

Book Reviews

Peter O. Muller, Book Review Editor

The Dictionary of Human Geography, 4th Edition. R. J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, and Michael Watts, eds. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000. xvii and 958 pp., index. \$38.95 paper (ISBN 0-631-20561-6).

Reviewed by Susan Hanson, School of Geography, Clark University, Worcester, MA.

Although, in our family, the dictionary (not *The Dictionary of Human Geography*) is by far the most frequently opened and frequently read book, I confess that this is the first book I've ever reviewed that I haven't carefully read every page of. At 958 pages, it would be a hefty read and somewhat lacking in plot. Supplanting the *3rd Edition* of this *Dictionary*, which appeared in 1994, this *4th Edition* includes more than 900 entries, 200 of them new. This volume is truly an awesome undertaking and a major contribution to the field. Although, in their preface, the editors warn readers not to take this *Dictionary* as *the* authoritative source on contemporary human geography, users will be sorely tempted to disregard this warning and will surely accept it as *an* authoritative, influential, and extremely useful source.

In the preface the editors also say that the purpose of this edition (and the previous editions) is "to provide students and others with a general series of theoretical frameworks for situating understanding and interrogating the modern lexicon" (p. vi). The preface is followed by a brief section on how to use the dictionary, in which the reader is advised to follow connections via cross-references (these are shown in capital letters within each entry) and via the comprehensive index (which is indeed impressive) at the back of the dictionary. Each entry also comes complete with a list of the references used in the text.

It seems to me that whereas the *Dictionary* does not itself provide theoretical frameworks, it does provide the raw materials that enable the enterprising reader to create his or her own frameworks. Few entries alone offer a theoretical framework, but the reader can build such frameworks by following the cross-references and using the entries as hypertext.

The *Dictionary's* design around webs and linkages facilitates—indeed encourages—users to pursue this kind of creative exploration of framework construction. I present a partial example here to illustrate how, by entering the web and following the cross-references, one can begin to see recurring patterns. The point of entry for this example is *actor-network theory*, chosen in part because it is a new entry. Although I list all twelve of the cross-references that emerge in the context of the story

being told about actor-network theory, I include the second-order cross-references for only the first four; of course, each of these second-order cross-references could likewise be excavated for third-order cross-references, and so on, indefinitely. Look carefully at this example, limited as it is, and you can begin to appreciate the nature of the entries, the remarkable range of subjects included, the extensive use of cross-references, and the rich interlinkages among entries.

Actor-Network Theory

- Time-geography
 - Human ecology
 - Contextual theory
 - Social networks
 - Mean information field
 - Naturalism
 - Landscape
 - Structuralism
 - Human agency
 - Structuration theory
 - Identity
 - Masculinism
 - Vision and visuality
 - Surveillance
 - "Race"
 - Gender
 - Sexuality
 - Location theory
 - Modernization

- Science, geography and
 - Cartography, history of
 - Imperialism
 - Survey analysis
 - Cartography
 - Colonialism
 - Commercial geography
 - Quantitative revolution

- Spatial science
 - Marxian economics
 - Marxian geography
 - Poverty
 - Slum
 - Relevance
 - Teleology
 - Relativism
 - Ideological
 - Power
 - Society
 - Ethnography
 - Actor-network theory
 - Spatial science
 - Poststructuralism
 - Cultural politics
 - Nature
 - Geographical information systems
- Epistemology
 - Foundationalism
 - Pragmatism
 - Critical rationalism
 - Phenomenology
 - Positivism
 - Realism
 - Poststructuralism
 - Ontology
 - Discourse
 - Vision and visibility
 - Production of space
 - Hegemony
 - Masculinism
 - Other
 - Eurocentrism
 - Modernity
 - Representation
 - Orientalism
 - Colonialism
 - Postcolonialism
 - Situated knowledge
 - Power
 - Surveillance
 - Spatial analysis
 - Abstraction
 - Spatial science
 - Realism
 - Local knowledge
 - Grand theory
 - Queer theory
 - Nonrepresentational theory
- Nature
 - Resources
 - Ontology
 - Realism
 - Limits to growth
 - Resource management
 - Malthusian model
 - Environmental movement
 - Industrialization
 - Urbanization
 - Landscape
 - Society
 - Rural
 - Urban
 - Imperialism
 - Development
 - Environmentalism
 - Environmental determinism
 - System
 - Human ecology
 - Social construction
 - Discourse
 - Marxist geography
 - Cultural geography
 - Ideology
 - Image
 - Representation
 - Capitalism
 - Production of nature
 - Feminist geographies
 - Cultural politics
 - Community
 - Multinational corporations
 - Agrofood system
 - Value
 - Colonialism
- Culture
 - Modernity
 - Human agency
 - Representation
 - Nonrepresentational theory
 - Space
 - Place
 - Rhizome

The editors are emphatic that this *Dictionary* should not be taken as a polestar; instead, they want readers to understand the contributions of the fifty-seven different authors as partial views reflecting the specific location of each author. The editors also recognize that the *Dictionary* as a whole has limits and that some voices are “silenced or

marginalized" (p. ix). Indeed, my partial reading of the volume reveals topics and critiques that are not covered (among the missing: travel behavior, livelihood, biotechnology). Of course, the editors had to be selective, but they do not spell out the criteria that guided their selection process. What were the grounds on which certain concepts gained entry while others did not?

In our department, graduate students seem to be the *Dictionary's* most avid users, so I invited their views in the context of writing this review. All agreed that it played an essential role in their education ("great help in reviewing for orals," "wonderful reference source"), and all frequently made use of the extensive cross-references and the complete references at the end of each entry. The students reported finding, however, that most entries assume a level of knowledge that they don't always have, such that students who are new to geography or to

social theory have difficulty grasping the concepts described. Students had also found, perhaps ironically, that entries were most helpful only after they had studied a topic, not when it was new; after achieving some familiarity with a topic, students will look to the *Dictionary* for clarification.

Despite the editors' caveats and wishes to the contrary, *The Dictionary of Human Geography, 4th Edition* will be seen, for better or for worse, as having charted the discipline of human geography. It is destined to be the most widely read book in the field, regardless of what any reviewer or cadre of graduate students may have to say about it. An ambitious and far-reaching volume, this dictionary deserves the attention it will command; but let us also be attentive to the editors' admonition that each entry is but *an* entry, not *the* entry on a particular concept in human geography.

Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés. Jacques Lévy and Michel Lussault, eds. Paris: Belin, 2003. 1033 pp., index. 30.00 € paper (ISBN 2-7011-2645-2).

Reviewed by Olivier Milhaud, School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol, Bristol, UK; and Gregory Monteil, Laboratoire Géophile, ENS Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Lyon, France.

A few years ago, the French geographer Jacques Lévy argued, "Geography is not back; a new one is emerging" (1999, p. 98). The *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*—an impressive achievement he co-edited with Michel Lussault—indeed marks the end of the overly empirical stance of French geography and the emergence of coherent thought, based on a stabilized and deepened vocabulary, and particularly useful for social theory. This dictionary highlights the vitality of what might in Europe be called "continental geography," as opposed to the anglophone tradition. The editors want to propose a "francophone view on the world" and its geography (p. 18). Yet the absence of any African contributor among the 111 gathered by the editors, the many references to German geography, the bibliographies full of French, English, German, but also sometimes Italian, Spanish and Portuguese titles, and lastly, the participation of Italian, German, and Swiss authors (plus Americans John Agnew and Nicholas Entrikin) underline the European inspiration of this dictionary and its "continental" approach to geography.

The editors occupy a particular place in French geography, partly due to their resolute commitment to thought-provoking theoretical debates (Lévy 1999; Lussault 1999; Lévy & Lussault, 2000). Jacques Lévy (Sciences Po Paris and University of Reims), the *enfant terrible* of French

geography, in 1975 cofounded the radical periodical, *Espaces Temps*. His iconoclastic research deals with political geography (1994), urban geography with a strong theoretical component (1999), and geopolitics, Europe, and globalization (1992, 2001). Michel Lussault (University of Tours), one of the most gifted French geographers of his generation, is widely known in French urban geography (2000) for his semiotic approach to urban policies (1993) and his emphasis on the role of actors, individuals, narratives, and symbols to understand the multiple spatialities associated with space and place (1996).

The *Dictionary* presents four types of articles—a very valuable index distinguishes each type—and four original aspects. To begin with, it is not merely a glossary but a true dictionary, which includes many interesting entries on spatial thinkers, all deceased, from Aristotle, Herodotus, and many other ancients through Leibniz, Descartes, Turgot, and the like to Humboldt, Hettner, Marx, Benjamin, Sauer, von Thünen, Gould, and Lefebvre. Second, some articles focus on a theory of space still in the making, with an original selection of one hundred fundamental concepts to help think about space, such as distance, globalization, landscape, map, and scale. Interestingly enough, and this is the third original point, on some themes and names, such as place, territory, public space, Vidal de la Blache—but, curiously, not the geographic

writings of Jacques Lévy alone, or space carefully defined by the two editors—there are several notices for the same entry, written by different authors proposing different perspectives. Fourthly, the common fields intend to address the common tools and issues faced by all the social sciences—for example, discourse, translation, concept, reality, dialectics, generic/specific, ethnic group, insider/outsider, and Darwinism. For philosophical notions, seven philosophers have contributed to the dictionary, so as to propose very rigorous presentations. The category *epistemology of geography* is less original but proposes interesting articles on “geography and arts,” “nomads/sedentary people,” “spatial analysis,” “geography and geomorphology,” and “nature and space,” just to name a few.

Each entry is translated (sometimes poorly) into English and German, subsequently defined in boldface by the editors and not by the author(s) of the notice, so as to guarantee the homogeneity and the coherence of the vocabulary. Entries are then presented more comprehensively, less as a complete theory than as a research program for years to come. Some related meanings, referring to other notices in the dictionary and selected by the editors only, are mentioned. The reader might be surprised by the brief bibliographies at the end of each notice. But one must also regret that articles on “spatial interaction,” “culture,” “concept,” “limit,” “knowledge,” “country,” “polis,” or “borderland,” for instance, are presented without any references. However, if the other entries have brief but current bibliographies (between five and ten references), the purpose was not to integrate every single aspect studied by geographers, social scientists, and philosophers, but rather to draw from essential elements of thought to further debates. Thus, the stimulating article on “Nature and Space” proposes to think of nature differently by considering several scales in actor-network theory. Nature appears as an essential object for the social sciences (but not physical sciences), inasmuch as it is defined qua nature as the social aspects of the biophysical world. Here lies a risk of reduction embodied by such an approach. Society is not seen as an integral part of the living world, but rather the latter as being part of the former. The urban bias quite widely adopted by this dictionary has perhaps encouraged the authors to overlook some nonhuman aspects of the world. It is striking that physical geography is then reduced to a human geography of environment, albeit with a stronger scientific inflection than the anglophone human geography of the environment. Climatology and biogeography are well represented, but some elements of geomorphology are completely overlooked—except for the critical but stimulating article on “geomorphology.”

Indeed, the very title of the dictionary is noteworthy: “Dictionary of the Geography and the Space of Societies.” For the editors, geography “can and must contribute to the construction of the discourse of the social sciences” (p. 10). Such an assertion might sound as a truism for an anglophone reader, but it is used to differentiate this dictionary from its French predecessors (George 2004 [1970]; Brunet et al. 1993 [1992])—whose mixed epistemologies (between physical and human geographies) prevented them from being truly useful for social theory—and from its English-language competitor (Johnston et al. 2000 [1981]), whose eclectic character and theoretical heterogeneity are denounced because they cannot deliver “an epistemologically stabilized product” (p. 9). Rather, Lévy and Lussault want to make more rigorous, integrated, and homogeneous the vocabulary of geographers. Such stabilization is not a way to end geographical inquiry but, to the contrary, an aid to derive a coherent understanding of society. Nonetheless, such a will to stabilize the vocabulary is problematic: is this dictionary the expression of a unique geography, a unique trend of an emerging new geography referred to Lévy and inserted into the social sciences? Disciplinary conceptions (physical geography is almost completely overlooked) and methodologies (clearly more qualitative than quantitative) highlight this exclusionary dimension. The call for pluralism (p. 12) so as to respect the diversity of points of view and to prevent the dictionary from forging a new orthodoxy (p. 13) conflicts with the goal of stabilization.

The definition of geography put forward by the editors, who recognize in their thoughtful introduction (pp. 6–21) that they propose “the dictionary of *one* geography” (p. 19), does not pretend to be ecumenical. Their geography is realist, constructivist, and systemic: realist, because social realities and space within each of them exist and are considered as hybrids of materiality, immateriality, and ideality; constructivist, given that realities are constructed by society and can be known only through a cognitive construction; and systemic, because space enables consideration together, as well as in tandem, material and immaterial aspects, heritages and projects, and other binaries that are separated in disciplines other than geography. Their geography is also dialogical and pragmatic so as not to ignore the central role of actors and actions and both theoretical and empirical, both inductive and deductive, since no theory can be built without induction and deduction from the observation-objectivation of social realities. Geography is then clearly positioned among the social sciences as a discipline focused on the spatial dimension of societies. It is not defined by its object, which is shared by all social sciences (namely, society and not space and place), but

by its perspective—the spatial dimension of society. Not surprisingly, Vidal de la Blache is seriously challenged. He is carefully presented by Berdoulay and Soubeyran (pp. 981–83), and then strongly (somewhat excessively) denounced by Lévy (pp. 984–87) as the gravedigger of French geography. Vidal's Lamarckism embeds Man (sic) within Nature, and suspends time and history, thereby condemning any inscription of geography within the social sciences. According to Lévy, Vidal is completely useless for contemporary geographers: the link of geography with the natural sciences has been completely broken and must remain so.

The hundred or so articles on the spatial thinkers are among the most interesting parts of this dictionary. The ancient Greeks offer original insights on space, including Hippocrates, Ptolemy, Strabo, Anaximander, Plato, and Homer, even if for the last his lack of coherent thought on space is more convincing than his geographical input. The classical thinkers, Leibniz, Locke, Kant, and the like, enable the editors to highlight their clear opposition to Newton's conception of space, preferring a relational Leibnizian space (pp. 548–50). Many German thinkers about space are presented, not only Humboldt, Ratzel, Hettner, Simmel, and Heidegger, but also Schlüter, Hartke, Bartels, Bobek, and Ritter. Among the French thinkers—such as Vidal de la Blache, Réclus, Braudel, de Certeau, Lefebvre, and Deleuze—the articles on Foucault, Perce, Lepetit, and Gottmann are quite suggestive regarding future developments of geography and social theory. One can, nevertheless, regret the lack of some major figures: Emmanuel de Martonne, a physician-geographer well known for his role in drawing borders in Eastern Europe after World War I; Joël Bonnemaison, one of the leaders of the cultural turn in French geography; Jean Brunhes; and Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier. And anglophone thinkers are not well represented; Halford Mackinder, Robert Ezra Park, Isaiah Bowman, and Brian Harley are overlooked, whereas the articles on Peter Gould or Alfred Marshall are really brief. Nonetheless, William Alonso, Patrick Geddes, Richard Hartshorne, Robert Owen, Edward Ullman, and Donald Winnicott, among others, receive greater attention. The entries on Foucault and Lefebvre sharply criticize anglophone geographers for their usage of these authors, which does not pay sufficient respect to the rigor of their works. At the same time, those entries restrict the interest of Foucault and Lefebvre to some aspects (urbanism in Lefebvre's work, for example), thereby overlooking others (everyday life in Lefebvre).

If the dictionary offers a valuable presentation of a European continental geography, it is still French-oriented as shown, for example, by the article on “plan-

ning,” which focused on the situation in France. Nevertheless, it enables anglophone readers to discover thinkers often overlooked but whose ideas are of interest to social theorists (e.g., Bernard Lepetit for his conceptions of scale, action, and historicity, or Maurice Halbwachs for his work on the memory of societies). Unfortunately, the geographies of the South are rather overlooked because France does not have a critical postcolonial tradition in geographical research. The lack of entries on “Eurocentrism” or “Occidentalization” is revealing. Needless to add, the very small number of women among the authors (fewer than 30 among 110 contributors, 2 among the 12-member editorial board, and none among the hundred biographical entries) underscores the near complete absence of feminist geography in France.

However, despite these limitations, which a new edition could overcome, the *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés* proposes an interesting picture of the vitality of this nonanglophone geography. For instance, Lévy's proposition of a determination of spaces through an analysis of their metrics (the way of measuring the appropriate distance for the object), scales (size), substances (the nonspatial dimension of any spatial configuration), and the trichotomy of place/territory/network are fascinating for an anglophone reader more used to the space/place dichotomy. The dictionary amounts to a tour de force, perhaps less for the coherence of the proposed vocabulary than for the various ways one can draw on it to elaborate further research and debates. Of course, some might prefer the approach favored by Johnston et al. to get the broadest and largest vocabulary possible. But Lévy and Lussault's in-depth approach, which prefers the deepening of meanings to their juxtaposition, enables one to construct a consistent pattern of thought regarding the space of societies. Here is a singular geography, situated but not confined, which could heighten interest in both geography and social theory. If geography is “a garden whose paths diverge” (p. 15), as its editors claim, this dictionary appears not only as a possible and promising road, but also as a really good read and a stimulating place of engagement.

Key Words: dictionary, French and continental geography, anglophone geography, thinking society through space.

References

- Brunet, R., R. Ferras, and H. Thery, eds. 1993 [1992]. *Les mots de la géographie: dictionnaire critique*. 3rd ed. Montpellier and Paris: RECLUS and La Documentation française.
- George, P., and F. Verger, eds. 2004 [1970]. *Dictionnaire de la géographie*. 8th ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

- Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, G. Pratt, M. Watts, and D. M. Smith, eds. 2000 [1981]. *The dictionary of human geography*. 4th ed. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lévy, J., M-F. Durand, and D. Retaillé, eds. 1992. *Le monde. Espaces et systèmes*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po and Dalloz.
- . 1994. *L'Espace légitime*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- . 1999. *Le tournant géographique*. Paris: Belin.
- . 2001. *From geopolitics to global politics*. London: Frank Cass.
- Lévy, J., and M. Lussault, eds. 2000. *Logiques de l'espace, esprit des lieux. géographies à Cerisy*. Paris: Belin.
- Lussault, M. 1993. *Tours: Images de la ville et politique urbaine*. Tours, France: Université François Rabelais.
- . 1996. *L'espace en actions. De la dimension spatiale des politiques urbaines*. Tours. France: Université François Rabelais.
- . 1999. Reconstruire le bureau. Pour en finir avec le spatialisme. In *Discours scientifiques et contextes culturels. Géographies françaises et britanniques à l'épreuve postmoderne*, eds. C. Chivallon, P. Ragouet, and M. Samers, 225–51. Talence, France: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine.
- Lussault, M., T. Paquot, and S. Body-Gendrot, eds. 2000. *La ville et l'urbain. Letat des savoirs*. Paris: La Découverte.

The Ethics of Assistance: Morality and the Distant Needy. Deen K. Chatterjee, ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xi and 292 pp., notes, and index. \$65.00 cloth (ISBN 0-521-8204-1).

Reviewed by David M. Smith, Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London.

Responsibility to distant strangers is one of the most interesting issues in contemporary ethics to attract geographical attention (e.g., Corbridge 1993; Smith 1998). It raises the fundamental tension between the universalist attitude of equal concern for others, whoever and wherever they may be, and the actual practice of partiality for our nearest and dearest. More specifically, it raises the question of what responsibilities the relatively privileged have, individually and collectively, to improve the lot of less fortunate persons elsewhere. Deen Chatterjee has assembled a group of eminent moral and political philosophers, in order to address what he refers to as the ethics of assistance, in a book directed very much towards their professional peers. While there are no explicit references to links with geography, these are clearly reflected in both subject matter and terminology. Thus Chatterjee begins his introduction as follows (p. 1):

This collection of papers seeks to describe our duties to help those who are in need but who are strangers to us due to distance—physical or otherwise. If we have duties and obligations toward each other in everyday moral contexts, should these duties be extended to the distant needy? If so, what should be the nature and role of institutions implementing such duties beyond our own borders of special ties and communities?

He goes on: “Intuitively, we seem to have stronger moral obligations to those who are physically or effectively near than to those who are remote. Distance seems to set moral boundaries, and distant strangers are accorded minimal moral concern” (pp. 1–2). He considers assumptions about the moral importance of distance to be

among our most deep-seated convictions about individual morality and political choice.

The collection is divided into four parts. The starting point for part I is a seminal paper on famine relief by Peter Singer (1972), in which he argued that distance makes no moral difference with respect to obligations of assistance. In returning to this work, Singer restates the situation with remarkable geographical imagery: “If it is supposed to be a mistake to have a map of moral obligations that is as flat as mine, then where, on a morally superior landscape, should the peaks, plateaus and escarpments be placed?” (p. 12). He follows with some examples of how other people have structured the “moral landscape” or “moral topography.” Singer’s principle of benevolence stated that, if one can prevent some significant bad from occurring, without sacrificing anything of comparable moral importance, one ought morally to do so, which entails giving until the marginal value would contribute no more to famine relief (for example) than to the donor’s well-being. While he now finds some special relationships of partiality defensible, as deeply rooted in human nature, they require no substantial change in his original view. However, he concludes with the confession that his own conduct falls short of his ideal, recognizing that he could, and should, do more by spending less on his family in order to help others in greater need.

Richard Arneson considers some less demanding principles but finds them unconvincing. His conclusion reflects back on Singer’s confession, suggesting that affluent people cannot be blamed for failing to live up to an austere ideal of self-sacrifice. F. M. Kamm takes the

“new problem of distance in morality” to be whether distance is relevant in any context, not just between agents and strangers. Much depends on the actual situation, or, as the editor puts it, “distance between aider and aidee is just part of a larger package of morally relevant spatial relationships” (p. 3). Judith Lichtenburg returns to the gap between what we could and perhaps should do and what, in fact, we do, considering the significance of intimate relationships and serendipitous connections. Asking what stands in the way of people giving more, her answer is to be found in motivation rather than obligation and, hence, in means of promoting giving as the norm rather than the exception.

Part II concerns the relationship between communities and obligations. Richard Miller defends discrimination in favor of the political closeness of compatriots and the literal (physical) closeness of people in peril. But he argues that the grounds for such biases provide powerful reasons for concern for needy strangers who are not close but are now bound together in worldwide relationships, generating a duty of substantial aid to the foreign poor; thus, “the world is now a moral community” (p. 121). David Miller considers the dialectic between respecting people as beings with essential needs and as agents responsible for their own lives. He argues for international living standards of decency that entail obligations to aid those whose lives fall below this, for whatever reason, although global justice does not require equality of opportunity.

Part III assesses the account of global justice set out by John Rawls (1999). Martha Nussbaum argues that Rawls does not deal adequately with the oppression of women, in his tolerance of some kinds of hierarchical societies, drawing on historical evidence and contemporary experience from Kerala State in India. Erin Kelly argues for an international response to human rights, defined narrowly enough to be collectively endorsed and to make room for cultural claims. Charles Beitz finds Rawls helpful in arriving at a practical conception of human rights that would justify their enforcement in the international arena; as with Kelly, rights have to be defined so as to avoid imposition of alien values. Kelly and Beitz both endorse the right to an adequate or decent standard of living.

Part IV moves on to considerations of responsibility and institutional reform. For Henry Shue, the key to understanding rights is recognition that correlative duties, such as not to interfere with other persons' liberties, also include the responsibility to protect rights bearers from such interference. This leads to the question of social practices and institutions: social scientific knowledge is thus indispensable to theorizing about rights. In

seeking a middle way between “thick” localism and “thin” universalism, he believes that cross-cultural discourse within the international human rights movement is already leading to some degree of consensus. Onora O'Neill addresses her now familiar theme of whose responsibility it is to ensure human rights. She questions the assumption that states must be the primary agents of cosmopolitan justice, arguing that they are “fundamentally ill-suited and ill-placed to secure or strengthen justice beyond their own boundaries” (p. 242). She suggests a larger role for nonstate agencies, such as transnational corporations and nongovernmental organizations. Finally, Thomas Pogge challenges the view that poverty is due to domestic factors within poor countries, which he attributes in part to a research bias towards national and local causes. Instead, he focuses on the global economic order as reflecting the interests of rich countries, their citizens, and their corporations. Thus, “the deprivation of the distant needy may well engage not merely positive duties to assist but also more stringent negative duties not to harm” (p. 265). He brings the argument back to the volume's starting point with succinct geographical clarity: “Duties to assist are stronger toward the near and dear and weakest toward foreigners. But duties to harm do not fade in this way” (p. 279). His prescription is reform of the global order, or initiatives to compensate for its effects on the poor.

The strength of this collection is its progression from Singer's initial principle, through less demanding and more realistic requirements of assistance, on to broader considerations of human rights, responsibilities, and global justice, and ending with questions of institutional reform. Alternative views are contextualized within competing ethical theories and defended or challenged with the rigor to be expected from such distinguished contributors. However, the level of abstraction may frustrate readers with a more applied interest in development issues. Only Nussbaum shows much familiarity with case material, and only Pogge with details of empirical conditions in the global economy. More attention might have been given to problems of practice, including the effectiveness of programs to assist the poor (see Wenar 2003). Some contributors seem more comfortable with the celebrated hypothetical cases of whether to save a drowning child and spoil an expensive suit or whether to rescue a famous theologian rather than your mother. These can be a source of analytical weakness; as Pogge points out, they are false analogies to the extent that the potential rescuer may bear some responsibility for the plight of the other. In the context of transnational economic relations, Richard Miller observes that affluent people in rich countries should recognize that the

neediest foreigners “are people whose desperation contributes to their prosperity” (p. 120).

Those seeking solutions to global poverty might consider Pogge’s chapter a suitable starting point rather than conclusion. But even here there is nothing new in the argument that the global economic order bears heavy responsibility for inequality, and the limitations of the thesis of localized causation was recognized by geographers two decades ago. Despite the obvious geographical significance of the subject matter, I could find no references to the geographical literature in the forty or so pages of notes—yet another indication of the fact that cultivation of this disciplinary interface remains largely one-way. If what the editor describes as a package of morally relevant spatial relationships is implicated in the ethics of assistance to the distant needy, the it would be surprising if geography had nothing to contribute.

Geographers with a philosophical bent will find much in this collection to sharpen their grasp of some crucial issues in development ethics and related fields and much

to admire in the quality of argument. Others of a more applied orientation may feel that some of Chatterjee’s contributors need to get out more to the reality they seek to interpret—hoping that they don’t wear their expensive suits and encounter a drowning child on the way.

Key Words: assistance, distance, ethics, poverty, strangers.

References

- Corbridge, S. 1993. Marxisms, modernities and moralities: Development praxis and the claims of distant strangers. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11:449–72.
- Rawls, J. 1999. *The law of peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Singer, P. 1972. Famine, affluence, and morality. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 1:229–43.
- Smith, D. M. 1998. How far should we care? On the spatial scope of beneficence. *Progress in Human Geography* 22: 15–38.
- Wenar, L. 2003. What we owe distant others. *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 2:283–304.

HIV & AIDS in Africa: Beyond Epidemiology. Ezekiel Kalipeni, Susan Craddock, Joseph R. Opong, Jayati Ghosh, eds. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. 398 pp., (ISBN 0-631-22356-8).

Reviewed by Daniel Low-Beer, Health and Population Evaluation Unit, Cambridge University, Cambridge, U.K.

HIV and AIDS in Africa: Beyond Epidemiology is a rich edited collection, one of the best volumes to appear on AIDS in recent years. There are shining individual accounts: Kaleeba’s personal and national history of AIDS in Uganda, Campbell on sexuality and mining in South Africa, and Mbugua’s contextual analysis of youth HIV prevention in Kenya. However, the colorful collection of individual chapters weaves a less satisfactory “AIDS quilt” of a book. They remain only half sewn together by the central arguments, left loose and untied: (1) the call to go beyond epidemiology; (2) that behavior change has failed; and (3) that research should shift from proximate sexual and behavioral issues to social, economic, and political causes.

The shape of the book partly reflects the landscape of AIDS efforts and interventions in Africa that it describes. There are collections of valuable and scattered projects. Only in a few situations, such as Uganda and Zambia, do they add up to more than the sum of their parts and lead to a sustained impact on the epidemic (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004). The story of AIDS in Africa must thread its central arguments more closely through the varied responses, successes (largely un-

mentioned in the book), and failures of twenty-five years of AIDS in Africa.

Overall, the book is divided into five sections on history, regional perspectives, social terms, methods and ethics, and impacts, with a short edited introduction to each section. The chapters range widely and include gender issues, mapping the pandemic, mobile populations, community research, ethics in trials, economic impacts, the invisible presence of homosexuality, the World Bank and IMF, and AIDS orphans. The regional sections are poor, relying almost exclusively on global United Nations data to map patterns and show trends. Furthermore, they list generalized perceptions and misperceptions of AIDS in Africa such as the overgeneralization syndrome (which is largely generalized from a single article by Rushing), sexual behavior change myth (ignoring the evidence of successful behavior change in Africa), blaming urban sexuality, and ethnocentricity. Of greater concern, the thematic threads of the book are not knitted together geographically, to bring alive the diverse responses within Africa, particularly between Uganda, Kenya, South Africa, Zambia, Botswana, and Senegal. Moreover, the topics provide political, eco-

conomic, and social themes without weaving together a comparative sense of place.

The central argument of the book is the need to go “beyond epidemiology” to understand AIDS. The validity of this argument was frequently apparent when I worked as an epidemiologist on AIDS in Africa during the 1990s. In a taxi in Uganda, when going to epidemiology meetings, I would mention that I worked with AIDS. A stream of opinions, stories, and questions would follow, about families and communities, sometimes outrageous even with a bit a stigma. But they were personalized with a great sense of reality and realism. Without getting a word in edgewise, I would open the door of the taxi at my destination, leaving a tip to quiet things down. I thought the response was important, though beyond the scope of my epidemiological data.

In other East African countries, when I mentioned AIDS, there would be silence or a swift change of subject. In Southern Africa, there would be disinterest, except the occasional taking you to one side at the end of the trip to ask what could be done for a relative who had tuberculosis. Simplistically, the population response to AIDS and the consequences of casual sex was switched on in Uganda. In other countries, it remained off, despite greater spending on AIDS and interventions (Low-Beer 2003).

The contrast to “best practice” international AIDS interventions (Stover et al. 2002), implemented in wealthier countries like Botswana, is striking. In relatively remote, rural Botswana communities, I found every medical intervention had been rolled out—all the acronyms were there—routine ARV treatment, new clinics, Land Rovers, PCMCT, youth-friendly services, STD treatment, VCT, even ABC. Yet HIV remained stubbornly at 25–30 percent according to local data, despite spending ten times more on AIDS than Uganda since 1990 (Stoneburner and Low-Beer 2004).

So I asked the local doctor, “Do you talk to a patient who comes in with AIDS about AIDS, do you confront it?” He said “No,” that he had been to a six-week counseling course that had instructed him not to. He had a tick box on a sheet of paper for notifiable conditions, tuberculosis, other STDs, even leprosy—but not AIDS. I asked about the village chief—no, he did not feel qualified to talk about AIDS. I asked about the church, but they are only beginning to talk twenty years into the epidemic. But still, nobody mentions it at funerals. This community had many of the key low-tech resources—the local chiefs, churches, street corners, community, and care groups. But they had not been mobilized, in contrast to the biomedical approaches in their clinics introduced from outside.

In these communities there was a need to go beyond epidemiology: conceptually, in designing interventions, and in valuing community responses. More precisely, the need was to go beyond biomedical epidemiology, which became increasingly influential in the 1990s, extending randomized controlled trials developed to test drugs to increasingly unsuitable and complex conditions.

Here the book has a powerful, deep vein of argument to critique medical epidemiology. Yet one is left to meander along the surface contours of the chapters. Rarely is the concept or practice of epidemiology really investigated or stretched. Epidemiology has at least two faces. Epidemiology derives from studies upon (*epi*) people (*demos*) as much as “biomedical” approaches to disease or epidemics. There is a rich tradition of collaboration between social scientists and epidemiologists in AIDS research in Africa, for example, in the Uganda AIDS control program in the early 1990s (Ankrah et al. 1993; Asiimwe-Okiror et al. 1995; Iliffe 1998). The Ugandan collaboration as early as 1995 showed the precise communication and behavioral changes that resulted in HIV declines. Yet they have been largely ignored, compared to the expensive, yet inconclusive, trials conducted by Western medical schools in the country (Kamali et al. 2003; see Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004 for a full discussion).

The tensions and wealth of collaborations between epidemiology and social science are evident in the chapters of this book. Catherine Campbell shows the depth of qualitative work on masculine identities, condom negotiation, and life histories in the context of mining. This was undertaken in South Africa “under the auspices of the (South African) Epidemiology Research Unit.” She explores the difficult concept of “self efficacy,” and how a lack of control over mining life transfers to many situations, including identity and sexuality. There is a clear critique of HIV prevention programs; educational approaches must take account of local knowledge and beliefs, ideas developed further in her recent book (Campbell 2004). However, there is also a very intense interaction between social science, psychology, and epidemiology. The only caveat of her highly influential work is that the concepts are often generalized by others from highly vulnerable groups (miners, who number only 350,000 in South Africa; sex workers; women in forced sex; or truck drivers) to the general African population.

Njeri Mbugua’s chapter on prevention among school students in Kenya shows the rich originality of her analysis, occupying the space between social science and epidemiology that has opened in AIDS research. At its center is a knowledge, attitudes, practices, and beliefs

(KAPB) survey. Despite the editors' acidic commentary on it, KAPB is a way of organizing data collection rather than a model of behavior change. As shown in Mbugua's chapter, skilled analysis of a KAPB goes far beyond any model of behavior change (and frequently incorporates qualitative and semistructured methods). The chapter shows the striking importance of social networks of aunts and female cousins for young women, not often mobilized by media or peer-based HIV education. It explores the links between behaviors, including alcohol, smoking, and sexual behavior, in a highly contextual way. Similarly Mbugua stresses both the difficulties and opportunities of influencing condom use and sexual behavior. Starting with a KAPB, which captures qualitative and quantitative information, "practical AIDS prevention strategies addressing the social, cultural, spiritual, medical, economic, academic, recreational, and sexual lives of in-school adolescents" are developed.

Other chapters build a powerful view of AIDS from multiple entry points. Noerine Kaleeba's personal and incredibly direct account of "AIDS in the family" in Uganda begins with the sentence "AIDS came to my house on the afternoon of June 6, 1986." It then follows fifteen years of personal and national AIDS history (an excerpt from her own book [Kaleeba and Ray 2002]). Gabriel Rugalema provides local accounts of lay explanations and discourse around AIDS (known as *silimu*, a derivation of *Slim*, or *endwala y bil'ebi*, meaning the modern-day disease) in Tanzania and Kenya. He shows, with cycles of sexually transmitted disease coinciding with payday and the revealing ways people talk about AIDS, that epidemiology is explained as much by the study of people as of disease.

At the ideological core of the book is a rejection of behavior change: "previous research has prioritized and focused on sexuality . . . the solution resulting from this research—behavior change—has not worked" (pp. 324–25). On one hand, the critique of behavior change models is powerful, particularly of the Health Belief Model (imported to epidemiology from sociology and psychology). The model's reliance on information provision, individual risk, and rational behavior change is very limiting in understanding how AIDS behavior changes.

On the other hand, the authors ignore any evidence of behavior change in Africa and elsewhere. Social communication leading to behavior change is the distinguishing factor behind major reductions in HIV in diverse settings: a 65 percent reduction in casual sex in Uganda (1989–1995), a 55 percent decline in casual and commercial sex in Thailand (1990–1993), a lower 27 percent decline in casual sex in Zambia among male

youth (1996–1999), and even in the gay community in the U.S. in the 1980s (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2003). Some of the most successful examples come from Africa, which are not mentioned in the book. The data on HIV declines in Uganda (from 21.1 percent to 9.7 percent from 1991–1998 and to 6.4 percent in 2001) and behavior change are relatively conclusive (over time, as well as comparatively to other countries with 60 percent lower casual sex in Uganda than Kenya, Malawi, and Zambia in the mid-1990s). The clear results of an African success were shown by the Ugandan AIDS Control Program in 1995, though international confusion has continued for a decade (UNAIDS 2001).

The Uganda response shows that HIV prevention can be highly successful. It can change the course of the epidemic in a few years, even in resource-poor settings. Furthermore, it highlights an African community response, built on behavior change. This population response can be supported and catalyzed, but it is not delivered as a traditional intervention. AIDS prevention was brought down to the community level by working through local networks of chiefs, churches, health personnel, care groups, and village meetings (which even the president, Museveni, would hold). Prevention certainly went beyond epidemiology and the headspace of awareness, education, and counseling to a lower center of gravity between the gut and heart of what we call "affective" behavior change (where fear, care, even some stigma, and other motivators of risk avoidance coexist).

In successful African responses to AIDS, the universal building blocks of HIV prevention are apparent: primary sexual behavior change, open communications about AIDS and people with AIDS, and community-level structures of support, contact, and care. The book fails to provide crucial evidence of successful African responses to AIDS (alongside the frequent failures and their structural reasons).

In conclusion, *Beyond Epidemiology* provides important material but does not add up to more than the sum of its valuable chapters. It opens up a promised land "beyond epidemiology" but fails to describe its landscape beyond a long list of topics: "the contributors to this volume recognize that HIV/AIDS is complexly embedded in the social, economic, cultural and political fabrics of society, requiring multiple points of analytical entry with various optics addressing the regionally varied contexts." Recently, when the clear community changes that reduced HIV in her country were presented, a Ugandan lady burst into tears. She commented, "So we can do things to reduce AIDS in Africa, we don't first need to change our whole culture, gender identity, trade relations and local traditions." To go beyond epidemi-

ology, the book needs to go face to face with the variety of failed and remarkable responses to AIDS in Africa over the past twenty-five years.

Key Words: AIDS, Africa, epidemiology, affective behavior change.

References

- Ankrah, E., N. Asingwiire, S. Wangalwa, and A. Misanya-Gessa. 1993. AIDS in Uganda: Analysis of the social dimensions of the epidemic: Uganda Population AIDS KABP 1988–89. Kampala, Uganda: Makerere University.
- Asiimwe-Okiror, G., J. Musinguzi, A. Opio, G. Tembo, B. Biryahwaho, et al. 1995. Declining HIV prevalence in women attending ANC sentinel surveillance sites, Uganda, 1989–1995. IX International Conference on AIDS and STDs in Africa, Kampala, Uganda.
- Iliffe, J. 1998. *East African doctors: A history of modern medicine*. Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers.
- Kaleeba, N., and S. Ray. 2002. *We miss you all*. 2nd ed. Harare, Zimbabwe: SAfAIDS.
- Kamali, A., et al. 2003. Syndromic management of sexually-transmitted infections and behaviour change interventions on transmission of HIV-1 in rural Uganda: A community randomized trial. *Lancet* 361:645–52.
- Low-Beer, D. 2003. An avoidable disease. Opinion article. *Financial Times*, 28 November.
- Low-Beer, D., and R. Stoneburner. 2003. Behaviour and communication change in reducing HIV: Is Uganda unique. *African Journal of AIDS Research* 2 (1): 1–11.
- . 2004. Uganda and the challenge of HIV/AIDS. In *Political economy of AIDS in Africa*, ed. N. K. Poku and A. Whiteside. London: Ashgate.
- Stoneburner, R., and D. Low-Beer. 2004. Population-level HIV declines and behavioural risk avoidance in Uganda. *Science* 304:714–18.
- UNAIDS. 2001. HIV prevention needs and successes: A tale of three countries. Geneva: UNAIDS

Culture, Land, and Legacy: Perspectives on Carl O. Sauer and Berkeley School Geography. Kent Mathewson and Martin S. Kenzer, eds. Baton Rouge, LA: Geoscience Publications (Geoscience and Man, 37), 2003. 356 pp., maps, diags., photos, notes, and index. \$25.00 paper (ISBN 0-938909-08-8).

Reviewed by Daniel W. Gade, Department of Geography, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT.

This volume holds a collection of essays dating from 1989 that continues the flow of published materials on Carl O. Sauer (1889–1975). Sauer’s key role as savant and mentor is still keenly recognized three decades after his death, even though the distinctive tradition of geographical knowledge that he initiated is now only a ghost at the East Bay university where it started. In eighteen chapters, Sauer, the person and thinker, his scholarly work, and the cultural-historical circle of affinity of the discipline receive thoughtful and sometimes luminous assessment. Two of the nineteen contributors to the volume are anthropologists, whose discipline has had touch points with Sauerian geography.

Kent Mathewson, articulate prolocutor for the Berkeley tradition, provides a context for and introduction to the individual papers. Geoffrey Martin richly contextualizes the trajectories of and contrasts between William Morris Davis—model builder, networker, promoter—and Carl Sauer, pursuing his “naive curiosity” largely unappreciated by his Midwestern peers. Martin Kenzer discusses the evolution in Sauer’s thinking over a span of sixteen years (1925–1941) to understand the shift from earth science and culture history in his two main methodological essays. William Speth’s sparkling gem on the crystallization of the Sauerian tradition has,

as part of the information on which it is based, an extensive correspondence that Speth carried on in the 1980s with Sauer’s students and colleagues now mostly deceased. This lucid piece contrasts with Richard Peet’s chapter that reproaches Sauer for not having been concerned in his thinking with “non-exploitative social relations.” Scholars are usually admonished for being too ideological rather than not enough.

Mischa Penn and Fred Lukerman’s erudite lucubration demolishes the charge leveled by James Duncan, David Ley, and others that Sauer held a superorganic view of culture. Somewhat less convincing, J. A. May seeks to dispel a series of labels variously applied to Sauer by polemicists who had taken his words out of context to suit their pet ideas. May first goes through Sauer as positivist, neo-Kantian, pragmatist, idealist, romantic, and phenomenologist and then derives Sauer’s meaning of truth from what he calls his “common sense empiricism.” Edward Price shows in a model of acute discernment how Sauer’s *modus operandi* helps to explain the parts that environment and culture played in his scheme and from that to gainsay Harold Brookfield’s critique of Sauerian geography as lacking social content and Duncan’s formulation of Sauer’s superorganicism as based on a flawed understanding of culture. These two

widely circulated objections were, in their time, persuasive enough to open the door to the so-called new cultural geography.

James Parsons, master craftsman of the written word, relates how some of Sauer's studies on the continental past influenced literary figures, in particular the poet and critic Charles Olson, who himself was a guru for the likes of Bob Callahan, Gary Snyder, Donald Davie, and Ed Dorn. George Lovell has told an elegant story behind the grammar school book Sauer published in 1939, *Man in Nature: America before the Coming of the White Men*, fetchingly illustrated with the pen-and-ink drawings of the Bolivian artist Antonio Sotomayor. William Denevan's chapter recounts the emergence of Sauer's interest in Native American historical demography, the synergism that resulted from the multidisciplinary group at Berkeley on this theme, but also the eternal disagreements between high and low number estimates.

Thomas Veblen's contribution, packed with more than two hundred bibliographic references, develops a persuasive case for the scholarly importance of Sauer's biogeographical imagination, especially as it was transmitted to academic descendants. Michael Williams, a British geographer, discusses the background of the 1955 landmark Princeton symposium and the major tome it engendered, *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, in which Sauer played a key role. Bruce Dickson astutely analyzes Sauer's "explanation sketch" of the origins of agriculture and why so many archeologists and anthropologists were opposed to its primacy on vegiculture and diffusion. Arthur Krim's offering summarizes three decades of archeological evidence to reinforce Sauer's intuition about Southeast Asia as the oldest world hearth of agriculture.

Five of the authors in this collection were Sauer's PhD students, an academic genealogy that raises the question of what inspired Sauer's "boys" in their association with him: the beauty and power of his ideas or his aura of scholarly authority and personal charisma. George Carter's droll account of his early Berkeley encounter with the maestro evokes the only patent hero worship in the book. For Carl Johannessen, Sauer's approach and specific ideas formed the exemplar for generating his own bold hypothesis that maize had reached India before 1492. Fred Kniffen's spare comments, based mainly on his memories of Sauer as the Michigan professor of the early 1920s before they both went to Berkeley, focuses on his mentor's enthusiasm for original observations. Kniffen had quite obviously taken that to heart in his own scholarly trajectory. One senses that, for Price, Sauer's quality of mind offered a compelling perspective of humans on earth. For Parsons, the strong

affinity with his mentor and then colleague led to a loyalty that made it difficult for him to express any of the discordances or infelicities that others found in the maestro's writings or in their personal recollections.

The passage of more than a decade since this publication project was initiated by Kenzer explains certain aspects of this volume. Mathewson came on board as coeditor, five of the contributors died, and several manuscripts were published in part or in full elsewhere. Except for the occasional addition of references, chapters were not updated to accommodate new findings. Some topics suffer from that more than others. Krim's piece neglects the newer evidence for the ancient domestication of rice in China, and any discussion of the validity of the whole Vavilovian notion of agricultural centers has come under further scrutiny. The long dormancy of typescripts gathering dust induced several authors (Parsons, Denevan, Speth) to have their essays published elsewhere. Johannessen's maize-in-India story has been told in fuller detail in a 1998 publication. Williams and Dickson had published fractionalized versions of their essays even before their presentations at the 1989 AAG Meeting. Such slicing and dicing of the same research salami into similar articles will diminish the volume's impact.

Nevertheless, as an assemblage of Saueriana containing half a dozen first-rate pieces of writing, this volume will find its application in disquisitions on the nature of cultural-historical thinking and the maestro's place in the history of geography. With one of the few monograph series now produced within an American geography department, Geosciences Publications at Louisiana State University has accumulated a commendatory list of titles that enhances Baton Rouge's standing in producing and disseminating geographical knowledge.

As manifested by this volume, the uncommon attention that Sauer has received since his death in 1975 merits reflection. Both the *Zeitgeist* and collective psychology help to explain that scholarly interest. Sauer's antimodernism, expressed at a time when material progress was held in high regard, is today more likely viewed as an heroic act of resistance to a now-recognized false ideal. Other aspects—his use of culture as an integrating idea, disregard of disciplinary borders in his research, and rejection of quantification as a measure of a higher truth—have become even more mainstream since his demise. An additional dynamic is the elevation of Carl Sauer to a father figure for American geography, paralleling that of Franz Boas in anthropology. Both were heirs to seminal European thinking of the nineteenth century and had key mentorship roles; their descendants have

been eponymously designated as “Sauerians” or “Boasians.” The question of whether Sauer and Boas did science or history could be asked of each, and their status as philosopher kings has protected their writings from the kind of critical dissection others might receive.

Since much of the Sauerian dynamic has been sustained by those who were personally touched by him, a question can be raised about what will happen when everything about Sauer has to be reported second hand. If his ideas or approach resonate with the dominant paradigm that prevails at the moment, he may well remain a vital exemplar. A move now under way toward historicism in the social sciences, the inkling of a parallel reaction against broad theoretical generalization in favor of the empirical, and a renewed appreciation of regional expertise and dedication to fieldwork could give the old Berkeley tradition a new lease on life.

The message of Carl Ortwin Sauer for new generations of geographers comes further into play when two additional suits that cultural-historical geography holds are engaged. One is its potential for unifying a fractious discipline by converging biophysical processes and culture-bearing humans. Geography is still burdened with the binary division of “physical” and “human” encrusted in departmental course titles, names of journals, and, most of all, the dichotomizing reflexes of its practitioners. Although Sauer himself did not escape that duality in his earlier work, his 1952 definition of geography coalesced natural history and cultural history. The integrative

perspective he spawned offers a sound launch for new perspectives on the land-and-life theme.

The second cached attraction of this centered diachronicity in geography comes from its focus on intellectual discovery as an end in itself. Sauer named curiosity as a primal force to explain domestication, exploration, and also scholarly investigation. As a trigger for investigation, the spirit of genuine curiosity hones in on the particular, not the grand theory. He judged geographical research and the mettle of graduate students in terms of how they manifested this compelling trait. Such prioritization—this volume used the word “curiosity” eighteen times—may explain the reserve of Sauerians toward undertaking research for other reasons. These beguilements include disciplinary prestige (advocated by a former executive director of the AAG); financial rewards (that make deans swoon); ideological agenda (largely a Marxist affectation); technological vogue (GIS as the silver bullet to achieve geographical nirvana); or developmentalist intent (puritans saving the world). Sauer would undoubtedly have concurred that even in the beginnings of the twenty-first century, geography will thrive as a valued intellectual enterprise on a par with other social science disciplines only if its practitioners do work that is driven, above all else, by a deep-seated curiosity.

Key Words: Carl O. Sauer, cultural-historical geography, Berkeley tradition.

Buyways: Billboards, Automobiles and the American Landscape. Catherine Gudis. New York and London: Routledge, 2004. viii and 333 pp., photos, notes, biblio., and index. \$22.00 paper (ISBN 0-415-93455-9). **Signs in America's Auto Age: Signatures of Landscape and Place.** John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2004. xxiii and 168 pp., map, photos, diags., notes, biblio., and index. \$49.95 cloth (ISBN 0-87745-889-08) and \$24.95 paper (ISBN 0-87745-890-1).

Reviewed by Wilbur Zelinsky, Department of Geography, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.

An embarrassing void in the landscape literature filled at last—after a fashion. How can those of us who study or fret about the manmade American landscape help but rejoice in the simultaneous appearance of these two volumes that deal so earnestly with signs? As already suggested, neither pathbreaking publication has any earlier book-length item to build upon or supplant, or even any wide-ranging journal article. Consequently, this starving recipient of such manna must, in all decency, try to sheath or clip his critical talons as he lauds some truly positive contributions and clucks his tongue over what might have been.

Of the two offerings, Catherine Gudis's is the more limited in scope, but the item that more fully consummates its objective without straining for any outsized intellectual breakthrough. What Gudis, a member of the American Studies community, has set out to do is to chronicle, and assess the impact of, the American billboard industry from its late-nineteenth-century prehistory up to the present moment, all the while stressing the ever-increasing role of the auto and personal mobility within the national economy and how our concomitant mass consumption has, to a degree, transcended regional and class distinctions. She has carried out her task so

well, in lucid language and with an abundance of instructive and entertaining illustrations, that we now know all that we will ever need to know about the inner workings, economics, and politics of the industry. So, if you are curious about the evolving physical specifications for the printed or painted matter in question and the structures they adorn, this is *the* place to go.

Among the topics about which I had been pretty much in the dark previously is how this particular batch of business entrepreneurs began measuring traffic flow and then devising rigorous locational criteria for billboard placement. Supplementing other studies, we are also enlightened about the genesis and development of the commercial strip. Especially informative and original is her account of the crosscurrents of taste, calculation, and guile among the billboard folks, advertisers, and practitioners of the fine arts in the design of these roadside displays as they have played out over the years to emerge as an interesting and important chapter in the history of art in America. Also much to be commended is a pervasive sensitivity to the role of gender within the entire billboard phenomenon (about which the Jakle/Sculle opus is virtually silent) and not just in discussing the strife between the “scenic sisters” and the male “billboard barons.”

Although the study by geographer John Jakle and historian Keith Sculle is much briefer than the Gudis contribution, it is more ambitious in scope and intent. What this prolific duo (three previous monographs on landscape topics—and counting?) attempt to accomplish is “an exploration of how outdoor signage, as a means of communication, affects the visualization of and, therefore, the use of landscape and place” (p. xvii) or, as alternatively phrased, how “signs substantially affect social behavior as they sustain, enhance, diminish, or change the meaning of places” (p. 167). Signs are defined here in a strictly physical sense as all manner of material objects created to convey verbal or graphic messages to the world at large.

There is a great deal of useful information within the four parts of the volume: Commercial Signs; Signing Public Places; Signing Personal Space; and Sign Aesthetics. If there is much discussion of billboards, overlapping Gudis’s more expanded treatment, a wide variety of other sign types receive their due or are at least mentioned in passing: storefront signs, traffic lights and other traffic signs, and, all too briefly, graffiti, bumper stickers, welcoming signs, and those appearing on commercial buildings and barns, mailboxes, garments, and gravemarkers. Especially satisfying is the account of signage on shops lining Main Street in smaller towns. What the two books have in common is extended cov-

erage of the ongoing struggle over highway aesthetics and related business interests and whether and how national and local authorities should ban or limit commercial signage in all or certain tracts within their jurisdiction. In both instances, the authors manifest praiseworthy impartiality in their approach to dilemmas that have no simple answers. But, perhaps in both cases, we have too many pages devoted to the never-ending conflict, space that might have been used for other issues with at least as much appeal for geographers.

A serious shortcoming in the Jakle/Sculle volume is the failure to achieve comprehensive coverage of the universe of public signs. Thus we find nothing at all here on the ephemeral, but obstinately recurrent, political signs that sprout in such profusion on lawns and trees and along roadsides come local or national election season, almost nothing on hillside signs or the church-related signs next to the house of worship or at some remove, little on signs on our bodies or clothing or on house numbers, and silence concerning skywriting, all those sign-bedecked trucks and buses, the posters assaulting our eyes inside athletic venues, or those often improvised items flaunted by sports fans and political demonstrators, murals, chalked inscriptions on sidewalks, the enormous proliferation of holiday decorations, many partially verbal, for Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, and Halloween, or the eruption in recent years of those decorative banners enlivening the fronts of countless homes. And if flags, national, state, or whatever, are signs, as they assuredly are, why no methodical discussion of them here? But the most puzzling omission—and I would really like to be informed—is just when and how street-naming signs began materializing at street corners within our cities and villages. I doubt that they were there ca. 1800. And I would welcome some comments on the recent craze for signs announcing honorary street names. Another disturbing omission, especially so since it would have bolstered a major argument in this book, has to do with signs and banners identifying and touting specific neighborhoods within a number of our leading metropolises.

A more generic complaint concerns the intellectual pretentiousness, or bloat, of this study, most markedly in its introduction, but elsewhere as well. More than once we are led to expect revelations concerning such succulent questions as “Place and Personal Identity” (pp. 99–101) or “Signs and Territoriality” (pp. 107–14), but if, after a certain amount of verbal posturing, any are forthcoming, they have eluded me. Neither do we receive any satisfactory resolution of the central questions for the entire enterprise posed by our authors as quoted above. Platitudinous assertion does not suffice in lieu of

rigorous marshaling and testing of evidence. A final specific complaint concerns verbiage. Even though *Signs in America's Auto Age* is relatively brief, there remain quite a few patches of redundancy in this text. The scalpel of a hard-hearted editor would have improved matters markedly.

At the risk of sounding too greedy, I bemoan the isolationist mindset that weakens the potential value of both these volumes and one that is all too common throughout the world of American social science: an obliviousness to, or lack of interest in, parallel or related developments elsewhere in the world. How can we fully understand the history and significance of signs in American life if we pay no attention at all to their role in other lands? Surely, contrasts and similarities documented elsewhere could cast a great deal of light upon their meaning within the American scene. In addition, think what additional insights such transnational comparisons could generate concerning national character here and abroad and other large questions. To take only a couple of pairings from a long list of possibilities, what lessons might we derive by comparing a sign-filled Poland

with an almost billboardless Germany, or Mexico versus Singapore? Or what is the situation in Australia and Canada, our closest siblings within the family of nations? Anyone looking for a topic for a doctoral dissertation?

A final observation, this time not a complaint but a rumination. Taking the broadest view of trends in our postmodern world, isn't the recent efflorescence of signs just a single facet of a grander development, namely, the transition from a society dominated by oral discourse and print culture into one in which the visual reigns supreme? Ours is no longer a generation willing, sometimes even eager, to sit through two-hour sermons, to stand even longer in the open air reveling in the sort of debate immortalized by Lincoln and Douglas, or to spend our evenings reading aloud to one another. Instead, nowadays, we are besotted with films, comics, posters, television, video cassettes, DVDs, and, in the classroom as well as in pop music extravaganzas, with every imaginable visual gimmick. Something worth thinking about.

Key Words: automobility, billboards, landscape, signs.

The Changing Scale of American Agriculture. John Fraser Hart. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003. xvi and 287 pp., maps, diags., tables, notes, biblio., and index. \$37.50 cloth (ISBN 0-8139-2229-1).

Reviewed by Everett Smith, Department of Geography, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR.

A new book by America's preeminent rural geographer deserves scrutiny. John Fraser Hart describes and analyzes the transformation of farming in the United States through stories of how some of the largest farmers and farm managers have organized their operations. Their expanded size, levels of investment, extent of productivity, and linkages from land to processors to consumers are impressive and unprecedented. The simplest way to appreciate these dimensions and new directions in farming, Hart asserts, is to add a zero or two or more to thinking about what is going on with agriculture in the American countryside.

The largest and most successful commercial farmers increasingly specialize only in cash grains or concentrate simply on animals and animal products while growing some feed, buying the rest, and trying to locate in some proximity to processing facilities. Efficient operators also obtain information relayed through computers and other electronic devices to learn more about their land as well as the farm business elsewhere in the nation and abroad. Thus through vision, risk taking, acceptance of new

technology, and talent for organization, the proficient farmers and managers are leaders in altering the traditional structure of American agriculture.

Hart tells this story of modernization in the manner his regular readers will recognize: he travels into rural areas to see what is going on, he talks to the people who make decisions about uses on the land, and he transmits in their own words views about their work and larger changes in farm management and production. Hart begins with a background chapter on agricultural changes in recent decades followed by a chapter on how and why Corn Belt farmers have shifted from having both crops and livestock to planting and harvesting crops only, primarily corn and soybeans. A few in the Heartland have also built dairies with over one thousand milk cows, and some have established hog farms with thousands of sows sold every year. On the basis of the latest available numbers, the 1997 Census of Agriculture, Hart indicates that farmers needed to exceed \$250,000 in annual farm sales during the 1990s to remain viable enterprises. Bankers would have doubled

that figure as a required minimum for loans and then probably doubled it again in the new century as further evidence of the changing scale of farming activity across the land. Meanwhile, among the two million farms in the country, a small but growing share each generates sales into the millions and together account for a majority of sales of farm products.

Subsequent chapters relate how an increasing number of cattle feedlots have located on the southern High Plains; how large dairy farms have dispersed from California to other irrigated oases in the West and to other locations entrepreneurs have staked out; how broilers, egg-laying hens, and turkeys are produced in huge numbers across the South as well as in localized clusters associated with pioneers who saw opportunities in large-scale operations; and how hog producers in the 1980s began to emulate broiler producers with better genetics, better feeds, better buildings, better management, and better processing plants. Modernization in hogs began in eastern North Carolina. Later, huge hog farms developed by international corporations concentrated in a few places in northern Missouri and the Oklahoma and Texas Panhandles, and in recent years large-scale, highly productive hog operations have reappeared in the Upper Midwest, helped along by innovative alliances with veterinary clinics.

As in all of his work, Hart writes clearly and explains carefully. He employs maps wisely, uses numbers judiciously, and entertains his readers as they are informed. No one has his grasp, perspective, and understanding of what farmers as a whole have been doing across this land over the past century. He has been visiting farms for more than seventy of his eighty years, and he has an unmatched record of research and publication on rural areas that extends well beyond a half-century.

Hart interviewed almost fifty successful farmers, company owners, and farm managers to gain a firsthand picture of how they deal with demands up and down the food supply chain. Sample quotes provide some glimpses and insights. Corn Belt farmer Doug Magnus harvests 1,400 acres of corn and soybeans in southwestern Minnesota. He told Hart, "Farmers must shift from production-based thinking to consumer-based thinking." Similarly, Dave Wood, chair of the beef division of Harris Ranch in California, told Hart, "We needed a different mind-set. We had to become consumer-driven, not production-driven . . . and start thinking about our customers, the retailers and the restaurateurs." Nick Schimpf, now in his seventies, started selling eggs from a small farm northwest of Milwaukee. He had 12,000 laying hens in a single

building in 1958, and 1,350,000 birds in twenty buildings on several sites in 2000. He told Hart, "You got to do whatever it takes to keep your customers happy." Another egg producer, Bob Sparboe, outside of Litchfield, Minnesota, reports, "Animal agriculture is a tough, management-intensive business. . . . Agriculture is constantly changing, and a successful farmer must constantly transform his operation to accommodate to change, to adapt to it, to adjust to it, even to bring it about, or he'll be swept away by it." The D'Arrigo Brothers farms in California's Salinas Valley comprised fifty-five thousand acres of vegetables in 1997. The managers ship nationwide. John, the owner-operator, told Hart, "I have consolidated and expanded. . . . A fast truck and two drivers can be in New York the fourth morning. . . . Today's customer isn't like yesterday's. You had better deliver fresh products, properly cooled, properly iced, in good condition, or you're out of business."

Hart summarizes this complexity, competition, and diversity among producers of the nation's food and fiber into a generalized tripartite macrogeography. It begins with a cash-grain core region in the Middle West. A surrounding periphery includes specialized livestock producers of beef, dairy, broilers, eggs, turkeys, and hogs. Around the rim are specialized croplands of vegetables, cotton, nurseries and greenhouses, and citrus. An especially illustrative map in the opening chapter affirms this regionalization by locating counties whose sales of farm products shifted more than 10 percent toward crops or toward livestock between 1949 and 1997.

Large-scale producers are seldom free or far from criticism and controversy. Even though they may be relatively remote geographically, their size makes them visible socially. Beef cattle feedlots, dry-lot dairying, and dense concentrations of chickens, turkeys, and hogs generate objectors. Hart addresses problems of pollution, antibiotics, animal welfare, large farms, large organizations, and working conditions in large facilities. He argues that as long as our society demands and favors cheap food uniformly processed and packaged, the benefits of modernization on large, intensive farming operations will offset perceived, if not real, social costs.

This is a benchmark book, a view of the structure and locational patterns of the most productive American agriculture at the turn of this century and a basis for thinking about what rural America is likely to become. The book invites a next generation of geographers to compile stories about successful agricultural activities. Requirements are getting into the field beyond the urban

fringe, contacting people who make decisions about plants and animals and impacts on the land, conversing with these people and listening to what they have to say, and recognizing both internal and external causes and effects for what one sees in the landscape. John Fraser Hart has shown the way.

Hart concludes with the statement, “The farm that seems large in 2002 will seem small in 2022.” What could curb or stall the relentless expansion of farm size, dwindling number of farms, and growing connections of producers to customers: cheap imports, high interest

rates, expensive fuel, organic farming, farmer’s markets, or what? Future scholars will consult *The Changing Scale of American Agriculture* and Hart’s other books and articles to learn what was going on, and what it was like in the American countryside in the last half of the twentieth century and the opening years of the twenty-first. No finer compliment could come to an author who is also a geographer.

Key Words: agricultural production, entrepreneurs, large-scale farming, specialization.

Social Change and Sustainable Transport. William R. Black and Peter Nijkamp, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. xi and 296 pp., diags., tables, and index. \$69.95 cloth (ISBN: 0-253-34067-5).

Reviewed by Selima Sultana, Department of Geography, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, NC.

The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed the transforming processes of metropolitan economic restructuring (e.g., flexible production, growth of information and telecommunication technologies) along with social changes that have been created by and, in turn, propel that restructuring. These forces have had considerable impacts on urban transportation systems. The twenty-first century will undoubtedly see a variety of new social and technological trends that will continue to influence the ways in which transport and communication systems are supplied and utilized. Although at the present time a wide range of speculation exists about future transport systems, two trends that are apparent are increasing vehicle size and fuel consumption, and the increasing ubiquity of technologies with the potential to significantly alter transport patterns. The former trends are worrisome for their implications for the ability of society to maintain increasing levels of energy consumption, manage pollution, and control traffic safety. Some automakers are even reclassifying their sedans as sports utility vehicles to avoid fuel mileage requirements, clearly suggesting that at least some of today’s technological advancements in transportation are unsustainable.

At the same time, new technologies (often lumped under the label of Information and Communication Technology, or ICT) may radically alter the nature of transport demands as well as potentially reshape leisure activities. These offer significant potential for reducing energy consumption and pollution, while allowing increased levels of economic activity formerly constrained by the cost of distance. In that context, Black and Nijkamp’s *Social Change and Sustainable Transport* is timely

and valuable reading and provides insights for assessing “whether our current transportation systems are sustainable beyond the next half century” (p. xi) as well as searching for ways toward achieving sustainability in existing transport systems.

This book is a collection of essays stemming from a conference, “Social Change and Sustainable Transport,” held at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1999, underwritten by the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the European Science Foundation (ESF). Since NSF’s view of sustainable transportation research has an appropriately multidisciplinary perspective, this book integrates papers presented at the conference by European and North American scholars and includes input from a wide range of disciplines: economics, engineering, geography, urban and transportation planning, sociology, political science, psychology, public policy, and others. The thirty-six chapters of the book are organized into eight sections, along with an opening chapter by the editors. This introduction examines the contemporary social trends affecting transportation and outlines a research agenda to address social changes and the need for sustainable transport systems. Black and Nijkamp identify five themes for future research areas—sustainability, social change, globalization, information technology (including intelligent transportation systems), and the role of institutions—in the development of sustainable transport within the changing societies of the next half-century.

The first part of the book includes seven chapters that provide an overview of these basic themes. Traditionally, transportation research has been dominated by engineers, but in chapter 1 Geenhuizen et al. discuss how

engineering principles are insufficient for understanding the complexity of transport systems, and that it is essential to understand the driving forces that shape changes in transport and communication. Future transportation research should therefore integrate multiple disciplinary perspectives that span the social sciences and humanities. In three separate chapters (2, 3 and 5), the exploration of new technologies and its relationship to transportation and urban forms, a widely debated issue, are examined. Although arguments exist that technology will weaken the connection between urban forms and transportation patterns, as digital communication becomes a viable option for many forms of human interaction and thereby eliminate some physical movement (Naisbitt, 1995; Cairncross, 1997), these chapters strongly assert that these challenging questions are yet to be proved because little is currently known about technological changes and their effects on urban spatial structure and travel patterns.

Wachs's discussions in chapter 2 are especially stimulating. Some conjecture exists that the growth of ICT over the long run may contribute to the development of sustainable transport options by changing workers' travel behavior. In particular, commuters may find themselves using ICT to work at home. This will have significant impacts on commuting costs, such as fuel expenditures, and will also reduce lost productivity by eliminating the time and stress of commuting. Just as importantly, telecommuting may relieve traffic congestion and air pollution, which will have external economic and environmental benefits (Yen 2000).

Part 2 includes five chapters on "Social Change and Sustainability of Transport." The first two chapters of this section discuss policy initiatives for sustainable transport, and the rest compare the transportation sustainability problem and policy responses between North American and European countries. Part 3 is well organized and addresses issues of automobile dependency and associated problems in society, which are a critical problem in the United States as well as a growing concern in Europe and other developing countries. In four different chapters this section provides a critical discussion of how automobiles are increasingly becoming a focus of human attention rather than being viewed merely as a means of conveyance (p. 105), followed by a discussion (chapter 15) that develops a theory for explaining this car dependency. This section clearly views automobile dependence as a social problem, and in its final chapter, Salomon et al. formulate three conceptual models of sustainable lifestyles based on household formation, housing choice, and travel behavior.

The concept of social equity is introduced in part 4. Equity here is addressed in terms of social-psychological aspects of the quality of life, gender and mobility, safety measures for elderly people, and the effect of residential location on leisure. However, this conference failed to attract attention from researchers who address racial equity issues in transport research, a major omission. Part 5 continues the emphasis on social trends by recognizing a number of important overlooked issues related to increased automobile ownership and travel demand in nearly every country of the world during the past half-century. Several chapters in this section examine how increases in travel demand have been shaped by factors other than urban structural change, including the continued growth of recreational and leisure travel and even the use of company cars. Similarly, part 6 examines the external costs of freight flows and new transport policies for seeking future sustainability in freight transportation. This is followed by a discussion of cultural perspectives on sustainable transport in part 7.

The final section of this collection identifies alternative solutions for the sustainable transport problem, such as the promotion of road pricing, e-commerce, and virtual accessibility. At the same time, this section recognizes the uncertainties involved with adopting sustainable technology. Some final closing remarks in the last chapter are controversial, as when Black and Nijkamp strongly express their opinion that "the automobile culture must end in the United States and Europe" (p. 295). Nonetheless, Black and Nijkamp are convincing in their argument that automobile dependency cannot be solved by either policy-oriented (European-style) or technology-based (U.S.-style) solutions.

It is sometimes difficult to review an edited collection based on a conference. There is always a certain lack of coherence as well as repetition. Notwithstanding, Black and Nijkamp's *Social Change and Sustainable Transport* provides a valuable resource and offers readers directions for future research that are essential in these areas. As the influences of ICT-related changes on society have been targeted as the highest priority for funding in NSF's 2005 budget, this book should be essential reading by interested researchers.

Key Words: transportation, sustainability, Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

References

- Cairncross, F. 1997. *The death of distance*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School.
 Naisbitt, J. 1995. *The global paradox*. New York: Avon Books.

Swyngedouw, E. 2004. *Review of State/space: A reader* by Neil Brenner et al. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94: 228–39.

Yen, J. 2000. Interpreting employee telecommuting adoption: An economics perspective. *Transportation* 27:149–64.

Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine. Jim Weeks. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003. xii and 264 pp., illustr., notes, and index. \$29.95 cloth (ISBN 0-691-10271-6).

Reviewed by Bruce Young, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

Few will question historian Grimsley's (2003) assertion that Gettysburg, the most celebrated engagement of the Civil War, "has in recent years become a full-fledged industry" (p. 181). This new book from Jim Weeks is not, however, another contribution to our knowledge or understanding of Lee's second "invasion" of the North and the bloody three-day 1863 battle that ended the campaign, and it certainly adds nothing to our appreciation of the geography of that military encounter—matters that are well illustrated by Symonds (1992) and briefly discussed by Winters (1998). Rather, it is an interpretative account of what has happened at Gettysburg—the battlefield and the place—since the cannons fell silent and the Confederate retreat.

What might a geographer imagine has happened during the past century and a half? This question I was wont for some years to invite students of "tourism geography" to contemplate. I posed it early in our course and after only a brief summary of the daily progress of the battle. To encourage those stunned by the question, I would offer some hopefully inspirational words from a geographer writing about Pennsylvania towns: "I have compiled a list of especially attractive places, but it will be kept highly classified lest I innocently contribute to their tourist delinquency. One Gettysburg is enough" (Zelinsky 1977, 128).

And then, in 2002, I learned that history scholar Weeks's book was to be published, and if it was unlikely to provide all the information and analysis a geographer might consider germane, it would certainly shed light on what (and who) had driven (and drives) developments on the battlefield and in the town of Gettysburg. It might also present the story of change in terms of discrete stages, each initiated by changing circumstances. When in due course it appeared, I was not disappointed (though I had expected a map or two, and the quality of several of the photographs was decidedly dismal). Indeed, it proved to be an illuminating narrative—and much more than peripheral reading for students of tourism interested in a detailed case study.

Beginning his introductory essay with a personal reminiscence, the author recalls a family visit to Gettysburg in 1959. The "carnavalesque sights, crowds and kitsch enchanted the puerile mind," and the stone funereal monuments were "mesmerizing" (p. 2). Later, a more mature Weeks concluded that Gettysburg "combined extremes of the worldly with the otherworldly, simultaneously overwhelming, thrilling, entertaining, amusing, and frightening" (p. 3). He also came to realize that Gettysburg, one of America's most important shrines, was in a "continual state of transformation" (p. 3). In due course, he was moved to study this particular place, and we are alerted to his perspective on the past when he writes, "Objects on the landscape. . . can be read as texts revealing the cultural standards of those who built and visited the shrine" (p. 3). In addition, he advises readers that his book will "resurrect a forgotten past that can inform ongoing controversy" (p. 6), but it will not attempt "to judge the variety of ways Gettysburg has been sold and consumed" (p. 10).

Now we are in to the meat of the work, with eight chapters organized within four "phases," each containing two chapters. "Phase One: A Genteel Summer Resort" covers the period from 1863 to 1884. Here Weeks uses contemporary sources to tell of the immediate deluge of grieving visitors to Gettysburg and to reveal that town boosters quickly appreciated that the battle could be of permanent economic benefit—that the landscape and the events could be packaged as a commodity and sold in the marketplace. Middle-class pilgrims responded to the initiatives of the locals, and tourism development on a scale heretofore unknown was soon underway. And Weeks reports what more than one of my tourism students imagined as "probable": as "battle debris grew increasingly scarce, townspeople manufactured souvenirs for tourists" (p. 29).

"Phase Two: A Mecca for Patriots" begins in 1884 and ends in 1920. A new railroad line into Gettysburg triggered a greater influx of visitors—more than 150,000 in its first two years of operation—many of them "plebian,

black, and white,” including many veterans. Weeks places this, and what was happening on the battlefield (the erection of observation towers, for instance) and in the town, into historical context: the shift from a producer to a consumer nation, with more leisure for many and the aggressive promotion of places that might beckon tourists. In Gettysburg, predictably, short-stay hotels flourished, and there was no lack of retailers, peddlers, street vendors, guides, and photographers anxious to sell their wares and services to the visitors. And equally predictable, there were voices raised against encouraging more tourism and in favor of more balanced economic development.

The fifty years from 1920 to 1970 comprise “Phase Three: TV, Hot Bath, Cold War.” Although I found that title less than a perfect match for the content of the discussion, those of its two chapters are more apt: “Mass Culture Transforms Gettysburg” and “Automobiles and Family Touring.” Whereas the general matters described will seem familiar to readers of, for instance, Jakle (1985) and Foresta (1984), there is a wealth of fascinating detail about the particular case Weeks is examining: Gettysburg and its transformation of both the battlefield (since 1933 under the care of the National Park Service) and the town (vigorously promoted by both government and investors). Change also took place along some radiating roads (where motels, gas stations, and campgrounds replaced farmland). Nonlocal capital flowed into the town and region, which reminds one of Butler’s model of change in a destination place, a model that would have been known only to those students in my class who had dipped into the readings assigned for later in the course. In any event, with the number of visitors to Gettysburg said to have risen to 2.7 million by the end of Weeks’ second phase, I searched his volume in vain for a graph or tabulations depicting annual visitor arrivals to Gettysburg, a rising tide with many significant consequences.

Weeks dubs the three decades since 1970 Phase Four: Heritage Gettysburg. It includes the years in which a number of my Ontario tourism students had the advantage of having actually visited Gettysburg and of having experienced the now-landscaped park (mostly from their cars, though some had evidently viewed the “Electric Map” and stopped by the Visitors Center near the site of Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address) and seen the town (mostly the watering holes, T-shirt outlets, and places of amusement). A top grade, as I recall, went to the spatially minded student who opined that the central Visitors Center had evidently attracted entrepreneurs to locate their enterprises on private land close by, a development that Weeks confirms. And bonus marks for

those of my students who had not visited Gettysburg but imagined that all sorts of museums, sideshows, and antique shops offering items of “dubious authenticity” would line the main streets of the town—and that most of the souvenirs now for sale would be products from distant lands. Chapter 8 on “Heritage Tourists” is thoughtful and somewhat provocative; a final sentence sums up Weeks’s thesis: “Once again Gettysburg has become a mirror reflecting the image of an ever-changing America that seeks to find itself there over and over” (p. 217).

And what of his “Epilogue?” Before reading it, I challenged myself to predict his thoughts on “The Most American Place in America.” Obviously, he would not know of the alarm voiced in Congress during early 2004 over the National Park Service operating budget (and, in any case, he would not be aware that the Museum Foundation will be building the new multimillion dollar Visitors Center and will operate it for twenty years). Moreover, he would not know of the special November 19 proceedings at the old cemetery in 2003, organized by the Lincoln Society of Gettysburg; nor, of course, of the total visitor arrivals in 2003. Perhaps, I thought, Weeks would refer again to his childhood visit before reflecting on what had happened to that place over time.

And I was right about that, with Weeks commenting, somewhat obscurely, “Now Gettysburg was simply a great Civil War battlefield instead of a major island in the archipelago of American shrines” (p. 218). Not foreseen by me were some geographical comments, including that the town was now progressing “toward merging seamlessly with the battlefield as part of a vast heritage complex” (p. 218) and that (quoting a local reporter) town leaders expected that the borough’s commercial center would continue “to evolve from general retail to heritage tourism” (p. 219). My guess that there would be some reference to where today the locals chose to live and shop and patronize “Dunkin’ Donuts,” and perhaps some mention of whether residents stayed around when their town was invaded by thousands of reenactors and other enthusiasts in early July, proved to be wrong. And I failed to predict the author would argue that the profane and the sacred were in a symbiotic relationship.

The sole photograph in the “Epilogue” depicts the National Battlefield Tower, twenty years ago as hovering over the battlefield “like a nosey space-craft” (Foresta 1984, 233). It shows the tower imploding—on 3 July 2000, the anniversary of the day Pickett’s men charged toward Cemetery Ridge, initially across flat, open ground and then over the more demanding sloping topography controlled by the inclined Triassic igneous sill that

formed the ridge itself (Winters 1998). Perhaps a photo of a model of the new Visitors Center/Museum might have been relevant here, because its timing and scale, and indeed its location, surely “mean” something.

Does the author approve of the National Park Service’s endeavor to restore the key features of the 1863 battleground—the long-gone woods, trails, orchards, and miles of fences? These endeavors are aided, incidentally, by mapping from 1863, 1868, and 1872, and by thousands of historical photographs as well as letters, diaries, and reports. And thanks to the magic of modern technology, including our geographic information systems and global positioning systems, those in charge believe they are getting it done right (John Latschar 2003, personal communication). How does Weeks connect Gettysburg with the tragedy of 9/11? What have African Americans to say about the Gettysburg shrine? The answers are in the book’s “Epilogue,” along with thoughts on play and memory, public and private space, and Gettysburg as “an ongoing project with no final meaning” (p. 225).

Historical geographers will applaud Jim Weeks for his keen sense of place and the roles of people and organizations and for his integrated and persuasive narrative; they will also savor the thirty-four pages of bibliographic and informational notes. And readers eager for more

about the NPS and the town, both in the past and today, will search the Web. If geographers, they may find a more geographical study, but not a more engaging read, on the transformation of Gettysburg since those three July days of unthinkable slaughter in south-central Pennsylvania.

Key Words: Gettysburg, cultural landscapes, history, national icons, National Park Service.

References

- Butler, R. W. 1980. The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer* 24 (1): 5–12.
- Foresta, Ronald A. 1984. *America’s national parks and their keepers*. Washington DC: Resources for the Future.
- Grimsley, Mark 2003. Review essay: The continuous battle for Gettysburg. *Civil War History* 49 (2): 181–87.
- Jakle, John A. 1985. *The tourist: Travel in twentieth-century North America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Symonds, Craig L. 1992. *Gettysburg: A battlefield atlas*. Baltimore, MD: The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America.
- Winters, Harold A. 1998. *Battling the elements: Weather and terrain in the conduct of war*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur 1977. The Pennsylvania town. *Geographical Review* 67 (2): 127–47.

The Geomorphic Evolution of the Yosemite Valley and Sierra Nevada Landscapes: Solving the Riddles in the Rocks. Jeffrey P. Schaffer. Berkeley, CA: Wilderness Press, 1997. vii and 388 p., maps, diags., photos, appendices, and index. \$24.95 paper (0-89997-219-5).

Reviewed by Ronald Dorn, Department of Geography, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ.

The earth sciences have a long tradition of discouraging diversity of thought. Several “academic gods” of their time have fallen prey to the disease. W. B. Scott is best known, not for his research contributions, but for the phrase “utter damned rot” to help doom Alfred Wegener’s continental drift theory to a half-century of derision. Yale Professor Richard Foster Flint’s attack on J. Harlan Bretz’s concept of a flood of biblical proportions to explain the Channeled Scablands of eastern Washington stands as another icon of tyranny of the academic majority. That leading figures of their day are now widely recognized as being dead wrong is irrelevant. That they led or encouraged bandwagons against outrageous hypotheses is deplorable. Since most of the top PhD-granting departments in the earth sciences do not require their students to take a course on the philosophy and history of their science to learn from past mistakes,

the sociology of the field must always remain a suspect when the majority goes to war against an alternative view.

The book I was asked to review has fallen under vicious attack by the majority of earth scientists conducting research on the geomorphology of Yosemite Valley and the Sierra Nevada. The gloves-off punches have not been limited to book reviews in academic journals, but have spread to “votes” on a review submitted to Amazon.com. The author even thinks that these attacks may have influenced the University of California, Berkeley, geography department’s decision to deny him a PhD.

The soul of geomorphology is at issue in each and every case where sharks circle to preserve their status, turf, or both. To understand such viciousness, the reader needs to understand that Schaffer himself blatantly

sends arrows towards geomorphic heroes of the Sierra Nevada, including several I admire greatly. The author also makes the sweeping claim that his research findings are important enough to revolutionize alpine geomorphology. The net effect has been to smear blood on his clothes as sharp teeth close in.

Schaffer makes his case in twenty-six chapters grouped into five sections (background, prior views of Yosemite Valley, Sierran glaciation, Sierran uplift, and the big picture). Schaffer argues against current thought that the Sierra Nevada experienced late uplift, instead proposing that California's watershed has been a mountain range of great height since the time of the dinosaurs. Every visitor knows that the basic features of Yosemite Valley were formed by glacial erosion, right? According to Schaffer, you would have seen a Yosemite Valley with El Capitan and Half Dome, very much like the one exposed today, about thirty-three million years ago—forcing the conclusion that glacial processes played a minor role in sculpting this icon of glacial geomorphology. Schaffer would displace classic drawings from the work of Matthes, republished in textbooks and pamphlets for decades, with an alternative graphical story. Such claims fly in the face of dogma taught and published by those, such as myself, who have come to love geomorphology by backpacking in these magnificent mountains.

The first question I had to resolve in this review is whether I would sign Schaffer's dissertation, based on new insights in this book. The answer is a clear and resounding yes—a personal decision also informed by reading geomorphic dissertations derived from Berkeley's geography and geology departments with far less data, depth, breadth, and innovation. Geomorphology produces far too few doctorates willing to challenge the majority view. Please do not misconstrue this paragraph. Before signing, I would need to see corrections of numerous errors, including some that just drove me crazy—forcing me to read the book three times in order to calm down and do justice to decades of fieldwork. This book, however, is not a dissertation. The reference list, alone, tells the reader this fact, since a dissertation or an academic monograph would have far more works cited. It is just that there is more than enough solid work and thought to justify a PhD.

One way to view this book is to invert title and subtitle into "The battle to solve riddles in the rocks: How I pieced together the geomorphic evolution of Yosemite Valley and the surrounding Sierra Nevada despite numerous intellectual and political issues." Schaffer weaves his interpretations with extensive side stories of professional scientists gone astray and why his

own thinking had to get past intellectual roadblocks. Yosemite serves as Schaffer's venue for his story of how a generalist, field-based naturalist interpreter, can outwit and outthink professors and government researchers. This book seems to have been written in a way to encourage naturalists, amateur geomorphologists, if you will, to craft their own opinions and challenge established geomorphic thinking in other places.

The table has been set for academically trained earth scientists to dismiss Schaffer's book as the rantings of a lunatic. Opponents have tried, and will certainly continue to try, to flush the baby of solid ideas with the dirty bathwater of the author's critiques of flawed earth scientists and explanations of why academia fails to produce open-minded field observers. Schaffer's strategy of mixing in scientific methodology with science, however, may have been purposeful in making it easy to sort out the quality of his detractors. Researchers a century from now will find it simple to isolate the poor scholars who simply dismissed the whole book from the good scholars who took the time to analyze implications of solid empirical observations and direct inference.

Another academic review of this book ended with a suggestion that we should just all go into the field together and hash out Schaffer's ideas on the hoof. This notion sent shivers up my spine because the then dean of Quaternary research, the aforementioned Flint, used this same mechanism to demonstrate a noncataclysmic origin of the Channeled Scabland. Bretz, smelling a feeding frenzy, declined to participate—noting that all of his ideas were in print. If such a field conference were ever to occur in this case, and it would be an exciting event to watch, the backpacking trip must be accompanied by a sociologist of science, who could infiltrate the event, listening to plots and discussions along the trail, and write a wonderful case article on how the tyranny of the academic majority might operate.

This abnormal book review, instead, ends with an open plea to Schaffer to let this book stand as his case study of a naturalist-generalist versus "normal science" approach. It is clear that Schaffer's ideas are evolving with new data and thinking, as evidenced by a February 2003 "update" sheet in the front cover of the book. To provide the reader a glimpse into what I see as the "core academic content" of his research, Schaffer could develop a series four formal papers, condensing the meat into:

1. "Pre-Glacial Landforms of the Yosemite Region." Synopsis: The Sierra Nevada was a very extensive mountain complex, almost Himalayan in magnitude, that collapsed to its present scope by the end

of the Cretaceous. Tropical geomorphic processes over the next fifty million years eroded a massive overburden of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, eventually exposing a granitic core with features formed by a complex mixture of tropical weathering, mass wasting, and fluvial processes.

2. "New Field Insights on Yosemite's Glacial History." Synopsis: Extensive field mapping of the Illilouette Creek, Tenaya Creek, and Little Yosemite glacial systems, supplemented by coring and other data gathering strategies, leads to a reinterpretation of the extent and dynamics of glacial ice feeding Yosemite Valley. These new data conflict with prior interpretations of major glacial erosion.
3. "Landscape Evolution of Yosemite Valley." Synopsis: Glaciers did not carve Yosemite Valley. There never was a Lake Yosemite. Instead, Yosemite Valley hosted forms very similar to those seen today by thirty-three million years ago.

4. "Sociology of Geomorphic Research on Yosemite." Synopsis: The history of geomorphic research on Yosemite Valley and the surrounding region fits the model of S. Fuller's *Thomas Kuhn: A philosophical history for our times* remarkably well.

In the end, I think about how William Morris Davis translated and presented W. Penck's notions of landscape evolution, certainly very differently from the Kesseli translation I read at Berkeley. Such an evidence-focused distillation by Schaffer himself would prevent future scholars from twisting Schaffer's academic core, a message that should invigorate research in Yosemite for years to come.

Key Words: Yosemite Valley, geomorphology, landscape, evolution, sociology of science.

References

- Fuller, S. 2000. *Thomas Kuhn: A philosophical history for our times*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.