regarded as a precursor to the many voices of contemporary art and philosophy arguing for resuscitation of personal creativity in a socio-technically dominated world. Some, indeed, have argued that modern man has been reduced to an automaton, reacting to, and believing in, externally imposed authorities on knowledge and action. Some argue that the influence of such externalities should be erased from consciousness before human beings can exercise creativity or taste of freedom. Others will sneer at such 'trivialities', warn against the narcissism which could attend the pursuit of 'subjectivity', and seek to demonstrate, on scientific grounds, that freedom and dignity are relict and dangerous myths. Social scientists, whether engaged in theoretical or applied work, find themselves buffeted by conflicting ideological views on the nature of personhood and society. One enduring credo which has implicitly or explicitly shaped most modern social scientific consciousness, however, is that RATIONALITY can transcend such biases and subjectivity: that rational means can be devised whereby problems can be explained and ultimately resolved. A taken-for-granted price for such an achievement is that each part of the whole has to be separated out for special treatment, each component dealt with, *ceteris paribus*, in its own terms. For all its efficacy in reducing complexity and streamlining the analytical phase of scientific endeavor, rational methods per se have not yielded lasting or life-supporting solutions to human and technological problems.

Even a cursory glance at this period of human history, during which rationality has been the ruling myth, evokes questions about *value* choices which are implicit in both its intellectual foundations and pragmatic outcomes. If one places these questions

in the context of Western beliefs about human reason, several provocative issues arise. The fundamental assumption underlying this invitation to dialogue is that human reason, if liberated from some of the constraints imposed on it during the era of functional rationality, can be the well-spring for creative solutions to those philosophical and practical dilemmas which we have posed. This report sketches the methodology used in a pilot phase of the Dialogue Project, describes some of its strengths and limitations and notes current progress and the prospects for future endeavor.

Project Team

The dialogue process was initiated by two geographers, Torsten Hägerstrand (Lund, Sweden) and Anne Buttner (Worcester, USA), who, albeit from the same discipline, held widely contrasting perspectives on knowledge and life. Torsten Hägerstrand who has spent four decades trying to promote geography as a science and also applied work in regional and economic planning, approached this project with a long experience in both theory and practice. Anne Buttner had drawn inspiration from the classical French humanist tradition and had endeavored to introduce phenomenological and existential perspectives into the field. She had had only brief experience with planning concerns. Both had engaged in various forms of interdisciplinary discourse, Torsten interacting primarily with economists, demographers, technologists, and politicians, Anne mostly with philosophers, sociologists, and psychologists. Both had cultivated a keen interest in the history of ideas, and from their contrasting stances, felt the need to bridge the gulf between scientific knowledge and human lived experience, to seek ways in which the fruits of specialized research could be harvested for the amelioration of life and environmental quality.

Through a variety of formal and informal discussions between 1971 and 1976, the idea of an international dialogue over these far-reaching issues emerged. It was in October 1977, when Anne was invited to accept a position with the Swedish Council for Humanities and Social Science, that this hope began to take on substance. She received a leave of absence from the Graduate School of Geography at Clark University, and with the support and encouragement of the Geography Department at Lund, the

dialogue process was formulated during the Fall of 1977. The period between October 1977 and June 1979 was entirely devoted to the pilot phase of the Dialogue Project.

Dr. David Seamon, an American geographer well versed in phenomenology, joined the project during the summer of 1978 and has continued to work on participants' responses to questions of creativity and place.

Jim Sellers, a Canadian geographer, with experience in the design and use of TV media, philosophy and practical issues, joined us in September 1978 and contributed enormously to the implementation of video procedures during the three following months. Christina Nordin, a geography graduate student at Göteborg, joined the team in January 1979; she provided assistance on administrative and technical matters until July 1979. Dr. Daniel Amarol, at the Graduate School of Geography at Clark University, provided invaluable assistance in the final preparation and editing of this Report during the Fall of 1979.

Several secretaries have helped either through part-time or full-time assistance during the pilot phase. It is to Ingela Gerdin that credit is due for a variety of practical contributions during the first 8 months. Part-time assistance was offered by several others until Susanne Krüger assumed a full-time secretarial responsibility in January 1979. She has provided not only technical service but also valuable insight and responsibility during the final months of the pilot phase. Gunborg Bengtsson has helped to hold threads together.

Philosophical Foundations for Dialogue

The first initiative for dialogue was taken in an essay entitled '*kunskapsvård*' ('Caring for Knowledge', see Appendix A 1) which was circulated to a small circle of colleagues in October 1977. This essay outlined the general idea behind the dialogue process and also proposed a methodology. Recognizing the potential role constraints on researchers and teachers in professional and academic milieux, this essay did not propose a direct approach to dialogue. An appeal was rather made to retired/retiring professionals and

scholars to render accounts of their own career experiences of theory and praxis. Video-recorded interviews around the central theme 'Dream and Reality' were to be the primary sources of inspiration for subsequent dialogue; the interviews were to be shared with audiences of various kinds, thereby generating discussions of value, creativity, and the human implications of applied science and planning. It was hoped that the autobiographically-based insights and questions raised in these interviews could elicit responses in kind, viz., critical reflection by each viewer on the value implications of specialized expertise and its relationship to human creativity.

We assumed, from the beginning, that the challenge for critical reflection and dialogue over taken-for-granted conventions would require more historical depth than is normally possible within specialized fields. It was for this reason that members of the retired/retiring generation were invited to share their own experientially grounded insights on the connections between ideas and their practical applications. We hoped they would be mostly free from those psychological and political constraints which often surround actively employed professionals and that they would therefore be more open to developing a critical and reflective perspective on issues. Videotape was to replace print and questionnaire largely because we expected the visual and vocal aspects of their 'message' - their presence - to be just as important to potential audiences as the intellectual content of their words.

Finally, we assumed that an international cast of participants would make a provocative contribution to intranational dialogue - that the presence of 'foreigners' could be a catalyst enabling Swedish 'experts' to communicate better over common issues. The extension of Project horizons to Europe and America seemed crucial, in order to provoke awareness of problems which transcend national and cultural boundaries. In fact, we had hoped, circumstances permitting, that Third World societies could also be included from the outset.

The Project method was thus designed to incorporate both analytical and reflective modes of thought. It was to be experientially-grounded, personal rather than individualistic. Each participant was invited to reflect on his/her own situation as part of a community of concern, whether disciplinary or sectoral. If our method were successful, each participant would then become a catalyst for

a continuing dialogue process within his/her own 'home' field, as well as a 'link' person for dialogue between fields.

A more explicit definition of 'dialogue' and of the rationale for the use of video, is provided in Chapter II. The most innovative element, and the most unconventional from a Swedish point of view, was the insistence on an experientially-grounded reflective component as preparation for dialogue at all stages of the process. We hoped, in fact, that one of the results of our effort might be a set of sharable guidelines for such reflection - that eventually participants could design a Handbook or Working Journal which could serve as an instrument for evaluating one's own work and placing it within wider horizons of relevance than is usually required within specialized branches of knowledge and praxis.

Procedures and Foci for the Dialogue Process

The initial invitation to dialogue - the 'Caring for Knowledge' paper - proposed three distinct streams of endeavor. First one was to 'begin at home', to look at the record of geography's own 'Dream and Reality' in the twentieth century. It was argued that geography could be regarded as having experienced in microcosm many of the dilemmas facing science and life generally, e.g., the cost and benefits of functional specialization among its own subfields, the dilemmas of reconciling human technological interests in the ongoing relationship between people and their milieux. Within the rubric of a single discipline, too, one could more easily reach out toward an international network of participants, and come to grips with value concerns which might not be raised so openly in cross-disciplinary settings.* We hoped too that this initiative could eventually enhance the prospects for a dialogue process within Sweden.

Simultaneous to the initial activities in geography, an effort was to be made to begin dialogue within particular sectors of prac-

* The proposal for an autobiographically-based approach to the history of geographic thought and praxis had already been submitted to the International Geographical Union's Commission on the History of Geographic Thought in 1976 and 1977 and had been received positively.

tical concern, e.g., health, education, housing, regional planning, and others. In almost every planning sector one readily finds complaint about the unintended spin-off effects of functional specialization. From the managerial side, the challenge of coordinating or administering services, for instance, has become a virtually insuperable political problem, while from the viewpoint of consumers and clients, one often finds frustration and stress over the fragmentation of services and the general dismemberment of taken-for-granted local worlds. A dialogue procedure was to be initiated within particular sectors, but discretion over the actual procedures to be followed was to be left primarily to the key participants from within the sector. The rationale for this second challenge was outlined in a paper* which was circulated to a large number of colleagues in applied fields as well as to scholars in philosophy and the humanities.

The question of human creativity, though *implicit* in both of these streams of concern, was also to be given *explicit* attention of its own. A symposium of selected scholars, including some who were involved in the two projects outlined above, was planned. The symposium theme would be the scholars' personal insights on the social and environmental circumstances which fostered and hindered their own work. At this meeting also, an experimental workbook was to be introduced and used by the participants. Their feedback would guide its amendment and revision. A short description of this event, held at Sigtuna in June 1978, will be issued later this year.

The Pilot Phase

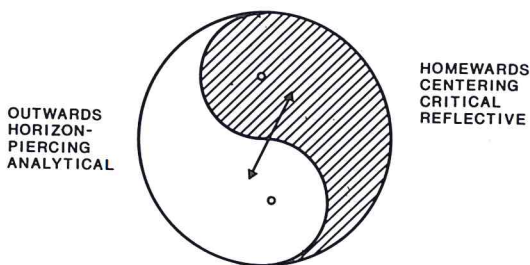
A variety of experiments, seminars, and informal discussions have constituted a 'trial-and-error' phase of testing alternative dialogical procedures. Some of the key steps in this phase will be described in the following pages. By definition, of course, the dialogue process itself should reveal the most appropriate strategy within any given situation or special thematic area (e.g., planning sector or

* 'Reason, Rationality, and Human Creativity', *Geografiska Annaler*, Ser. B, Number 1, 1979.

discipline). What is reported here is simply the initiators' impressions of a diverse array of experiences which have (hopefully) been perceived and evaluated differently by other participants in the process. Subsequent reports will be authored by those who have assumed leadership roles within particular sectors and/or national contexts. Even at this stage, however, it is useful to summarize the 'state-of-the-art', thematically and methodologically, so that other may gain something from our effort. The thematic organization chosen for this report involves some distortion of the actual chronology of events; position statements will be included to indicate the initiators' perceptions at particular stages of the process. In fact, it is difficult to describe the scope and orientations of the venture without giving the impression of foregone conclusions. Despite all this, the ideas and evaluations contained in the Progress Report should be regarded as invitations to further dialogue, rather than challenges for more abstract arguments or gladiatorial debates. The guidelines which have been consistently pursued, have been very general:

- (i) to foster a better balance (reciprocity) between analytical and reflective approaches to knowledge and life;
- (ii) to seek a better harmonization of specialized expertise and a sense of the 'whole picture';
- (iii) to discover links/parallels between individual ('subjective') experience and general ('objective') patterns;
- (iv) to discern 'solutions' to issues which could harness the creative energies of all people concerned.

These concerns are represented symbolically in Figure I.



From the outset it became clear that a fundamental key to most problem areas lies in LANGUAGE and in the different meanings ascribed to words and symbols by experts and laymen alike. The social and institutional barriers to communication among specialized fields can be found reflected in the language worlds within which they function. Ironically, however, different meanings can be simultaneously ascribed to the same word, and superficial agreement on terms and symbols can mask fundamental impasses in communication. The word DIALOGUE offers a good illustration: it is a term which evokes a wide constellation of meanings ranging from Platonic indoctrination through political debate to the intimate one-to-one exchange between two people. For the author, it has been a creative learning experience to discern differences in the philosophical and existential meaning of the term 'dialogue' as it was employed by the various participants in this project. Before defining the key features of the term, as it came to be used in the project (the main task of Chapter II), it would be useful, perhaps, to outline the overall substantive focus of the rest of this report.

Chapter III, entitled 'Creativity and Context', describes progress to date on the autobiographically-based approach to the history of ideas and praxis, as well as on the experientially-grounded approach to the study of creativity and milieu. Chapter IV, 'Reason and Rationality' describes some of the steps taken within a few selected specialized sectors (e.g., agriculture, regional planning and health), to initiate a dialogue approach to interdisciplinary communication. Chapter V focusses more specifically on the 'Dream and Reality' of health planning in Sweden, a dialogue process only now beginning to develop, but one which illustrates the possibilities for analogous work in other sectors. Chapter VI, 'Media and Message', reviews and evaluates the entire process thus far and outlines some prospects for international development of the Dialogue idea.

II. A DIALOGUE PROJECT

The Nature of Dialogue

Dialogue, like dialect and dialectics, derives from two root words in Greek: 'dia' ('across', 'through') and 'legestai' ('to tell' or 'to discourse'). The association with 'di' ('two') is not relevant in this case; 'dialogue' is not necessarily restricted to two people. The *Dialogues* of Plato had an explicitly pedagogical aim: to educate by posing leading questions to the 'uneducated'. The dialogue is also a very ancient literary form in which a subject is elucidated by two or more persons representing contrasting perspectives. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the form was widely used in religious and political debate as well as in science and teaching. Galileo, for example, compared the old and new theories of celestial motion in his famous 'Dialogue on the Great World Systems'. More recently, Jacob Bronowski has revived the form in [The Dialogue of] *The Abacus and the Rose*.

Investigation of the *logos* or logic of intellectual puzzles through dialogical discourse was probably a primary motivation for the progress of 'dialectics' and of the rhetorical schools of Scholastic Europe. Through the centuries, however, a fundamental distinction - noted most recently by Merleau-Ponty and some existentialist philosophers - emerged between dialectics and dialogue. A precondition for *authentic* dialogue is to recognize a plurality of perspectives - to affirm the integrity of different but potentially complementary stances within an evolving reality. Dialectics begins with the definition of opposing theses and proceeds to examine the contradictions and conflicts which produce a third thesis, viz., the synthesis. Dialectics, then orients one's attention to processes of structural change and transformation, whereas dialogue can open horizons beyond those of exclusively structural interest. Dialogue can call into question the very definitions of structure and praxis which dialectics takes for granted. In Mounier's perso-

nalist sociology, for example, dialogue involves more than intellectual process alone; it evokes for each participant a critical reflection on his/her own beginning stance. Together, the participants seek potential common denominators. Dialectics, on the other hand, succeed only if each antagonist holds firmly to a fixed intellectual position, eliminating what may be complementary or jointly relevant in their initial stances. Translated into practical results, the weakness of dialogue is that it cannot guarantee logically defensible outcomes like those which dialectics can provide. On the other hand, dialectics can reinforce vested interests in non-communication, whereas dialogue must always remain open and provocative. The printed word and, indeed, our cherished style of academic parley currently make dialectics the more acceptable style in the international exchange of knowledge and expertise. But neither the professional journal nor the academic meeting normally can accomodate any real dialogue over experience and understanding.

A New Medium for the Old Art of Dialogue

The classical dialogues were written by one author who tried to transport himself into the various intellectual 'positions' represented in the text. Thus, they were not authentic dialogues between different minds. Even had they been authored by two or more persons, the written form, of course, would have eradicated much of the continuous stream of consciousness and spontaneity which is characteristic of a real conversation. Today we have technical means at our disposal for recording dialogues in real time. C. H. Waddington used such means in his two Gifford presentations, *The Nature of Mind* and *The Development of Mind* (1972-73), in which four scholars - representing theology, philosophy, computer science and biology - let their debate go to print from slightly edited tape-recordings. The outcome is remarkably interesting to read, certainly more revealing than if each participant had presented his case in a separate paper or had written his statements at the desk at home.

But why let an exercise of this kind end up in print at all? The obvious manner of dissemination today would be to give people

an opportunity to listen to the recordings themselves - more time-consuming than reading, true, but no more demanding than taking part in the real occasion in the first place. The point, of course, is that the voices of speakers give an extra dimension to any text. The more recently introduced video-recording brings the documentation still a step closer to real life. Simultaneously to see and to hear a speaker is nearly the same as being present. It is quite clear that the understanding of a text is rather different when one just reads it in print and when one sees it expressed by the author in person. Eyes, facial gestures, movements of hands and body reveal otherwise hidden valuations, attachments, hesitations and varieties of feelings which help the viewer to take a step into the world of the speaker.

The Dialogue Project is an experiment in using video-tape as a major form of professional communication. The video medium is particularly well suited to the purpose, since we want not only to establish contact among individuals on the level of concepts and theories but also to highlight the *personal* experience of professional worlds. We want to facilitate communication about how it has been to *live with* a certain universe of concepts, to try to develop it and try to find a place for it in the wider context of theory, practice, institutions and social circumstances. We want to catch glimpses of creative moments and environments as well as of confining situations. We want to give one kind of specialist (or students or laymen) the opportunity to get some living insight into the worlds in which other kinds of specialists think and act. The video medium gives the same freedom with respect to time and place as print - the bonus is the 'presence' of participants. Not only is it possible to record a debate in one place and to show it to a different group in another place later on, but it is also possible to show it time and time again to many groups. It can even be shown to the initial participants, and they may respond to their own performance. Further, the response can itself be recorded and sent back. In this manner, it is feasible to build up a dialogue among widely spread participants.

The major practical problem with video-tape is the time it takes to see a number of recordings. It is so much faster to read a text, as we have been accustomed to do. But, of course, viewing a video-recording is not to be compared with reading at all. It should be compared with going to conferences, sitting in at seminars or, in

general, spending time with other people on matters of mutual concern. In this latter respect there exists an economics of scale in the use of recordings. Many can get access to few who have things of special interest to say but little time to spend. And above all, communication is personal, even across wide distances, but without the cost and effort of travel.

Dialogue and Discernment

Academic and political history abound with examples of how language and style of presentation can increase an individual's power of persuasion. Literary evidence as well as experiences known to most of us show that dialogue can become a method of indoctrination on the one hand, or an evoker of insight and awareness on the other. Is there a way of initiating dialogue which genuinely invites the other to respond freely and creatively? At minimum, it seems imperative that the ideological and intellectual presuppositions of the initiator's stance be clarified at the very outset and that each participant works to become aware of his/her ideological assumptions. The dialogue process intended in this project was designed to be a shared creative experience, in which each participant would come to affirm and respect the integrity of other intellectual positions and would also become open to critical reflection on his/her own stances. The measure of any dialogue's effectiveness was the extent to which participants in it could experience some fuller development of themselves as well as an increased awareness of their world. This development was to touch upon human experience at a variety of social 'scales': e.g., personhood, neighborhood, nationhood. We hope, too, that on its furthest horizons, such dialogue will contribute to the well-being of life-sustaining systems on our planet. From this vantage point all societies are in need of development. Four key features of the dialogue approach, therefore, are:

(i) *'The Microcosmic-Macrocosmic' perspective*: Within each individual person, health and wholeness demand an inner dialogue which reconciles the needs of mind, heart, will and body. Health and wholeness require an openness to understanding other persons and understanding of one's world as well. Personal development throughout a lifetime can be seen as a microcosm of macro-social

development. Similarly, localities and places, communities and organizations can be seen to have experienced, in microcosm, elements of macrocosmic developments.

(ii) *YIN/YANG Reciprocity*: Each human process demands a 'breathing in' and a 'breathing out': in behavior, the reciprocity of action and rest; in thought, the reciprocity between the outward movement of analytical and calculative thought and the homeward movement of reflection and synthesis. So too in dialogue between persons there is the reaching toward an understanding of the other and a centering backwards toward oneself. On a societal plane a similar reciprocity is needed in the interaction between classes, generations, and interest groups. It is only through dialogue that each group can discern its own identity and role within the whole, whether this be at an intra-national or an international scale.

(iii) *Person and Community*: Conventional approaches to scientific communication can actually *impede* dialogue. Formal organizations of disciplines have derived in the past from a mechanistic world view and reductionist definitions of human individuals and society. A more dynamic and organic conception of human persons and of society is needed in all of the theoretical and practical aspects of science. Human life, personal and collective, needs an ongoing process of discernment - a giving and receiving - which allows each person and each social group to understand its appropriate role and contribution to total human development.

(iv) *Tension between Ethos and Structure*: Within most social settings, contradictions can be seen between the values explicitly affirmed by groups/movements and those which are explicitly or implicitly supported within the group structure and acted out in the power relations of those institutions which have developed to implement the movement. Examples include unions, universities, disciplines, industries, churches and governments. Social scientists normally comment on these contradictions under the rubrics of 'THEORY versus PRAXIS', but the dialectical discourse of this problem often fails to yield solutions other than structural reform. Focus on the tension between ETHOS and STRUCTURE can open horizons on to the level of collective myth and other taken-for-granted influences on stability and change in the socio-political fabric of society.

A commitment to dialogue on the major issues we have raised

demands several departures from conventional analytical and decision-making procedures. DIALOGUE is a metaphor both for the procedures that should be followed and the direction in which solutions to problems are to be found. Instead of further analysis and autopsy on problems of fragmentation and integration of knowledge from an 'outsider' or 'consultant' stance, we need to acknowledge our everyday roles as 'insiders' to real world manifestations of these problems. Through a process of discernment *within* our 'home' situations, we may reach toward common denominators with others. Conventional approaches fail to yield potential solutions to our problems not only because of the logical constraints surrounding fields of expertise (*ceteris paribus* and other conventions) but also because of the rigidity in sociologically defined division of labour among fields. Taken as a whole, the social organization, languages and power relationships taken-for-granted in many worlds of expertise can be seen as supporting career-vested interests in non-communication.

III. CREATIVITY AND CONTEXT

Background and Rationale

A rocket rising in the wake of time's arrow, that only bursts to be extinguished, an eddy rising on the bosom of a descending current - such then must be our picture of the world. So says science, and I believe in science, but up to now has science ever troubled to look at the world other than from WITHOUT?... Co-existent with their without there is a WITHIN to things.

Determinate without, but 'free' within: would the two aspects of things be irreducible and incommensurable?

Teilhard de Chardin

The mystery of creation has stirred human speculation for millennia. For the scientist it is an irresistible puzzle, horizons of clarity approaching and receding with the ebb and tide of explanatory theory; for the artist or poet it is simply mystery to be celebrated in art, liturgy and drama. Definitions of human creativity reflect the definer's attitude toward creation, ranging from Promethean hybris in mastering the intellectual and practical challenge offered by life to Epimethean acquiescence and graceful accommodation of individual life to ongoing cosmic and environmental processes. To look at human creativity from the vantage point of the history of ideas is to confront a gargantuan task. One is inevitably caught between the Scylla of subjectivism and the Charybdis of objectification.

The historian's lenses are fundamentally influenced by the social and environmental circumstances of his own day. It is from historians, particularly those of structuralist orientation, that the most challenging hypotheses are being raised today concerning the connections between language, knowledge and power. The cacophony of protest and defense surrounding the University and its relationship to society which preceded May 1968 in Paris has yielded a plethora of printed volumes all of which have failed to eradicate the enduring malaise felt by intellectuals - students and pro-

fessors alike - in the late seventies. Revolutionary verve abates and idealism squirms uncomfortably in the deadening discotheque of rationally-accommodated management systems. Legacies of post-depression ideology and battlement once raised against old hierarchies within the University have given way to a proliferation of institutional webs purportedly designed to promote efficiency, egalitarianism and democracy in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Twenty years after the publication in English of Teilhard de Chardin's optimistic vision for science, the spectrum on the WITHOUT of things reveals certain contradictions. While academics overtly proclaim sensitivity to the range and depth of human issues, when they sit to deliberate on matters of social concern they often remain attached to their own specific solutions to problems. In the midst of homogenizing trends in scientific praxis and the insult to intelligence presented by creeping mediocritization within the academic world, resentment over power shifts in the social organization of knowledge often surfaces tactically in ego-salvaging operations. A parasitic consultants' economy sells ideas as a commodity subject to the laws of exchange. Alibis like *'ceteris paribus'* and the 'need to preserve disciplinary identity' serve to rationalize intellectual obfuscation and the narcissistic hedonism of dialectical abstractions, while out in the 'real' world the dictates of the job market rationalize each expert's claim of personal indisposability.

If one looks at the WITHIN of things - to the realm of insight, inspiration, intuition - it appears that the intellectual life is beset by some of the same moral dilemmas as other aspects of existence - organic, emotional, and spiritual. Should one give in to the market forces of a commodity-exchange economy or - as the whisperings of one's own conscience suggest - should one cherish thought, let it breathe freely and flourish independently? How does a scholar today discern what may be true or right in this regard? Having formally purged the intellectual process itself of all such subjective 'noise', can we ask and answer that question on our own at all? At this moment in the history of ideas it seems imperative that scholars begin to probe issues openly. An alternative forum, as free as possible from the role constraints and 'tunnel vision' characteristic of conventional research, is clearly needed.

One of the aims of the Dialogue Project is to lay some of the

foundations for such a forum. It has experimented with alternative methods which could serve to build an international community of concern over questions of intellectual creativity. These efforts have taken two distinct but complementary directions: one has focussed on the history of ideas and praxis, particularly within the discipline of geography, and the other has focussed more explicitly on those contextual conditions which appear to have been associated consistently with either the fostering or stifling of creativity. In the Progress Report only a broad sketch of the Project's approach and of evidence of its appropriateness can be given. We offer the following comments as invitations to others to take complementary initiatives within their own milieux.

Theory and Practice - The Project's Geographic Background

The case for a biographical approach to the history of geographic thought was illustrated in a study of the French School of Human Geography, a monograph entitled *Society and Milieu in the French Geographic Tradition*.^{*} An autobiographical approach was later proposed as a method to be pursued by the International Geographical Union's Commission on the History of Geographic Thought. That Commission's series, *Geographers*,^{**} has endeavored to focus on individual biographies, but several aspects of the proposed 'autobiographical' approach have not been taken up.

During the summer of 1976 a second proposal was submitted to the International Geographical Union in Leningrad. The proposal's basic assumption was that geography could be regarded as having experienced, in microcosm, the problems facing the academic professions in general. Within this discipline, functional specialization among sub-fields had led to problems of communication among geographers, while involvement in applied work had also led individuals within the discipline to an awareness of the difficulties in relating theory to practice and in finding bases for integrating the result of the field's varied efforts. Initiatives were

* Buttimer, A., 1971, *Society and Milieu in the French Geographic Tradition*, Association of American Geographers, Monographs No. 6. New York: Rand McNally.

** Freeman, T. W., Pinchemel, P. (eds.) 1978, *Geographers: Bibliographic Studies*, two volumes. London: Mansell Information/Publishing.

taken with a number of senior (retired or retiring) geographers in Europe and America concerning this proposal. About the same time (June 1977), a small group of geographers representing Sweden, Holland, Finland, West Germany met at Lund to pursue some of the conceptual and practical issues outlined therein. The responses from senior geographers and the results of the Lund meeting indicated a need for a more systematic methodology to enable individuals to relate their own life stories to general (or potentially generalizable) patterns. It was clear that a workshop on methodology involving potential participants as well as potential catalysts of the project was needed.

In August 1977, at the International History of Science Congress in Edinburgh, some practical guidelines for initiating a process of autobiographically-based reflection* were presented. Discussions were held with representatives from Holland, Japan, UK, France, Spain, Canada and USA, plans tentatively made for preparing a series of interviews before the next IGU Congress in Tokyo, 1980.

Meanwhile, scholars from other disciplines have become more actively involved in the process. Visits to various Scandinavian centers (Helsinki/Turku, Oslo, Uppsala, Umeå, Göteborg and Stockholm) have revealed the range of potential interest both in the practical and philosophical aspects of the history of ideas. A conference on 'Religion, Art, and Society', chaired by Dr. Anne-Marie Thunberg, was held in July 1978; it included artists, theologians, historians and poets. Each brought some of his/her own creative work to the meeting, and shared insights about the meaning of this work in the context of a life of faith.

Exercises in Reflection

In June 1978 an international group of thirty-five scholars from various disciplines were invited to a meeting in Sigtuna, to explore issues related to the history and philosophy of science and to reflect upon the meaning and contexts of personal creativity. Participants were asked to reflect upon their own life experience using a

* 'On People, Paradigms, and 'Progress' in Geography', Inst. för kulturgeografi och ekonomisk geografi vid Lunds universitet, *Rapporter och Notiser* 47, 1979.

pilot version of a *Personal Journal* which was specifically prepared for the meeting. This was the first major attempt to establish a systematic methodology and a basis for generalizations concerning the relationship between 'subjective' insight and 'objective' circumstances in scholarly work. The general aims of the *Personal Journal* were summarized in the following introduction.*

Research on the life histories of creative persons suggests that one of the secrets of creativity - whether one speaks of practical, speculative, artistic, or technical creativity - is the ability to relate 'inner' processes of psychic and emotional life to 'outer' challenge within one's environment. To release the latent possibilities for creativity, a person needs to become aware of the processes at work WITHIN himself as well as becoming aware of the processes going on within his environment. Self-knowledge and self-understanding are thus a necessary complement to the knowledge and understanding of one's world.

So much emphasis is placed on external demands today - e.g., role requirements, research projects, social obligations, etc. - that it is often very difficult to remain (or become) attuned to one's own inner life. One tends to follow commonly accepted 'rules' of behavior with respect to ideas as well as praxis and therefore many potential resources of intuition, judgement and symbolic life remain hidden.

This journal suggests certain guidelines for an individual's own research and reflection on this learning process. It should be regarded as a catalyst rather than a straight-jacket, however, and suggestions/criticisms would be welcome.

Its principle aim is to help an individual to understand the meaning of his/her own life journey in terms of two major types of movement:

- relating the 'inner' and 'outer' experiences within the SELF;
- relating SELF and WORLD.

* A description of the Sigtuna meeting and an analysis of participants' responses by David Seamon, will be issued later this year.

There are three major parts in the journal:

1. **CONTEXT:** Focus on major event/movements in the history of Ideas and Praxis both at a world and regional scale
2. **LIFE PATH:** Autobiographical Information
3. **INTERACTIONS:** Path Convergences and Networks of Communication

Within each part there are two distinct sections:

- A) **RECORDING SECTION:** Data, 'objectively' dated, located, described
- B) **REFLECTION SECTION:** Personal essays on the meaning of particular encounters, events, places, relationships

Within each section a **MATRIX** is provided where recorded data (A) may be summarized. These summaries can be used to build a general picture of both context and life path so as to illustrate graphically:

- (i) Synchronization of events, periods and trends within the environmental setting.
- (ii) Synchronization of events, periods and trends between the individual's life path and those of the general milieu.
- (iii) Connections and comparisons between individual life paths.

Already during the days at Sigtuna we hope to assemble at least some data in graphic form. The aim initially is descriptive and heuristic but there are certain obvious hypotheses which could be examined regarding the relationships between 'subjective' records and 'objective' trends.

Since June 1978 we have conducted a series of videotaped interviews* with several of the individuals who were present at the Sigtuna meeting, and who have had some familiarity with the journal. Each person interviewed has had the opportunity to read and to reflect upon the general idea behind the project; the themes pursued at the Sigtuna meeting are always included. Geographers

* A list of interviews is included as Appendix.

constitute only one set within a larger group of retired individuals from various fields who are participating in the project. Our theme in these interviews has been 'Dream and Reality'; in each one the interviewer is invited to recount the story of his/her own major ideas and projects - the initial 'dreams' and the subsequent 'realities' of understanding or misunderstanding.

The interviews were to be shown to groups of students, researchers, professors, and others. Individual responses would then be elicited in writing before group discussion of the interviews. Summaries of the major questions raised in these responses and discussions would then be reported back to the person interviewed and his/her response recorded. Although this has been done in a few cases, the content and style of the interviews have varied, and there has not been sufficient time to share them widely. In general, 'foreign' interviews seem to evoke more positive responses from audience, and with few exceptions, the key element of identification with the speaker has been achieved. The tapes seem to encourage a questioning attitude toward the viewer's own milieu, and as we had hoped, subsequent discussions have elicited further questions to the speaker. Our eventual plan is twofold: to assemble these speakers with selected audiences, once their responses have been communicated back to them; and to assemble the Sigtuna group again in order to pool insights on this pilot experiment. The ongoing analytical strategy of this type of dialogue is simultaneously to evaluate both media and message from the vantage points of both actors and viewers. Already a pilot 'data set' of essays and interviews by the same individuals are being analyzed.* Each of the authors will be asked to compare the two media (video and essay) in terms of their appropriateness for communicating certain types of insight. A panel of external observers is also to be asked to evaluate the two media in terms of quality and effectiveness of communication. Finally, the same individuals are being asked to submit biographical information which can be assembled in a common framework designed to demonstrate patterns of synchronicity in the development of ideas. Some participants have expressed reservations regarding the 'subjective' and

* Several autobiographical essays are now in progress. In addition to Scandinavians, essays are being written by other European retired scholars. These essays will constitute a separate report.

'journalistic' nature of this enterprise. Indeed, its explicit aim was to gain better insight into the meaning of subjectivity and objectivity, but more especially to gain an awareness of the *reflexivity* in disciplinary thought, viz., how descriptions of reality reflect the a priori models and preconceptions of the scientist. It also sought to unmask the kind of journalism which has passed for history in the documentary accounts of national traditions. Ultimately it sought a scientifically defensible method of letting experientially grounded facts reveal themselves, because, for the most part, such *facts* cannot be elicited via conventional documentary methods. In defense of the autobiographical approach, Torsten Hägerstrand wrote the following preamble to his own life story:

Professional historians are often skeptical about the truth of autobiographical accounts and not without reason. Memory, even supplemented with documents, can be very unreliable as a source of data. On the other hand, one cannot deny that an outsider can never hope to see more than a tiny fraction of the circumstances, images and meanings that surround the development of research or, for that matter, any other kind of work. One concludes that it is a great waste to disregard the source of knowledge and understanding that is embodied in the actors themselves.

Quite apart from the public history that might come out of such an exercise, the person who will let himself become engaged in it will for his private use gain a deeper insight into where he has belonged in his age.

When trying to look back in ways which make one's story sufficiently reliable to be of general interest, at the same time as it gives the author himself some wider perspective, one must first of all have an understanding of what kind of truth one is seeking.

Memory is not good at recalling accurately the kind of truth that is asked for by courts. It takes interviews with many individuals and comparative studies of documents and remnants in order to state what happened in a 'physical' sense, But this fact does not render autobiography useless or uninteresting. We do

not look back internally in order to restore outer *court-truth*. We are looking for those *experiences* that have been working forces in the development of the individual mind. And experience made in a situation are not the same thing as the court-truth of that situation.

Now, first of all, only the person who had an experience can tell about its nature. No outside observation can reveal it. So, we must either believe that the person tells the truth about his experiences or give up insights into the internal world altogether. As in other walks of life it is a reasonable proposition that people try to be as honest as they possibly can. If they are not, it will be noticed somehow, sooner or later. It is hard to lie in a consistent way.

More important is to know more about how the memory of one and the same experience is preserved over time. It is an empirical question that can be tested. Indicators exist showing that at least strong experiences, once made, remain in memory rather unaffected by the erosion of time. At least they keep their contours even if the colours fade.

It is again a different matter with the *meaning* a person attaches to an experience, seen in its wider internal context. Can one recall how one saw the meaning of an experience at an earlier point in time? Is it possible to turn one's mind back to an earlier state and describe that state? Most likely this is not possible. The patterns of meaning change as experiences are made and worked upon. In the moment when a person begins to look back he has an accumulated experience at hand which provides the net by which he is fishing in his memory. This net can hardly be reshaped at will. One cannot really define away and forget later parts of it in order to restore the kind of net that would have been at work say twenty years ago. Given this difficulty to restore how one thought, felt and understood at an earlier now, it seems unavoidable that a discussion of meanings can be made out honestly only from the perspective of the present.

When understanding autobiography we have to keep apart

court-truths, experiences and meanings and accept that the internal time of the mind is quite different from external calendar-time. How a person acts today in an objective situation might very well depend on how he today sees a meaning in a childhood experience. And only he can tell. The contribution of autobiography is to help disentangle the complex relations between internal and external events, internal and external times and the emergence of meaning in personal and social life.

Issues Raised in Dialogue

It is certainly premature to specify what the full range of potential themes for cross-cultural generalization might be. Regarding the relationships between creativity and context, three foci of attention have emerged, however: 1) PLACES, 2) SOCIAL NETWORKS, and 3) the TENSION BETWEEN SECURITY AND ADVENTURE.

(1) Places

The environments in which participants were first educated/socialized - schools and university settings for some, independent field experience and research settings for others - appear to affect profoundly subsequent orientations in thought and praxis. To our surprise, scholars from other fields, e.g., medicine, philosophy, history, psychology, found this focus more exciting than did the geographers.

In a series of individual oral reports on changes within the local milieu at Lund, for example, five scholars from different disciplines showed how the conditions surrounding their work had been affected by administrative and other changes. The focus on place was not intended to revitalize old environmentalist arguments but rather to regard places as settings for certain forms of encounter, rest, interaction. Some places have become dismembered - socially and physically - by recent administratively defined changes in the role definitions of professors, research assistants and students. Some individuals welcome the release from settings which they

used to find claustrophobic; others are frustrated that the everyday 'zone of manipulable reach', which they once took for granted, is no longer attainable.

Discussions of such matters quickly centered on the nature and content of interaction among scholars and students today, as compared with former times. Indeed, there were advantages and disadvantages to be weighed. The potential implications for university planning seemed clear. Centralized bureaucratic control over the physical and social arrangements of academic life has tended to fragment and separate potentially complementary functions within the everyday work milieu. For many individuals this has produced a sense of insecurity and dismemberment which militates against creative thought about anything beyond the status quo spectrum of functionally specialized tasks. Very few would argue for a return to situations of physical or social claustrophobia, but many felt that the rationally-designed and union-circumscribed alternatives had somehow banished both baby and bathwater.

As data from respondents to the Sigtuna initiative began to corroborate our initial impressions about the importance of milieu in scholarly life, plans were made with several senior geographers in North America to share their reflections on their life experiences in departments of geography. A video-taped discussion among five senior colleagues representing the five major graduate schools of geography was recorded at Lincoln, Nebraska, in April 1979. Thus far, this discussion has proved quite provocative to Swedish audiences, and direct implications for policy on physical and curricular planning have been suggested.

(2) Social Networks/Horizons of Reach

Discussions on places provide an avenue for cross-cultural sharing about site conditions in the geography and sociology of scholarly praxis. These are insufficient per se until one looks at the history of horizons of reach (networks of interaction) open to an individual. The initial plan at Sigtuna was to focus specifically on one group of geographers who considered themselves part of the 'Quantitative Revolution' in European geography. Representatives from the USA, Finland, Norway and Sweden were present, and they were invited to tell the story of that particular development

using conventional models of network analysis and information flows. Limitations of time and data prevented any real success at the meeting itself, but an interest in pursuing this research idea was expressed by colleagues abroad. Five American geographers, who had been either students or professors during the period when quantitative methods and regional science began to burgeon in the USA participated in a video-taped discussion in Lincoln, Nebraska in April 1979.

There has not been sufficient time to initiate the necessary follow-up exercises on either of the two Lincoln discussions, but at least initially, it appears that cultural contrasts in the style of dialogue can be quite provocative to Swedish viewers.

(3) Reciprocity of Security and Adventure

Neither places nor networks per se are as significant as the interplay between them. Places can imprison or liberate, they can provide security and familiarity or routine and boredom. A great deal depends on how much a scholar can participate in horizons of reach and feel that such participation does not jeopardize his/her sense of belonging in place. To balance these two orientations is not always within the scholar's discretion: the horizons of opportunity and prospects for continuity in taken-for-granted situations are often set by institutional fiat. Administrative and physical arrangements which fragment time and movement may disrupt the stability of places, requiring expenditures of energy that otherwise might be used for substantive creative work. On the other hand, excess of external responsibilities may constrict the person's abilities to reach away from the center and to partake in newness and adventure. In discussions of administrative reform and the 'rationalization' of university life, one rarely hears such considerations aired. Yet each administratively defined change will inevitably affect a scholar's potential time and space horizons. It would appear that the more 'rational' an academic calendar becomes, the more specialized its various components, the less opportunity there is for both students and professors to cultivate a creative approach to their work.

The role of professional organizations, both national and international, enters significantly in this context. Virtually all inter-

viewees spoke enthusiastically about the strength of 'international' feeling in the 1920s in Europe, the League of Nations esprit, and of the importance of international gatherings, especially during the 1930s. Many mentioned the Amsterdam Congress of the IGU (1938) and how deeply their horizons were affected by developments in Germany. After the war, it was applied geography and the study of migrations that stirred interest: regional planning and urban reconstruction were topics which provided common denominators between language worlds and across ideological divides. Scholars seemed quite eager to share anecdotes and impressions on the roles played by significant personalities within the IGU, and on the ways in which sociological rather than logical considerations often appeared to determine the diffusion of ideas within the discipline.

Plans are underway for extending the autobiographically based approach to the history of thought and praxis in other disciplines besides geography. Already two potential avenues for further comparative work seem justified:

- a) the sociology and power relations surrounding research and planning, and the forces which impede or facilitate mutual understanding or sharing of results among specialists;
- b) the relationships between human creativity (practical, speculative, or technical) and its total environment.

Some of the results of these exercises will be presented at the IGU Congress in Tokyo in August 1980.

It is, of course, altogether too soon to suggest any broad conclusions from the work which has been completed. Materials are on hand which are now being analyzed, but more time is needed before generalizations can be offered. In the next section, some of the approaches we have used in evaluating our experiences thus far are described, and some suggestions are made concerning prospects for continuing the dialogue internationally.

IV. REASON AND RATIONALITY

*There's too much abstract willing, purposing
in this poor world. WE TALK BY AGGREGATES.
AND THINK BY SYSTEMS, and being used to face
our evils in statistics, are inclined to cap
them with unreal remedies. Drawn out in
haste on the other side of the slate.*

Elizabeth Barrett Browning

Dialogue with colleagues in one's 'home' field can be helped and sustained by common denominators of heritage, language, and the 'we-feeling' of a shared intellectual endeavor. Very little of this can be counted upon as one embarks upon interdisciplinary dialogue in the sense advocated in our project. Immediately a host of fresh challenges arise: diplomatic, logistical, and ideological.

The preamble essay, 'Reason, Rationality, and Human Creativity'* did, however, receive an encouraging response from colleagues in applied fields. Translation into Swedish were volunteered, then revisions and adaptations of those translations. Four distinct versions exist, one by a philosopher, one by an engineer, one by a business economist, and another by a theologian. This fact itself serves to illustrate the varieties of meaning which the same words, e.g., 'reason', 'creativity' and 'rationality' can have, and also the different language worlds in which present day expertise houses itself. Naively it was suggested that a dialogue among the four

* 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 Anaxogoras' notion of NOUS to the pre- and

'translators' be arranged; after all, the project was designed to uncover such differences of language and world view, rather than attempt a compromise or judgement of correctness. Not all were willing to engage in such an hermeneutical exercise.

In 'Reason, Rationality and Human Creativity', the tension between reason and rationality was suggested as a theme around which common denominators could be found for both intrasectoral and intersectoral dialogue. As with most such academic exercises, this paper reveals the author's image of its topic - an image forged from readings, observations, and experiences in various settings. An academic takes it for granted that such a paper can serve as opener to debate and discussion - even to dialogue - but soon it became clear that such an assumption was not justified. Some readers found it abstruse, others found it ideologically naive, others accused it of attempting to 'play God', or like Mark Twain, of 'complaining about the weather which everyone talks about but no one does anything about.' More seriously, too, some found a set of judgements condemnatory of science and functional specialization, and quite naively optimistic about the capacity of retired persons to be reflective and about the expert's capacity to be creative.

In making initial contact with likely candidates for the interview phase of the project, therefore, the 'Reason versus Rationality' tension was not made explicit. The general aims of Dialogue

post-Socratic LOGOS through Roman RATIO to Enlightenment notions of REINE VERNUFT and PURE REASON - reveal perhaps more about the civilizations which defined and used them than they do about essential human nature and creativity. This essay picks up some threads from a 20c 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 with human reason. The entire essay is an invitation to awareness of issues and not a proposal for their resolution.

were explained in face-to-face conversations. Given the network of individuals with whom the two project directors were already associated, it was not difficult to draw up a master list of potential participants from various countries and various fields. It was not at all difficult to sell the idea, *qua* idea, and to gain moral support from the affirmations proffered. What was difficult was to demand commitments of time and energy from colleagues whose calendars were already filled with ongoing routine agenda. A prepackaged set of instructions for simply implementing a research formula might not have been so intrusive, but the Dialogue process demanded participants to engage both in the design itself and in its implementation.

During the first months of work, every effort was made to share the general idea of the project informally, to seek out senior or retired scholars willing to be interviewed and also to find potential catalysts from within particular sectors who would help implement the process. The former responded almost universally in a positive manner, in fact, it has not been possible to follow through with all the interviews which were promised. On the question of potential catalysts, however, the prospect was somewhat more bleak. Regardless of how much a person may approve, encourage, and discuss Dialogue, it remains very difficult to find time to devote to such a task. If a set of videos were available, then of course one could incorporate it into one's teaching. One might even participate in research on the interview texts. From the beginning, the hardest problem we have faced has been somehow to involve a range of potential catalysts in the Dialogue process. Most of the initial search was done in a quasi-opportunistic way; the challenge was shared with various people through correspondence and indirect conversations as the occasion arose. Several 'open house' experiments were tried during 1978. This was a trial-and-error phase, during which we became aware of many contradictions in our 'message' itself and of the discrepancy which often appeared between the essence of the idea and the manner in which we presented it. Several lessons were also learned about the video medium itself and the sociological constraints on developing a dialogue approach within the present academic institutional setting. In January 1979 our focus moved from the impromptu format of group discussion to a series of individual interviews. This chapter

reviews some major steps taken during the 'open house' experimental phase and presents some critical notes on their outcomes.

An 'Open House' for Dialogue

'When I look around today I wonder about why the outcome is sometimes so different from the ideals with which we started... I have the feeling that the explosive expansion of scientific knowledge and technical skill now tends to make things worse rather than better...'

'When our youngsters come to medicine to become doctors and nurses, they are very interested in the human approach, but when they leave school, they are technicians...'

'I'm struggling to understand how, as a person, and how other people are dealing with the meaning of modern existence and the difficulties of modern technological society... We employ highly rational kinds of approaches to technology and when we try to decide if a particular technology is risky, we use formal methods that try to figure out analytically what risks are. But there is something missing which is beyond the reach of the methods...'

'A typical attitude among politicians is: 'my mind is made up - don't confuse me with facts'. There seems to be a sharp division between people who think that every thing can be measured and people who think that nothing needs to be measured...'

'You know, you can erect the finest supermarket of disciplines and a marvellous blueprint for organizing fields of knowledge, but you still wouldn't necessarily have a home for ideas, or a centering for them which enables you to apply them wisely...'

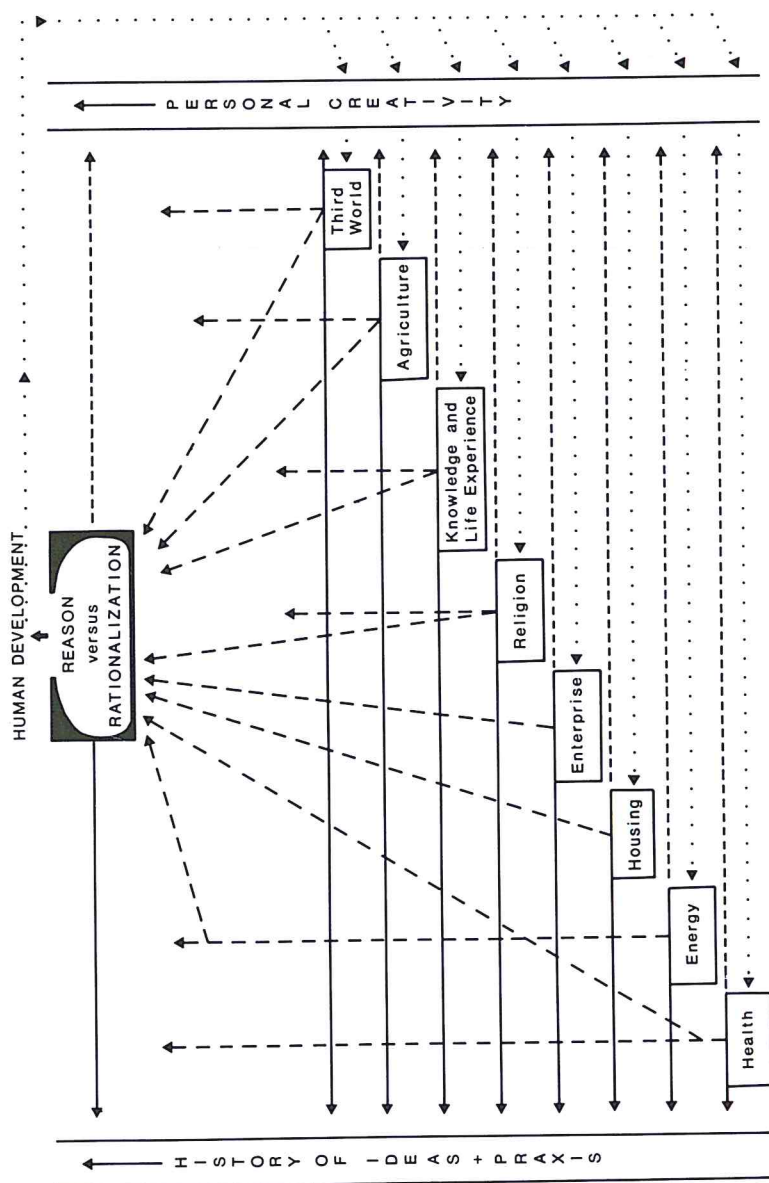
Diffuse and varied were the comments made in our first 'impromptu' roundtable discussion recorded in Göteborg in April 1978. In it, two geographers (one Swedish, one North American), an Irish politician, a Swedish doctor and the two project directors

shared some of their overriding concerns about knowledge and life. It was a litany of concerns, fears, hopes and suggestions regarding the prospects for international dialogue.

Though diverse in illustration, the common themes which emerged from this discussion were the difficulties of relating specialized expertise to general problems, the political and ethical challenges posed by modern developments in technology, the tensions between personal vocation and role-defined agenda, and the need for better communication between professionals and non-professional people. The project directors also shared their proposed strategy for beginning a dialogue (see Figure II.)

First a series of 'impromptu' discussions would be organized on sectoral issues, where some foreign visitors would pose questions to Swedish experts. Following from these discussions, a catalyst from within each sector would pursue in-depth interviews with senior/retired professionals from within that sector and begin to elicit audience responses to these interviews. Once the catalyst had been identified, then he/she would be responsible not only for the follow-up within that sector, but also for maintaining links with other catalysts along the way. All catalysts would be asked to bear in mind, as central concerns, (a) the history of ideas and praxis and (b) the dimensions of personal creativity. This initial process was expected to last for at least a year, at which time representatives from each sector could be assembled to pool insights on their experiences. The title 'Human Development' was initially proposed as the theme for that assembly. From the very beginning it was clear that not all professions and sectors should be dealt with in a standard fashion, and plans were made for alternative formats. The 'open house' phase can best be illustrated through the experience with specific sectors where issues of practical planning concern became the focus of attention.

The first sector to be approached was health. Dr. Inge Dahn, a surgeon from Lund who had participated in the first impromptu discussions, emerged as an enthusiastic and competent catalyst within that field. The first planned event was another impromptu international discussion where visitors from Austria, USA, Norway and Ireland posed questions to four senior experts in Swedish medicine regarding potential lessons which their respective countries could learn from the Swedish experience. This tape was sub-



sequently edited and shared with a variety of audiences. Responses from within Sweden were not positive; the choice of participants, the lack of focus, and especially the manner in which the project director expressed certain ideas were all criticized. To the few foreign audiences who saw this edited tape, it was the very idea which seemed valuable - indeed many lessons could be learned from the Swedish experience. It must be admitted that the actual videotape did not measure up to its promise, and much of the blame lies squarely on the shoulders of the project directors. Dr. Dahn, however, continued the process and within the next six months arranged for four in-depth interviews with senior medical professionals in Sweden. This phase will be described in Chapter V.

The second sector to be opened, impromptu style, was energy. Again a number of foreign guests posed questions to Swedish experts on issues related to energy. Urgent political and practical concerns were immediately proffered, and the discussion, when edited, resembled a conventional television show. This discussion dramatized at once the sociological as well as ideological constraints on the open dialogue within taken-for-granted worlds of expertise; each specialty or discipline-based point of view almost by definition seems obligated to defend its own special language and self image. Swedish responses were mixed, but the research team itself learned that this was probably not the ideal format to pursue. No catalyst has emerged to take up the energy issue in a Dialogue form.

One of the complaints about these two impromptu discussions was that the focus was too ill-defined for a video recording. We thought that if we engaged only Swedish participants - people who already knew one another, and who took a more narrowly circumscribed focus - a more provocative type of round-table discussion could be expected perhaps. An attempt was made to do this on the problems of small business enterprise in Sweden. A business economist, Dick Ramström, played the role of a young entrepreneur seeking advice from his senior colleagues, all of whom were entrepreneurs. This discussion was in Swedish, and it touched on issues of leadership, innovation, and creativity. Responses from general audiences were not, on the whole, very encouraging, but Dick Ramström has found this tape useful in his own realm of activity.

'You try to cover too much', was the characteristic response to all these impromptu tapes. In fact, the central objective was *NOT* to cover a field exhaustively or even *expertly*, rather it was to generate dialogue over concerns which were broader than those usually entertained in specialized fields. Successive rounds of discussion were then to be synthesized in other videotaped presentations and at each stage some essential themes were to be filtered out from the process. In fact, there has not been much success with this objective. Very few opportunities have been available to test the experiment, but more seriously, we have not received commitments from key catalysts for such a process from within special sectors thus far, apart from health and agriculture.

Recapturing the International Dimension

In the Fall of 1978 an attempt was made to re-establish links with potential catalysts of the Dialogue process abroad. Ideally more time should have been taken with the Swedish initiatives, but we hoped that perhaps an international dimension might provide fresh energy and insight even at this early stage. A 'state of the art' presentation of the progress made in Sweden was recorded on videotape to be shared with some European colleagues. On this tape the 'Dream and Reality' theme was illustrated by Torsten Hägerstrand's account of regionalization in Sweden.

A small group of potential foreign catalysts was assembled at Arc-et-Senans in October 1978, and some days were spent exploring ways in which they might implement a similar process within their home contexts. These suggestions, plus some criticisms and potential amendments to our original strategy, were also recorded on videotape. The content of these suggestions was very encouraging. Each person proposed potentially interesting interviews on the 'Dream and Reality' of planning within specific sectors of their own societies: Israel's Settlement Plan, Portugal's 'revolutions', Austria's record of philosophical ideas and law reform. Subsequent correspondence with these individuals has pointed toward fruitful dialogue; all of them were very much interested in hearing reflections on Swedish experiences.

Of the suggested interviews, only the Israeli set has been realized during the pilot period. In June 1979, Professor Shalom

Reichman arranged for a visit to Israel by Anne Buttimer, during which they both conducted interviews with two of Israel's eminent leaders: Mr. Eliezer Bruzkhush, chief physical planner and implementor of the 1947 Settlement Plan, and Mr. Haim Gvati, retired Minister of Agriculture, who recounted the story of the kibbutzim. Both of these interviews provide enormously valuable insight into two themes which have already begun to stimulate developments in Sweden: the first in regard to regional planning, and the second, in regard to agricultural cooperatives.

Dream and Reality

Encouraged by the responses of our European colleagues, the research team planned an 'Introductory Tape' which could explain the fundamental rationale of the Dialogue process and illustrate its methodology. This was an extremely difficult task, and it yielded some striking lessons on the fundamentally different concepts of approach which were held by the two project leaders. However, the tape has managed to communicate the project's 'spirit' although perhaps not its 'method', to audiences of various kinds. Along with the edited health discussion and a few excerpts from an in-depth interview with Dr. Göran Sterky, the 'Introductory Tape' was shared with a group of students at NORDPLAN* in December 1978, in the most carefully planned 'audience reaction' event thus far. The group seemed highly appropriate - sophisticated in planning and intellectually attuned to issues of ideology, language, and power. Their responses, by and large, were skeptical of the entire enterprise, and they expressed much negative criticism. All of the responses were recorded on videotape, giving the research team an opportunity to analyse them carefully. What surprised us most was the vehemence with which criticism was levelled at the gestures and language used by the project directors. While we explicitly advocated a 'dialogue', it seemed that we communicated a doctrinaire posture. To the audience we seemed to be more anxious to indoctrinate others in our own biases than to

* Nordic Institute on Planning, Stockholm.

seek other people's views. Having studied the responses from the NORDPLAN group, it was obvious that some fundamental changes were needed in the approach. Evidently, media and message were not in harmony. Evidently, too, false impressions were being communicated. What to do?

The Autumn months of 1978 had brought several setbacks to the adventure in Dialogue. When a team was finally assembled in September 1978, it took two full months of negotiations before a place could be found in which to house the project headquarters. Eventually, isolated from colleagues and confronted with seemingly interminable delays in financial, administrative, and physical arrangements, it was difficult to maintain any momentum. If one had sought an experientially-grounded way to test some of the hypotheses about creativity and context which had been suggested in the Sigtuna meeting, one could scarcely have found a better setting than this. The dream of initiating dialogue, beginning 'at home', was starkly at odds with the reality of day-to-day experience; it seemed that colleagues were being alienated rather than invited to share in the process. For foreigners, it was impossible to discern whether silence meant hostility, fear or indifference. Our video expert resigned and returned to Canada. Most of the feedback sessions had left us with a negative impression. Where was the evidence, on any kind of rational basis, for continuing the dream?

It was from the practical realm rather than the academic that some light began to dawn on our darkness. 'A friend is one who hears the song in my heart and sings it to me when my memory fails.' From the fields of medicine and agriculture emerged evidence that, in fact, some had understood the basic idea and had begun to articulate it within their respective fields in ways more appropriate than anything the research team could ever have hoped to do. Dr. Inge Dahn's interviews with four senior medical professionals, representing four quite different 'dreams and realities' within the health care world, had shown us how effective this approach could be. A longer description of these interviews will be given in Chapter V.

The second initiative was more than surprising. It was probably those short excerpts from the interview with Göran Sterky which were shown at the NORDPLAN meeting that inspired Dr. Hans-Åke Jansson, agricultural economist at the Agricultural University of Ultuna, to explore the possibilities of initiating a Dialogue over

agricultural problems. It could serve, he felt, as a mechanism whereby better communication could be fostered between social scientists and agricultural planners. Already the problems of agricultural co-operatives had been discussed with potential participants in Ireland, so it was suggested to Dr. Jansson that he should focus on that theme. Some Swedish experiences might be of great interest to our Irish colleagues. Within a short time, he had identified a suitable interviewer and interviewee: Dr. Calle Utterström from the Agricultural University interviewed Mr. Ivar Söderqvist, retired cooperative leader from Jämtland. This tape was excellent; it was conducted in Swedish but later translated to English for sharing with colleagues abroad. The tape was shown to a group of social scientists and agricultural planners assembled by Dr. Hans-Åke Jansson at Ultuna in February 1978, and since then, to groups of students by Dr. Calle Utterström himself.*

It was largely because of this Ultuna initiative that the potential interest of Ireland was finally elicited. Professors Thomas Raftery and Denis Lucey at the Agricultural Science and Economics of University College Cork have welcomed this Dialogue idea as an activity of their proposed center for cooperative studies to be established at Cork. The rationale for incorporating a Dialogue component in this project was sent to them during the Spring of 1979. In June 1979, three Irish colleagues visited Sweden to discuss further developments toward a Dialogue. They brought with them video-recorded interviews with two retired leaders of the Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Ireland: Patrick Quinlan and Jeremiah Buttimer. Already in the summer of 1979, then, there were three very important tapes to serve as a base for cross-cultural reflection on the dream and reality of cooperative agriculture - from Israel, Ireland, and Sweden. Other interviews have been conducted with retired personalities in other sectors, e.g., regional planning, educational and political leadership. To date, however, the process in the health sector remains the most advanced; a fuller description is provided in the next chapter.

* Responses are described in Appendix 3.

V. FOCUS ON HEALTH: ILLUSTRATIONS FROM A DIALOGUE PROCESS

Approaches to Dialogue

How easy it is for us academics to see the speck of dust in the eyes of public planners and yet ignore the beam in our own! The author's intention in the essay 'Safari to Klinikwunderland' (Appendix 2) was to dramatize her own tension - as a schedule-bound and insecure patient - over the conflict between 'supply efficiency' and 'demand appropriateness' in hospital-based medical care. The piece was not intended to criticize the one particular clinic mentioned, but rather to illustrate a typical instance in which the institutional expression of rational planning had come to negate some of the planners' own stated objectives. Among those of us who seemed to enjoy this anecdote, which was written in 1976, there was little awareness of how the same tension existed in our respective domains.

Rationalization (to practice instrumental rationality) is a deeply honoured concept in Sweden, at least since the 1920's. It began in industry. Today it is even spelled out as a primary duty in the general instructions for government boards and other public agencies. And rationalization has indeed been put into practice in ever wider circles of activity. It seems to have become imprinted deeply as being a good thing even in everyday thinking and speaking. It is very likely that many Swedes are proud of what seems to be an obvious fact: that Sweden is, all through, marked by more systematic rationalization than any other country in the world.

It takes some effort to see that many things could have been otherwise, admittedly with some loss of economic efficiency at the large scale but with some other overall gains. Rationalization - with its roots in industrial production - has come to exaggerate what H. Linde calls the 'thing-system' of society. It is unavoidable that we have to surround ourselves with things that stand in functional relations to us and to each other. A dwelling, for exam-

ple, must have its definite items for preparation of food, for storage, rest, hygiene, being together and so on. Clearly, one can focus upon just these things and arrange them with respect to each other in ways which minimize some sort of physical effort. But one can also view things otherwise and come to accept that, at a deeper level, there is a considerable complexity in our relations to the thing-system. Narrow optimization in just one chosen perspective leads to sacrifices in other dimensions. Rationalization, understood in the 'normal' sense, does not give much room to values other than pure efficiency. Some believe that this is as it ought to be; others regret the loss of other considerations.

Health care abounds with examples of tensions between managerial efficiency and personal care. It was gratifying to discover some colleagues in medicine who were aware of these tensions and seemed willing to share the attempt to initiate dialogue among various experts within the world of health. The first impromptu international discussion was necessarily of a general nature, and to those already attuned to major issues, somewhat banal and superficial. Participants were asked to introduce themselves, to define what 'health' meant to each of them, and foreign participants were invited to pose questions to the Swedish panelists. Dr. Olle Olsson, director of the Lasarett in Lund, Dr. Erik Boijesen, head of the radiology section in that hospital, Dr. Henric Hultén, director of a general clinic near Göteborg, and Dr. Inge Dahn, surgeon from Lund were the Swedish panelists. From overseas came Dr. Roger Kasperson, USA, Dr. Wilfried Schoenböck, Austria, John Horgan, T.D., Ireland, and Dr. Peter Hjort, Norway. Some of the introductory statements were as follows:

Roger Kasperson, USA:

I'm an American, and I come from a small town - five thousand people - that has a tremendous amount of inequality in the capacity of people to receive decent health care. And as my society hopefully begins to move to a more equitable health care system, I would like to know some of the pitfalls we can avoid - what we can learn from your experience in moving to what many of us see as a remarkable achievement in health care? I'm sure you've paid some kind of price for those achievements, and I'd like to know what can another society now learn from your experience?

Second, I think the individual ought to play a more important role in health care, and I'd like to know to what extent you think that possible - in terms of the limits of science and abilities of the individual to be able to deal with the uncertainty that's involved in much of medical care. There is also a political question here: are the experts prepared to surrender to the patient, as a non-expert, an increasing role in health care? How do you feel about such a possibility morally?

Peter Hjort, Norway:

I'm trained as a hematologist, I've spent some five years in the Arctic as a university administrator and am now doing health-services research in Oslo. Health to me is difficult to define. Someone said that a healthy person is somebody not yet properly investigated. I look upon health as a positive feeling of enjoyment from work, recreation, and life. Not only work, but a good deal from work. The principal problem which interests me is whether we have to change the direction of health politics. The battle as I see it is between the acute hospital services on the one hand, and on the other, what the English call 'Cinderella Services' - i.e., primary care, care of the aged, care of the mentally subnormal, and preventive services.

John Horgan, Ireland:

My name is John Horgan. I'm a politician and very occasionally a patient. What is health to me? In a sense, as the doctor on the other side of the table said, it's the ability to work twenty hours a day. But it is also how to stop myself working twenty hours a day because I am a workoholic you see, and this is also a disease of a sort. How I have...a several-part question, a philosophical part, an institutional part and a personal part. Philosophical part is to me quite important, because it seems to me that so much medical effort is related to death and to the staving off of death, the avoidance of death, which can never be achieved, because people do die and healthy people die. And not enough medical effort is focussed on death itself. The death is the unspoken thing in medicine and yet it is the one thing that we're all guaranteed, the one experience we are all guaranteed to go through. And it seems to

me therefore that medicine has the wrong end of the stick very often where death is concerned. There should be more, a more positive approach to death in medicine. On the institutional level, it occurs to me very strongly that both illness and health are defined by doctors, and if we are to arrive at better definitions of illness and health we will have to look very radically at the way we choose our doctors in society and the criteria that we adopt to encourage people to become doctors. Because I doubt very much that they are representative of society and its concerns at large. Another institutional aspect is: I come from a country where we simply don't have resources for a universal health system and most countries in the world are in this position today still. Sweden is really the exception. So, I want to ask the experts, looking back over their experience and looking towards countries, many countries in various stages of development, which cannot yet afford universal health care systems, what should our priorities be? And my personal question is, do I have to wait until you have found the cure for cancer for you to do something about my back?

Wilfried Schoenbäck, Austria:

I work as an economist in the Institute of Public Economics at the Technical University of Vienna. I've been studying the health system of Austria and have found that there are working several monopolizing forces which monopolize allocation of resources. As an economist, I know that this monopolization disturbs consumer interests. In order to understand the health services, therefore, I would say we have to consider other factors in addition to health services themselves. We must look to working conditions, housing conditions, and nutrition. We also have to answer the question, 'Working for whom?' We are privileged individuals here, but a large portion of the population are not. I wish to know what the monopolizing forces are in your health system here. Is the monopolist the doctor? The bureaucrats? The suppliers of industrial equipment and pharmaceutical products? The expansion of the health system is much different from the expansion of the health standard. I would like to know how the monopolizing factors in the Swedish health system have affected this relationship.

I'll give you an example. I've heard that in Sweden the supply of medical products accounts for about two-thousand products. In

Austria, it's about eight-thousand, and in the United States, twenty-five thousand, What is the influence of this difference on the different health levels in the three countries?

So, I want to know what is the contribution of your profession as administrators or as doctors. Try to jump over your own shadow, try to forget the professional interests and say honestly here what your contribution to health is.

Questions were answered only very briefly by the Swedish participants, and no issue could be pursued to any length. One panelist defined health as the 'ability to work twenty hours a day', another 'to be happy with one's situation'. The ideals and strengths of socialized medicine were affirmed, and some of its present-day dilemmas aired rather freely. Continuity of care, patient-doctor relationships, criteria for selecting medical students, death and dying, and the apparently unequal attention paid to several types of disease, were raised. It was a rambling discussion which was not at all suitable for videotape diffusion. It did, however, provide questions for the follow-up phase of interviews with senior professionals. Dr. Henric Hultén, immediately after the discussion, conducted a thorough survey of patients at his clinic and asked their opinions on the desirability and effectiveness of having the same doctor on successive visits. A substantial majority preferred it, and found it more efficient. From Ireland and from Austria came strong affirmation about how potentially valuable the lessons of Swedish experience could be for their respective countries. Thus far work has progressed only in Sweden.

During the Fall of 1978, Dr. Inge Dahn proceeded with hour-long interviews with four leading professionals, each of whom had cultivated a particular approach to health and health care. Dr. Olle Olsson, one of the leading figures in the planning of Lasarettet (the Klinikwunderland), has always been a strong believer in specialization and centralization. His reflections on the experience of getting such a major project accomplished under his own direction were particularly enlightening for students, nurses, and even patients at the hospital. His presentation of the Dream and Reality was lucid and authentic, and Inge Dahn's manner of assuming a listener stance allowed the interviewee to come across in a convincing way. The basic vision underlying plans for this new hospital was 'centralization, cooperation and good communication', and,

naturally, a vastly increased scale because of the projected needs of medical students in the '60s. 'Behind the whole planning enterprise was the idea of centralization,' Olsson explained. 'From the wards we took away doctors' offices and clinical research rooms... and placed them in a building jointly wards and outpatient departments.' Automation of as many aspects of hospital operation as possible was considered desirable, and the elimination of any 'sub-optimal' or 'inefficient' uses of space. When asked if he would change anything now upon reflection on the experience, Olsson unequivocally answered, 'Yes, I'd make the hospital more specialized.'

A second interview was held with Professor Gunnar Lindgren, one of the leading promoters of social medicine in Sweden. Quite critical of centralized and even of hospital-based medicine, Lindgren offered promise of a sharp contrast to the Olsson interview. 'Specialists have lost contact with the world outside the hospital,' Lindgren claimed, '...you can understand a man's medical problems if you meet him in his own surroundings rather than in an artificial situation like at the hospital's outpatient department, or worst of all, in a hospital bed.' The whole tone of the Lindgren interview was matter-of-fact, formal. When asked about Dream and Reality he responded 'I have no dreams; I have plans.' This interview displayed some of the features of the process whereby innovations become established in a highly institutionalized society. The interviewee demonstrated no frustration about that, and did not seem aware of the contradictions which were evident in his remarks.

A third interview was arranged with Dr. Åke Nordén, initiator of an experimental project in Dalby. In the late '60s, Nordén was convinced that 'the general practitioner should be recovered, and made to do better than he had done in the past.' He had become interested in community medicine largely due to a night duty job in Malmö where he 'saw the social situation' and realized the limitations of current 'diagnostic tools'. A community health center was established; since then, emphasis has rested in knowing the patient and guaranteeing continuity of care. 'What is needed' according to Nordén, is a kind of 'total sociology, of which medical care is one part, social care another. Building, communication - everything fits in...' Interesting accounts of the institutional difficulties faced by this planner in community medicine emerged from the tape. Viewers get much insight into the enormous task it

is to innovate within medical education.

The fourth interview was with Dr. Göran Sterky, a Swedish pediatrician who has spent time teaching and doing research in Ethiopia. Dr. Sterky is now division head at WHO in Geneva. This interview stands out as the most provocative of all our videotapes, and its appeal is certainly not confined to medical audiences. It has an honesty and openness which is rare, an incisive critique of contemporary orientations in Western medicine, and a message for all hearers on values implicit in applied work, especially in developing societies. 'The main problem is not to get lost in the trap of being a specialist,' Sterky remarks, and 'change begins at home.' 'You must be able to question your own value system - to rid yourself of the feeling that you have something to teach them. Rather it should be a cooperative effort - you should be able to see medicine as part of the larger system.'

Supply Efficiency Vs. Demand Appropriateness

Many of the topics touched in these five tapes on health echo themes around which the Dialogue Project is more generally based: the tension between reason and rationality; the relationships between theory and praxis, idea and implementation; the role of context in creativity; and especially ethos and structure in the institutions which comprise the health world.

The theme of reason and rationality is particularly well illustrated in the tapes. Some speakers indicate that developments in health science and technology, seemingly ultimate solutions at first, have led to their own sets of problems. 'If you reduce all tumour cases in the world,' one speaker said, 'you lengthen the life of the patient for three to five years, but is that reason to have the expensive apparatus we have in radiology to give such a diagnosis?' Another speaker said more bluntly, 'Medicine promised too much.' In other words, experts' solutions to health problems have often been construed in terms of technical solutions. This speaker has come to see that medicine involves a wider sphere and must therefore accept an extended definition of health. This definition must be holistic and recognize that health is grounded in a complex constellation of factors. He finds hope in the development of community medicine.

One might say then that, as a whole, the tapes on health reflect two contrasting approaches, of which one might be called *supply efficiency* and the other *demand appropriateness*. The first looks at health as a commodity to deliver - as a set of goods and services coming in neatly packaged, discrete components. The values of optimizing efficiency of supply have led often to technical solutions, centralization, specialization and scientifically based technology. These solutions, and the values on which they are based, appear to have been the predominant approach of the medical professions to health until recently.

The tapes indicate, however, that in the last decade or so there has been a growing shift toward the perspective of demand appropriateness. Centralization of functions may have helped to make the administration of health services more efficient in some ways, but it has also often led to runaway costs and lack of concern for patients. In 'demand appropriate' medicine, the general health of the whole *person*, in his/her wider environmental context, is the measure of *reasonable* medical practice. The themes of the approach are generally holistic moving away from technical solutions only, and grounded in decentralization and community health care. Because health and illness both are primarily manifested outside the examining room, medical personnel need to place their work in a wider sphere of interest, extending into the day-to-day world of healthy people. If, in the past, health practice has perhaps too often emphasized the efficiency of the system over the needs of the patient, the new approach emphasizes the reverse: 'It is better to ask patients what they need and then plan, not plan first. The patient is always right.' In short, some speakers suggested that the structure of the health system is presently determined more by working hours, requirements of specialization or various economic factors monopolizing allocation of resources than by true 'health' issues. These speakers expressed the need to return to health care as a *vocation* rather than as a technical training and source of income.

Besides projecting underlying themes, the tapes also evoke questions for both participants and observers. Answers are not necessarily provided to these questions in the tapes; rather, the important thing is that both experts and laypersons are provoked to examine their implicit assumptions and points of view. Perhaps at a future time they will attempt to find answers to the questions

that arise. For example, in relation to health, the following are examples of the kinds of questions that developed:

- 1) How can the individual play a more important part in health care;
- 2) Will the experts surrender to the patient an increased role in health care;
- 3) Can better definitions of illness and well-being be developed;
- 4) How much dependency on the expert is too much;
- 5) In training of medical specialists is there not a place for developing the quality of caring about the human being in ways that the rationality of sectoral experience doesn't require?

Beyond Mirrors and Masks

If one adopts a totally unconventional attitude, one can defend the position that it is not outsiders' concern in what ways debates and interviews serve as mirrors for those audiences which care to look at them. The material is simply made available to those who are interested. In fact, since there are viewers who deliberately have spent hours with these tapes, one must assume that the effort in producing them has not been entirely out of line with its purpose. But actually, as for all internal processes, there is no 'scientific' way in which one can test really significant responses and put them in tables. The only thing one can do is to ponder one's own responses and ask others to tell about theirs.

In the course of the project, three different methods have been tried in the attempt to elicit immediate, open responses from audiences: unrecorded seminar discussions, video-taped seminar discussions, written impromptu statements. A general conclusion is that immediate, video-recorded responses tend to focus on the outward sides of the subject matter discussed or on the biases and possible ideologies of participants in debates and interviews. It is hard to create a reflective mood under public circumstances.

So far, the best kind of responses has been received when a group, after viewing a tape, has been asked to disperse and, individually and without discussion, put down their thoughts on paper. These responses contain both personal reflections concern-

ing the viewers' own situation as well as general remarks about the subject, or about the video medium as such. Although we have not yet done formal analyses of these reactions, as the material accumulates, certain patterns can be recognized in the responses. For now, a sample can illustrate the kinds of comments viewing has given rise to so far. It is, of course, difficult to appreciate *fully* comments on a tape one has not seen. Nonetheless, it may prove valuable to our readers to see some of the reactions to the Sterky interview - a particularly powerful and appealing tape. In March of 1979 at Lund the project team used the Sterky tape as a test for eliciting dialogue within a group of professionals from various disciplines. The group included a philosopher, an engineer, a geographer, a student of Third World development problems, a secretary and the project directors. Having looked at the tape, viewers were asked to take time to write down their impressions without any prior discussion. They were to discuss what the tape had said to them personally and what it might have to say to their respective fields. Examples of these responses are as follows:

They were not dogmatic, or preaching, but they educated me on the problems of their sector in a way that made me see the parallel situations in my own. I could go through the discovery VICARIOUSLY.

It was tremendously comfortable to hear Sterky say that he has always been broad rather than deep and defend that position, because that is what I feel to be. But I started to think that maybe one can develop a sort of depth also in broadness.

Presently, I'm an edge person. I have finished work (including PhD) and now seek to become a 'professional' - in my case, to become a college professor who does research on the side. Sterky gives advice to a person in my shoes: 1) to be ready to question your value-system, 2) to place my specialities in a wider sphere of meaning.

Curiously, his advice has been my aim in my professional work. As a geographer, I have not been satisfied with the limited, esoteric analysis that so much geographical research hinges on today. Rather, I have sought to generalize and ask basic, almost naive

questions like *what is the experience of place?* Or, *what does it mean to be at home in a place?*

The problem, however, becomes practical: one may speak of synthesis rather than analysis, understanding rather than knowledge, questions rather than answers, but sadly, the educational system today doesn't seem to wish such foci. I apply for jobs with my credentials in generalization and face rejection, with the response 'Ah, but you don't fit one of our slots.'

So far, I've persevered and in the two years since completing graduate work I have managed to be employed. I'm growing tired, however, and often fear I will not find a job next year (already seven rejections).

Sterky says that at first he did not feel ready when a colleague suggested he work for a time in a Third-World country. I'm doing research on the Third-World and therefore made me remember that I felt the same when I went: worried that I did not have a kind of 'total outlook', a perfect contact network with the scientific world, the degree of inventiveness required for the kinds of situation I might fall into...I think this tape is perfect for use in any sector because of the inner reflectiveness it produces.

Looking back on my work as a geographer the Sterky-tape helped me to see a little better than before how the kind of theory we developed in the fifties and sixties somehow moved us away from relevant matters and lifted thinking to a level where it was impossible to see what applications really meant on the ground among people living there. To try to abstract and generalize was not wrong per se but we should not have let the fieldwork tradition go as we did but rather tried to develop it further.

Most of the things he (Sterky) said about education are certainly true about technical education. I thought what a good idea it would be to show this tape - and others of a similar kind - to medical students. Why not do similar things for engineering students. Also I found that an analogy exists - when Sterky talked about medicine as a 'tiny' part of the health problem, I was thinking of how easy it would be just to exchange 'medicine' by technology.

All discussions on energy have so much centered about technical problems - actually this is called health.

Exactly the relaxed pub-talk with values-in-life orientation I experience intensively as an important part of the process of education and continuing education. This perhaps partly depends on the fact that I am somewhat older than the 'average student' and as such have a number of years in wage-earning life behind me in various areas.

How can a young person DARE follow his vocation?

This tape really shows that some actors can give surprisingly much of value in less than one hour. Sterky brought up so many things of interest. He pointed out how important it is that a specific field (medicine) is not isolated from the rest of the broader contexts (health) in which it is a ('tiny') part. Here the intentions of the Project were clearly demonstrated to give results. But perhaps the most striking thing, to me, was how he showed from his own experience how much we can learn from developing countries. While we create extreme laboratory conditons very often in order to investigate certain phenomena, which we guess could be worth studying, he showed that real-life conditions, just somewhat different from our own, may make us reflect upon our own situation. He also has a beautiful example of how we often run into a ceteris paribus state: 'The problems of the development countries are so enormous that you tend, for survival, to get into diabetes, a field in which you feel secure!' But the big problems were of another and broader nature: malnutriton, etc. And he added that those big problems could be 'as intellectually stimulating' as the 'conventional' problems. I liked very much that he pointed out these things so clearly.

One could learn more from the tape than might have been possible from a whole book dealing with the same subject. I was thinking of a Japanese painting, where empty spaces - leaving a freedom for the watcher - are regarded as important as filled-in ones. Therefore, a short tape can tell so very much and evoke impulses to reflect upon other things than those explicitly shown and said. Also

the intention that people should feel more free to speak was obvious: Sterky said (when he pointed out what 'tiny part medicine plays in health'): 'We can say it here - if we talked about this inside the medical community in Sweden we would have been looked upon as more or less crazy.' Obviously he felt a strong desire to be quite open.

Very few technologists appear openly - they seem to avoid publicity. At the rare occasions they enter into public discussions, they are very careful not to say too much, and they stick carefully to their field as recognized experts, only. I know many of them do have points of view which would be of great value to a much broader audience than those interested in just specific technical matters. Interviews like this could bring forth this 'silent community' - this could also be the only chance to make technologists known as human beings, not only as experts in a narrow field.

I remember, as a rule, much better what I have seen and heard than what I have read, perhaps with the exception of really engaging literature (but in the latter case I 'see' what I read).

I think the medium is good, if the programs do not become too long to listen to. I could think of breaks for discussion.. Forces one to a more active penetration of more questions than books. Yet, not all problems can be handled in this manner.

I have very positive reaction to the discussion. In this case I felt like I was sitting at a table with two friends.

The practice of allowing viewers some silent time in which to write down their responses has proven to be quite effective in generating a reflective attitude toward the content of an interview. Eventually, a more systematic framework to guide such responses will be designed, and this should facilitate a more effective cross-cultural exchange of ideas.

In the final chapter, some general evaluation of the Dialogue process will be attempted.

VI. MEDIA AND MESSAGE

In the pilot years of this adventure in Dialogue, many eyebrows have been raised, cynical observations heard and, indeed, many obstacles confronted. Whether or not our Project leads to a fresh approach to knowledge and life, or a desire for more meaningful vocations to the intellectual world, depends not only on our 'message' but also on the receptivity of our 'hearers'. This report has sought to share an invitation rather than to deliver a final artefact. Its authors remain firmly committed to the idea of Dialogue and frankly confess that their own particular style of articulating and implementing it may not at all be the most appropriate. In this final chapter, some critical notes on the scope and methodology used in the project will be offered. In the spirit of Dialogue, we speak both of mistakes and of apparent successes. Our impressions will be dealt with under three headings: 1) technical notes on the video medium itself, 2) conceptual/ideological questions regarding the political and institutional aspects of the Dialogue process and 3) some prospects which seem worthy of further effort.

The Video Medium

Initial rounds of 'impromptu' conversations did not really achieve the purpose for which they were designed. Although their content was often very interesting, their actual style made comprehension difficult and uninspiring. Each performance lasted about one hour, which is a rather long time for a viewer of a videotape. In most cases participants were first invited to introduce themselves, in order to give some personal background for what was to follow. After that only a limited time was left, making it very difficult for the participants to give their contributions any depth. The viewer

does not get much insight into the ways in which perspectives develop with life experience, because various stances are presented without much explanation. It is also difficult to produce a well integrated discussion with a large number of participants. Statements made and questions asked at one moment cannot be taken up again until much later or perhaps not at all. One may assume that the limits on time do not permit a really reflective mode to take shape. However, the sessions were different in this respect. The tape on 'enterprise' gives much richer insights into the conditions of the participants than do the other two. Perhaps work in a harsh economic environment ties thinking and life closer together than is the case in more shielded professions.

In order to bring down the total 'per tape' time to around 40 minutes - which is commonly considered to be a maximum for viewers' attention - the 'health' and 'energy' tapes were edited, as an experiment. In the edition process, some portions of the discussion were cut out and a few illustrative graphics inserted, both for the sake of variety and to 'cover' the cuts. The outcome was a couple of programs, not very unlike ordinary TV-debates steered by journalists. The most disturbing consequence of the editing, though, was the alteration of the original stream of conversation. Despite our great care, reshuffling parts of the debate proved to be unavoidable. In other words, in the final stage, the outcome was not a fully true picture of the real event but a partly artificial product. This experience had a profound influence on the philosophy of the project. By editing, it is possible to create an impression of a debate which is substantially different from what actually occurred. This clearly should not be allowed to happen. But since it can happen, there is no possibility to prove, when showing an edited discussion, that opinions have not been manipulated. It is essential in an adventure of this kind that all participants can be assured that their contributions are not misused. It was decided, therefore, to concentrate on a format where the original data is rendered without editing. From a professional TV-producer's point of view this might lead to some material that is less than perfect. But, after all, this is not an exercise in entertainment but a way of bringing people in touch with each others' worlds. Nobody demands that letter-writing should be a perfect form of literature, so there is no reason why video-communication should adhere to the standards of mass-media products.

The 'Dream and Reality' series of autobiographically-grounded interviews was, on the whole, much more successful. They vary, of course, in quality and interest, and there has not been adequate time to elicit audience responses. Superficially, however, the team has learned some of the advantages of this approach, as well as some of the preconditions for allowing the speaker to 'come across' in an authentic fashion. The first condition that has to be fulfilled is that each participant be given adequate time for developing his views. This is particularly critical, since we want to see how perspectives develop in the course of life experience. An important consideration in this process has been to let the interviewee finish what he or she has to say - contrary to what is normal for journalistic TV-interviews. The interview is not edited afterwards. At most, illustrations and texts are put in place. The videotapes may be regarded afterwards as authentic historical documents. We found that the ideal is to have one and the same person acting as interviewer for a whole sector. The interviewer also ought to be a professional person within the sector. Experience in the sector allows the interviewer to follow up on hunches and to understand references to the relevant social worlds.

The reader may ask, 'Where is the *dialogue* in this procedure?' The approach has to be adjusted in order to take advantage of the new technical possibilities for storage and communication. Clearly, those in a sector who are interviewed one by one do not immediately feel that they are taking part in a dialogue. But outsiders (or insiders) who then care to view all or a number of interviews brought together from a sector will encounter a spectrum of perspectives on one and the same problem area. Just this kind of effect is what the classical Dialogue once was designed for.

An audience - whether a single person or a group - may adopt various intellectual postures while viewing these videotapes. A first choice is a purely impersonal stance. One tries to look away from the person behind the text as well as from oneself as interpreter to consider only the subject matter dealt with. The attitude is like that of a doctor investigating an illness in some organ as if it were independent of the patient as a person and of his own competence to make a diagnosis. The impromptu round-table discussions first mentioned invite the viewers to choose this position. With the longer personal interviews, it is less easy to remain unaffected by the person who is speaking. One can hardly avoid becoming interested in the world of the other. So, a second choice is to evaluate

the author or speaker as a *person* along with his text. This means that one considers the public description of experiences and expression of opinions as only glimpses of a hidden inside world. One uses what is said and acted out as clues by which one tries to construe a partial map of the invisible sphere of concepts, values, goals and 'meaning system' of the other.

A third choice - and this is what the Dialogue Project first and foremost is aiming at - opens up when the viewer consciously turns attention inwards, trying to become aware of the basis of his/her own taken-for-granted world of concepts and values (or of those of his/her discipline, sector or nation) as a problem area to be lifted up and scrutinized. The video-interviews indicate that this objective is furthered through confrontation with the 'meaning systems' of different worlds which may involve other professional fields or people of foreign culture.

From a research vantage point videotapes can also be regarded as data sources. The transcripts from only one video-taped discussion fill around 15 to 20 type-written pages. The total volume of the text from the initial phase of work reported here thus amounts to several hundred pages. This already provides a rich source of data for content analysis. In other words, tapes, as vehicles for dialogue, open up not only the ongoing process of communication and reflection, but possibilities for more traditional analysis of conceptual systems and of their practical implications. At first glance, the material may appear to be too scattered with respect to subject matter to permit general conclusions. But this, of course, depends on the analytic perspectives chosen.

Behind the whole Dialogue exercise lies the fundamental notion that present thinking and praxis is dominated by certain patterns that are problematic in almost every sphere of life. As was stated in the presentation of the program, we want in particular to lift forward two areas of deep-going concern in modern society: 'reason and rationality' and 'creativity and context'. Debates and interviews abound with allusions to the dialectic between the two pairs of concepts. A formal content analysis focussing upon them would be feasible, although perhaps somewhat premature in view of the limited number of sectors covered so far. It is, however, more in line with the purpose of the project to choose a more dialogical approach. Entire transcripts, or long excerpts from the tapes are available for closer scrutiny. The reader is invited to read

these excerpts and judge for himself or herself how the tensions become revealed.

Of course, videotape has characteristic limits as well as special benefits. A difficulty which one must not overlook when using the medium for honest communication is the long exposure to professional TV that all viewers have. We are accustomed to look at the TV screen in a rather disinterested or passive way. Probably more than we know, this fact is consciously used by producers in order to influence our mood and manipulate our opinions in one or the other direction. The production of TV programs is now a sophisticated art. Camera angles and distances, combinations of faces and symbolic objects, sweep-in patterns, movements and sounds can all be consciously combined in order to affect the viewer. Some standard tricks probably have a definite influence, well known to the producer but beyond the awareness of the viewer. If this is the case, it can hardly be avoided that even the most simple and straightforward video-taping just by accident might produce quite unintended standard signals which will have an influence on understanding and evaluation.

In order to fulfill their task properly the Dialogue-tapes must be viewed consciously and critically. Fortunately, the play-back of a video-tape is under the control of the viewers. It is true that they cannot ask questions and get answers back immediately. In this respect the performance is like ordinary TV. But they can turn off the tape at any point in order to make notes or to discuss some point. They can also go back and repeat in order to make sure exactly what was said. All this helps viewers to stay attentive and alert. Viewers also have the situation under control in the sense that they know that there is no huge anonymous audience somewhere whose reactions are beyond observation. The whole audience is in one place and can discuss matters all together exactly in the manner of an ordinary seminar.

It is quite clear that the video-medium also has some particular advantages for bringing out the kind of response that the Dialogue Project is aiming at. The presence of equipment for video-recording and the limited time for talk creates something which differs both from the professional paper, the lecture and the totally free conversation. It is most interesting to compare with the formal lecture and the informal conversation because in both these extreme cases the audience can both see and hear the speaker just as on

the TV screen. A public lecture is, as a rule, a prepared and, therefore, disciplined affair in which the material has been carefully screened. It is impossible for the listener to follow lines of thought that are intimated but not pursued because of the predetermined logic of the exposition. For conventional reasons, illuminating anecdotes tend to be suppressed - at least the more personal ones. The opposite situation - the totally free conversation - on the other hand, can be very creative for participants but is mostly too incoherent for a listener. The video-interview seems to take shape in a situation which combines the best characteristics of the two extremes just mentioned. Because of the time-pressure and the questions asked and a certain degree of formality under the technical constraints, the exposition is reasonably orderly. At the same time the intimacy of the setting invites spontaneity and the kind of anecdotal insights and examples that belong to the free conversation.

The above observations are born out by an evaluation of the interview with Ivar Söderqvist (See Appendix 3) made by the students at the Swedish Agricultural University, Ultuna. The group consisted of 27 students who had studied agricultural cooperatives during the spring term 1979. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the students' reactions is the strong appeal that the personal and historical dimensions of the interview had for them. It is also worth noting that the video technique can be a generally useful instrument, since there is really no need to have special expertise in order to employ it with acceptable results.

There are still many unresolved questions regarding the use of video, not the least of which is the variety of standards and format systems which make trans-Atlantic communication especially difficult. The 3/4" Sony Umatic was initially recommended as suitable and compatible throughout Europe and America, yet it has been difficult and expensive to share European-produced items in the USA. Until the industry standardizes its systems, there is little the user can do about such problems except to be fully aware of the limitations of the format chosen.

TV or NOT TV (NOT Really the Question)

It would be misleading to imply that only one technique or one

organizing principle may be used to express the ethos underlying this invitation to dialogue. From a pedagogical point of view, the video media have certainly proven themselves to be more evocative than print for certain kinds of insights. Yet, this special power places an enormous burden of responsibility on its users, because video may very well be more vulnerable to political and ideological manipulation than are print or other media. On several occasions, participants in the series of dialogues described here have expressed reservations regarding both the ideological and diplomatic confrontations which might arise in an international project of this kind - particularly in discussions of sectoral planning, where matters of public policy, investments and political decision-making inevitably enter. Our interviews have, in fact, rarely focussed on current policy issues. Instead, they have taken a retrospective view on the interlocking of theory and practice; they have sought lessons from the recent past which may yield international common denominators for the discussion of present day policy. For example, a discussion of the common patterns of postwar Euro-American planning experience (e.g., rationalization of public services, agriculture and private enterprise at the large scale) should be particularly interesting to societies which have more recently taken a similar route.

Any society, at whatever stage of development, could surely benefit from cross-cultural dialogue over human problems like health and energy; all societies too have much to share from their varied experiences. Indeed, some of the most enthusiastic support for the Dialogue idea has come from people who have worked in 'developing' societies, people who feel 'cut off' from the flow of ideas, because of the costs of distance. Similarly, there are scholars in 'developed' societies, who often feel 'cut off' from what is happening elsewhere. We have originally hoped to do 'in situ' videotape recordings in Africa, South America and Asia in order to generate dialogue over the interrelationship of human values and economic development. The video medium surely has much to offer in communicating the network of human meanings that is essential to handicraft traditions or the subtle articulations of livelihood traditions in which sensitivity to nature is paramount. The skeptic will say that to endeavor to use video in this way is to complement the tide of commercial standardization which has begun to envelop artisans everywhere. She/he will also claim that

no pedagogy is apolitical. The past and present continue to act as blinders upon the skeptic's vision of the future. Certainly one of the greatest challenges for the future is to open eyes and heart to the totality of relationships - political, commercial, institutional and cultural - and to *develop* the wisdom to make decisions. Whether this challenge is articulated through face-to-face conversation, video, print or correspondence, the spirit behind the Dialogue Project is a spirit of awakening, not of indoctrination. The responsibility for safeguarding the Project from manipulation by any particular set of ideological interest - no matter what the Project's techniques and principles of organization - will, of course, rest with those who assume catalytic roles in the process.

Prospects for International Dialogue

There is little new in the Socratic Dream. What would be new would be to take it seriously and responsibly in the socio-political context of the late twentieth century. Strange how often, during the pilot two years of this process, one heard elaborate theories about power, language, political manipulation - theories which, forged and circulated within academic circles, appeared to be microcosmic models of the very systems they pretended to criticize. Within those academic structures which should facilitate freedom of thought, one often finds enslavement to one ideology or another, 'union mentalities' on expertise and an almost pharisaical denial of unconventional ideas. The tension between ETHOS and STRUCTURE could scarcely be better illustrated. Or to take another case in point: literature on the sociology of knowledge has amply documented the nineteenth century socio-political rationale for dividing up the world of knowledge into discrete fields and disciplines, and a variety of innovative ideas for curriculum reform and inter-disciplinary cooperation are afloat today. But, until scholars themselves develop and maintain a critical perspective on the origins and ends of their own activities, there is little guarantee that any new set of academic social arrangements will remain immune from the kind of sclerosis to which the prior system has succumbed.

From interviews and correspondence the research team has observed how closely the ethos-structure problem is entwined in hu-

man creativity. Whether in teaching, research or planning consultancies, academics are usually invited to share the techniques of their speciality: rarely in the contemporary market economy of specialists does one find the opportunity to exercise practical wisdom, intuition or judgement based on experience. Unspoken rules governing the criteria of appropriateness command obeisance both from employer and employee. In such a situation, who dares to deviate? The price to any individual, or any committee, would likely be too great to bear. It was precisely because of this 'Catch 22' which seems to persuade the working milieu of scholars and professionals, that a Dialogue was suggested in the first place. The very process of becoming aware of the social construction of thought and of the rules governing the economy of applied science was intended to be a liberating experience for all concerned.

Those retired individuals interviewed on tape found little difficulty in appreciating the ethos underlying our Dialogue process. Some actually welcomed the opportunity to share thoughts and after-thoughts about their own life journeys and the contexts of their socialization. No one was required to agree or to disagree with viewpoints expressed in the various papers circulated about the project; each was simply invited to share some insights on the Dream and Reality in which she/he shared in his/her own lifetime. What these video-taped interviews were hopefully to evoke was the capacity to 'dream' up solutions to the problems of today rather than add to the cacophonous autopsy of past and present 'realities'. Most of these individuals are still actively involved in some work or other, but officially they are 'retirees' from their respective sectors. Yet who better than they could help build a broader time perspective and a more critically reflective stance within those sectors? Strange that chronological age has become the taken-for-granted basis for defining limits to one's contributions to society!

Ultimately the Dialogue Project addresses itself to individual people of whatever age, sector or discipline. It is within the human person that a 'wholeness' of understanding can eventually be reached. How wisely or prudently public knowledge (i.e., science) is to be categorized, classified or used, depends ultimately on how individuals communicate their own insights. Is this not primarily a sociological rather than an exclusively intellectual matter - to re-create communities of concern within (or in spite of) the institu-

tions which now house scholarly work? Ultimately of course, the challenge is a political one, and alas, it is at this level that matters of collective judgement have often been mired in a morass of legalistic machinations or fated to a decision by default. But failures in collective decision-making, as well as the shortcomings of policy itself, often become simply 'data' sources from which a social scientist may construct or examine some favorite hypotheses. This taken-for-granted convention is encouraged by several centuries of academic tradition in which 'truth' is inexorably separated from 'goodness'. How well either has survived the divorce is a matter deserving of careful reflection, especially today, when the practical implementation of scientific research results - so recently taken-for-granted as well - has been called into question.

From the vantage point of human creativity, one could also ask how the sociology of the recent academic past and present may, *de facto*, have militated against the development of human qualities other than the purely intellectual and technical. In recalling the creative moments of their own lives, it is remarkable how few of the individuals we taped referred primarily to intellectual stimuli *per se*. Always, it seems, it was a combination of the intuitive, emotional, imaginative and aesthetic aspects of that moment of discovery that was significant. There was a sense in which the author felt that he/she was empowered to share something quite unique, within a milieu where it could be received gratefully. Among those who shared insight on creativity and context, there were few who ever complained about a lack of resources or of challenge in their specific tasks; rather, several expressed frustration over the lack of opportunity to assume social responsibility and gratuitously to express common concern.

An unused muscle soon atrophies; it seems as though the precious qualities of humanness, if denied opportunity to express themselves long enough, may also atrophy. Creativity, defined in our project as the capacity to participate in ongoing creation, is inevitably fostered or hindered by its physical and social contexts, but never ultimately determined by them. Contexts, however, are created, and quickly reify the values and judgements of their creators. To foster the kind of creativity that the modern world seems to need, contexts must remain open and flexible to fresh insight but especially to the capacity which individuals may have to assume responsibility and to seek an understanding of the 'whole

picture'. If we scholars cannot demonstrate the courage and capacity to see in our own situations a microcosm of societal situations and use our privileged status to experiment with more life-supporting ways of thinking and living, then perhaps our theories about the world *deserve* the museum status they are often accorded today. If we build a Tower of Babel or federated union of expertise, then is it not pharisaical to complain about the fragmentation of life and milieux which has emerged from our efforts? If we know and understand that some alternative way of sharing insight is an urgent need today, then why not begin to build bridges ourselves, before political fiat or technocratic ultimatum decides the future for us?

Appendix 1

'CARING FOR KNOWLEDGE'

Invitation

The primary motivation underlying this project is a *care for knowledge* (*kunskapsvård*). Within this general rubric are subsumed a number of concerns about the nature of knowledge itself, the relationships between knowledge and lived experience, the present fragmentation of specialized fields, and the lack of a satisfactory framework of ideas within which research results may be integrated.

The realm of thought today is a cacaphony of diverse and often discordant languages and world views. When cast against the criteria of world experience, too, fragmented science appears to be associated closely with the fragmentation of life styles and environments. To restore some cohesion and unity to knowledge and life - to call 'home' the varied fruits of scholarly research - some principles of centering are needed. Caring for humanity and world, therefore, demands a caring approach to knowledge.

The explicit aim of this project is to initiate processes of critical reflection upon the assumptions underlying contemporary approaches to knowledge and experience. Such an effort must inevitably include a search for the bases for a common language - one which will foster better communication between science and philosophy and between scholarly endeavor and life as a whole. The notion of CENTERING does not deny the value of specialized research, nor does it necessarily imply a blueprint for the overall classification of fields. Rather, it points to the need for some central core world-view which would enable the diverse strands of research to be orchestrated more harmoniously with one another and with life generally. The journey toward discovering such a LANGUAGE (in the full sense of the term) is perhaps the most appropriate metaphor to describe the project. If, as Chomsky claims, 'the limits of one's language define the limits of one's

world', what is needed is a process oriented toward discovering a common language and world view within which each of our distinct and separate 'worlds' can be opened to a more reasonable and socially responsible grasp of its appropriate role within the whole.

The metaphor of 'journey' should not be construed as a movement away from the present situation. Rather it is oriented in a 'homeward' or inward direction of critical reflection and synthesis which should ideally reciprocate the outward thrust of analytical and calculative thought. In knowledge as in life, both homeward and outward movements should be possible. In fact many of the problems facing the intellectual world today could be ascribed to the fact that these two movements are not synchronized; most of the energy devoted to science flows outward. To conceive of this Project as most importantly a journey, rather than as a means to a destination, implies a focus on the *process of learning*, in contradistinction to the *products of research*. Ultimately the Project is a travel guide, designed to provoke discovery, rather than a theoretically-based rule book for the application of techniques or the organization of disciplines. Thus, the criteria by which the Project is judged should be the heuristic success of the travel guide which emerges from the dialogical process, rather than the production of definitive generalizations.

Assumptions

The rationale for this journey stems from certain a priori assumptions which are summarized in the following outline:

1. *Ways of knowing are inseparable from ways of being-in-the-world.* Concern about the quality and substance of knowledge leads one beyond purely epistemological issues - ideas cannot be evaluated without explicit reference to research processes and to the sociological contexts in which findings are communicated and applied. Neither can the concern for *praxis* be construed exclusively in terms of implementation strategies or techniques. To separate out these various dimensions of the scholar's taken-for-granted 'world' would only reinforce the barriers of language and of role-related conceptualization which now impede communication.

2. *The process of learning is rooted within the individual person.* Socialization within particular disciplines and institutionally-defined roles can have a decisive influence on a person's approach to learning; indeed many of the impediments to communication may be sociological rather than logical. However valid this insight may be as the guiding concept of critique (autopsy) of present knowledge, it does not promise immediate guidelines for a person-based exploration of alternatives. For this adventure, each scholar needs to become aware of the strengths and limitations of inherited or socially-constructed modes of enquiry and then to author the style which seems appropriate for the evolving challenges of today.

3. *The quest for centering principles can begin WITHIN the present structures even though ultimately it may identify aspects of those structures which impede authentic progress toward desirable goals.* Utopian alternatives to the present situation can and have been proposed, but if the process of seeking such alternatives is not authored by those persons who are to implement and foster them, then their long-term effectiveness may be crippled. Since this project is based in Sweden, the themes around which it is initiated are those which are, or have been, of particular concern for this society, e.g., the human and environmental aspects of health, technology, regional development at home and in the Third World and the 'sense of place' in dwelling and work milieux.

4. *There are global dimensions to the problem facing the intellectual today, many of which are often closely inter-twined with cultural and societal influences.* An effort will therefore be made to engage as wide a spectrum as possible of cross-cultural and international contributions to the discussion. An explicit aim of the project is to initiate the development of networks of scholars from several countries within which Swedish scholars may continue to interact.

Strategy

The operational strategy for the Project seeks to exemplify alternative modes of communication among scholars and alternative styles of research enquiry. Participants are simultaneously 'subjects' and 'objects' of research: the primary source of 'data' being the life experiences of key individuals whose careers are, or have been, devoted to research and/or planning within specific domains. Shared autobiographical reflection by volunteer groups of scholars and professionals will provide experientially-grounded insight from which generalizations can be derived concerning the relationships between ideas and praxis. What is envisioned is a long-term 'filtering' process whereby the results of such reflection will lead to the drafting of a MANUEL or GUIDE to facilitate both an ongoing reflective component in all scholarly fields and also a basis for continuing communication among scholars.

The approach is thus premised upon a personal definition of knowledge, viz., that the ultimate model of centering is the individual human person. This does not imply that everyone could possibly know all that needs to be known. Rather it suggests that only human persons, committed to the quest for better communication among different forms of learning, can perform the 'homework' within their own minds and then reach out toward a sharing of insight with others. It is to the *quality* rather than the *quantity* of information or *structure* of knowledge that this process is addressed. It does not deny the logical and/or pragmatic rationale for existing disciplines, but rather suggests that one cannot begin a search as radical as this one from the role perspectives of existing fields. Any alternative 'architecture' of knowledge fields cannot be guaranteed immunity to the same sclerosis as the present one, hence the process of enquiry must be grounded on its personal authors, rather than on the paradigms or theories which collective effort could or should create. The academic year 1977-79 will be devoted to the pilot phase of this project. Three distinct network types are envisioned as nuclei around which the longer term reflective task is to be implemented:

1. An international network is to be constituted by geographers from a wide variety of situations. The assumption is that one can find, within geography, a microcosm of the general problems impeding the 'care of knowledge'. Traditional concern for

the relationships between society and environment, the connectedness of diverse forms and processes within finite horizons of time and space, have always challenged geography to seek integrative concepts, although functional specialization during the past few decades has also fragmented the unity of the field. In its pedagogical and applied dimensions, however, geography still cannot avoid the complex challenge of translating knowledge into a language which would be communicable to 'outsiders'. A critical evaluation of both teaching and application within the discipline could lead to fruitful insight into the quest for centering principles for thought as a whole.

2. Interdisciplinary groups of scholars are to share autobiographically-based insights around a common theme or problem. Within each of these groups care will be taken to include philosophers and humanists as well as technicians and scientists.

3. Volunteer groups of senior or retired professionals are to be invited to reflect upon the evolution of ideas and their practical applications throughout their lifetimes. In the late 1970s there are many European scholars, approaching retirement, who have seen dramatic changes in thought and its applications in various countries and who are in a position to offer some wisdom and insight into the institutional, political and practical issues surrounding knowledge and life.

Within each of these three 'streams', pilot groups are to be constituted in as many locales as seems feasible within the limits of the author's time and energy. Each of these groups will be asked to focus its discussions around three major objectives:

- (a) to elicit experientially-grounded generalizations concerning the development of ideas and their practical applications over the career span of significant individuals;
- (b) to experiment with a dialogical and reflective mode of research which is oriented toward a provocation of awareness for all those who engage in it;
- (c) to explore alternative media (to print) in the communica-

tion of results and the filtering of insight regarding 'common denominators' in academic thought and praxis.

At the end of the pilot phase a framework for extended research will be outlined and applied in a variety of international contexts. One concrete suggestion which will be offered to all groups is the use of a JOURNAL within which various experiences of a personal or institutional kind can be recorded. Reflection upon such experiences could then be used to recognize typical contexts which appear consistently to have been associated with creativity, and those which have prevented it. Such data could also be used to investigate the explicit or implicit role of ideology or political influences in shaping thought and praxis. Eventually the aim is to design a format for such a journal which could be part of the essential 'equipment' of scholars in any field - a place in which to sort and to sift out choices and decisions, an instrument to foster a unified approach toward knowing and being. On the basis of insights derived from such a journal, participants would be invited to contribute to a more general guidebook or manual for wider use.

Lund
Anne Buttimer
October 31, 1977

Appendix 2

'SAFARI TO KLINIKWUNDERLAND'

One morning at 10.30, five days after my arrival in Lund, I went to the AKUT corner of KLWDLD, to ask a favor for a friend. She needed to have a prescription renewed but did not speak Swedish. When I arrived there, I saw a sea of faces, none too happy, none too sad, all awaiting the key to salvation which would come with one of the many WOF:s who were flitting in and out, from outer to inner sanctum. I finally decided that I would never get the attention of the WOF behind the glass partition, so naively I opened the door to inner sanctum myself, and looked around inquiringly. A very pleasant WOF approached me, she smiled, seemed interested in my question, and assured me that my friend could come here to solve here problem. In fact, WOF1 was so genial, and understood English so well, that I then asked if this was a place I could go to check on a pain in my left leg which had come since my trip to Lund. 'Of course', she said, and then ushered me out again to outer sanctum, to queue in front of the glass partition and the WOFs behind it.

Day 1:

11.00 WOF2 fills in a long form with my name, age, sex, occupation, nationality, medical history, and finally gives me a number, while WOF1 helps someone else.

11.15 Friendly WOF1 returns and leads me through the door to inner sanctum again, to wait for my turn. She seemed older than the other WOFs, and they seemed to ignore her. After twenty minutes, we both pointed in the direction of Super WOF - a 'Sister' WOF - and she asked all the same questions I had answered just before. She communicated something to WOF1, and I was gently ushered back to outer sanctum to wait 'a little while'.

11.35 *This sea of faces again, eyes half closed, all behaving like actors in a Surrealist drama. 'Wonder if I have to wait until they have all gone in?' I wondered. I thought of my appointment at 13.30, but decided not to worry yet. Thought of all that should be done before that other appointment at 16.00, and the preparations for a shared meal at the residence where I stay. 'No use fretting', I thought, 'WOF1 will not forget me, and she knows I am busy'.*

12.30 *WOFs have been coming in and out for an hour now. I tried to attract their attention, but their eyes seemed not to see, their ears not to hear. 'Wonder whether WOFs come that way, or does KLWDL make them that way?' It was not intellectual curiosity with me, though. It was anxiety, hunger, and some resentment at my friendly WOF for not telling me exactly how long 'a little while' was likely to be.*

12.45 *WOF1 came back - what a relief - but she only looked surprised that I was still there. I told her that I could come back another day, but she protested, and disappeared again inside the heavy door.*

13.05 *I'm the last one in outer sanctum now, so it cannot be long more, I thought. Searched for the telephone numbers I'd need in case of having to break my appointments, but had neither pen, paper, nor a telephone book nearby. Then WOF1 came back and said I could come in now. Once inside, she handed me over to another Sister WOF, who did not understand English, but indicated a door to me which promised a visit with the doctor. It was lunch time for her then.*

13.10 *Sister WOF2, with face solemn and officious, told me (in Swedish) to take off my clothes and get on a stretcher which sat in the middle of the floor. Then she left before I could query that: only my left leg was painful, so why should I get undressed? It was very cold in that room, even when fully dressed! While I was still pondering that question, two or three other WOFs opened the door, looked in, then banged it again before I could ask anything of any of them. Then I decided to obey anyhow, and got on the*

stretcher bed, shivering. Meanwhile, two or three WOFs came suddenly into the room to get a piece of equipment and go out again, ignoring my attempt to ask - even in Swedish now - for a sheet or a blanket. 'Even a dog would respond to body language', I thought, 'but WOFs wear such protective insulation'. I'm hungry, cold, anxious about all that I have to do, and resentful that no one has given me any idea of how long 'a little while' means in KLWD-Land.

13.45 Sister WOF2 opens the door. I look anxiously at her and try to say I want to ask her something before she bangs it again. 'Please may I have a cover?' I asked. Without moving a facial muscle she tossed a sheet in my direction. 'Do you want something to eat or drink?' she asked. 'A cup of tea would be nice', I answered and she disappeared.

14.00 WOF1 returns and notices, kind person that she was, that there were tears in my eyes, and it was very cold in the room. 'How long more?' I asked, and she shrugged her hands rather helplessly. 'I've already missed my appointment' I said, 'and cannot get in touch with my friends'. 'Give me the numbers', she said, 'and I'll call them for you' (Bless your human heart! I thought). She left, as WOF2 returned to ask me 'Did you say you wanted to BUY some tea?' Gad, yes, if it is money you want here are three kronors. She left again without moving a muscle on her face, and returned, in ten minutes, with lukewarm tea in a plastic cup on a large tray with two 25-öre coins rattling importantly all around it. I was just lifting the cup to my mouth when DR1 came in, so I never had my 2.50 kr worth of refreshment!

14.15 DR1 was young, pleasant, gentle. He asked many, many questions, filled in another lengthy form, and examined my legs. He concluded that there was 'some suspicion of thrombosis', that I should have some more tests, and expect to stay in the hospital for several days. At first it did not really register, but when he left I suddenly realized that there was no one here in this city whom I knew well enough to ask them to go and get my personal belongings from my bedroom, or cancel my appointments. I got dressed, presuming that I could go back myself to get my things, and then go on with the tests.

14.35 Sister WOF3 comes in, looks horrified that I am sitting on the chair, and warns me - in Swedish - to get back on the bed. DR1 is close on her heels, and so I ask him - in English - if I could just dash back for a few minutes to get some things from my room. 'We cannot allow you to take that risk', he said 'it is very dangerous to walk around if you have thrombosis'. After a long discussion he finally conceded to let me use his telephone to see if I could get my one female colleague/friend to go pick up my things. We could not reach her. At the department we could only find a male colleague, and I tried to explain to the doctor that I'd be embarrassed for his sake, and that of the other house guests with whom I live, if I were to ask him to go to my room and find my things. I suppose my tears and threatened hysterics finally embarrassed him, and I was on my way home in a few minutes, my heart thumping with fear because they had just given me an injection and taken 10 phials of blood before my friend came to pick me up.

15.15 I hated to let my friend go, as we arrived again at KLWDL. There was a WOM waiting for us this time. My friend said something like 'take care of her' and he suddenly shed his KLmask. He even chatted all along the rectilinear lego-puzzle pathway to MACHLD. 'Wonder if WOMs are more close to ordinary humans than WOFs?' I wondered. Before I knew, we were there. Two pretty WOFs, a DR2, and no more WOMs.

15.30 WOF (must be WOF6 by now) smiled beautifully. 'Perhaps it is environmental', I thought, 'AKUT may have more severe winters, and more invasions for humans, than MACHLD'. And then seeing an enormous array of tubes and buttons and lights, I marvelled to think that a friendly WOF could manipulate all that.

15.45 'You will now receive an injection', said WOF6, 'then we will apply some pressure and we will measure the flow of your blood for about half an hour'. (At last, someone uses clock time around here...already I feel more at home in MACHLD...but I wish she would tell me what she is injecting into me...I already taste some metallic stuff since the last one...) The machine goes on, my legs feel strange, but here she is, writing down numbers and keeping up with the machine. 'How accurate she must be', I thought,

and 'how nice they allow a little room for human skill in MACHLD'. Then the phone rings. Rings again. I wonder why the other WOF does not answer it. WOF7 finally did, and calls WOF6. She has to go. WOF7 comes over and seems puzzled by the whole affair, does not write down numbers and draw lines like WOF6 did, but meanwhile WOF6 is chatting busily on the phone...I feel asleep.

16.15 It is over. WOF6 takes the results to the DR whose face I have not seen yet. She trips back to me, says goodnight, and tells me DR3 will take care of me from now on. I go back to sleep.

17.00 DR3 finally appears from behind the screen, introduces himself, tells me I'll need about two more hours of examination, that he has got to go upstairs to see his 'Professor', but that he will not be long. (Wonder if he counts in clock time or what he has to see his professor about.) Two more hours! The walls of my stomach were almost coming together at this stage, all I could taste was metal, all I could think about were my friends - oh for a friend now - and how the news of my thrombosis would scare them too. To have just only arrived in Sweden, and now to be unable to fulfill my obligations...all I could do was weep.

17.20 DR2 comes back, but all the rest of MACHLD was evacuated for the evening. He said so far so good on the tests, and then brought out another long questionnaire and asked me all the same questions which Sister WOF1, and DR1 had asked me, plus many, many more. I was very sleepy now, but did not dare ask for coffee...the thought of a cigarette sounded good, but I hesitated to ask. On page three of this questionnaire I finally did ask, and he said gently but firmly 'better not yet'.

17.35 The telephone rang. He was talking about me on the phone, I knew, and then he handed me the receiver. It was from a friend. A friend! A friend! I was too overcome with emotion to even speak: a friend had found me away deep in the jungle where faces never recognized my face, ears never heard my voice...oh God, I cannot let my friend know how close to despair I am, because I'm not my normal self here. I answered in monosyllables, and could not tell him how grateful I was for this kindness... I felt

rescued, a person again, and I knew I could make it through now.

17.50 Still more questions...and then a short trip to another machinespace where he began the promised follow-up test. Something was not functioning with this machine, so I had to help, by writing down numbers in neat columns. That was fun: this DR2 is very kind. The test took about twenty minutes, and we could even chat about Boston, Sweden, medicine and science...that was nice.

18.20 DR2 calculated all his means, modes, and whatever, while I got up on my feet for the first time in nearly four hours. It seemed interminable, but he assured me it was OK to walk around. In half an hour he told me that now the suspicion of thrombosis was much less, but they had to do some 'really important tests' yet. He then asked me many more questions, and it was now nearly 19.30, but he seemed to have all the time in the world, even though all the other WOFs and WOMs and DRs had gone home for the night.

19.30 He made an appointment for 8.30 in the morning, told me to take some things to AKUT again, not to walk too much, but I could go home. Home! that place which was so strange up until now, suddenly became like a paradise in my mind: my own bed, people who knew my name and 'diminished' fears. Yes, it was good, I didn't even feel hungry now, the relief was so great. I had to cancel all my week-end plans, of course, and I had looked forward to joining a group of old friends in the country, but they understood.

AND IT WAS EVENING, AND SOON MORNING, FOR THE SECOND DAY.

Day 2:

The next morning a friend drove me to KLWDL again. This time I entered through the main door, and not sure how to get to MACHLD from there, I asked a WOF8 how to get there. 'Where's your card?' she asked. 'They kept it at MACHLD last night', I explained, to which she automatically replied, 'Then you must go to AKUT and make out another one'. 'But I already have one', I protested, 'the doctor has it.' 'They won't let you in', she warned.

'You can try if you like, but they'll only be sending you back'. Silly WOF, I thought, there are human WOFs over there, and they were kind to me yesterday, but then another voice inside me warned that yesterday's WOFs might not be there now, and she, being a native, probably knew more than I did about the folkways. Hoping for the best, I ventured along, asking no questions, and hoping I could find the place myself. I found the place alright, but indeed it was a new WOF9, and she looked awfully blank, even slightly annoyed that I had dared to walk into this place without permission, but then I saw my name on her desk, and triumphantly pointed to it and then to me, hoping that at this hour of the morning, body language would mean something to her. 'Ah yes', she said, suddenly bright, 'come over here and take off your clothes'. It was the same room as last night, and I even felt fond of that because of the way I was able to help the doctor writing down those numbers and all. DR2 came soon, bright and cheerful, and we did the same test all over. 'You will have to do this again tomorrow and again next Monday, and Wednesday he announced, 'but we have to wait until 14.00 this afternoon for your radiological test. That is the really important one, you know, and we cannot be at all sure of our conclusions until we have done that'.

Fair enough. At least now I had four or five hours to get on with some work, and so I walked back home.

So much to do this morning, but no energy to do it. I felt weak and that horrible taste was in my mouth all the time. Besides, as DR2 had said, I was not out of the wood yet, and I had to have my bag packed in case I would have to stay at the hospital tonight.

14.00 Found my way to the radiological section. Like AKUT, there was a very large outer sanctum, filled with many people with glazed expressions, and several WOMs behind a glass partition chattering about many things. Not a word of English, this time, so I got one WOM to look at the piece of paper which DR2 had given me and he found my name on his list, handed me back my card, and pointed to a seat, far away from the glass doors, where I had to wait.

15.00 People are being called into inner sanctum all the time, but

not me! I wondered if WOF3 really understood me, so I went back to ask. After standing there for ten minutes a very young-looking WOF came along, and I explained my situation. She looked blank, and went to find someone who might know. She came back and asked (in Swedish) what kind of person took my information, and I told her it was a man, and then she vanished back into the bush again. I paced up and down, weeping and feeling very sorry for myself, and then came back to the window and was ready to DEMAND attention. At 15.50 an older WOF came along to say I would have to wait 'only about twenty minutes more'. It was now almost 16.00, and I had promised to call my friend with some news by 16.30, when the University operator would no longer be able to connect us.

16.30 A tall thin WOF4 emerged from inner sanctum and called my name so loudly I wondered if I were to be jailed, for rude conduct or something. No, my turn had come! Another machine-land, but much more overwhelming than the other. The WOFs, two WOMs and a DR, were all in there, busy with a conversation which had little to do with my legs, I was sure, because it was amusing, whatever it was.

16.45 WOM3 asked if I was allergic to anything, like shrimp!, and whether I understood the meaning of this test. From his speech, all I could gather was that something would be injected into my veins, but I got no idea of how long it would take, WHICH VEIN they were likely to attack, or whether it would hurt. Well, it was probably as well that nobody told me. The search for a point of entry to the veins on top of my foot was tedious, painful, and long. Three veins all resisted the doctor's needle, and then finally he found one. That was the most painful part of all. I felt really ill, and one thing which they injected made my face flush, and I felt hot all over and nauseous. Why couldn't they have warned me? Why do they go on joking about something when I'm here in agony? Why does the DR have to do all the running around...I really felt lost in the jungle. Of course, it was Friday evening, and even WOFs and WOMs must look forward to their week-ends. But that did not let me feel any less a THING, with a needle taped to my instep, and I afraid to even sneeze lest it fall out, or penetrate to far. Meanwhile the flick of that giant camera made me shake

all over.

17.00 *It was over. The needle has been taken out. I'm escorted to outer sanctum again, and it is good to see people outside the window. I picked up a magazine with Jackie Bouvier-Kennedy-Onassis on the cover, and thought a dose of gossip might be a good distraction. It was too late now to contact any of my friends, and what if I had to get the suitcase for an overnight here? I banished the thought, sat down, propping my left leg on a wastepaper pail, and began tasting Swedish style journalese.*

17.20 *Along the long hallway comes a cleaning lady obviously upset that this hunk of flesh is on her path. She rescues the wastepaper pail, empties out its one piece of kleenex, changes the plastic bag, and pushes on diffidently, wondering, I suppose, why non-natives have such vulgar habits. The entire place is quickly evacuated. A lone WOF peers around the corner and approaches me questioningly. I explained that I was waiting for the test results, and she disappeared again.*

17.45 *The same WOF returns with a brown envelope addressed to AKUT. I gather I must go down there, so eventually found my way, hardly recognizing AKUT inner sanctum now because its inhabitants seemed to have multiplied. Offered my brown envelope to several passing WOFs, but none responded. I finally landed it on the corner of a desk at which two WOFs were standing, with nothing apparent to occupy them and one of them opened it mechanically, looked puzzled, and showed it to the other. She went off with it, and came back about ten minutes later, accompanied by another Sister WOF4. She escorted me to a cubicle around the corner, where a curtain separated me from the traffic, and a thick screen between me and my neighbor who was womitting and groaning. My empty stomach groaned in sympathy, and minutes seemed like hour until I could get away from there.*

18.20 *A female doctor (DR4) pulled my curtains back, and smilingly told me there was absolutely nothing wrong! Nothing at all? Nothing at all. Just go home now, she said reassuringly. (Two whole miserable days, and they found nothing??? I felt cheated in a way, but so relieved that I could not even be angry.) More tests*

tomorrow, Monday, and Wednesday. The radiological test has been known to CAUSE thrombosis, they say, so we have to keep checking.

I did return for the other tests, thereby taking a hole out of precious days filled with urgent agenda. DR2 was always kind, interested and interesting, and he found my case a peculiar one. Because of his patience, we both discovered the solution of my problem. And this is the amusing part. I have a habit for many years of kneeling when I pray, or work, alone in my room. This is a peculiarly 'Catholic' practice, and so the likelihood of it occurring in Sweden is rather low! I suppose I had to go through this safari through the jungles of machineland to make that simple discovery? Anyhow, all is well that ends well, and it is best of all that it is over.

I've thought very much about the whole affair, pondering the paradox that a city built to SERVE PEOPLE IN DISTRESS could be so much like a machine, and cause so much more distress in the process of trying to help. One can understand the economic and technological reasons for planning on the basis of optimal use of machines and personnel, but when personnel have little choice but to act out their roles as machines, can healing take place? The memories which linger are those of the two or three people who helped me to discover what was wrong: WOF1, WOF6, and especially DR2. If every one could let themselves be as human as they, the healing could take place. I'm grateful for all that expensive time and equipment which has been expended on my painful leg, but I'm sorry that people have had to take 'a sledge hammer to kill a fly'.

GLOSSARY

AKUT:	'Acute' Klinik
KLWDL D:	Klinikwunderland
WOF:	White-overalled female
WOM:	White-overalled male
MACHLD:	Machinespace in Klinikwunderland
DR:	Doctor
KLmask:	Facial expression worn by natives of KLWDL D

Appendix 3

NOTES ON THE DIALOGUE PROCESS: A LETTER FROM CALLE UTTERSTRÖM

The Swedish Agricultural
University
Dept. of economics and statistics

1979-05-03

Some experience from our interview with Ivar Söderqvist

The want of experience of sitting before the video-cameras had a decidedly tempering effect during the first 20 minutes of the interview. But after that we more or less forgot that we were sitting in a studio and the conversation flowed more naturally. It was really considerably 'easier' to make a video-interview than we had feared.

We have shown the interview to those students who have studied cooperatives here at the university. According to the simple evaluation we have been doing the students were very positive (cf. attached table and commentaries).

We have also had inquiries from several national agricultural co-operatives organizations in Stockholm, The National Organization of Farmers (LRF) and The Swedish Dairy Organization (SDR) about showings with subsequent seminars. We have not done so yet because of lack of time.

The coming autumn I hope to be able to interest a student in following up the interview with Ivar Söderqvist and develop certain ideas we have about beginning a dialogue between older, ideologically interested farmers and younger 'progressive', economicaly oriented farmers.

With best wishes,

Calle Utterström

INTERVIEW WITH IVAR SÖDERQVIST - SOME QUESTIONS

	Very in- teresting	Rather in- interesting	Neutral	Rather un- interesting	Totally un- interesting
1. How do you like the interview as a whole?	14	12			
2. How do you like the subject matter in the interview?	9	17			
3. What is your impression of the person I.S.?	14	11	1		
4. How do you like the following sections of the interview?					
Conditions in Jämtland in the 30's and 40's?	12	8	4		
The idea of branch-mixture?	14	11	1		
The producers organization of lower Norrland?	4	17	6		
The role of representatives?	9	10	7	1	

Which statement(s) do you agree with?

It is uninteresting to hear about the years of strife of the cooperative in the 30's?	1
It is interesting to listen to older people when they tell about their experiences?	26
This type of interviews can be a way of increasing the understanding among people?	12
I would like to know more about the emergence of agricultural cooperation?	13
The program was made in an amateur fashion which was disturbing.	2
I take part in M1 6 (the course on cooperation for economists).	12

Written comments:

Such interviews need people with Söderqvist's orientation, a bit categoric.

The program could have been made more interesting if pictures had been inserted from Jämtland, a modern dairy, a slaughterhouse, trademark etc.

I think it would be fine sometimes to listen to interviews with common people. I mean farmers who have not always a responsibility, or who do not agree with those we listen to, etc.

Good initiative! If you bring a person to a lecture we easily get a lot of over-head pictures and routine droning. This was more fun. Send the tape to TV's agricultural program.

The unprofessional sound was somewhat disturbing, but not so much that the program became inefficient, better with some other backdrop than white.

Quite professionally made. Participants were well prepared. This is important above all for the interviewer. Sometimes a bit disturbing microphone sound. Conclusion: a fine complement in the course program.

Appendix 4

SELECTED LIST OF VIDEOTAPES THROUGH DECEMBER 1979

'THE ENVIRONMENT OF GRADUATE SCHOOL'

Professor MARVIN MIKESELL,
University of Chicago, Chair
Professor COTTON MATHER,
University of Minnesota
Professor LESLIE HUGHES,
University of Nebraska

English

Nebraska, April 1979

Professor PRESTON E. JAMES,
Emeritus, Syracuse University
Professor CLYDE KOHN,
University of Iowa

'AMERICAN GEOGRAPHY IN THE 1950's'

Professor GEORGE KISH,
University of Michigan, Chair
Professor DUANE KNOS,
Clark University
Professor RICHARD MORRILL,
University of Washington

English

Nebraska, April 1979

Professor FRED LUKERMAN,
University of Minnesota
Professor BILL PATTISON,
University of Chicago

BIOGRAPHIES

G. J. VAN DEN BERG, Utrecht,
geographer and planner
WOLFGANG HARTKE, Munich,
geographer
ANNE BUTTIMER

English

Uppsala, June 1978

OLAVI GRANÖ, Åbo,
geographer
AADEL BRUN-TSCHUDI, Oslo,
geographer
TORSTEN HÄGERSTRAND

Professor OLLE OLSSON, Lund, radiologist, planner of the central university and regional hospital at Lund (1968) and now retired head physician of the unit.

Interviewer: INGE DAHN

English

Lund, September 1978

Professor GUNNAR LINDGREN, Lund, internal medicine, pioneer in Swedish social medicine.

Interviewer: INGE DAHN

English

Lund, October 1978

Dr. ÅKE NORDEN, Dalby, initiator and leader of the Dalby experimental project on health-care.

Interviewer: INGE DAHN

English

Lund, November 1978

Professor GÖRAN STERKY, Geneva, pediatrician, experienced in 3rd world medicine, presently head of division at WHO.

Interviewer: INGE DAHN

English

Stockholm, November 1978

Mr. GÖSTA SKOGLUND, Umeå, politician, former Minister of Transport, promotor of regional development and sponsor of Umeå University.

Interviewer: INGVAR JONSSON

Swedish

Umeå, November 1978

Professor C. F. AHLBERG, Stockholm, architect and planner, former leader of Stockholm metropolitan planning.

Interviewer: TORSTEN HÄGERSTRAND

English

Stockholm, November 1978

Professor W. WILLIAM-OLSSON, Stockholm, geographer, made now classical studies of Stockholm metropolitan area in the 30's and 40's as well as population forecasts.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER

English

Stockholm, November 1978

Professor C. F. AHLBERG, Stockholm, architect.

Professor W. WILLIAM-OLSSON, Stockholm, geographer.

Interviewers: TORSTEN HÄGERSTRAND and ANNE BUTTIMER

English

Stockholm, November 1978

Dr. INGE DAHN, Lund, physician, health-care planner.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER

English

Stockholm, November 1978

Professor KARL-ERIK BERGSTEN, Lund, physical geographer.

Interviewer: TORSTEN HÄGERSTRAND

Swedish (English translation)

Lund, November 1978

Professor WOLFGANG HARTKE, Munich, social geographer.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER

French

Munich, January 1979

Mr. IVAR SÖDERQVIST, Östersund, cooperative leader, former director of the Dairy cooperative of Jämtland.

Interviewer: CARL UTTERSTRÖM
Swedish (English translation)
Uppsala, January 1979

Professor WALTER FREEMAN,
Manchester, geographer.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER
English
Manchester, February 1979

Professor AADEL BRUN-
TSCHUDI, Oslo, geographer
(3rd world, China).

Interviewer: CHRISTINA NORDIN
English
Oslo, February 1979

Professor STEVAN DEDIJER,
Lund, nuclear physics, science
policy studies.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER
English
Lund, March 1979

Mr. DAG ROMELL, Djursholm,
civil engineer, inventor.

Interviewer: TORSTEN HÄGER-
STRAND
English
Stockholm, May 1979

Professor TORSTEN HÄGER-
STRAND, Lund, geographer.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER
English
Lund, May 1979

Professor ANNE BUTTIMER,
Worcester, geographer.

Interviewer: CHRISTINA NORDIN
English
Lund, May 1979

Dr. ALVA MYRDAL, Stockholm,
former Ambassador to India and
Government Minister.

Interviewer: ANNE BUTTIMER
English (only sound-track)
Stockholm, May 1979

Mr. HAIM GVATI, Israel,
Minister of Agriculture (retired),
Israel.

Interviewers: ANNE BUTTIMER
and SHALOM REICHMAN
English
Jerusalem, June 1979

Mr. ELIEZER BRUZHUS
Israel, regional planner and ad-
ministrator of the 1947 Settle-
ment Plan.

Interviewers: ANNE BUTTIMER
and SHALOM REICHMAN
English
Jerusalem, June 1979

Mr. JEREMIAH BUTTIMER and
Mr. PATRICK QUINLAN,
retired leaders of the Irish agri-
cultural cooperative movement.

Interviewer: THOMAS RAFTERY
English
Fremoy, July 1979

Professor WILLIAM R. MEAD,
London, geographer.

Interviewer: TORSTEN HÄGER-
STRAND
English
Lund, September 1979

Professor SIGURDUR THORA-
RINSSON, Reykjavik, geographer.

Interviewer: TORSTEN HÄGER-
STRAND
English
Lund, November 1979