

The California Geographer

Volume XXXVIII

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CALIFORNIA GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

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CALIFORNIA GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

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CORRECTION

Volume XXXVII included the article "On the 'con's in Deconstruction" by Deborah P. Dixon and John Paul Jones III. Unfortunately the name of the first author was omitted from the Table of Contents.

We apologize to Dr Dixon for this error.

The first page of the article itself carried the correct attribution (page 32), as does the listing on the website of the California Geographical Societyr - <http://www.calgeog.org/>

The correct entry should have been:

"On the 'con's in Deconstruction"
Deborah P. Dixon and John Paul Jones III

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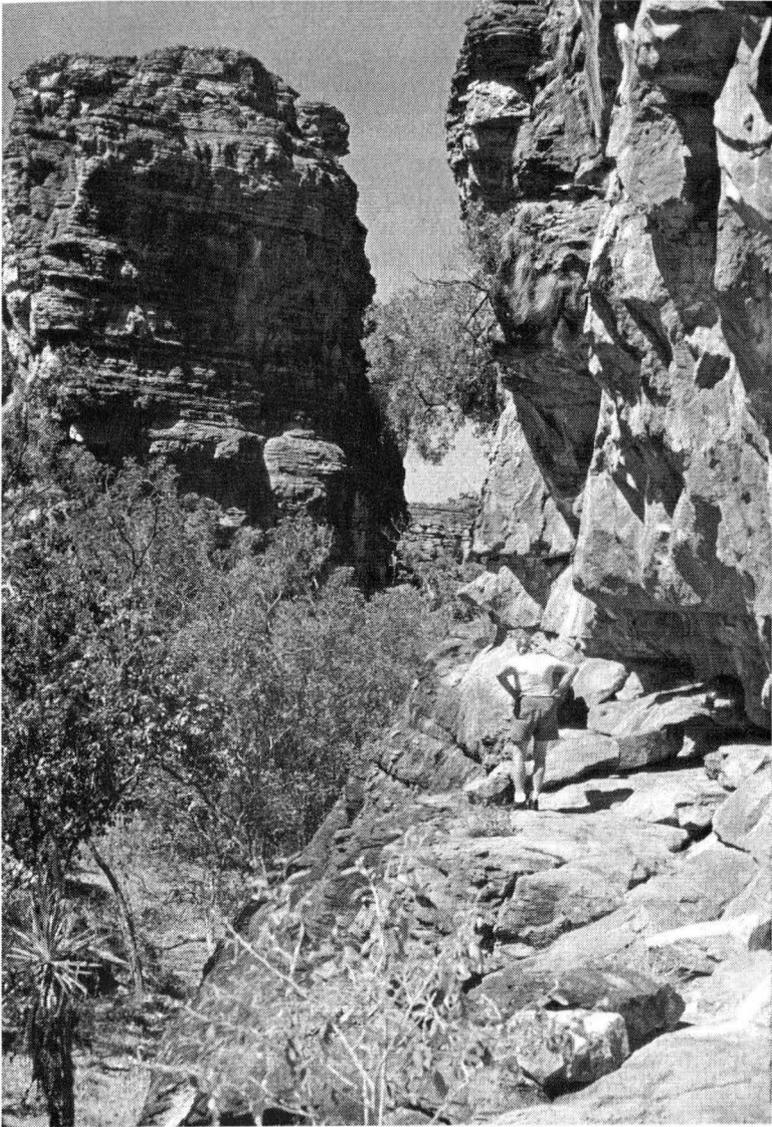
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This volume is dedicated to the memory of
Francis Harry Bauer †1998



Slim Bauer in the field, Arnhem Land, 1972
(photo Tom McKnight)

Memories of Francis Harry Bauer

They call me 'Slim' because that's what I ain't.

As I was assembling this Volume, I thought frequently of Slim Bauer, the man who introduced me to Geography. Earlier this year I had volunteered to interview Reg Golledge for the Australian Millennium Project, described here by Elaine Stratford. The more I learned of this project, the more I thought that they should consider interviewing Slim, who although American by birth, was certainly Australian by choice. I wanted to put his name forward after completion of my contribution.

The paper here by Deborah Kiersey also reminded me of Slim, as a member of the far-flung Sauerian school. In a small town in remote Northern Australia I had certainly felt its influence. One third of my introductory year in Geography consisted of what would more rightly be taught now as anthropology - *Australopithecus*, *Java Man*, *Peking Man*, etc- were a part of my first year Geography course.

Then recently I was reading an authors' copy of Gentle Adventures: An Australian Driveabout - a "bit of bedside reading" by Joan Clemons and Tom McKnight completed after their latest trip to Australia earlier this year, and noted they had stayed with Slim, at his home near Canberra. Tom had suggested some time ago that I should drop Slim a note, but somehow I never got around to it - too busy with editorial duties, teaching, and the general business of living.

So it was with great regret that I learned from Tom, at the Flagstaff meeting of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, that Slim had suddenly passed away, just after moving north to Queensland. During the long drive back to Pasadena, I decided that it would be appropriate to dedicate this volume of *The California Geographer* to the memory of Slim Bauer, and to include some personal memories.

When I entered the University College in Townsville, Australia, it was so new and so small that there was a very limited number of course options. Full-time first year students were required to take four year-long courses. The first three were choices were made, but what to do for the fourth? I fancied Chemistry, but The Rules would not allow it; so it was off reluctantly to Geography.

There I met Doctor Bauer, freshly arrived from California, who was *The Geographer*. All Australians are, of course, interested in other parts of the world - it comes from the feeling of being so isolated, at the fringe. So an "exotic" American caught our interest. We innocents thought Slim looked funny, and moreover he *was* funny - he described himself as "pear-shaped", he spoke with humorous American colloquialisms - "as useless as teats on a boar hog" - and he showed our small class the world. The slides for the geomorphology examples were from such far-

away and fantastic places as Ventura Beach, Colorado, Wyoming...

Humor was one side of Slim, but he was also *such* a hard taskmaster. The College Library was lacking in printed resources, so Slim placed a number of his own books there as required reading before the weekly tutorials – and to make sure we actually did the required reading, we had to sign an attached card when the Librarian issued each book. He checked it too, and reprimanded any student who had not done the reading.

A field trip to the Atherton Tableland remains indelible, especially the hard floor when we slept in a Hall at the Malanda Showgrounds after trying ineffectually to warm our chilled bodies with cups of hot soup. Tea and scones *en route* at the home of the parents of one of our members – sugarcane farmers – their daughter Claire took five spoons of sugar in every cup – to help the industry. The Tableland itself was already familiar from family touring holidays, but we saw it now with new [geographic] eyes – examples of volcanic landforms, land-use changes, various economic activities such as dairying, timber production.

Sometime during this student year, Slim gave me a copy of a publication he had written for the CSIRO (Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization) – an historical geographic survey of white exploration and settlement of the Australian Tropics. I still have it somewhere among my papers, the old foolscap size is awkward to shelve. I read it then with fascination, part of the interest being the perceived romance of the fieldwork involved in touring the remotest outback. There was no overt suggestion that geography might be a career path, for any of Slim's students. I think we were all there by default. But I realize now that my own Master's field research, many years later, was somewhat similar to Slim's.

I left the University College after one year for other occupations and interests, including the inevitable European working-holiday-and-tour, and soon lost touch with everyone from that brief period. When I decided several years later to complete my degree, the British had taken over Geography. Soon, I chose to take Geography Honours. Many years later I bumped into Slim at an airport, perhaps Brisbane and he introduced me to his new wife. Later, I read that he became Director of the new North Australia Research Unit in Darwin, but we never met again.

This was all so far away, both temporally and spatially. But during the interview for my current position, at Long Beach City College, I was asked, unexpectedly, what makes a good geography teacher. I answered unthinkingly – knowledge, patience, humor, enthusiasm. Did I know such a person?, a panel member inquired. Yes, I realized suddenly, I was thinking of my first geography teacher in Townsville, Slim Bauer.

Homage To A Quintessential Geographer

An old-timey geographer (i.e., before the quantitative revolution) needed a suitable habitat, and Slim Bauer had one—the Australian Outback—that suited him perfectly. Not that Slim didn't have experiences in other venues—New York, California, New Zealand, Fiji, Singapore, etc.—but it was Australia in general and the Outback in particular that provided the arena for the bulk (no pun intended) of Slim's professional, and some non-professional, activities.

In the first place, he looked like an Outback type. A bald pate, often obscured by a bandanna handkerchief when he was in the field. A facial profile that resembled a loggerhead turtle. A pear-shaped body supported by massive legs that enabled him to walk all day (albeit not rapidly) without collapse.

Slim loved the Outback, and met it on its own terms. He carried the proper tools of his trade in the pick-up or van that was his current vehicle—sleeping bag, camp stove, axe, shovel, chain saw, typewriter. He was a standard bearer in the long tradition of field geographers, taking notes all day and then organizing and typing them up each evening, often in front of the campfire.

But Slim was as comfortable in the dusty archives as he was in the sandy desert. His writings are well balanced between physical and cultural geography; the sequent occupance of the Gulf of Carpentaria lowland or the geomorphology of Kangaroo Island were equally grist for his mill. This was in part a reflection of his geographic education. He was trained by or derived influence from a distinguished suite of mentors and colleagues, including Carl Sauer, John Leighly, Oskar Spate, Joe Jennings, and Graham Lawton.

My favorite vignettes of Slim include the following:

1) In preparation for my first trip to Australia, in 1961, Slim and Keith Thomson spent an evening in my West Los Angeles living room telling wild tales about the land Down Under, and doing all they could to confuse me about quids, bobs, and guineas.

2) Slim taught for a while at Cal. State, Hayward, and his field class was the talk of the campus. It was a severely practical course. Court Wilmott still recounts with awe the Saturday morning exercise in which Slim drove the class vehicle (a Land Rover) into a marsh until it was thoroughly stuck in the mud. Slim then got out of the vehicle and reclined in the shade of a tree, telling the class, "Now extricate it!"

3) Slim also taught for a couple of years at University of California, Riverside. One of the prominent wall decorations in his office was a

label for Swan Lager, which Slim at that time considered to be “the best bloody beer in the world”. When he left Riverside for another position, the students sponsored a farewell party, and decided they wanted to serve Swan beer. Somehow they found the telephone number of the General Manager of the Swan Brewery, and called him.

As it turned out, the call awoke the G.M. at his Perth home at 2:00 A.M. The students told such a compelling story, however, that he dispatched via airmail a case of Swan to Riverside without cost, substantially contributing to the success of the party.

4) I discovered Slim’s virtual footprints very widely in the Outback. With remarkable frequency during a conversation with an Aussie, Slim’s name would come up—with a dentist in Katherine, a garage mechanic in Boulia, a barber in Cloncurry, a publican in Tennant Creek.

5) Slim and his beloved wife June got bogged one day on the Birdsville Track. It was not mid-summer, but the weather was blisteringly hot, the bushflies were ferocious, and the mud was tenacious. It took about two hours of shovel work to break that vehicle free, and the photo that June took to record the final result shows a giant of a man stripped down to his Jockey briefs, covered from head to toe with mud, but with a triumphant smile on his face.

6) After retirement, Slim and June set up housekeeping in a lovely two-story home in the Canberra suburb of Hackett. Despite increasing distress from his bad hip, for years Slim kept up the ritual of bringing a cup of tea and a sliced pawpaw upstairs for June’s breakfast in bed (except on the days that June brought breakfast to him).

7) On several occasions in the Bauer living room I had consulting sessions with Slim in which we poured over his voluminous field notes, seeking to characterize a region or lay out a route to some place I wanted to visit. I particularly remember (perhaps because he introduced me to Bundaberg rum on that occasion) a lengthy consultation about the nature of the Barkly Tableland and the most feasible track from Mt. Isa to Borroloola.

8) On one of our last times together, the McKnights and the Bauers set out from Canberra for a picnic in a lovely forest at Captains Flat. As we went down a narrow, steep decline, we found that a large tree had fallen across the road, completely blocking it. Fortunately, we were in Slim’s vehicle, which was fully equipped. He pulled out his chain saw and in short order we were again under way for the picnic spot.

Slim Bauer was a Yank who loved Australia as only a geographer can love a landscape.

Tom McKnight

From Zoogeography to Animal Geography: The Spatial Commodification of Animals

Chris Mayda
Independent Scholar

Abstract: Zoogeography developed as a Newtonian/Cartesian science in the early nineteenth century as descriptive classification. After Darwin it evolved into biogeography, an explanatory, then predictive science, often aligned with and even indistinguishable from ecology. As a science, biogeography remains objective and remote from human interaction, using animals to forward anthropocentric concerns. Applied biogeography, led by ecologists, has studied distribution patterns altered by urban encroachment.

Human/animal relations have been a concern for twentieth-century cultural geography, reflected in historical studies of domestication and in musings about current human / animal relations. The geography of domestic animals seldom considers animals other than as economic units or commodities.

A subjective, humanistic and, at times, biocentric animal geography has been influential in widening the scope for some, but animal geography remains a science. It has been unable to wrench free of a purely analytic approach in favor of holism.

An emerging animal geography furthers social theoretical concerns with little in common to zoogeographies other than still using animals as a commodity. It therefore remains within the Newtonian/Cartesian method of science rather than addressing the more holistic concerns of a complexity paradigm.

Introduction

Every tool carries with it the spirit by which it has been created.

–Werner Heisenberg

I am tempted to give one more instance showing how plants and animals, remote in the scale of nature, are bound together by a web of complex relations.

(Charles Darwin, *Origin of Species*, Chapter ii, 1859)

Animal geography is a neglected subsection of a discipline blinded to its own worth. The development of animal geography or zoogeography, depending where you stand on the scientific scale, reflects geography's mantra from eighteenth century listings to the currently hot social theoretical concerns. The flow has been unendingly linear, reasonable and commodified – bought and sold impersonally. Subject and object remain detached within the Newtonian/ Cartesian paradigm, ignoring twentieth century constructions of the universe. The paradigm's clearly delineated lines and borders only work on paper, in models, but not in a world filled with life, our most adamant nonlinear equation. Animals and humans can lack the rationality required to follow a line, respect a border. Newly proposed animal "corridors," being pieced together to preserve ecologic diversity in the undeveloped hills of Los Angeles, will not answer extinction problems, as few animals have the rationality to

respect borders. Humans have the capacity for rationality, but also know when reason is not sufficient, when we need to reach beyond the ways we have been taught to think. Or at least I hope we know. Are we about synthesizing, connecting, and relating, or can we only analyze isolated pieces?

Geographers have been stationed on a flat world *terra firma* afraid of stepping off into the unknown. Shouldn't geographers be taking chances exploring the world? Challenging the world we know—reason and logic, for the unknown? Science cannot test all hypotheses for it is only prepared to test the rational. And as humans are the only self-conscious and rational animals (as far as we know), then science is favoring only humans, and not looking at how all life need be balanced for the continued enjoyment of this earth by humans. Geographers must be willing to step away and explore, a central tenet to geographic thought. This means taking the chance of falling off the edge of the world into *terra incognita*. Taking a chance. Change. The story of animal geography epitomizes the controlling logic of modern and postmodern geography. It never leaves the flat world of linear geography. It has not changed. Animals remain either as conveniences for human use, or within human management – Control.

Every tool carries with it the spirit by which it has been created.

Roots

Nineteenth century natural philosophers arranged lifeforms into a scientific order with biogeographic classification. Biogeography explains the patterns of distribution of plants and animals, but focuses more on plant life than animal life. *The Principles of biogeography*, (Watts 1971) pays lip service to animal life, a mere twelve pages of a 400 page book are spent on animals. In *Biogeography* (Cox, Moore 1993) the emphasis has changed some, but still animals are secondary to ecology and plant life. The plants, soils and vegetation of phytogeography interrelate with the animal patterns of zoogeographic description to form biogeography. Animal geography and zoogeography are often used interchangeably but are here used with distinct meanings. Zoogeography describes the anthropocentric distribution of nonhuman animals, classifying the nineteenth century *Zeitgeist* of growth, change and development of physical reality. In this paper, animal geography provides a postmodern theoretical analysis of animals, representing a late twentieth century *Zeitgeist* of objective nomothetic equality. This paper hypothesizes that this is a transition rather than a radical break from Newtonian/Cartesian modern science, and then proposes a dynamic balance incorporating both objective science and holistic synthesis for future study, thereby uniting the Newtonian paradigm with the complexity sciences. The cores of both zoogeography and animal geography are Newtonian/ Cartesian in

their description. Twentieth century discoveries of the physical world regarding nonlinear and relativistic relations and a holistic point of view incorporating care have not been studied in these animal disciplines. This paper examines the historic Newtonian/ Cartesian study of animals: zoogeography and social theoretical animal geography, followed with the possibilities for a more balanced synthesis interconnecting and caring for all.

Nineteenth Century Zoogeography

The earliest geographies of animals focused on classification and environmental influences (Buffon 1749, 1831). Humboldt (1850) and Ritter (1847) recognized the geography of animal distribution, but zoologists, ecologists and biologists had the greatest impact combining their study with geographic elements which resulted in zoogeography, the spatial distribution of animals.

Early animal distribution studies relegated animals to *in situ* centers of creation. But the nineteenth century *Zeitgeist* evident in the ideas of Laplace, Hegel and Lyell, led to biologic evolution in Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859). No longer with a single point of origin, Post-Darwinian animal distributions varied in space and time, accepting "deep time" theory (Gould 1987) and becoming regional in their distributions (Sclater 1858, 1863, 1879, 1883).

With the acceptance of Darwin's evolutionary thesis, scientists inserted time into their reformulated distributions of animals. The acceptance of Hutton and Lyell's cyclical "deep time" extended world history from thousands into billions of years. "Deep time" added new dimensions to taxonomic zoogeography. Past and present animal distributions explained dispersal historically (Murray 1866; Huxley 1868; Wallace 1876; Lydekker 1896; Heilprin 1887). Regions varied in space and time for every animal. Thus, no definitive boundaries marked where one animal began and another ended. Animal regions overlapped, fabricating a complex map with newfound dimensions. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century flora and fauna studies added depth to previous descriptions, patterns and spatial distributions, which not only explained zoogeographic distribution but the how and why of distribution patterns. They described a specie's relations to its surroundings and how dominant species competed within a niche (Wallace 1876, Darlington 1957). As indicated in the opening quotation, Darwin hypothesized a shift from the Newtonian/Cartesian paradigm. He recognized the interrelations of all things. However, this idea was too much for the nineteenth century mentality barely able to accept dominion in the animal world, let alone finding themselves part of all creation. Many, even to-

day, cannot accept the web of "complex relations:"

However, the need for a systematic study became obvious. Wallace, encouraged by Darwin, took on the systematics of "...a kind of dictionary of the geography and affinities of animals..." systematically organized and "...scattered through hundreds of volumes (Wallace 1876: xii,v.1). Formerly, animal geography had described and classified selected animals living in certain areas (Murray 1866). Murray's work, although admirable, was used by Wallace as an example of how only certain animals were treated systematically. Wallace recognized that a "...uniformity of treatment appeared to me essential..."(Wallace 1876: vii, v.1). Wallace presented animal distribution in two ways, "geographical zoology," the distribution of different groups, and "zoological geography," a regional division according to animal distribution. Wallace completed the first full-scale distribution of land animals in the world. These distributions, broad regional patterns rather than local distributions, would evolve later as species geography – the geographical distribution of how species relate to each other and their ecology (Mayr 1942). Later, Wallace's subordination of zoogeographical facts to fixed regions would be called arbitrary and simplistic, creating an ever increasing complexity of distribution, historically, ecologically and regionally. In every single instance there were exceptions to the rule, and for some time it seemed difficult or even impossible to deal with these apparent anomalies; in fact, none of the proposed divisions into regions can be applied to all cases, even within smaller groups. (Ortmann 1902:268)

A small group of European naturalists favoring continental superiority described most early zoogeography. So, American zoogeographers were forced to come to the rescue of their continent providing new views for the Europeans to consider. This interest revolved around worldwide versus regional distributions. Thomas Jefferson came to the defense of American animals in his only book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). A century later, Charles Merriam created life-zones based largely on temperature, working to make plants and animals accordant to these regions (Stuart 1954).

However, the American whose work would have the most impact in the twentieth century was George Perkins Marsh whose *Man and Nature* (1864) presaged the conservation movement. Marsh surveyed global landscapes for environmental degradation and recognized the modifications of man and of animals on landscape change. He also was concerned with the fate of wild animals as humans proliferated and was one of the first to discuss limit cycles.

"Although man never fails greatly to diminish, and is perhaps destined ultimately to exterminate, such of the larger wild quadrupeds as he cannot profitably domesticate, yet their numbers often fluctuate, and even after they seem almost extinct, they sometimes suddenly increase, without any intentional steps to promote such a result on his part "(Marsh 1864:76)

Early twentieth century American zoogeographers focused on the details of North American animal evolution (Ruthven 1908; Tower 1906; Matthew 1915; Adams 1904). After this initial zoogeographic separation American and European study combined. However, description remained spatially static without an understanding of how these distributions occurred. The solution to this problem revolved around the controversy of Earth formation. Before acceptance of Wegener's continental drift theory and the 1968 theory of plate tectonics, scholars could pick from a menu of evolutionary landforms (Heilprin 1887; Ortmann 1902; Scharff 1911; Matthew 1915; Huxley 1868; Wallace 1876). The position of land was and continues to be very important to the zoogeographer. But turn of the century science, especially for those who supported continental drift, remained the same as today: The scientist used some facts to his advantage while ignoring other facts. This often led to unsubstantiated inventions of animal dispersal (Scharff 1911; Arldt 1907; Gadow 1913). Zoogeographic reliability declined. Even if drift did occur, it was long ago, and existing distributions of animals and plants probably would not show it; they are too recent. Nevertheless Wegenerians tried to use them. Their method was to try to fit existing plant and animal distributions to Wegener's hypothetical patterns of land, and when a fit was found, to claim it as evidence that the ancient land existed. This method depends on an assumption which Wegenerians usually do not put into words: that animal distributions are more permanent than land, that animals move less than continents. If animals have not moved, the continents must have done so. But animals do move. (Darlington 1957:607-608)

Zoogeography reemerged in another guise – ecology. In the late nineteenth century ecologic study included and often relied on geographic distributions of animals (Semper 1881; Newbigin 1936; Clements, Shelford 1939; Allee, Schmidt 1951). However, for some, ecologic animal geography was only a thinly veiled pretense of regional zoogeography with its emphasis on animal communities rather than the physical regions. Others, who considered themselves zoogeographers first, and then ecologists, contended that ecologic generalizations did not explain the spatial diffusion of animals (Darlington 1957). Some combined ecologic with human, plant and animal colonization (Clark 1927,1949, 1956). Zoogeography and ecology melded eventually creating island biogeography (MacArthur, Wilson 1967).

Robert MacArthur, an ecologist, and Edward Wilson, a taxonomist and biogeographer, teamed up to compose a "general theory" of biogeography, *The Theory of Island Biogeography* (1967). Their work built on earlier studies of the ecologic significance of islands (Lack 1942; MacArthur, Wilson 1963; MacArthur, Levins 1964; Grant 1965, 1966; Hamilton, Armstrong 1965). Although preceding studies had focused on water encircled islands, MacArthur and Wilson defined the nature of insularity "...a universal feature of biogeography ...[that] applies in lesser or greater degree to all natural habitats." (MacArthur, Wilson 1967:3) These ideas of animal distribution were later used within urban planning.

The first direct application of island biogeographic theory in urban planning was to obtain an urban ecologic typology "...predicting, maintaining and enhancing urban environmental quality." (Brady et al 1979) This was followed with regular sequels (Goldstein et al 1983; Soule, Simberloff 1986; Bissell et al 1987; Simberloff, Cox 1987; Soule et al 1988; Adams, Dove 1989; Lyle, Quinn 1991; Beier 1993). These papers were anthropocentric ecology in its most traditional form, with humans being the only animals taken into consideration. The focus was on formerly continuous natural habitats fragmented by human encroachment. No mention was made of how the roles had been reversed: of a time when humans were fragmented or discontinuous in the landscape. The focus remained on how humans manage nonhuman species by mathematical projections (MacArthur 1972), zoning ordinances (Bissell et al 1987), and "spatial patch analysis" Goldstein et al 1983). Island biogeography continued interdisciplinary connections with urban theory, an orientation that would become important in 1990s animal geography.

Animal description and explanation defined the first hundred years of zoogeography, weaving ecologic and geographic interpretations. Animal distribution helped humans better understand the formation of Earth. Ecology was not as much about animals as it was about inseparable communities of plant and animal life and the balance needed to maintain human progress. Most ecologists studied animals to better understand humans, not to understand the interrelation of humans and the world.

A More Subjective Animal Geography

As this traditional zoogeographic work continued, the Sauer-influenced Berkeley school created another focus. Several cultural geographers studied animals and the environment, domesticated animals, and sacred relationships (Sauer 1938, 1941, 1952; Fickeler 1962; Epstein 1962; Glacken 1967; Tuan 1984; see also Ratzel 1901, 1912). Cultural pluralism and acknowledging the sacred nature of animals indicated a growing respect

for otherness. By looking outside Western culture, and following other influences, an ethic of care challenged a central zoogeographic ethic of utility.

Cultural geographers also widened their point of view to include animal relations among indigenous Africans (Adeola 1992; Balakrishnan and Ndhlovu 1992). Local hunters who are forbidden to hunt their traditional game, resent the "exotic affluence" of western safari hunters as relations between different cultures and animals are questioned. The killed animal's soul is recognized and respected. Animals are not used for instrumental use alone, but instead, because they possess "magical powers." Traditional healings and sacred nature become the new focus. In developed countries such as the United States of America, hunting is primarily for recreation, but in Nigeria and most other African countries it is more commonly for survival (consumption, healing, and protection). (Adeola 1992)

Unfortunately, indigenous African focus on the sacred aspects of the hunt has been perverted when other societies are willing to pay high prices for the animals or their parts. The Newtonian/Cartesian way of thinking has influenced all societies today, and western ideas, foreign to other cultures, have contaminated indigenous thought systems, as in Africa. The recognition of this contamination as an element inserted into a different cultural milieu is the beginning of understanding the effect of Western globalization on other cultures. To accept one aspect of Western culture begins to undo the core of previously inviolate systems. Bringing an imported condition into an already complete system, creates a cancer, eating and destroying the original system. The interconnections forming a cultural whole among many, are undone in the larger globally connected society. Tradition melts in the CNN air. Recognition of these interrelations is the beginning of moving away from the isolation created by Newtonian/Cartesian systems. It is also the end of all pre-technologic cultures, forcing humans to be even farther from their animal instincts and emotions.

Enlightenment science has not accorded animals any emotion. Science encouraged the separating mechanism of rationality to define humans from animals (Descartes 1649, vol. 5). But Clarence Glacken(1967), Yi-Fu Tuan (1984) and J. B. Jackson (*Landscape*) were influenced by Carl Sauer. In turn, Sauer was influenced by Jackson and by German geographers including Friedrich Ratzel (Sauer 1964:155-6).

The zoologically trained Ratzel approached anthropogeography with a clear geographic mind. In *Anthropogeographie* (1912) Ratzel dealt with humans as others have dealt with nonhumans. What are the distribu-

tion patterns? What are the environmental influences of “man’s” ecologic placement? Ratzel’s polemical theory rivaled that of the sociologist, Durkheim. And, in turn, Durkheim’s static placement of social patterns was polarized by Ratzel’s dynamic living organism. Ratzel treated humans zoogeographically as just another animal locating according to ecologic principles, separate from institutionalized creations. This had geographic importance as it placed “man” back in the physical world which was important to Ratzel as shown in one of his last works, *Der Lebensraum* (1901).

Der Lebensraum has been unduly criticized as sponsoring German imperialism. However, it was an expression of a belief in biogeography on which Ratzel was focusing during his last years, as evidenced by the complete title of the piece *Der Lebensraum. Eine biogeographische Studie* (Living Space: a Biogeographical Study). This is not at all an admission of determinism, but a pondering as to whether the development of biogeography with its emphasis on plant and animal distributions, and the constant movement of, and adjustment between different species, was not the critical link between physical and human geography. (Wanklyn 1961:41–42) Ratzel would die before he could develop this theme; however, the translation of his work to English will offer avenues for further study in geography and biogeography rather than the sinister implications of determinism.

Within scientific study dualism placed animals as either subjects or objects, but seldom with any sense of equality or even superiority. However, J. B. Jackson’s *Landscape* began to question Western beliefs and forward other systems (Dunbar 1970). Insights toward animals were seen through the eyes of Hindus, Buddhists and the Jains, who practice *ahimsa*—a prohibition against killing all creatures. Animals were recognized as sacred when compared with the Muslim, animist or Christian cultures where the wild animals of India were killed to extinction. Animals were considered as thinking, a radical view, when few scientists allowed emotions or sentience to animals.

The close human alliance with pets led people to believe that animals did have emotions and feelings, unlike what science was telling them. Science has not encouraged human emotion or free-range thinking, but instead rationality, a defining feature used as a separation of human from animal. Enlightenment science did not accord animals any emotion, preferring to equate what might be emotion to the “womanish sentiment” of anthropomorphism.

...[S]cientists are fearful of being accused of anthropomorphism, a form of scientific blasphemy. Not only are the emotions of animals not a respectable field of

study, the words associated with emotions are not supposed to be applied to them... very few scientists have acknowledged, researched, or even speculated about animal emotions. So persistent are the forces that militate against even admitting the possibility of emotions in the lives of animals that the topic seems disreputable, almost taboo. (Moussaieff Masson, McCarthy 1995)

While not directly studied by humanistic geographers, the subjective, or emotional, life gained validity focusing on specifics and particulars rather than the generalized theories of spatial organization. Though humanistic geography attempts human meaning and value, its parameters can now reach beyond. The emotional lives of animals interrelating with humans are now discussed subjects regardless of their *verboten* nature in Cartesian-times-gone-by (The work of Griffin 1984, 1992; Moussaieff Masson, McCarthy 1995; and Haraway 1989, 1991 represents this new trend in fields outside geography). This discourse constantly questions the core of Western logical order. As humans have had to give up status boundaries between themselves, the next logical extension of boundary is to life that is not human. At what point do humans become animal, or animal human? Is the line so easily drawn that we can be cruel to an animal but say it is unacceptable to a human? And what is cruelty to animals? Is it keeping and breeding animals, as pets, as livestock? Is it keeping them in cages, no matter how "natural" or "profitable" to their habitat?

Cruelty to Animals

The focus on humans' benefits meant that understanding animal life, environment, distribution and habitat remained ancillary to human concerns. Animal research and vivisection have always been a part of human curiosity. While research on live humans has been morally repugnant, animals have been freed from moral concerns by men like Rene Descartes who considered animals as automatons without soul or feeling. But others, including Jeremy Bentham, could only ask of animals "Can they suffer?" (Bentham 1789). Bentham was not only interested in animal suffering but was able to envision the effect of health reforms. His early ruminations were answered by the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act and the formation of several Victorian groups who favored more compassion than the Kantian view, that animals are merely as a means to an end. Animal humane societies also spawned public interest in the form of novels such as *Black Beauty* (1878) where the animal is subjected to both bad and good masters, playing on the public's emotions and sentiments.

But for those who 'felt' for the animals, either through rationalization (Regan 1983) or anthropomorphism, science maintained an analytic mentality toward the feelings of animals. In England, Claude Bernard, a pioneer in animal physiology, continued to accept the Cartesian au-

tomaton ideal for animals, dissecting them without anesthesia. The concerns about cruelty to animals would affect zoogeography and animal geography in the ways that we treat captive wild animals and domesticated animals. Their places in the landscape were altered as public sentiment and then scientific rationale shifted. The focus of zoogeography remained "...how best to manage the planet to ensure its future, and with it our own." (Cox, Moore 1993). Seldom have zoogeographers been able to focus solely on "a needed appreciation of animals as an element in the landscape." (Bennett 1960)

Captive Wild Animals – The Zoo

Rural society had regular contact with animals. But as urban society formed as a market economy, we became more alienated from animals except as pets. Humans and animals were at opposing dualistic poles. Wild animals became the exotic within urban realms, often housed in the menageries of rulers who needed to display their power.

The threat of bison extinction forced zoos to evolve from the exotic menagerie into places of existence and breeding in the nineteenth century. Since then, conditions have changed from cramped and barred cages, where one Sunday's outing choice might be the zoo to see the wild animals eat, or Bedlam, to watch the "wild" humans (Tuan 1984). The mid-twentieth century animal was still presented in tidy zoogeographic categories, separated from their environment, ecology, predators and prey. As humans in general became at least superficially seen as equal in the late twentieth century, attitudes also changed toward the captivity of animals. Zoos have become simulacra. Animals are now housed to look like they are in their "natural" environment, next to but separated from their predators, but still limited in their range and habits.

Horowitz (1981) introduced critical nineties issues about animals' reaction to their artificial zoo environment, their companions (or lack of), and the interactive behavior of humans and nonhumans. The talk was of the animal's value for itself. Horowitz wrote of imperialist power, racism and how they influenced the zoo, ideas which would later be repeated (Allen et al 1994, Anderson 1995).

Imperialism of the late nineteenth century shaped ideas regarding the protection of wild animals in zoos or in national parks. Sometimes, nonwestern "primitive" humans, were considered the same as animals. In Serengeti National Park in Tanzania the British, wanting to maintain their socially constructed Eden, categorized Africans "as part of the fauna." (Neumann 1995) The Bronx Zoo, an early twentieth century state of the art for zoos, "hired" a pygmy in 1907 to spend time in the chim-

panzee enclosure. Protests by Blacks ended the display, but not the hierarchical relationship with chosen humans at the apex. Soon human destruction and animal power replaced the format of zoo displays as perspectives changed. Zoos continue to change today, driven by social construction of nature, ecosystem management and social theory (Allen et al 1994; Anderson 1995).

Zoos have traditionally been about wild animals. Zoogeographic literature discusses wild animals over the familiar, pets and livestock, which have their emerging literatures, though of entirely different types. Pets are mostly the subject of other disciplines, while livestock, in its rare appearances in geographic literature, are either historic, regional or economic.

Domesticated Animal Geography...a dog, whose great-grandfather was a wolf...showed a trace of its wild parentage only in one way, by not coming in a straight line to his master when called. (Charles Darwin, Origin of Species, Chapter viii, 1859)

Livestock

Livestock are not studied for their relationship to the landscape, but are attachments of the human landscape, either as part of the developed world's meat machine, or as part of the other developed world's changing pastoralism. Animals are objects destined for human use. Nothing has been written about why livestock are where they are or their "natural" habitat. Instead livestock are placed on the landscape for specific economic reasons. The relocation of animals on the landscape has been long practiced and taken for granted. Today the methods of relocating animals have been applied to human relocation. Refugees are no longer relocated to their cultural preadaptation to areas, but for economic and political reasons. Today both animals and humans are located on landscapes without any heed to their specific subjective needs. Though we continue to support a hierarchy of some humans over animals, other humans are now treated in much the same way we treat animals—as commodities—quantified not qualified.

The emphasis in the scant literature of livestock geography has been economically motivated (Page, Walker 1991), or descriptive (Fielding 1962; LeHeron 1988; Hart 1991; Mattos Uhl 1994), or historic (Glacken 1967; Klassen 1990; Overton Campbell 1992; Jablonsky 1993; Jordan 1993; Pryor 1996). Livestock are only briefly mentioned in the extensive agro-industrial geography of Page and Walker (1991) and then as the raw material for meatpacking or hide-tanning. Other geographic foci have been animal husbandry in foreign or less developed nations or regions (Pollard 1980; Turner 1993), including a combination of third-world animal

husbandry along with first-world cost-benefit analysis (Godoy 1996). Several geographic elements are not considered in livestock literature. These include the physical location and human reasons for choosing an area along with the cultural meanings and specific spaces of livestock intensity, and the subjective reaction to location choice by the increasingly polarized extremes of intensive livestock production. The polarization reflects a media-driven sound bite mentality that does not have time for "truth," but only the extremities. Gross individual events are blown out of proportion on one side, while the other side blames consumers for their capital intensive profit taking.

For example, intensive hog production in the Texas/ Oklahoma Panhandle region has recently mushroomed due to economic, physical, human and cultural influences mixed with international trade and technology. The perception of the industry has become controversial with fearful extremists catching the media eye as corporations maximize profits while both animals and humans are exploited in the name of keeping the consumer satisfied.

Industrialized livestock production has both physical and animal geography elements. Neither has received the attention this industry warrants, as it represents human hope and despair in the carcass of a dead cow or pig. *Landscape* published an editorial in response to the publication of Ruth Harrison's *Animal Machines* (1964). Both the article and the book introduced the idea of intensive animal husbandry, an idea that has become rule rather than exception. The article considers both humanitarian and economic issues through a scientific analysis and a farmer's points of view.

After *Landscape* there was a dearth of geographic interest in industrialized production of meat until Michael Broadway's inquiry in the late 1980s into the changing landscape of rural mid-west America through the importing of foreign labor in the meat-packing industry (Broadway 1987, 1992, 1995; Broadway, Ward 1990; Broadway, Stull 1991; Griffith, Broadway, Stull 1995; Stull et al 1990).

Social theoretical animal geography considers livestock in an article on the rapidly changing hog production market (Ufkes 1995). The "value-based" economics of a leaner and more efficient pork machine, require confined and physiological refigured 'farrow to finish' hogs. To "build a better pig" producers add enzymes, amino acids, antibiotics, vaccines and medications. Foreign trade agreements now back the shipped, boned and vacuum-packed pigs to global markets. Producers, driven by competition are tied to agro-industrial complexes. They seek ways to cut costs by re-designing the interior geography of the pig. They use immi-

grant labor. The animal is cost-benefit analyzed as a profit or loss and nothing more. Its life, and its bodily configuration are fashioned to be the centerpiece for a human table. The animal geography of meat treats the map of meat as territory not life. In social theoretical animal geography this chilling information is delivered sans emotion or human feeling.

Cattle, hog or poultry production has received little care in geographic literature. Other published livestock literature of interest to geographers has focused on animal rights (Singer 1975), an industry wide appraisal (Rifkin 1992), and eco-feminism (Gruen 1993; Davis 1995; Luke 1995). All want to lessen suffering and improve the lot of animals, though some still have an eye to profit motives (Rollin 1995).

In agriculture literature livestock are discussed geographically and environmentally, but the geography is secondary to animal welfare, environmental and economic concerns (e.g. Fontein et al 1994; Skjerve 1994; Waran 1995; Williams 1995; Abbozzo et al 1996; Benjamin 1997).

Pets

A robin redbreast in a cage,
puts all heaven in a rage.
(William Blake, *Auguries of Innocence*, 1800)

Pet literature has been a mid-twentieth century phenomena. Serpell (1986), a zoologist, noted the disinterest in pets as he began his book (e.g. Lorenz 1954). However, as he wrote, pets became marketable (Singer 1975; Campbell 1984; Thomas 1983; Jasper, Nelkin 1992; Midgley 1983). Today many people treat pets as members of the family and anthropomorphize a pet's responses. Domesticated animal geography is set within civilized society and has little relation to "natural" distribution.

Geographic literature on the space and place of pets is slim. Tuan (1984) wrote about the "making of pets," and about the humans' need for dominance. He focused on sacred animals, exotic, divine creatures following a multi-cultural journey from "tamed," to food deprived, "until they became thin shadows of their former selves." (Tuan 1984:84) Tales of various cultures create animals that "kneel in docility and thus [are] a fit companion in a perfect world." (Tuan 1984:85) The Western world's lavish care on pets, at the cruel expense of neutering, are done to further "human pleasure and convenience." (Tuan 1984:88)

Another short but, as it turns out, pivotal piece of animal geography is Wolch and Rowe's (1992) "Companions in the Park" in *Landscape*. This article signals Wolch's shift of focus from the human other of urban

planning to the other, the animal (Dear, Wolch 1987; Wolch, Dear 1993). Wolch embarked upon what would become a central concern, animals in an urban environment. In this seminal article the authors appraised the loving bond of companion animals and humans within an urban setting, a dog park in Los Angeles. Wolch and Rowe, thus began an animal oriented urban planning.

While geographic literature is light on pets and livestock, other journals meet some of these needs (e.g. *Anthrozoös: A multi disciplinary journal of the interactions of people and animals*; or *Society & Animals: Social scientific studies of the human experience of other animals*). These journals have articles of interest to animal geographers, by providing new pet and livestock information and signal work done in fields to which geographers might not be party. A recent *Anthrozoös* featured articles on "Humans and farm animals" (Rowan 1996), and "Human ecology and the evolution of livestock" (Hall 1996) along with several articles on human-companion animal relationships – all of which reflect new directions in animal geography.

Social Animal Geography

A holographic simulacra, the 'new' animal geography–social–animal geography– is rooted in postmodern thought and social theory. Human geography now extended to another other, the animal. Social theory drives this geography, especially around ideas of social construction of nature (Haraway 1991; Evernden 1992; Plumwood 1993; Demeritt 1994). Age of Enlightenment nature was constructed with a particular sense of order, now challenged by other orders. The new social–animal geography, by seeking to erase the lines between animal and human, crosses into unknown territory. The order is challenged. Now, deciphering these issues has fallen to postmodernism. What is the order found crossing the line? What does it mean?

Postmodern geographers have "found" the bemoaned "lost core" of geography through the device of social theory critique. But it is a troubled core, spatially fragmented and boundaryless. In deconstructing the modernist myth it created a new myth, that of the postmodern, where both time and space become the axes of power, separate and distinct axes, rather than relative (Dear 1988; Soja 1990; Gregory 1989a, b). Postmodern work allows the voices of many theories to be heard, but at the same time seeks to "control the discourse," (Livingstone 1992:304) without changing the balance or type of power. Control is still *modus operandi*. There is no radical break with the previous order, but there is a transition.

Traditional animal geography dealt with animals separate from human influence. Animals in biogeographic discourse are not discussed for their own animal, but instead in relation to other problems of geographic inquiry, as Earth formation, migration patterns or economic importance of livestock. Today's social-animal geography seeks to find the rights of animals now freed from the anthropocentric grasp where "capitalist social relations... have converted animals into resources and led to the reconceptualization of the animal world as commodities to be controlled and consumed..."(Wolch, Emel 1995:632). This animal geography is trying to care for the animal. Trying. The emphasis has changed, but animals are still a secondary issue to the more pressing issue of current postmodern social theorists, the envisioning of a world re-created through the objective and detached eyes of theory.

Social-animal geography is a recent form of social theory. Ecofeminist preoccupations of oppression due to race, class, gender and species consumes this human/ animal geography. It also has roots in urban theory and resource management. Only a land bridge, island biogeography, provides the link between the past and the present animal geography. Species are provided access throughout the urban landscape by a system of "managed corridors." Restoring the lost interaction between animals and humans through a logical planning system of both human and nonhuman species is the ultimate hope. But the inclusion of animals in social theory is a one-sided proposition. Now all animals, including humans, are spatially commodified, "managed" into a specific order, and expected to rationally do what the theory says.

The new animal geographers are concerned with animals, but not from any "womanish sentiment" or "dangerous anthropomorphism" which would rely on emotion and feelings (Wolch, Emel 1995). Jennifer Wolch extends her ideas from the previously mentioned *Landscape* article to involve all animals within an urban setting. Her aim is to "foreground an urban theory that takes nonhumans seriously." (Wolch 1995) Though championing social theory (Wolch 1995; Wolch, Emel 1995; Wolch Emel 1997), she also favors a nonhuman animal theory that questions 'traditional' postmodern concerns. The approach favors a pluralistic anti-anthropocentric, anti-patriarchal, "remapping the moral landscape" by deconstructing the human/ animal divide (Wolch, Emel 1995). Wolch shares the previously mentioned socially constructed vision of nature, only this time, nature includes animals who have been left out of most nature discourses (also noted by feminist Noske [1994]). This multi-disciplinary approach, now including geography, brings animals back into the space of the city. Others have joined in this movement as Philo who feels that animals need a "...(re)inclusion of them in contemporary human-geographical theorizing and research" (Philo 1995:678).

Human geographic thought now will include animals as another commodity, just like humans, rather than only use them as instruments.

Anderson (1995) applied an abstract framework of terms and meanings to the socially constructed landscapes of zoos. The argument is that zoos are a boundary making device that defines and orders our cultural relation to nature through the medium of animals. Her work is aligned with others who also are 'reinterpreting nature' (Fitzsimmons 1989, Simmons 1993). She and Wolch share similar ideas, including acceptance of dualism, both human/animal and human/nature, and the commodification of animals. However, the deconstruction of zoos and the 'inclusion' of animals are never re-constructed. The human/ animal divide is revealed but now what? Animals are revealed as commodity and remain so, as no alternate vision is suggested.

Anderson, Philo and Wolch address 'inclusion' of animals within social theory, as if the animals could express these feelings themselves. The problem is that humans do not know the "inner experience" (Philo 1995) of nonhuman animals. Can humans cross this boundary? Where does one draw the line between the two, and upon what criteria? (Wolch 1995).

Social-animal geography places its money on the continuation of pure rationality to further causes, i.e. social injustice. Emotion plays no part in social-animal geography. Instead, a cursory recognition applauds the efforts of those who have brought emotion into the realm of science (Wolch, Emel 1995). Their rational analysis brings them to yet another commodification of animals. They respect animals, but cannot afford to see past human *hubris*, to what the problem is and go to the core. The social-animal geographer chooses to "control the discourse," rather than deal with pragmatic population issues, quality of life, and the effect on environment. By maintaining control, social-animal geographers commodify not only animals but humans as well. Nothing is outside the theory.

What animal geography has never done is to look at the animal doing the writing and ask the hard questions. Is there a connection between human population quadrupling in the past century and the sudden concern with other species endangerment and extinction? Why do we think and theorize about managing the populations of every animal except the rational animal?

Animal geography has been about giving numbers, about classifying animals in their places, reflecting the growing nineteenth-century concern for the assembly-line order of the industrial revolution. Social-

animal geography reflects millennial concerns, by relying on an increasingly distant and citation oriented detachment with the objects of desire. It tries out theories but does not believe in anything beyond what science has "proved." It remains unabashedly Newtonian/ Cartesian devoid of the faith in soul. Theory has no foundation when *anima* is not present. The social-animal geographer's reliance on theory is a valid exercise in extending the rights of those who have been traditionally denied justice in the existing system, but there is no evidence of faith, compassion, no evidence of spirit, the *anima* of life. When you have faith, when you believe, when you feel—you care.

Caring is expensive. Care is not available at Costco in neatly wrapped, but Teflon-coated consumer packages. Care cannot be discounted. Care goes beyond the linear, efficient answers of theory. Ask any mother. Rationality is a fine order, but it has not had room for caring. Rationality is not the only order, but it is the simplest order. Caring involves much more. Caring involves thinking about all the implications of movement, if that is even possible. Caring is difficult and complex and never easy. One cannot care or love one being, and not find room to love all else connected to that entity. They are not separate, as much as we might like to make them so. Occam's Razor is dull. Simple answers are not necessarily right. It is time to fall off the edge by asking complex questions, or give complex answers. Few geographers have been ready to address what many in other disciplines have (e.g. Heisenberg 1971; Schumacher 1975; Roszak 1978, 1994; Simonton et al 1978; Prigogine, Stengers 1984; Margulis, Sagan 1986). Efficient, technologic freedom is where we have been. Our society reflects its spirit. And all animals suffer its lack of spirit.

Every tool carries with it the spirit by which it has been created.

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Madness as Method in Ireland: Learning From Sauer and Le Guin

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Method is whatever you need to use for the end you are trying to reach.

– Carl O. Sauer (1961 [cited in Newcomb, 1976])

Apollo, the god of light, of reason, of proportion, harmony, number – Apollo blinds those who press too close in worship. Don't look straight at the sun. Go into a dark bar and have a beer with Dionysios, every now and then. I talk about the gods, I am an atheist. But I am an artist too, and therefore a liar. Distrust everything I say. I am telling the truth. The only truth I can understand or express is, logically defined, a lie. Psychologically defined, a symbol. Aesthetically defined, a metaphor.

–Ursula K. Le Guin (1976).

Introduction

This paper discusses the inherent potential of field work, at least in the “Berkeley School” tradition of cultural geography, to be something more than a truth-seeking method. For example, it can also be an opportunity to experience living “by one’s wits” and taking risks in strange and perhaps hostile environments. I will explore the extent to which traditional attitudes about field work in cultural geography might be updated to accommodate uncertainties in expected outcomes that characterize contemporary times. I intend to accentuate the adventurous rather than the arduous nature of cultural geographic field work in post-industrial times and places. To achieve wider acceptance of this potential today, I encourage human geographers—and particularly female cultural geographers—to continue expanding the meanings, possibilities and purposes of what presently counts as legitimate scholarly inquiry in the field. To facilitate expansion it may help to revisit the circumstances and conversations extant at the time field work emerged as the prominent method of scholarly inquiry with the arrival of Carl Sauer (1889–1975) at the Berkeley campus in 1923. It is there, in the past, that we can identify both a precedent and an inspirational link towards promoting a more radical role for field work in cultural geography in the present.

I offer here more as reminder than as revelation that Carl Sauer, founder of the Berkeley School tradition, initially envisioned his cultural geography as a “course of inquiry that does not need to restrict itself to the straits of rationalism” (Sauer 1925:53). I interpret this statement to be a

neglected core theme in the Berkeley School tradition that establishes a precedent for cultural geographers to always think about expanding the limits of their scholarly inquiry. For an inspirational link between Berkeley School cultural geography as it once was and what it might become, I will elaborate on the apparently overlooked, ironic, and thus far unexploited connection between Sauer and the contemporary feminist writer Ursula K. Le Guin (b. 1929).

Sauer's alleged anti-modernism and relativist proclivities for interpreting pre-Columbian culture worlds and mind-sets (Speth 1987:29) are compatible with the spirit of Le Guin's alternative culture worlds and mind-sets. What makes the Sauer/Le Guin connection ironic is that Sauer, who once "forgave" one of his brightest students for being a woman, might somehow be linked by a woman geographer (myself) to Le Guin in order to inspire more young women in geography to open up exciting new frontiers of field work in their cultural geographies while yet remaining within a Berkeley School cultural geographic tradition. Women geographers empowering themselves through relativist thinking and provocative forms of field work could simultaneously feminize and strengthen the Berkeley School tradition both as a movement and as an institution.

I suggest that the Sauerian Berkeley School tradition of cultural geography anticipates an indigenous American relativist attitude in the present to which Le Guin has given expression, and that the tradition might be appropriately revitalized by free-thinking female cultural geographers attending great public universities like Berkeley to hold its own against the exotic wave of social geography (a.k.a. "new" cultural geography) that actively disparages the Berkeley School tradition in its own backyard. I want to share here my ideas about revitalizing a field work tradition rather than present the results of my field work. My ideas about the feasibility of revitalizing Berkeley School cultural geography generally align with those of Price and Lewis (1993). However, Le Guin, Joyce Carol Oates, Nora Ephron and other innovative and provocative female writers were the major influences on my specific ideas for how to revitalize that tradition. In particular, statements made by Sauer and Le Guin that appear as epigraphs to this essay directly shaped my field experience in Ireland.

Hybrid Vigor in the Berkeley Milieu

Ursula K. Le Guin's ethnographic fictions and Sauer's cultural geography arise from the exceptional intellectual milieu and hybrid vigor created at Berkeley by a random convergence of geographers and anthropologists – men and women, professors and students – at the University of Berke-

ley during the inter-war period. Carl Sauer arrived at Berkeley in 1923 to modernize its Department of Geography (MacPherson 1987:69). One of Carl Sauer's closest associates at Berkeley at that time was the famous cultural anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1876–1960). Sauer and Kroeber's association has been described by Macpherson (1987:75) as long and productive. I will stress here that Sauer shared Kroeber's appreciation for "the primary importance of intensive firsthand ethnographic field work" (Steward 1961:1049). There is a potential relation between ethnographic field work and relativist attitudes that can be successfully exploited to increasingly empower women pursuing academic careers who choose to explore and expand the tradition of Berkeley School cultural geography.

Initially, the Sauerian tradition of cultural geography—in which field work became valorized above all other methods of scholarly inquiry—had its origins institutionalized at Berkeley as a sort of patriarchal "cult of potestas" where its field work, viewed in retrospect, might fairly be critiqued as a masculine rite of passage (see Green 1993:7; Rose 1996:342–43). But rather than dwell (as others have done) on instances of early Berkeley School sexism, I prefer to draw readers' attention in this paper to a strong record for the Berkeley School tradition in moving beyond its masculinized origins and missions, and far toward correcting long-entrenched gender inequities in academic and professional geography. I attribute some of the reason for this success and potential for continued improvement to Sauer's penchant for field work and proclivities toward relativism and historicism. It seems likely that such unorthodox leanings helped precondition Sauer to discover world agricultural origins in societies "largely developed and organized by their women" (Sauer, 1952:28; see also Price and Lewis 1993:10).

Two remarkable women enriched the intimate intellectual life of Sauer's colleague, Alfred Kroeber. One was the anthropologist Theodora Kroeber (1897–1979), a successful writer of popular ethnographic non-fiction; notably *Ishi In Two Worlds* (1961). While Alfred, a prolific academic writer, never sought to popularize his knowledge, Theodora successfully wrote creative nonfiction long before it gained its current popularity as an academic writing style (Schneider 1997). Her anthropological writings are personal and intense and characterized by a lyrical style. These are qualities that made her works attractive to general readers (Buzaljko 1988:189–90).

Theodora and Alfred's daughter is Ursula Le Guin. She was raised in the stimulating Berkeley campus milieu that, for her, centered on writing and ethnogeographic studies. Her extremely prolific and successful writing career commenced about the same time as Theodora's. Le Guin's

popular books, many of which are ethnographic fantasies, have won numerous prestigious awards. She is herself regarded as a cult figure among some feminists, environmentalists, and science-fiction/ fantasy readers. In view of her success, visibility and background, it is strange that feminist geographers who "prefer their science fiction to be more utopic" (Haraway 1996:112) have overlooked the relevancy of Le Guin in their discursive tracts, and her connection to the Berkeley School milieu.

Le Guin's fictional ethnographies of the future function today more obviously as anti-modernist cultural critiques than do the earlier writings of her mother, her father, and Carl Sauer. Although Le Guin does not write in an academic style, or for academics, a substantial amount of academic discourse involving political science fiction, political imaginaries, and other poststructural and postmodern topics and themes have drawn on Le Guin's works and inspiration during the past several decades. Cultural geographers in the Berkeley School tradition may likewise find her critical approach and writing style especially inspiring. As cultural critique, Le Guin explores a diversity of fictive, alternative and futuristic worlds and peoples in order to tell a plenitude of stories that illuminate conditions and trends in the present. In the same way, Theorora Kroeber and Carl Sauer told stories about past cultures intended to illuminate environmental and social conditions and trends in the past, but which might also be interpreted as cultural critiques of the present.

Since the objectives of the revitalized Berkeley School cultural geography I envision are very different from the objectives of both empirical and new cultural geographers, its methods may differ accordingly. For example, field study in the Berkeley School tradition of cultural geography can be elaborated into an inherently radical method simply by transcending its limited role as a preliminary and exploratory component of empirical scientific inquiry (Shaffir 1980:10). Its field work method, for example, may be incompatible with both positivist thinking and the progressive thinking of new cultural geography. I have cited statements by Sauer and Le Guin that both affirm and inspire some revolutionary potential for innovative field work that expands the Berkeley School tradition. In particular, Sauer's relativism and historicism makes it unlikely that he restricted field work to narrow constraints as a strictly empirical truth-seeking method. Rather Sauer is remembered by his students to have recommended field experience as a means of cultivation of insight (Newcomb 1976:27). It is this aspect of Sauer's legacy that can inspire more relativist thinking for a revitalized Berkeley School cultural geography.

Le Guin offers more specific guidelines by suggesting how and why field study might go outside the straits of rationalism to cultivate insight. While some new cultural geographers may not even advocate intensive first-hand ethnographic field work to meet their objectives (see Pratt 1994; Domosh 1996; Earle, Mathewson and Kenzer 1996:xxi), their circumventing, rejecting or repudiating Berkeley-style cultural geography (and its associated field study method) ignores its potential to adapt successfully along the frontier of contemporary relativist trends in academia. Intrigued by this potential, I recommend exploring Le Guin's innovative approach in culture studies as an alternative future for cultural geography. Following Le Guin, I encourage cultural geographers and especially women to explore beyond Apollo and discover the haunt of Dionysios, and then to engage him there on his own turf in provocative conversations that might be shared with others in more evocative formats and styles of cultural geographic writing; for example, in romantic, poetical prose.

Tuning In To The Voice of Dionysios

The opportunity to radicalize its field study tradition may have always been inherent in Berkeley School cultural geography. Yet, it has never seemed as apparent and inviting as now—perhaps owing to the fairly recent and rapid dissemination of challenging relativist attitudes from ethnographic studies into cultural geography and other social science disciplines and sub-disciplines (Proctor 1998:359; see also Shea 1998:A17). Whereas Sauer might have backed away from pressing the implications of his own relativism, never elaborating his antimodernism into a critique of science, contemporary cultural geographers are much more free to do so. Le Guin's relativist moral imagination offers field study in cultural geography much more flexible potential today than Carl Sauer could have envisioned within the conservative constraints of academia during his time. Le Guin's ethnographic fantasies may offer contemporary cultural geographers examples of innovative ways to expand their explorations into narrative worlds that have been neglected within the Berkeley School tradition, but are as yet unexplored by new cultural geographers.

Berkeley School cultural geographers, though long aware of the power of storytelling and narrative in the formation of cultural landscape, heretofore mainly adopted the metaphor of the visual—seeing and sight (sometimes insight)—as their sub-discipline's characteristic mode of understanding and communication (King 1990). This metaphor visualizes cultural landscape as either out there (an objective truth) or in the mind (a subjective truth). In contrast, the metaphor of the oral—voice—has only recently (re)emerged in the research of new cultural geographers as a

promising alternative mode of understanding and communicating gender relations by exploring and discussing cultural landscapes (Nash 1993; Monk 1987.) This discursive approach in new cultural geography is of particular interest to feminist geographers exploring gendered Western cultural landscapes and writing about them. However, new cultural geographers are still inclined to turn to Apollo (reason) rather than to Dionysios (passion) for their answers and insights. Their preference is to engage in progressive thinking and valorize the purposefulness of effecting positive social change. In contrast, the kind of field work Le Guin recommends is more apt to undermine the agenda set by progressive thinkers for effecting social change by allowing the conversations they would otherwise control to remain open-ended and to extend indefinitely. Conversations with Dionysios, as Le Guin emphasizes, also repudiate truth claims that are the foundation of judgment in favor of relative truths that are anathema to judges. New cultural geographers need to judge in order to effect social change, and are therefore intolerant of the relativist question that asks: "Is one way of action better than any other?"

And how might a conversation with Dionysios—for example, my own field work experiences—be shared with others? What is an appropriate style? In the March 1996 edition of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Jonathan Smith (1996:3–4) introduced three definitions of excellence among geographical writers: scientists, stylists and critics. He notes that two of these, the scientific and the stylist (or literary), have dominated until recently. The third definition, which applies to the discursive approach, has most recently emerged "among geographers enamored by a critical concept of language", and who therefore value a writing style, that according to Duncan and Ley (1993:7) is "purposefully ambiguous, incomplete and open ended". Smith goes on to categorize the critical stories that geographers tell—and here is implied any medium of discourse, into four modes: romance, tragedy, comedy and irony. While no story is exclusively one of these, he describes the author of the ironic story as a detached, bemused observer, who comments "on a world that is barbaric (properly satire) or unintelligible (pure irony)." The commentary is often witty, according to Smith and "lacks the idea of social change" (1996:8–9).

What could better complement my ironic field stratagem than the ironic writing style? It seems especially appropriate to my stratagems of "witcraft" in the field, described below. The ironic, critical style enables me to elaborate through narrative or storytelling on the political potential of cultural geographic field study to empower women without my being obliged to recommend that they effect social change. My field work can even be discussed as a dangerous game from the ironic point-

of-view. This is because "Irony is the disillusioned trope. It represents the world as a black comedy populated by scoundrels and fools" (Smith 1996:9). In sum, ironic storytelling, like ironic field study, has appeal in its detached perspective on the world. The critical ironic approach encourages cultural geographic field workers to engage and to storytell – but not to judge—the world.

Smith notes that the scientific style has dominated geographic writing until recently because of its claim to represent truth. Critics of the scientific style of reporting challenge its dominance by undermining its truth claims; for example: obvious omissions, internal contradictions, and prevarications. I take here as my own examples, some truth claims that scientific geographers tell about Ireland and its cultural landscape. Mainly, I remind readers that the geographies of Ireland have written out women and continue to do so.

Consensus Ireland: Patriarchal Storytelling

All cultural traditions marginalize some ways of life. Consensus Ireland is a story that geographers have repeatedly told that marginalizes women. The outcome of their marginalization is of course everywhere apparent across the built environment and landscape where imprints of Irish men overshadow, obfuscate or exclude the imprints of Irish women. "What we know about Ireland" as an informed public may be a privileged story about Ireland intentionally shaped by and told in a patriarchal voice that seeks to maintain control over both public knowledge about Ireland and public behavior with regards to it. If so, culture reveals itself in its political role as a proselytizing activity: Culture is political and cultural landscape maintains the political control of an entrenched patriarchal order. If we know what we know about the limited role of women in shaping the Irish cultural landscape, it is because the geographies of Ireland tell us so. However, these geographies do not address why Irishwomen's roles in shaping cultural landscape have been limited. Nor do they describe how that landscape might limit the empowerment of women. The rest of my essay will address both of these topics. To the extent that my personal story of the Irish cultural landscape based on field work differs from the patriarchal consensus story, it is not their truth. Rather than making any truth claims of my own, I shall follow Le Guin's advice here and recommend to my own readers: "distrust everything I say. I am telling the truth."

In the main, stories widely disseminated about Ireland these days are variations on a dominant patriarchal epic about the Irish people being oppressed by English people. This holds true for the most popular human and cultural geographies of Ireland, of which I will mention only a

few here. Geographies by Orme (1970) and Johnson (1994), for example, tend to omit mention of stories told by Irish women, now and in the past, about their being oppressed by men. Their geographies of Ireland do not address the conditions faced by women in Ireland whose choice it has been either to spend their everyday lives negotiating a constraining patriarchal landscape as ladies—or to emigrate. Likewise, Evans' (1973) story of the role and progress of the common man in shaping the Irish landscape overlooks gender inequities there. While Evans recognizes that a text may be "blurred by the prejudices of men who write it" (p. 4), he ignores addressing the gendered landscape within his own text. In addition, he reduces female figures in Irish myth to deities or "wishful symbols of the fertility of the land and the people." (p. 66) Their significance is safely marginalized to a pre-modern time when the Irish worshipped things other than progress. Bitel (1996:234) refers precisely to this problem when she writes:

"The women of [pagan Ireland] may be long gone, but the men who hated and loved them also captured them for us in sagas, saint's lives, laws, and poems. And captured is precisely the right word to describe the process by which women of such a distant past have come to us."

These geographies of Ireland not only write out women and speak in ways that confine their power to the past, but they also tend to perpetuate that myth of Irish homogeneity that still undermines women's aspirations to empower themselves as a special interest group, and discourages them from attempting to achieve some political accommodation for the inequities they have endured.

Dissensus Ireland: Other Voices; Other Stories

What evidence is there that there is any dissensus or suppressed alternative stories of Ireland that the geographies of Ireland might include? Is there evidence of women's dissenting narratives? Helleiner (1996), for one, provides some evidence in her analysis of the "Prohibition of Incitement to Racial, Religious or National Hatred Bill," introduced in the Irish Senate by the Minister of Justice in 1988. She confirms that there is a prevailing myth of Irish homogeneity that tends to obscure the existence of cultural diversity and inequity in Ireland.

The Irish Senate debate centered on whether or not there was a need for broader anti-discrimination legislation than the bill required, and "as a result, the discussion went beyond the specific phenomenon of incitement of hatred to include reference to broader patterns of discrimination in Ireland" (Helleiner 1996:5). Groups identified and discussed as possible targets of incitement to hatred included Traveling People, the gay community, the foreign-born, and women and children.

However, the effort to extend the definition of hatred to include protection for women and children was ultimately unsuccessful. In general, the Irish majority is poorly educated about its minorities. Representing the Traveling People, for example, the education mission and promotion of Travelers' culture is largely in the hands of the Dublin Travelers Education and Development Group (DTEDG) through its activities and publications (see, for example, Pavee Point Publications, 1992).

It is disheartening that, though only a few years had passed, the echoes of the 1988–1989 "Incitement to Hatred" debates had faded even by the time I first arrived in Ireland in 1993, and were much more distant by 1995 and again in 1997 when I revisited. It seems so strange that the powerful women of pre-modern Ireland have left so little trace on the landscape, and that contemporary Irishwomen have little landscape-shaping impact relative to Irishmen. Although the female voices of dissensus Ireland remain written out of the consensus story of Ireland and its textual cultural landscape, their voices have not been entirely silenced. Hearne (1992:1) reports on a venerable indigenous tradition of Irish feminist thought preserved in the pages of *The Irish Citizen*, an Irish suffrage newspaper which ran from 1912 to 1920. Some of the authors of these articles "saw themselves primarily as women oppressed by men rather than Irish people oppressed by English people." Hearne concludes that although *The Irish Citizen* "expressed the main currents of Irish feminist thought" and "left an impressive legacy of gender-based analysis," its analysis became submerged by sectarian politics. Similarly, Watson (1991:1) argues using examples of modern historical fictions by female writers that they represent a challenge to that dominant, consensus, male literary tradition that "writes women out." Like Hearne, Watson argues that the dominant male tradition inscribes "a view of modern Irish history that is the story of the struggle to overcome British domination."

Nash (1993) uses a feminist/interpretive—in contrast to the masculinist/empirical—approach in an attempt to deconstruct the landscape of Ireland as it has been depicted in works of art, and in the representative use of maps and Irish place names. Nash observes how masculinist and colonial discourses on Ireland strive to offer factual and 'objective' representations of the Irish landscape in art, mapping and place naming. Meanwhile she explores how artistic, map and place name representations can produce and perpetuate connections between gender, language, landscape and identity. In looking at the work of various artists, Nash finds femininity to be identified with nature and what she terms "landscapes of desire." Such landscapes emphasize a masculinist relationship to place in which there is a "connection between colonial control of other lands and the control of female sexuality and the use of

gender in the discourse of discovery and territorial expansion (p. 41)". Nash reads the map as "a manifestation of a desire for control" (p. 49) which essentialize masculinist and colonial discourses. The woman is depicted as homebound, rural and close to nature, and as the spiritual and unconscious Celtic producer of the masculine pragmatic Gael. According to Nash, these representations of women fix their bodies "as landscapes of control and signifying use" (p. 50).

Nash deconstructs representations of the gendered Irish landscape in order to expose and subvert patriarchal authority and control. She suggests that mapping of the land could become "a shifting ground, a spatial metaphor which frees conceptions of identity and landscape from a repressive fixity and solidity" in which "the landscape can be traversed, journeyed across, entered into, intimately known, gazed upon" (pp. 52, 54). These attempts at remapping and renaming are not intended to replace the previous, but rather to offer multiple representations. Nash's approach seems very postmodern. However, her emphasis on gazing privileges the metaphor of sight over voice, which is problematic.

Other feminist academics have focused on early Irish history to argue that pre-Christian Irish religion was female-positive. Studies on the significance of more recent historical events in the development of current gender inequities in Ireland have been undertaken by Nolan (1986), Rhodes (1986), Percy (1994) and Brozyna (1995). Nolan focuses on late nineteenth-century female emigration from Ireland and concludes that when women were superfluous in Irish society, they either knuckled under or fled. Rhodes searches for a context within which to understand the role of Irish women in their society, and suggests examining more closely the nineteenth-century Irish farm family; particularly the increasing authority of fathers and the importance of male heirs that emerges with land ownership.

Brozyna (1995:1) looks at the social construction of an ideal Christian woman in late nineteenth-century urban Ireland. The geographical implications of her study are clear in her conclusions: "While gradually accepting the extension of 'woman's sphere' to include church and charitable activities, the locus of this construction of female piety was the home. Female piety was seen as essentially domestic." Similarly, Percy investigated ways in which feminism is socially constructed in Northern Ireland, and concluded that home and family constructs are highly important to the majority of women there, whose perceptions of feminists (as selfish, militant and not-family-oriented) were often negative.

Not one of these studies challenges the dominance of patriarchal controls across the contemporary Irish landscape, but rather they address

how dominance came about. Other studies indicate that women in Ireland suffer from gender inequities there and complain, but generally construct their identities in ways that accommodate the patriarchy rather than undermine its authority. Caldwell's work on women's mobilization in Northeast Ireland (1994:3–6) cites from some of these studies and identifies this argument as the feminist power and coercion model before rejecting it, primarily because "the rhetoric of the power and coercion theme does not include class as an issue." However, I feel that privileging class as an issue, much like privileging Irish Nationalist politics as an issue, serves more to obfuscate than to clarify the gender inequity issue in Ireland.

Finally, Greenwald (1993) notes how empowered women of Celtic myth were subsequently viewed as arrogant, scornful and contentious by the patriarchal church. Brozyna reports that even today pious Irish women (under the influence of the patriarchal church) are inclined to view women intent on empowering themselves, and especially feminists, as selfish, militant and not family-oriented. This literature made me aware in advance of my field work in Ireland that my stratagems for disrupting its patriarchal landscape in order to empower myself might be perceived of as madness.

Madness as Method

Building on the preceding discussion, I will address here the question: "Can there be empowering cultural geographic field work for women within the Berkeley School tradition yet outside the dominant paradigm of scientific geography?" The introductory epigraph by Carl Sauer about methodology suggests that the answer is yes. To rational thinkers in Sauer's academic surroundings—and perhaps even to Sauer himself—this suggestion might seem a bit mad. However, the flexibility of Le Guin's moral imagination in the present offers women cultural geographers ways of experiencing in the field that can cultivate insight and, as academic pursuits, involve more than the normal objective application of a truth-seeking methodology. Moreover, women doing cultural geography outside of a truth-seeking methodology is not the same thing as women doing cultural geography in the field without a method. The distinction is simply the difference between insisting that field work is a truth-seeking science and accepting other possibilities; for example, that a field experience can be a geographical art, or, as I introduce in the following section, a craft—for example, "witcraft."

Witcraft in Ireland

My attitude, approach and writing style in this paper are closely related

to exploratory stratagems for enhancing my field experience in Ireland. I call these stratagems "witcraft" (para "witchcraft"). My concept of women geographers in the field empowering themselves with witcraft, as advanced in this paper, originates in my studying about the mystical self-empowering ways of a couple of better known mythical characters named "Trickster" and "Coyote," who roam the contemporary literary landscapes of academia; for example, in Native American studies, African-American studies, and most important for this paper—women's studies, where they are frequently creations of women of color. I will briefly describe the key attributes of Trickster and Coyote in women's studies, and elaborate on witcraft as a way I was able to enhance and articulate my field experiences while in Ireland.

Trickster and Coyote are ubiquitous characters in world myth. They are counter-culture characters. Wherever they are found, in whatever cultural context, they are perceived as being inherently mad or evil, for they are continually out of place, and either misunderstand or ignore their proper places within whatever cosmological and social systems they happen to inhabit. They are disruptive, disorderly, and dangerous on this account. They tend to upset monological views of reality, and are considered to be amoral, instinctual, amorphous, desocialized and sub-human. According to Jeanne M. Smith (1996), they frequent borders and crossroads and in-between spaces where their typical misbehavior includes deceit, duplicity, impersonation, disguise, theft, and subversion. Their kindred include Legba (in voodoo) and Hecate (in Greek myth). They are very disruptive to the rigidity of the sex-gender system. Female tricksters, according to Landy (1994) call attention to boundaries by transgressing the dominant definition of a woman's place. Moreover, they like to disrupt patriarchal voices as they go about empowering themselves with subversive strategies: transforming, surviving and succeeding.

Yet, however irresponsible these Dionysian shapeshifters and Red, Black, Brown, White and Yellow "picaras" (women with temerity) are portrayed in the world myths, their misbehaviors are ultimately interpreted as creative catalysts for some sort of healing or rebirth. In the end, Trickster and Coyote are humanizing forces capable of creating identity out of illusion and liberating humankind from their self-imposed limitations.

Evidence of an Irish version of the female Trickster is found in the Sheelanagig, or goddess displaying her parts, which still survives as ubiquitous erotic imagery carved in stone and scattered amidst the ruins of the pre-modern Irish landscape (DeMarre 1993). Sheelanagig images are thought to portray the ambiguous goddess Morrigan (the an-

cient Celtic Goddess of Destruction/Creation) who evolved into Morgana Le Fay, sorceress of Arthurian legend.

Captured in stone, Sheelanagigs were common ornaments of Irish churches built before the sixteenth century. They occupied high corner



Figure 1. Sheelanagig.

Image courtesy of JBL/Sacred Source

stones, window casements or parts of the archway above the church door. The Sheela's function was to protect and to ward off evil (Gadon 1989). Sheela carvings are notorious for their exaggerations of the female pudendum, and have in more recent centuries been an increasing source of anxiety in the patriarchal landscape. Most of the Sheelanagig carvings have been destroyed, defaced, buried in the yards of the churches they once sanctified, or hidden away in such places as the Dublin Museum (DeMarre 1993).

I tailored a successful field study attitude and approach for myself to use in Ireland that advantaged this recent history of patriarchal Sheela-phobia. Part of this involved my adopting behavioral traits of those mythological females called Trickster, Coyote and Morrigan into a bundle of survival stratagems for myself—my “witcraft.” I also assumed an ambiguous Sheela-like identity to enable my “lurking” about in Ireland and to avoid being objectified and controlled by others. “Lurking” is an established field method in the social sciences (Strickland and Schlesinger 1969) that, when modified to fit my own needs and purposes, resonates to both Sauer’s methodological relativism and what I interpret to be Le Guin’s recommendations to females doing field study. My modified form of lurking does not, for example, assume that “being seen” by Irishmen is a passive activity. It is more of an obtrusive than an unobtrusive field method.

Conclusion

In retrospect, I think my stratagems were successful, as I often drew upon my feminine witcraft in order to empower myself in the field. Mainly, I became the proverbial unexpected “stranger comes to town”—but with this twist: In patriarchal narratives of this romantic genre “the stranger” is usually a man entering the world of a passive female; my

approach to field study was to be instead a strange woman entering a man's familiar world. I wanted to converse with Dionysios on his own turf as Le Guin recommended, and Dionysios is a man. Also, I refused to become objectified as a tourist, or as a researcher. I aimed to assume a more ambiguous and disturbing—though perhaps interesting—identity. I made it difficult for men to objectify and control me. I expected Irishmen to instead sense something familiar yet discomfiting about my strangeness—emotions perhaps evoked by their recognition of the Sheela in me that identified with the powerful women of pagan Ireland. Long persecuted for her witchcraft and banished from the Irish cultural landscape, Sheela returns to Ireland as a strange nomad in search of reestablishing her place of power in the Irish cultural landscape. She returns to Ireland not seeking vengeance against men, or even to become some sort of catalyst for the rebirth and rebuilding of an Irish cultural landscape with more gender equity, but simply to empower herself through field work.

Though my revitalized Berkeley School field study method may have seemed like madness from an Irish patriarchal perspective, it has nevertheless successfully served my needs to achieve my purposes as a female cultural geographer. Although my field experiences in Ireland using my stratagems of witcraft were not always pleasant, even my worst experiences sometimes inspired creative thoughts about how I might plan to reconstruct the cultural landscape even piecemeal to empower women. For example, Figure 1. is a page torn from my field notebook that demonstrates my idea for making some rhetorical and humorous use of the Sheela myth toward reconstructing a small part of the Irish patriarchal landscape in a way that might help empower women in Ireland in an innovative and unprecedented way. I imagine that my re-design of an Irish pub would be a radical architectural achievement to the extent that it makes use of subversive Sheela wordplay and metaphor. My inspiration for re-designing this particular pub (my sketch of "Sheela's Pub") derives from a spontaneous poetic narrative I wrote there one night:

Now back home in the United States, I still relish the idea of thirsty Irishmen contemplating entering Sheela's Pub (Public House) for a Guinness! Perhaps I will return to Ireland and build this pub myself; I like to think it is possible and I find this outrageous idea continuously provocative and empowering. At the least, disseminating my pub plan in this essay may inspire another woman with more resources to build what I cannot. Without my temerarious attitude and stratagems of witcraft in the field I might not have cultivated any original insight into the contemporary patriarchal landscape and its inhabitants. My field study was enriching, though not all of my experiences were pleasant—nor did I

expect them to be under the circumstances of a single female traveling alone. I am reminded in this regard of some inspiring advice given by the film director Nora Ephron during her keynote address at Wellesley College's 1996 Commencement:

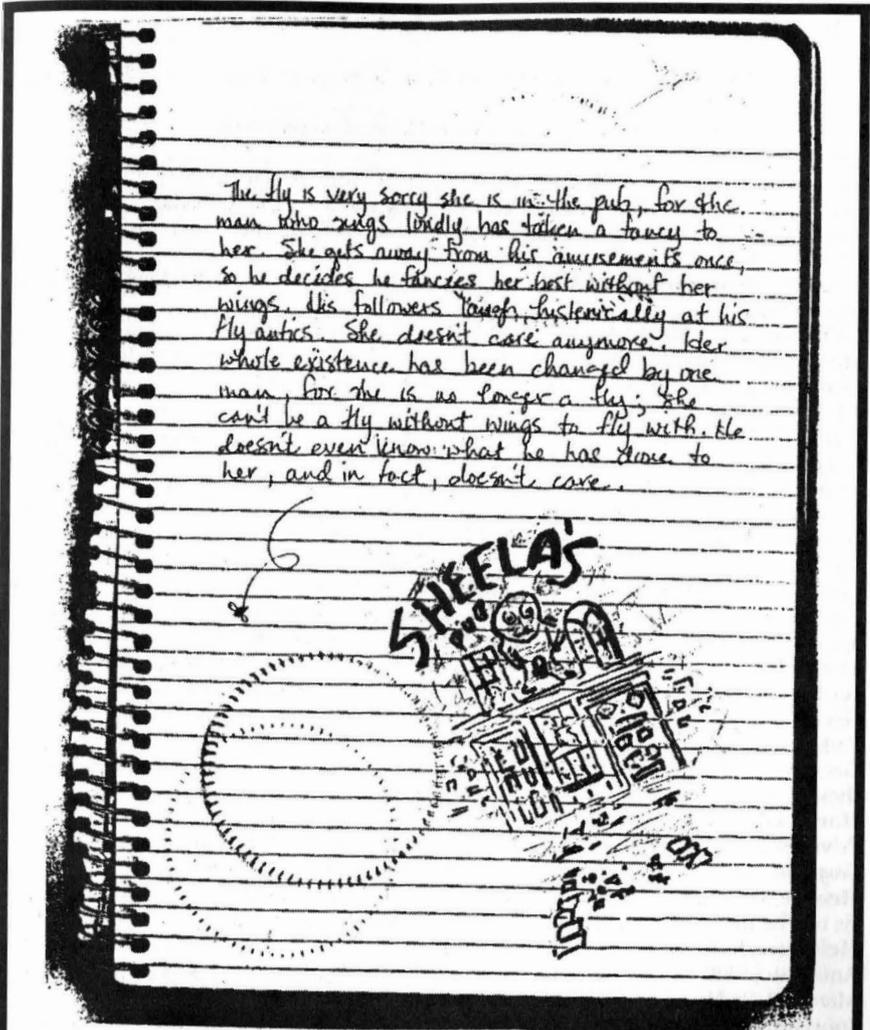


Figure 2. Sheela's Pub

"The fly is very sorry she is in the pub, for the man who sings loudly has taken a fancy to her. She gets away from his amusements once, so he decides he fancies her best without her wings. His followers laugh hysterically at his fly antics. She doesn't care anymore. Her whole existence has been changed by one man, for she is no longer a fly; she can't be a fly without wings to fly with. He doesn't even know what he has done to her, and in fact, doesn't care" (Keirsey 1995).

"Whatever you choose, however many roads you travel, I hope that you choose not to be a lady. I hope you will find some way to break the rules and make a little trouble out there. And I also hope that you will choose to make some of that trouble on behalf of women."

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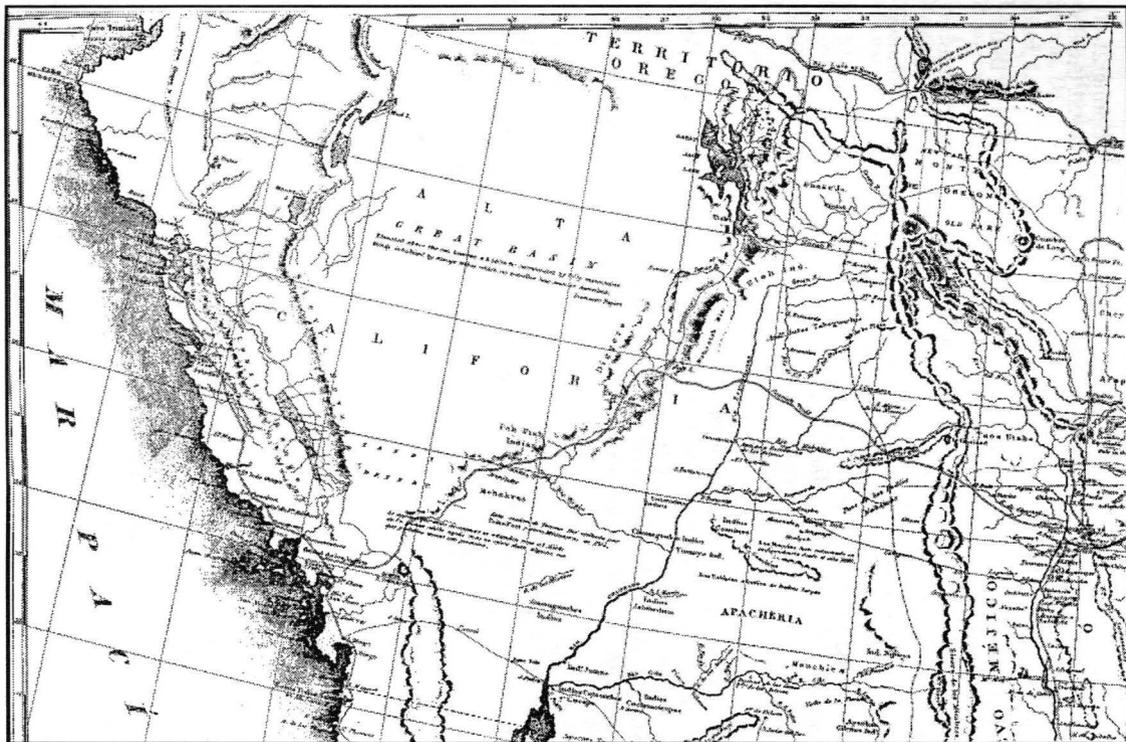


Figure 1. Portion of the "Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the Congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at new York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell." This section shows almost the entire region known as Alta California and is referred to in both the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and in J. Ross Browne's Report of the Convention of the California Constitution in September and October 1849. [Edward M. Douglas, Boundaries, Areas, Geographic Centers and Altitudes of the United States and the Several States, USGS Bulletin 817, Plate 6 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1930.]

California's Northeast Border: Political Pragmatism Turned Territorial Imperative

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School?

Keywords: Definition, Delimitation, Demarcation, Administration, Territorial Imperative, and Stamping Ground

Abstract: The placement of California's Northeast border is usually ascribed to issues of slavery, greed and compromise. In reality, the arbitrary definition and delimitation of this boundary stemmed from problems of physical size, acculturation, and the perceived, relative value of the physical landscape. The resultant impacts on the cultural landscape still reverberate today.

Introduction

As a territorial species, we humans have "an inherent drive to gain and defend an exclusive property." (Ardrey 1966, 3) Today, political geographers relate the concept of exclusive property with the sovereign state. As Pliny noted in 77 A.D.: "Great folly it is then, a meere madness, that some have devised and thought in their minde to measure it [the World]; yea, and durst in writing to set down the dimensions thereof..." (Newsome 1964, 19) Nowhere, is Pliny's "Great folly" better illustrated than in the definition, delimitation, demarcation, and administration of national/state boundaries.

Often the "folly" in establishing boundaries results from a series of seemingly pragmatic decisions based on a presumed knowledge of the physical landscape. Since physical features can and do influence the attributes of particular cultural regions, it has often been physical barriers which define their limits. When ignorance of the physical landscape is coupled with an arbitrary, or imprecise, measurement of longitude and latitude, the ramifications to the cultural landscape can have far reaching effects.

To a great extent, today's California is the result of flawed cognition. The establishment of California's boundaries, based on erroneous perceptions of the confluence of physical and cultural features, created effects to the State's landscape which reverberate even today. In fact, perhaps no greater stresses have been created in California's history than with the establishment of the State's Northeast border. This paper explores the establishment of the California/Nevada border (north of Lake Tahoe); the perceptions or misperceptions behind it; and some of the ramifications for the cultural landscape.

The Literature

A survey of published literature reveals a paucity of analytical assessment on the establishment and consequences of the development of California's Northeast border. Most "histories" of California pay little or no attention to the issues beyond a perfunctory sidebar. Many generalist accounts sketchily synopsise some of the motivation behind establishment of the boundary, but totally ignore both the perceptions behind the placement of the line and the far reaching impacts. Meanwhile, Nevada "histories" tend to relate a bias (bordering on resentment) of a perceptually unconsidered, dominating, and wanton California land grab.

For insight into the logic behind defining California's Eastern boundary, most researchers rely upon J. Ross Browne's Report of the Convention of the California Constitution in September and October 1849. Published in 1850, Browne's work provides the single, most comprehensive picture behind the framing of California's Constitution. Significant to this research, Browne's firsthand account presents the representatives' judgments and perceptions regarding the Northeastern California landscape.

An example of reliance upon Browne's manuscript can be found in Woodrow James Hansen's *The Search for Authority in California*. In detailing the history of government in the State, Hansen provides substantive distillation of the debates surrounding the selection of California's Eastern boundary. Though significant in its simplification of Browne's 479 page presentation, *The Search for Authority in California* was designed as a history of California government. It was never intended to analyze the suitability of the Constitutional Convention delegates' choices, the geographic applicability, or the consequences to the cultural landscape.

What is interesting, is Hansen's recognition of the delegates' desire for geographically informed debates and the emphasis he places on discussing the exact location of the proposed border(s), along with the reasoning behind these recommendations. The author pointedly states that "...the basis for deciding the proper boundary would have less to do with geography than with the question of the expansion or confinement of slavery..." (Hansen 1960, 136) This analysis undoubtedly stems from only a slight glance at the geographic information available to the Convention delegates (Hansen 1960) and a total lack of reference to, or duplication of, the maps which illustrated the boundary information. A work which made significant strides in analyzing some of the historical consequences to development of the Northeastern California sub-region was Pat Olmstead's "The Nevada-California-Oregon Border Triangle: A Study in Sectional History." In this 1957 master's thesis, Olmstead

provides one of the more complete histories of this area. Unfortunately, the author ascribes the selection of the 120th Meridian as California's Northeastern border to "the greed of the convention delegates" (Olmstead 1957, 164) rather than to geographic misperceptions.

Overshadowing her political assessment is Olmstead's thorough examination of the subsequent boundary debates between California and Nevada. Encomiums are also due the author for recognizing at least one consequence to California's cultural landscape: the formation of Modoc County. (Olmstead 1957, 174-175) Given Olmstead's concentration on the area of California from Honey Lake Valley – north, "The Nevada-California-Oregon Border Triangle: A Study in Sectional History" falls short in examining a number of development consequences that continue to plague this region's residents and the California government today.

Perhaps the most significant research to date pertaining to Northeast California, has been completed by William Newell Davis. In both his 1942 doctoral dissertation entitled "California East of the Sierra: A Study in Economic Sectionalism" and his book Sagebrush Corner: The Opening of California's Northeast, Davis provides an excellent discourse on the events surrounding the establishment of California's eastern border. Davis also notes a number of the political, social, and economic consequences unique to the formation of the region.

Davis properly and completely discusses the California Constitutional Convention delegates' attention to prominent physical features in deciding upon an eastern boundary. Also analyzed is the attempt at compromise between the easily recognized physical features and the more abstract concepts of longitude/latitude. (Davis 1942, 97-118; Horr 1974, 247-262) What is missing, is a discussion regarding the misperceptions that seem to have fueled the attempts at combining physical features with (as of that time) unsubstantiated human measurements. Although Davis echoes a number of the cultural reverberations caused by the establishment of the California/Nevada border, his interest is predominantly found in the "immediate" consequences. Short shrift was given to the border's impact on today's cultural landscape, an issue admittedly limited and compounded by the time of research and date of Davis' publication.

Creating Territorial Stamping Grounds

California's Northern border was established with the acquisition of Florida in 1819, (Eliot 1963a, 270) and the Southern boundary fixed with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. (Eliot 1963b, 293) The major

boundary issue faced by the delegates to California's Constitutional Convention was the definition and delimitation of an Eastern border. The placement of this threshold was variously described by delegates as: "...a matter of vast importance to the people of this Territory...;" (Browne 1850, 183) "...the most important question that has yet come up for discussion...;" (Browne 1850, 188) "...the most important part of our duty...;" (Browne 1850, 184) and, "...the most important [question] that had to be settled in this Convention." (Browne 1850, 169) As such, it would become the longest and most contentious part of the debates. (Hunt 1926, 191)

The decision process, and the subsequent debate, was premised upon two specific geographic perceptions: 1.) "certain maps of California" submitted by Delegate William M. Gwin; (Browne 1850, 76) and, (2.) the appointment of "native Californians and 'old settlers' to the committee [on the Boundary] on the assumption that these would know most about the geography of California..." (Hansen 1960, 135-136) Though this approach was laudable in its intent, trouble would stem from the fact that the maps utilized illustrated "an immense unexplored region," (Browne 1850, 169) a region, argued by one San Francisco Delegate, "unexplored, and of which we know comparatively nothing." (Browne 1850, 187)

Based on presumed geographic knowledge, the debate over where to place California's Eastern boundary was framed by three issues. The first, overwhelming problem facing the committee "...appointed...to report...what, in their opinion, should constitute the boundary of the State of California" (Browne 1850, 54) was the sheer physical size of the Territory. As stipulated in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo:

The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map entitled "*Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the Congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell,*"... And in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper and Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean... (Eliot 1963b, 293) (See Maps 1 and 2)

Significantly, "the boundary includes all of Upper California, as has always been recognized by Mexico and by the Congress of the United States, so far as any action has been had on that subject. By the treaty with Mexico and the discussions with Mexico previous to the treaty, and the maps that have been published of California since that time, [author's emphasis] and all the orders which have proceeded from our Government, these limits have been acknowledged and recognised as the limits of Upper California." (Browne 1850, 175) Estimating the section designated

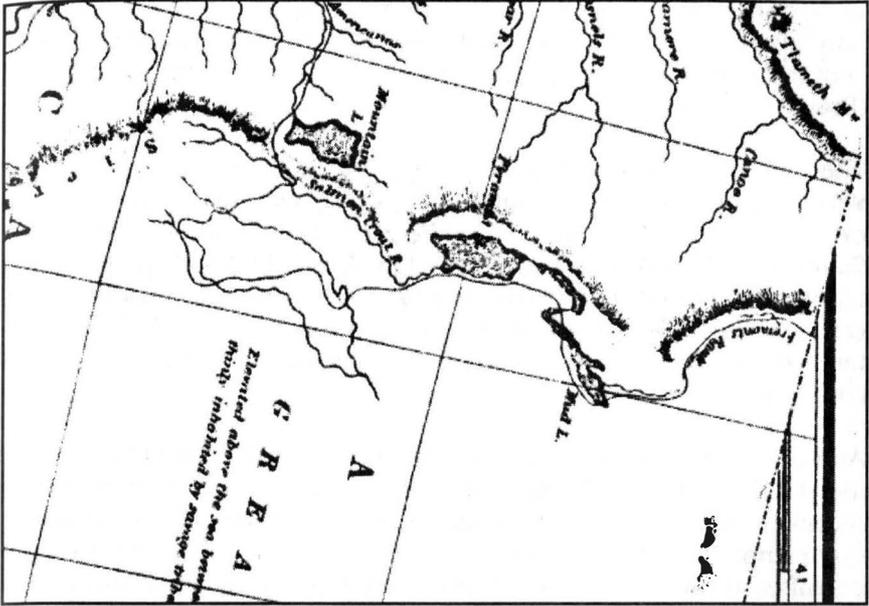


Figure 2. Enlargement shows the region that would become California's Northeast border. Lines of longitude shown in degrees west of Washington D.C. Note Disturnell's placement of 120th meridian (line 43) far west of Mountain Lake (Lake Tahoe) and Warner Mtns. [Douglas, 1930, Plate 6.]

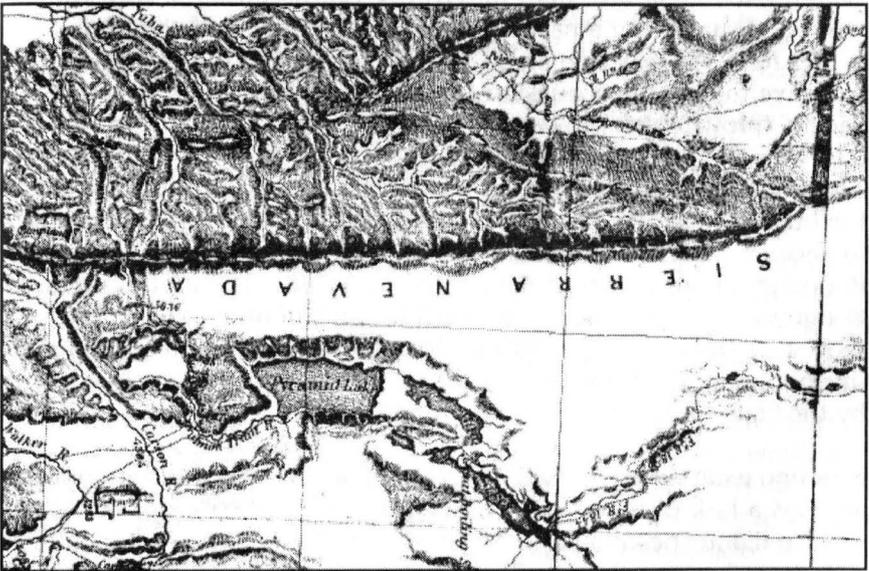


Figure 3. Section of the "Map of Oregon and Upper California, from the surveys of John Charles Fremont... 1848." Note placement of 120th meridian west of today's Surprise Valley, but well east of Lake Bonpland (Lake Tahoe). (see inserted arrows) Fremont, 1846.

as Upper California to be 448,691 square miles, the committee pointedly observed that, as delineated, "the present boundary of California comprehends a tract of country entirely too extensive for one State..." (Browne 1850, 123)

The Committee on the Boundary cited "various other forcible reasons why the boundary should not be adopted..." One reason was the size of the present state compared to the total size of "non-slave-holding States of the Union..." (Browne 1850, 123) As most researchers point out (and Hansen in particular) (Hansen 1960, 136), this was a specific concern among many of the Convention delegates; the issue being acceptance by the U.S. Congress relating to the stipulations in the Missouri compromises.

Another concern related to the physical size of the Territory was the inevitability of future "divisions and sub-divisions..." (Browne 1850, 123) As one delegate stated: "If we include territory enough for several States, it is competent for the people and the State of California to divide it hereafter." (Browne 1850, 169) However, a growing worry of this possibility was expressed by Delegate John McDougal: "There has been much collision between the Government and the new Territories that have recently been admitted to the Union; not so much because they were claiming too great an extent of territory, but because the Government wished to shape it in a particular manner. We may find the same difficulties here. We may find an attempt on the part of the Government, if we leave this an open question, to make two States bordering on the Pacific." (Browne 1850, 169)

Although some representatives were more than willing to "leave it to the buenos humbres [sic] in Congress and our [California's] Legislature to decide..." the issue; (Browne 1850, 171) others were not. As one of the Boundary Committee members stated succinctly: "We ought to settle it. Congress cannot within any reasonable space of time settle it." (Browne 1850, 173) Thus, it was recognized that, failing establishment of a definite boundary, California would be split into smaller divisions - whether by the State or by the U.S. Government.

A second issue surrounding the placement of California's Eastern boundary was a lack of representation of an estimated 15,000-30,000 settlers with "religious peculiarities" [Mormons], who were assumed to "desire no political connection" with the emerging State. (Browne 1850, 123) This assumption was reinforced by two considerations. The first was the physical isolation of the settlers:

...upon a spot so remote from the abodes of man, so completely shut out by natural barriers from the rest of the world, so entirely unconnected by water-

courses with either of the oceans that wash the shores of this continent - a country offering no land advantages of inland navigation or of foreign commerce, but, on the contrary, isolated by vast uninhabitable deserts, and only to be reached by long, painful, and often hazardous journeys by land... (Stansbury 1966, 125)

The other consideration reinforcing the Boundary Committee's perception "...that measures have been, or are now being taken by these people, for the establishment of a Territorial Government for themselves;" (Browne 1850, 123) stemmed from a convention at Great Salt Lake City in March 1849. Ostensibly consisting "of all the citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada mountains...;" (Stansbury 1966, 127) this convention had "ordained and established a free and independent government, by the name of the STATE OF DESERET!" (Stansbury 1966, 127) Thus, efforts had already been made to divide Upper California.

Though some delegates would inevitably argue that "the Mormons...would certainly be no worse off under" a California constitution which included the region around the Great Salt Lake, (Browne 1850, 429) the pragmatic reality was eloquently detailed by Sacramento Delegate L.W. Hastings:

While the Mormon settlements exist there, we cannot be admitted into the Union with that boundary; because they are a portion of the people of the United States prepared to adopt our institutions and establish a government for themselves. They have already applied to Congress to establish a Territorial Government for them. Suppose these two propositions are brought before Congress at the same time; we are applying for a State Government, and they for a Territorial Government; both propositions coming from the same territory. Can we be admitted into the Union claiming the same territory, at the same time they call for a Territorial Government over it? (Browne 1850, 173)

There was concern that portions of the region east of the Sierra had been settled as early as 1847- nearly a year prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. (Stansbury 1966, 124) Further, these settlers had organized fully five months prior to California's Constitutional Convention and elected a delegate to Congress three months later (on July 2nd). (Stansbury 1966, 127) And, finally, acculturation between the residents along the Coast and those around the Great Salt Lake would not be possible. It was felt that the Mormon's "religious tenets certainly form[ed] a great barrier to their introduction among the people of California." (Browne 1850, 170) Thus, in attempting to establish a definite boundary for their region (State), the delegates were forced to recognize the limits of their frontier.

The third issue surrounding placement of California's Eastern bound-

ary was a question of practicality resulting from the combined influence of physical size, political acceptability, and disparate cultures. Having recognized the existence of a frontier separating the Mormon settlements and the area directly represented at the Constitutional Convention, the delegates were forced to analyze the relative value of the area east of the Sierra versus the practicalities of governing it. As the Committee on the Boundary stated: "a greater part of the interior is entirely cut off from the country on the coast by the Sierra Nevada, a continuous chain of lofty mountains, which is covered by snow, and is wholly impassable nearly nine months in the year." (Browne 1850, 123)

While evaluating the initial proposals put forth by both the Boundary Committee and individual delegates, discussions over the value of the area east of the Sierra demonstrated a decided polarization of opinions among the representatives. The perception of a number of delegates claiming to be well acquainted with the region, was expressed by Delegate Hastings when he declared: "We have a vast mineral region as well as agricultural, on this side of the Sierra Nevada; but I am of opinion the other side affords probably equal agricultural resources and as much gold as this." (Browne 1850, 173) Further rationalization was found in the need, of those settled to the east, for answers to questions regarding issues of government; especially those pertaining to law and order. (Browne 1850, 175-177)

On the opposite side of the issue stood those delegates who felt that the cost of administering the region east of the Sierra far outweighed any value derived from its inclusion. Recognizing the construction of the physical landscape, these individuals felt that the Convention should adopt a boundary which "God and nature intended..." (Browne 1850, 182) Of particular interest is the observation made by Mr. McDougal:

If you cast your eye on the map, you will see three distinct divisions marked by nature in the Territory of California. One is the great basin of the Salt Lake. It is bounded on the west by the Sierra Nevada, and by the Rocky Mountains on the east, and by a range of unexplored mountains in the 38th parallel of latitude on the south - three grand natural divisions. (Browne 1850, 180)

Immediate support for McDougal's view was proffered by representatives who stated: "...I concur fully with several gentlemen who have expressed the opinion that the crest of the Sierra Nevada, or some line of longitude near it should be the future permanent boundary...;" (Browne 1850, 180) and "...it was not the desire of the people of California to take a larger boundary than the Sierra Nevada..." (Browne 1850, 184) Sentiments were expressed that: "We have within the region of country between the Sierra Nevada and the Pacific ocean, the only lands in Upper California that are fit for the habitation of a community of

people... It is true there are some delightful spots on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, but they are like green spots spoken of in the desert..." (Browne 1850, 182) Even J.A. Sutter would argue: "Except a small slip of the great Salt Lake, which is worth something to the people who are living there, but there is such an immense space between us and that part of the country, that I consider it of no value whatever to the State of California." (Browne 1850, 187)

Of the three major issues surrounding placement of the boundary, this last would be the most difficult to resolve. If the Sierra were to become California's eastern boundary, the issues of physical size, future divisions, and Mormon settlement would virtually resolve themselves. Though the disparity of opinions would contribute to the difficulty in compromise, tensions were exacerbated by the two cited premises to the debates. Whereas some delegates had traveled in this region, almost none had done so extensively. Worse yet, as Sutter observed, some had come "by way of Cape Horn;" (Browne 1850, 187) never having seen the debated area at all. As for the "certain maps of California" (Browne 1850, 76) consistently referred to and relied upon, Fremont's map and Disturnell's map, (Browne 1850, 172 & 189) both provided only a tenuous view of the area directly east of the Sierra. (See Maps 1 - 3)

Finally, growing tired of the incessant wranglings and never-ending discussions that threatened to adjourn the entire Constitutional Convention, (Browne 1850, 440) the delegates recognized that two basic choices presented themselves. As put forth by Delegate Jones, these two choices were as follows:

...Commencing at the point of intersection of the 42d degree of north latitude with the 120th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and running south on the line of said 120th degree west longitude until it intersects the 39th degree of north latitude; thence running in a straight line in a southeasterly direction to the river Colorado at a point where it intersects the 35th degree of north latitude; thence down the middle of the channel of said river to the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, as established by the treaty of May 30, 1848...

But if Congress should refuse to admit the State of California with the above boundary, then the boundary shall be as follows: Beginning at the point on the Pacific ocean south of San Diego...thence running in a easterly direction on the line fixed...as the boundary to the Territory of New Mexico; thence northerly on the boundary line between New Mexico and the territory of the United States previous to the year 1846, and California as laid down on the "*Map of Oregon and Upper California, from the surveys of John Charles Fremont, and other authorities, drawn by Charles Preuss under the order of the Senate of the United States, Washington city, 1848,*" [author's emphasis] to the 42d degree of north latitude; thence due west... (Browne 1850, 443)

The question for the Convention became: which of the two options

made the best compromise? Obviously, one of the two choices would better address the major issues. In that context, those favoring the Sierra Nevada boundary began presenting pragmatic arguments which, for them, pointed to only a single alternative. Though a number of delegates would disagree, it would prove difficult to argue with the apparent logic.

As to the issue of California being admitted as a free state, most delegates recognized that the very essence of the debate between the North and South was over the right of "the people of the State...[to be] the sole judges of what shall be its domestic institutions:" (Browne 1850, 448) It was believed that "the Southern pro-slavery and State-right party" would be supportive of California settling, for itself, the issue of slavery and its boundaries without interference or future division by the Federal Government. (Browne 1850, 434) Unfortunately, the delegates found themselves limited by this same source of support. The practical reality was stated by Delegate Lippitt: "The question will be, whether slavery is to be excluded forever from that immense territory east of the Sierra Nevada, or only from the natural boundary of the new State...What is the proposition?...that slavery shall not exist there. Sir, it would be very strange indeed if the South did not object to this proposition:" (Browne 1850, 450)

The problems surrounding extending the California boundary to include the Mormon settlement(s) were presented in even more simplistic terms. "According to the proclamation of the Governor, which has been adopted as the act of the people, the eastern boundary is fixed at the Sierra Nevada, unless the districts be altered and the apportionment be remodelled. We allow no representation to a body of American people, constituting one-fourth of the souls in California...if the whole of California is taken in, we must remodel the apportionment...;" (Browne 1850, 432) an unacceptable delay to a Convention already teetering on the edge of failure. Not to mention, given the disparity in cultures between the Coast and the Great Salt Lake region, "...that the thirty-nine thousand emigrants coming across the Sierra Nevada, will never sanction this constitution if you include the Mormons:" (Browne 1850, 441)

Above all other issues, however, were the practicalities of governing beyond what was "conceded to be the natural boundary of the State..." (Browne 1850, 441) "Consider...the expense and difficulty of carrying on a government over a vast desert, where the means of communication are so limited. The expense alone ought to be a sufficient objection, apart from every other consideration...The expense of putting in operation for the first time an entire judicial system, together with the various branches of our State government, must necessarily be very

great, even within the smallest of limit proposed...How much greater would be the expense over a vast wilderness, separated from us by snowy ridges of mountains, and hundreds of miles distant from the nearest point of civilization." (Browne 1850, 448)

With opponents to the Sierra Nevada proposal(s) unable to mount an effective response to these arguments, the Convention finally voted to accept the Sierra Nevada line on 10 October 1849. Though not favored by all, this natural boundary was considered by most "to be the only compromise left." (Browne 1850, 458) Inserted as part of Article XII to the State Constitution, the description of California's eastern boundary read: "Commencing at the point of intersection of 42d degree of north latitude with the 120th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and running south on the line of said 120th degree of west longitude until it intersects the 39th degree of north latitude; thence running in a straight line in a south easterly direction to the River Colorado, at a point where it intersects the 35th degree of north latitude; thence down the middle of the channel of said river, to the boundary line between the United States and Mexico..." (Browne 1850, XI)

On 9 September 1850, the U.S. Congress accepted the Constitution presented by the Convention and admitted California as a state. By allowing this boundary description to stand, the Federal Government was not only permitting the entry of the 31st State; it was also accepting the creation of a territorial stamping ground along the eastern edge of the Sierra Nevada. This new sub-region would immediately become the scene of challenge and defense behaviors.

Locking Horns

On the same day that the U.S. admitted California to statehood, the Territory of Utah was established. Its boundaries were:

All that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, to wit: bounded on the west by the State of California, on the north by the Territory of Oregon, and on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and on the south by the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude... (Douglas 1930, 231)

Even before the admission of California as a state, the Carson Valley east of Lake Tahoe had begun to see settlement. By late 1851, this area had seen enough growth to create the need for civil organization in the Valley. (Bancroft 1890, 65-69; Thompson and West 1958, 31-32) In 1853, feeling isolated from and neglected by the Utah Territorial government, citizens of Carson Valley petitioned the California legislature regarding annexation for judicial purposes. (Bancroft 1890, 74; Mack and Sawyer

1946, 57–58) Fearing that discussions to extend California's boundaries beyond the Sierra would begin anew; Eastern Utah officials created the County of Carson out of Western Utah in 1854. (Bancroft 1890, 75)

Meanwhile, with the establishment of Noble's Road in 1852, Honey Lake Valley was opened to immigration. With an increase in the number of emigrants over this route, settlers began to establish themselves in this area by 1853. One of these early settlers was Isaac Roop, founder of the town of Susanville. (Fariss and Smith 1971, 339–340) Most of the valleys along the eastern side of the Sierra had been settled by the end of 1853. This growth caused major problems for Utah officials who wrestled with the difficulties of administering a region several hundred miles away from their Territorial seat of government. (Mack and Sawyer 1946, 57)

Believing that Utah officials were incapable of arriving at an effective solution, Carson Valley again petitioned California for annexation in 1856. (Bancroft 1890, 79–81) In April of that same year, Honey Lake Valley residents decided to create their own territory. Feeling not one was associated with either Utah or California, settlers led by Peter Lasse and Isaac Roop created the Territory of Nataqua. (Fariss and Smith 1971, 344–346)

This overt move toward separation on the part of settlers along the eastern edge of the Sierra caused Utah officials to react. Basing the plans on the structured settlement of eastern Utah, officials began to try and similarly organize the perceptually chaotic region of western Utah. Doomed to failure, Mormon efforts (Bancroft 1890, 79–81) would only serve to exacerbate tensions. Abandoning their efforts at organization, Utah officials dissolved the courts in Carson County in 1857, (Bancroft 1890, 82) prompting another meeting of the citizens of Honey Lake Valley. The result of this meeting was the following statement: "Whereas, we, the citizens of Honey Lake Valley, entertaining reasonable doubts of our being within the limits of the state of California, and believing that until the eastern boundary of the state of California is determined by the proper authorities that no county or counties have a right to extend their jurisdiction over us..." (Fariss and Smith 1971, 350)

And therein lay the problem. Without a firm knowledge of who "owned" the territory, i.e., California or Utah, residents were more than willing to organize themselves and create their own stamping grounds. Though Carson Valley residents were not willing to recognize the "Territory of Nataqua," (Fariss and Smith 1971, 352) they were willing to become a part of California as evidenced by the short lived Pautah County. (Coy 1923, 9) Meanwhile, Honey Lake Valley residents insisted upon their own identity.

Discord between the Utah government and the settlers along the eastern Sierra had, by 1859, reached an irreconcilable condition. In 1859, elections were held naming Isaac Roop "governor of the said territory by a large majority" (Fariss and Smith 1971, 355) A delegate was sent to Washington to plead for the creation of a new territory. Citing "abuses" by the Mormons and referring to "the dangerous difficulty of transit, and expense of communication with the seat of the Territorial Government," (Kelly 1962, 26-27) the envoy expounded on the coupling of these problems with the rush of immigrants to the Comstock area due to the discovery of silver. (Fariss and Smith 1971, 356) Not willing to pass upon the offer of residents to ensure the safety of travelers through the region, (Bancroft 1890, 83) Congress passed legislation forming the Territory of Nevada in March of 1861.

Approved on 2 March 1861, the Organic Act "organizing the Territory of Nevada" stipulated its boundaries as follows:

Beginning at the point of intersection of the forty-second degree of north latitude with the thirty-ninth degree of longitude west from Washington; thence, running south on the line of said thirty-ninth degree of west longitude, until it intersects the northern boundary line of the territory of New Mexico; thence due west, to the dividing ridge separating the waters of Carson Valley from those that flow into the Pacific; thence on said dividing ridge northwardly to the forty-first degree of north latitude; thence due north to the southern boundary line of the state of Oregon; thence due east to the place of beginning... provided, that so much of the territory within the present limits of the state of California, shall not be included within this territory until the state of California shall assent to the same, by an act irrevocable without the consent of the United States... (Kelly 1962, 36)

Nobody was certain what territory actually existed within the limits of California. Echoing delegates to California's Constitutional Convention, the framers of the boundaries of the Territory of Nevada had placed their western boundary along the crest of the Sierra. The problem stemmed from the fact that nobody was certain how closely the 120th Meridian actually came to where it was supposed to. Aggravating the situation were the results of several surveys done through the 1850s which indicated that the 120th line of west longitude actually fell much farther east than indicated on the Disturnell and Fremont maps. (Uzes 1977, 71-75) (See Maps 1 - 3)

Reactions to the increasing need for an accurate boundary survey were evidence by a New York Times article of the period which stated: "The act of Congress organizing the Territory of Nevada, it is believed, will deprive California of a strip of her territory 300 miles long by from 15 to 50 miles wide. The State will probably be unwilling to yield so large a

portion of her domain, much of which is very valuable in silver mines." (*The New York Times*, 17 April 1861)

The boundary issue between California and Nevada finally reached the boiling point with the "Sagebrush War." In March of 1861, President Lincoln appointed James Nye Governor of Nevada Territory. By November, the fledgling territory had been divided into nine counties. (Fariss and Smith 1971, 356) One of these, Roop County, included Honey Lake Valley. Basically a power struggle for jurisdictional authority over the Honey Lake region between Roop County, Nevada Territory and Plumas County, California, open hostilities erupted in early 1863. A truce was called only when it was agreed to let the Governors of the respective states settle the issue. (Thompson and West 1958, 100-101)

The political solution reached by California and Nevada had three basic elements: 1.) California and Nevada would undertake an accurate boundary survey; (2.) pending the results of the survey, Plumas County would have jurisdiction within the Honey Lake region up to the 120th Meridian as shown on DeGroot's map (see Map 4); and (3.) all rights and judgements would be transferred to the appropriate state after the survey. (Fariss and Smith 1971, 362) Pursuant to this agreement, "By an Act of the Legislature, approved April twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, it was made the duty of the Surveyor-General of the State [California] to define and establish the entire Eastern Boundary Line of the State..." (Houghton 1864, 35) Watched with keen interest by newspapers, politicians, and residents on both sides, the survey would proceed north from Lake Bigler to the Oregon border; then southeast from Lake Bigler to the 35th Parallel. But, immediate controversy erupted as the survey party began working north.

One of the first issues to arise, was the renaming of Lake Bigler. As the *Humboldt Register* (Unionville, Nevada Territory) observed: "A number of newspapers have attempted to change the name of this beautiful sheet of water on the Sierra Nevada mountains. There is no good reason, only a bit of personal spite, for attempting the innovation. We prefer 'Bigler,' as by that name the lake is a well-known feature in the country." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 10 October 1863) Recognizing the bulk of this water body was now found to reside within the confines of California, editors of the Marysville Appeal responded that they would not "object to the Register calling Lake Tahoe by any name it pleases." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 31 October 1863)

Once the survey party reached Honey Lake Valley, an announcement appeared in Sacramento's *The Daily Bee*: "The Surveyor General's Eastern line of the State survey embraces the entire county known in Nevada

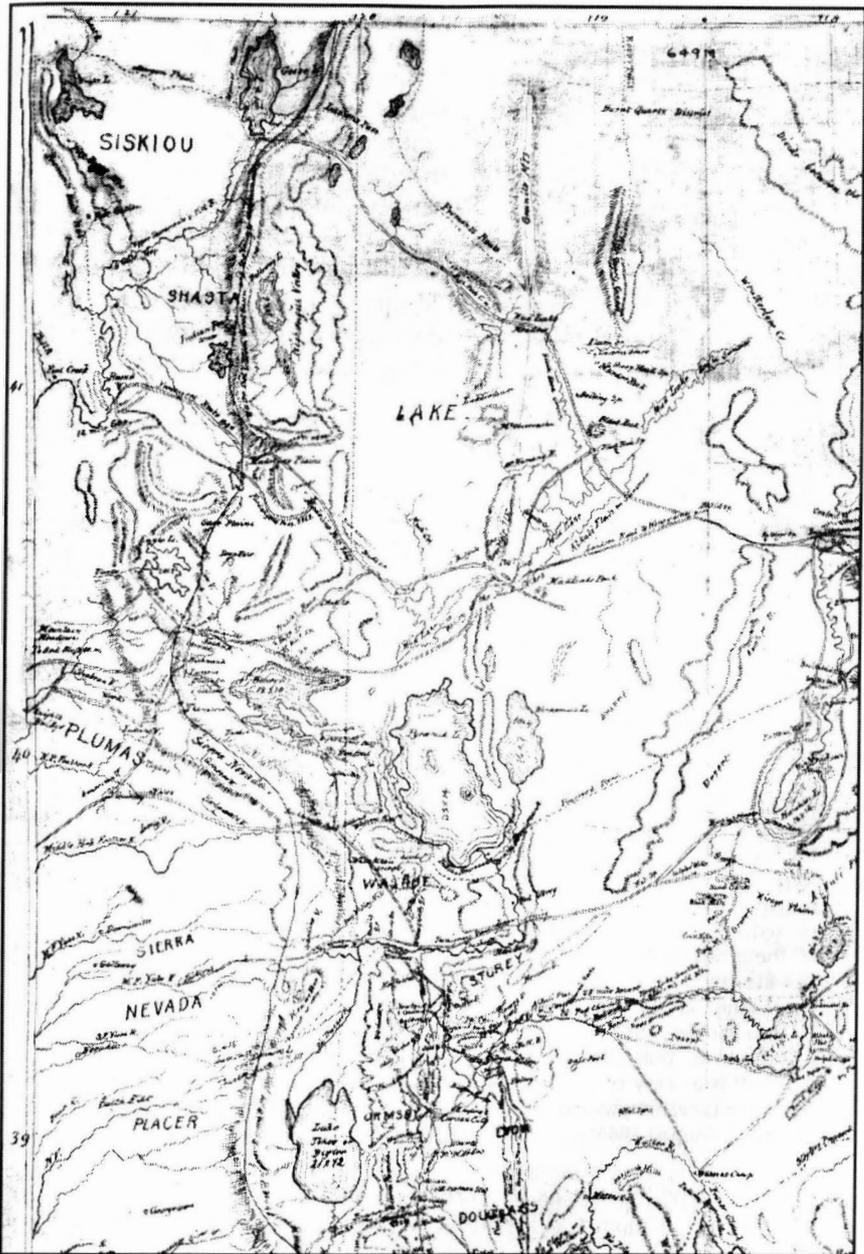


Figure 4. "A Tracing of a Map of Nevada & Eastern California compiled by Degroot 1863." Note placement of Nightingill Valley in the upper left hand portion as well as the perceived, relative delimitation of 120th meridian. [Courtesy bancroft Library]

Territory as Roop county." (*The Daily Bee* (Sacramento), 18 August 1863) This pronouncement sparked an immediate reaction among Nevada residents. The survey showed the boundary line running a little over eight miles east of Honey Lake, (Kidder 1864, 51) meaning that most of Honey Lake Valley fell within the confines of California. Since this was the home of Isaac Roop, Nevada's provisional territorial governor prior to the appointment of James Nye, (Fariss and Smith 1971, 55) it was tantamount to rubbing salt in an open wound. With the town of Susanville (named for Roop's daughter Susan and an important scene of the "Sagebrush War") (Fariss and Smith 1971, 393) being prominently located in Honey Lake Valley, Nevada was not only losing a large piece of its cultural "history," it was also losing a major hub of transportation for the region.

As the survey party neared the Oregon border, they discovered "a large and fertile valley." (Legislature of the State of California 1864, 54) The "discovery" of a new portion of California created more than a little excitement in the papers:

One of the most interesting facts, elicited by the recent Boundary Survey, is the existence...of many hitherto unknown, but beautiful valleys. One of these, Surprise Valley, is well worthy of the attentive consideration of our readers, on account of its beauty, its remarkable features, and its eligibility for valuable homestead locations.

Surprise Valley, so designated, undoubtedly by its discoverers, from the fact that its luxuriance of floral, herbal, and cereal bloom burst upon their gaze, a thing of total unexpectedness...a grazing range, of unequalled superiority for many a herd of stock, now picking up a scanty subsistence on the sun-dried plains of the Sacramento Valley...Adding to the picturesqueness and also the future utility, of this valley are three fine large lakes, while on its western border, dense forests of valuable pine timber...the fertility of the soil is without doubt unsurpassed, and under the hands of our energetic farmers could be made to excel in all the products of the farm.

But the main point of interest, to us in this valley, is that it is nearly fifty miles nearer the rich mining country of Humboldt, than Honey Lake Valley...

Let our farmers look to it then, and secure themselves a location there. It is evident to us that fortunes will, at no distant day, be realized in that lonely valley. It is as easy of access from Tehama county as Humboldt [Nevada], and there is no reason why we should not derive some profit from it... (*The Red Bluff Beacon*, 15 August 1863)

Extolled in papers such as the *Red Bluff Beacon*, *Daily Alta California*, and *Sacramento Daily Union*, Californians were being pushed to lay claim to their new territory. The sense of urgency stemmed from Nevada's reaction to the claims of Surprise Valley being "hitherto unknown." Citing a *Sacramento Daily Union* article, the *Humboldt Register* began a modest campaign to assert Nevada's 'discovery rights':

...The Union is misinformed as to this discovery. The same valley was entered in July, 1860, by Capt. Nightingill and a company of 23 men. It will be found

described on De Groot's map as 'Nightingill Valley,' [See Map 4] though correctly named, by a striking coincidence the same as it has been re-christened by the surveying party. Nightingill and company were surprised exceedingly...and gave name to their discovery from their sensation on beholding it...The party had no tools, no great amount of provisions, and too many Indians about...They did stop long enough though, to put up notice for a farm of 160 acres of land for each of the 24 men. (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 22 August 1863)

Further "evidence" of Nevada's prior discovery was published shortly thereafter in the *Sacramento Daily Union*:

A correspondent of the UNION at Honey Lake submits the following in connection with the discovery and name of this valley:
In some editorial comments on the late boundary survey, you presume that the surveying party were the first white men ever in Surprise valley, which is a mistake, as the road to Southern Oregon runs across said valley one-third of the length of it from the south end, which was traveled as early as 1847...You also presume that Houghton and party named Surprise valley, in consequence of their surprise at finding such a valley in such a place. That is the way the valley got its name, both not by the surveyors, nor was it name this year [1863]. Surprise valley has been known to the Honey Lakers since 1860, and was named that year by Lance Nightingill's party...and ever since the people here have wished to settle the valley, but the hostility of the Indians has prevented its settlement up to this time... (*Sacramento Daily Union*, 25 August 1863)

The problem with Nevada being able to lay claim to Surprise Valley based on discovery, was directly related to their own arguments. Assertions that Lance Nightingill was the first to discover the valley were contradicted by noting the presence of the "road to Southern Oregon." This road, known as the Applegate Trail, was established by Jesse and Lindsay Applegate in 1846; it branched from the California Trail near Winnemucca, Nevada. Known in Surprise Valley today as '49 Lane,' the Applegate Trail bisected the valley between Upper and Middle Alkali Lakes. With Upper Alkali Lake cited as Plum Lake in his 1848 Way Bill, Jesse Applegate mentions that the "road in 1846 run [sic] directly across the dry lake..." (Applegate 1848, 2) Lindsay Applegate would later describe this region as "a beautiful green valley." (Applegate 1921, 27)

Intended for migrants bound for Southern Oregon, the Applegate Trail was also a major conduit for those headed to Northern California. The Lassen Trail would branch from the Applegate trail just west of the Warner Mountains at Goose Lake. "Immigrants to California, should follow the Oregon road to this point, and turn down the foot of the mountain, by doing so they would avoid those tremendous mountains so difficult on the present route." (Applegate 1848, 2) Further, the 1852 Noble's Road which opened Honey Lake Valley to immigrants, branched from the Applegate Trail near its eastern terminus. Thus, territorial residents perceived that they were again losing control over a major transit hub along the eastern edge of the "Sierra."

Although the Boundary Survey demonstrated De Groot's placement of the 120th Meridian to be in error [See Map 4], Nevada still clung to its 'discovery rights.' Since the Applegate Trail was intended as the route to Southern Oregon, Nightingill's prior 'discovery' still gave Nevada an edge. Or did it? An overriding claim of discovery was actually realized prior to establishment of the Applegate Trail in 1846. During his second expedition, John Charles Fremont traveled through a substantial portion of what is today Northern California, Southern Oregon, and Western Nevada. Around New Year's 1843-44, Fremont passed through Surprise Valley. (Fremont 1887, 304-310; Fremont 1846, 126-129) [See Map 2 - 4] Thus, the Federal Government was entitled to claim discovery. This made Nevada's argument moot; for the Federal Government had effectively told California and Nevada to settle the boundary dispute between themselves with "the discontinuance of the work on the part of the United States Commissioner." (Legislature of the State of California 1862, 43)

Though the Houghton and Ives survey had been intended to settle the boundary dispute, it had only served to more clearly draw the line of contention. Efforts by Nevada to regain the 'lost' territory east of the crest of the Sierra have continued, in varying degrees of intensity, to the present day. In 1871, Nevada officially requested that California reconsider making the boundary the crest of the Sierra. (Thompson and West 1958, 102) In 1874, efforts by a member of California's Legislature to "...induce California to cede the territory east of the Summit of the Sierra to the State of Nevada" (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 13 February 1874) aroused some hope. Unfortunately, it was considered "not highly probable...that his efforts will be crowned with success for the simple reason that California is not disposed to give away so much property for love." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 13 February 1874)

The die had been cast. Despite subsequent surveys placing the 120th Meridian at several different locations, both California and Nevada would rely upon the 1863 Houghton/Ives and the 1872 Von Schmidt surveys for most purposes. (Uzes 1977, 95-96) Of course, this lack of a definitive placement would cause numerous problems with property rights, water rights, and economic activity. In 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court was forced to administer an "absolute" definition. Effectively, the Court held that Von Schmidt's delineation of the 120th Meridian from the 42nd Parallel on the Oregon border to an intersection of the 39th Parallel was the OFFICIAL boundary - period, end of discussion. (Interestingly, the Supreme Court, in the same decision, used the 1893-1899 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey delineation for the oblique boundary. But, that's an-

other story.) (*California v. Nevada*, 456 U.S. 867 (1982))

Reverberations

By 1874, the region north of Lake Tahoe had become more heavily settled. Feeling isolated both physically and culturally, residents east of the "Sierra" began to demonstrate a closer bond with Nevada. With initial settlement beginning in 1864, Surprise Valley had blossomed into a rich agricultural center. Combined, Surprise and Honey Lake valleys were a significant source of agricultural products for Nevada residents. In fact, by 1870, the *Lassen Sage Brush* observed: "...Reno has become the market for most of the produce from Surprise and Honey Lake valleys, and the trade from these places being by no means a light matter..." (*Lassen Sage Brush* (Susanville), 13 April 1870)

The strong economic ties between Nevada and the isolated, northeast portions of California had been noted in papers even earlier. Articles appearing in November 1869 issues of both California and Nevada newspapers extolled that: "Reno merchants and business men...are securing a big trade from Honey Lake and Surprise Valleys..." (*Lassen Sage Brush* (Susanville), 17 November 1869) and "A great many of the productions of the valley find a market in this county [Humboldt County, Nevada] between which and Surprise Valley there is no impassable boundary at any season of the year. Surprise Valley should properly become a part and parcel of this State [Nevada] to which, from its position east of the snowcapped Sierras, it naturally belongs." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 27 November 1873)

As a part of Siskiyou County, California; Surprise Valley residents had grown to resent traveling over two mountain ranges (the Warner Mountains and the Cascade Range) to conduct legal business at the county seat in Yreka. Everything from filing taxes to obtaining a marriage license required a round trip of, at least, several days. As noted by *The Yreka Journal*:

This thing of traveling from two to three hundred miles to the county seat in summer, and in winter making the circuit to Reno, in Nevada, thence to Sacramento and Redding, to reach Yreka, certainly shows that Siskiyou County government is neither beneficial to Eastern Siskiyou nor desirable to Western Siskiyou. The expense of the County government over this vast and remote territory is enormous..." (*The Yreka Journal*, 19 November 1873)

Feelings of separation were compounded on a daily basis with the difficulty of sending and receiving mail. "The mail facilities between Yreka and Lake City, both places in Siskiyou county, require a trip over 800 miles to be accomplished with any certainty, the only reliable mail route

being via Sacramento to Reno, and thence by stage east [west] to Lake City, in Surprise Valley." (*The Lassen Sage Brush* (Susanville), 24 April 1869) Interestingly, despite the Federal Government establishing a major sub-regional distribution center at Redding in 1989, Reno still remains the distribution center for Postal delivery to Surprise Valley and Modoc County.

Virulent tensions spawned the introduction of several bills to the California Legislature in 1874 promoting the creation of a new county in Northeastern California. Various names were used: "County of Summit," "Surprise County," and "County of Canby," it took several attempts before an acceptable bill was passed and signed on February 17, 1874. Renamed during passage in the California Assembly and formed from the eastern half of Siskiyou County, Modoc County was thus defined. (Barry 1983, 119-131)

Perhaps no more contentious controversies have emerged from the placement of California's eastern boundary than those surrounding the use of water. The insatiable need for water on both sides of the border, eventually gave rise to a plethora of major projects. Despite the emotions generated, and because of the real and potential environmental damage, it is fortunate that not all proposals came to fruition.

As early as 1870, "a proposition to direct the waters of Lake Bigler from their natural channel...and diverting its waters by artificial means to the California side..." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 5 March 1870) had emerged. It was felt that "...those conversant with the subject, who are thoroughly acquainted with the sources and tributaries of the Truckee, [feel] that the proposed scheme...will materially reduce the volume of water in that stream, and probably dry it up in the Summer season, thereby effectually for the time, putting a stop to the lumbering business, the staple interest of the country bordering the Truckee, and the great source of supply for the country West of Salt Lake..." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 5 March 1870) Nevada's *Humboldt Register* stated: "If those cormorants at the Bay [San Francisco] persist in prosecuting their nefarious purposes, our Legislature, as soon as it convenes, should immediately bar their progress." (*The Humboldt Register* (Unionville, N.T.), 5 March 1870)

One of the more outrageous schemes was put forth in 1965: the Sierra-Cascade Water Plan. The proposed project would have meant substantial changes to the landscape 'east of the Sierra'. This plan, among other things, would have turned the whole of Surprise Valley into a reservoir for water diverted from the Columbia River. Eventually, this water was to have been pumped to communities in Southern California. At an

estimated cost of \$2.4 billion, the project was considered "intermediate in size and scope." (*The Modoc County Record* (Alturas), 27 May 1965) Overshadowed by the far more ambitious North American Water And Power Alliance Plan (NAWAPA) proposed roughly a decade earlier, both plans ultimately succumbed to opposition over their enormous environmental impact. (*The Modoc County Record* (Alturas), 27 May 1965; Reisner 1986, 487-495)

Beginning with the aforementioned 1870 proposal to provide San Francisco with water, much of the dispute over water rights has centered on the Truckee River. One of the most litigated waterways in the country, until recently, the Truckee has seen most of its flow diverted for agricultural purposes. Under the auspices of Indian water rights, environmental enhancement, and Reno's growing urban needs, the water is now in the process of being diverted back to its original destination, i.e., Pyramid Lake, Nevada. (Egan 1997, 1)

Conclusion

Through a series of misperceptions about the landscape and how its features aligned with measurements of longitude and latitude, California's Constitutional Convention delegates made a decision about the placement of the State's Northeast border that seemed to be the most pragmatic solution; or "the only compromise left." Once these misperceptions had been realized, subsequent decisions and actions by the Golden State would be based more upon 'ownership' than practical realities. Ultimately, by ignoring the consequences to the landscape and its inhabitants, California would so successfully defend its northeastern border that Nevada would come to be viewed by some as a "satellite state," dependent upon California, not only for much of its water; (McWilliams 1949, 351-352) but, for a large part of its economy as well.

Today, residents along California's Northeast border still identify more closely with Nevada than their governing state. Many individuals in this region find themselves pursuing economic ties, educational goals, and personal relationships in the Reno area, far more readily than on the California side. So strong are the bonds, that occasional rumblings can still be heard about rejoining the Silver State. Rarely expounded upon officially, these discussions encapsulate the latent sense of territorial discontent that has existed for almost a century and a half.

An analysis of the establishment of the California/Nevada border (north of Lake Tahoe); the perceptions, or misperceptions, behind it; and some of the resulting repercussions to the cultural landscape provide anthropologists with a case study in territorial defense behaviors. The same

study provides an historian with a field laboratory to trace a time line of regional development. The geographer is able to view the whole of the folly in dissecting a culturally and physically homogeneous region. By setting down the dimensions of that folly, perhaps political pragmatism will be supplanted by a closer evaluation of human/environmental realities.

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Figure 1.

Reel-to-Real Urban Geographies: the Top Five Cinematic Cities in North America

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Film and television lie at an interesting theoretical junction in geography. On the one hand, we could view film and television as an industrial process which uses natural resources and affects both people and places. On the other hand, we could view television and film as representational images which depict themes and narratives of a culture and its geography. These two different ways of understanding the audiovisual media lies at the heart of this theoretical junction. This junction is where two different conceptions, or theories of space meet and mingle, where so called material or real space meets representational space. At different times in the history of geography we have privileged one spatial conception over the other. Here I am referring to the debate between traditional and new cultural geographers concerning the privileging of material cultural geography over non-material cultural geography (see Price and Lewis 1993, 1993a; Natter and Jones 1993; Cosgrove 1993, 1987; Duncan 1993, Jackson 1993).

Representational space is a subset of non-material culture and is used here to denote the geography depicted in feature films and television shows. Often these real and representational spaces are dealt with as completely separate entities. Consequently, it should come as no surprise that geographers studying film and television have either focused on the material manifestations of the film industry (e.g., Christopherson and Storper 1986; Storper and Christopherson 1987) or have examined the depictions of people and places within representations (e.g., Lukinbeal and Aitken 1998; Kennedy and Lukinbeal 1997). Of these two areas of inquiry, geographers have focused primarily on representational space (Clarke 1997; Aitken and Zonn 1994; Zonn 1990; Burgess and Gold 1985). By doing so geographers often limit a focus on media to one which closely resembles film criticism, where the geographer tries to make the reader aware of specific social and spatial aspects woven into the fabric of a media text. From this vantage the relationship between representational space and material space is one where the two are mutually inclusive: one does not exist without the other. Such a methodology, however, forces us to overlook other aspects of the relationship between these spaces. One of these aspects is the actual production of representational space. Simply put, by focusing on textual readings of the media we tend to ignore the process by which representational space is pro-

duced. Unfortunately, this oversight directs our attention away from a key process through which place making and the production of space occurs. That process is the underlying negotiation of political and economic aspects within the film industry which produce representational space. The modern film industry encompasses the economic activities of major motion pictures and audio-visual productions for television (TV shows, TV movies, commercials, and music videos). I focus on the film production industry and as such do not examine distribution or exposition.

With this essay I seek to show one way to examine this theoretical junction; this meeting ground of two conceptions of space. My argument is simply that the uneven development and dispersion of the film industry produces an uneven depiction of material space. Thus, the production of representational space is not a mirror of material space, but rather a product of the politics and economics of a specific industry. Consequently, if we wish to understand what we see on television and in the cinema we must begin by understanding how these images arise and where they originate. I first investigate how the demise of the studio industry changed the content of representational space. I then examine the top five cinematic cities in North America. A cinematic city is one which accounts for a high volume of on location filming. These cities dominate the economic activities related to the film production industry and are the most frequently depicted geographies in representational space.

Industrial Changes in the Film Industry

The film industry has had to negotiate a number of political and economic changes that have directly affected the content of representational space. While these changes could be documented back to and before the advent of motion pictures, I begin with the decline of the studio system. From the 1920s to the late 1940s Hollywood's studio system reigned supreme. The studio system was characterized by a factory-like system where all parts of production took place under a single roof. During this so called Golden Age of filmmaking most movies were produced on soundstages or in studio backlots. The geography depicted was mostly limited to indoor productions and backlot private spaces. Even during the golden age of film production real locations were needed to situate the action of narratives (figure 1). As figure one shows there is an amply supply of diverse locations within close proximity of Los Angeles. These locations could be used to represent a number of different sites through the world. Figure one is a 1918 Paramount Studio location map which documents places in California and their possible uses in representational spaces. Consequently, when film makers needed to film

on location they had a mental map of representational space which was grounded in real space locations.

Two developments lead to the demise of the studio system. The first was the Paramount Decision of 1948 in which the Supreme Court decided that studios could not own their own cinemas. This decision effectively removed the captive market for their products. The second event was the arrival of television which fragmented the visual entertainment market and decentralized the mode of reception of representational space. These two events lead to an organizational restructuring and vertical disintegration within the film production industry. In essence, with the changes in the film market, backlot productions became too expensive which triggered a gradual shift in production activity away from the studio system to a system based on flexible specialization with regional networks of production companies and their associated sub-contractors (Coe 1998, Storper and Christopherson 1987, 1985).

Flexible specialization refers to an industry whose system of production is, organized around the interactions of a network of small firms. These firms specialize in batch or custom production of general classes of outputs, whereas mass production firms are committed to the production of specific outputs in large quantities. The production system as a whole is flexible because each production project can be organized with a different mix of specialized input-output providing firms. In more conventional parlance these firms are sub-contracted in a system of production that is vertically disintegrated (Storper and Christopherson 1987, 104).

During the 1960s and 1970s three changes in the film industry transformed the content of representational space. First, with the shift in the production system to flexible specialization, there was a rise in on location shooting outside Los Angeles. Second, as a response to the television market, film makers had to find new attractions to help sell their product. One of these attractions was to situate stories in geographic realism. I use the term geographic realism in a slightly different context than that defined by realist and neo-realist film maker's (e.g., Italian film maker Roberto Rossellini) and film critics (e.g., André Bazin and Siegfried Kracauer). Traditionally, realism refers to a respect for reality where quality is measured by how well a film reflects the real, material world. Realism includes both the realistic quality of landscapes and the realistic quality of a story's content. I use geographic realism to focus on the real quality of the landscape and thus realism reflects on location filming rather than the geography depicted on a soundstage or in a studio's back lot. With the rise of on location filming in the 1960-1970s, more and more real places began to look like studio back lots (e.g., the re-modeling of the Las Vegas strip) thus blurring the distinction between real and representational space. Geographic realism is an attraction in representational space in two ways: it provides a new element of scenic beauty, something used sparingly in the past; and second, it

strengthens a narrative by grounding action in real places. By strengthening the narrative the audience can more easily suspend their disbelief and enter into the world of representational space. Suspension of disbelief is a spatial issue in that it refers to the process whereby an individual, for the sake of pleasure, disregards the differences between real, material spaces and representational space. Geographic realism strengthens this disregard by providing an ontological bridge between real and representational space. For example, a real landscape and its representational image in a motion picture are ontologically the same (Bazin 1967). If the viewer can suspend their disbelief and accept the representational landscape as real, then their attention is not focused on the landscape of the narrative but is forced onto the narrative. This ontological bridge is frequently destroyed when the viewer can no longer believe that the narrative could take place in the depicted environment. This ontological bridge is also destroyed when the narrative *lies* to the viewer, telling them that the place depicted is a specific location when it is not. However, the narrative retains its validity and realism and is only guilty of lying when the viewer realizes that the ontological bridge has been destroyed. Consequently, the text becomes hegemonic – it is the dominant controlling factor of visually mediated representational space. The third change in the film industry was the invention of mobile cameras and recording devices which allowed film makers to go on location and capture the sense of place more accurately (Maier 1994). These innovations opened up a whole new geography for film makers. Places that use to be off-limits because of bulky equipment were now accessible. These three factors of providing beauty, authenticating the narrative and technological innovations continue to transform the content of representational space.

From the late 1970s to the 1980s, on location shooting continued and expanded. Specific places like New York City, Toronto, and San Francisco were frequently used for media productions. During the 1980s on location filming became such a regular event that many places began setting up film commissions to actively promote this economic activity. In North America the first film commission created was in San Diego. Film commissions are organizations funded and affiliated with local government bureaucracy. They help the film production industry obtain permission to shoot in local surroundings. They also create and maintain a local resource guide of qualified industrial service providers. The common goal of all film commissions is to attract film makers to their region. The main way that film commissioners promote their place is by focusing on aesthetics and economics. Usually the primary reason for major motion pictures to film in a specific location is due to aesthetic reasons: a specific place is needed to provide the realistic backdrop for a narrative. While aesthetics plays a role in television produc-

tions, of equally importance is economics: they need to be able to shoot in a specific type of locale within a given budget. Thus, the ability of a place to provide cheap access to locations along with an established regional network of industrial services will enable a production company to keep their costs down.

In the later half of the 1990s the film industry has grown enormously mainly due to cable television and the newly independent television broadcasters. New cable broadcasters like FOX, WB, UPN, A&E, and so forth, are determined to have their own programming which accounts for the huge growth and dispersion of the film production industry (Monitor Company et. al., 1994). In the early 1980s Storper and Christopherson (1985) predicted that there would be a continual rise in on location filming outside Los Angeles and California. This situation, however, has not happen – on location filming in California and Los Angeles appears to be on the rise. In 1996 the film industry was estimated to be one of the largest industries in California directly spending \$275 billion . Annual payroll expenditures to California residence were estimated at \$12 billion (Motion Picture Association of America 1998). If we apply the broadest definition of the entertainment industry, its annual business should reach \$40 billion by the year 2000 (Bates 1998). Of the 702 films produced in the United States in 1996 eighty-one percent (572 films) were partially or entirely filmed in California. Only 130 films were made outside California in 1996 which represented a fourteen percent decline from 1992. California also dominates in television production accounting for eighty percent of prime time episodes (Motion Picture Association of America 1998). Clearly California captures not only a large portion of the film industry's economy but it is also is the most depicted region in representational space.

In an effort to maintain its dominance, California has more film commissions than any other state in the US. Also, if California was a country, it would have more film commissions than any other country in the world except the US. The Film Liaisons in California, Statewide, or FLICS, represents a massive networking system centered in Hollywood with the California State Film Commission. These film commissions represent territorial domains vying for production dollars and the opportunity to be a star in representational space (figure 2). Just as in the Golden Age when California was the primary backlot for on location shoots (figure 1), economic data from the 1990s reaffirms California's dominance in real and representational space.

Top Five Cinematic Cities in North America

The most predominate cinematic city in the world is Los Angeles. In

The Film Zone Los Angeles, California



Figure 2.

"The zone," as it is known in the film industry, demarcates a line past which two powerful unions in the film industry (the Screen Actors Guild, and the International Theater and Stage Employees Union) must be paid per diem benefits (overnight benefits + mileage). Due to the added costs, 75% of all film production (including feature film, television shows and television movies) occurs within the zone. The zone originated in the 1960s and 1970s and has only been expanded twice during the 1980s to include the 'film train' in Falmore and Castaic Lake. The zone acts as a powerful territorializing boundary constructed by labor practice and has a major influence on the production of representational space. • Chris Lukinbeal

1998 it is estimated that 262,000 people work in with an additional 50,000 people indirectly employed in the entertainment industry (Bates 1998). In 1996 the gross revenue from the film production industry accounted for \$25 billion in expenditures in Los Angeles County, a ninety-three percent increase since 1992 (Motion Picture Association of America 1998). Production days, or the cumulative days spent filming on the streets of Los Angeles County in 1997, was equal to 47, 669 days. This figure is double that of production days in 1993. On any given day there can be as many as 150 different film, television, music video or commercial projects filming on the streets of Los Angeles County (Bates 1998). Los Angeles clearly dominates the film production industry as well as being the most prominent region depicted in representational space.

Geographers have been writing about film for over thirty years (cf. Kennedy and Lukinbeal 1997) yet due to the focus on film as either a representational space or a real economic space there has been no mention of arguably the most important site in a geography of film (figure 3). This location is not the most filmed site in the world, but rather is the center point around which a thirty-mile zone is determined by three powerful labor unions, two of which are involved in the film production industry (figure 4). This thirty mile radius represents the most heavily filmed area in the world (Counter 1997), accounting for roughly seventy-five percent of all motion picture and television productions (Mosher 1997). This zone defines a line past which union members of the Screen Actors Guild and the International Theater and Stage Employees must be paid per diem benefits (meals, hotels, etc.). The thirty mile zone (known as 'the zone') originated in the late 1960s and grew out of the increased usage of on location sites for production. Due to the increase in on location filming in the late 1960s, tensions began to rise between the studios, their employees and the Teamsters Union. The studios wanted their employees to report directly to locations no matter where they were located in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. This procedure denied the Teamsters from providing transportation for studio employees and production materials. Negotiations between the various unions and the studios resulted in the creation of the thirty mile zone, which was centered at the old offices of the Association of Motion Pictures and Television Producers office at Beverly Boulevard and La Cienega Boulevard (figure 3). This thirty mile zone has only been expanded twice during the 1980s to include two sites: the so called 'film train,' a historic train owned and operated by Shoreline Enterprises in Filmore, and Castaic Lake in northern Los Angeles County (Counter 1997).

While coming in a distant second, New York City represents one of the prime regional networks for television commercials. So much so that Bergen County, New Jersey, just across the Hudson River from New York

City, is known as the kitchen capital of the world because its upscale homes have appeared in countless commercials for ad agencies based in Manhattan (Maier 1994). New York City was one of the first (if not the first) cinematic cities in North America because it was most likely the first city to be depicted on film and the origin for the film production industry in the United States. New York City is also the home for many television studios and remains the location of choice for many screen writers, directors and actors (most notably, Woody Allen). In 1997 production days in New York City was equal to 21,339 and accounted for \$2.37 billion in business. Aesthetics remains one of the principle reasons for filming in New York City – the city’s sense of place is needed to ground the action of particular narratives. Because of disagreements



Figure 3.

between local unions and Hollywood studios in 1991, New York City’s film industry suffered a decline in production. In this case economics outweigh aesthetics and images of New York City decline in representational space.

The third largest cinematic city, or metropolitan area in this case, in North America is the San Francisco Bay Area. The San Francisco Bay Area has not been considered a major cinematic city until recently because aggregate data was not available until the Motion Picture Association of America’s 1998 economic impact report (Motion Picture Association of America 1998). In their report which calculated production

expenditures for 1996, San Francisco County ranked third within the state of California and roughly seventh in North America in total production expenditures with \$349 million. However, total production expenditures in 1996 for San Francisco, Alameda, Marin, Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties equaled \$837 million (Motion Picture Association of America 1998). These represent the main counties in the Bay Area involved in film and television production. Perhaps the most important new resource which has encouraged the development and growth of the film industry in the Bay Area is the availability of the decommissioned Naval bases (Alameda Naval Air Station, Mare Island Naval Shipyard and Treasure Island Naval Station). All three stations have hangars suitable for large-scale interior sets and the decommissioned bases do not require DOD (Department of Defense) script approval. In 1997 the hangars were put to use for Disney's movie, *Flubber* and Warner Brother's movie, *Sphere*. *Sphere*, was shot entirely on a set in a Navy dry-dock at Mare Island Naval Shipyard. As Michael John Meehan, the location manager for *Sphere* notes, "The buildings are particularly well-suited for films that have few real-world spaces" (Ackley 1998, 62). Like New York City, aesthetics is the primary draw for film productions in San Francisco – its sense of place grounds geographic realism to the history of the City. The decommissioned bases add to this draw by allowing film makes to remain on location to finish their soundstage shots rather than having to return to Los Angeles to wrap-up shooting. The main drawback to filming in the Bay Area is that it is one of the most expensive places to produce films.

In contrast to the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City, Toronto and Vancouver British Columbia have become prominent cinematic cities because they are inexpensive locations from which to produce films. During the 1991 boycott of New York City by Hollywood producers, Toronto, the fourth largest cinematic city in North America, saw a boom in production expenditures. Toronto is home to Canada's film industry and continues to be the first choice for directors who want to shoot in New York, but can't afford it. Three examples of this include, *Three Men and a Baby*, *Moonstruck* and *Sea of Love*. In 1997 Ontario's film industry accounted for 8,458 production days with direct expenditures totaling \$635.1 million (Ontario Film Development Corporation 1997). The wannabe Hollywood of the North, Vancouver British Columbia, is the fifth largest cinematic city in North America. Both Vancouver and Toronto lure the majors away from Hollywood by providing economic incentives through a favorable exchange rate and many federal government tax-breaks. Another key economic incentive is the close proximity of these cities to the first and second largest film production centers in North America. Through their very proximity these Canadian cities are able to offer film producers an option when considering where to pro-

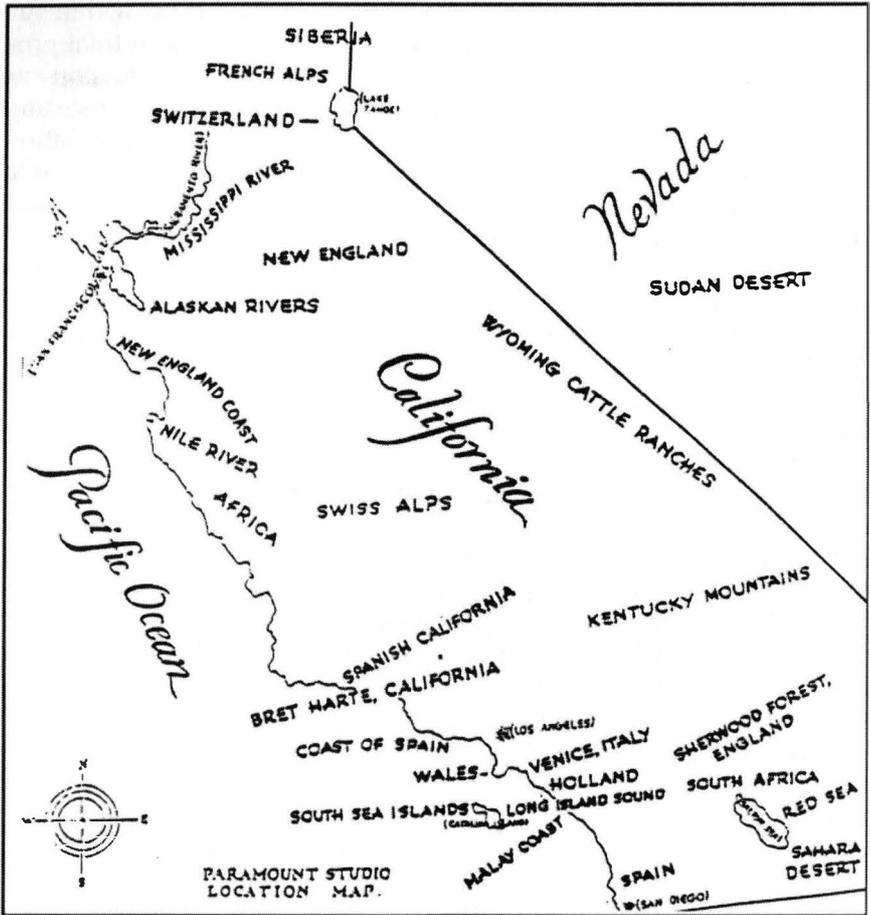


Figure 4. Paramount Studio Location Map 1927

duce their product. As such both Vancouver and Toronto have become cinematic not for their sense of place but rather for their low cost incentives. Consequently, in representational space these cities are frequently depicted in productions which have limited budgets (low budget feature films, made-for-TV-movies and television shows). Along these lines, Vancouver has become the second largest producer of television shows in North America (Vancouver Film Commission 1998). Vancouver is attractive to film and television production for three main reasons: first, it is a short two hour plane ride from Los Angeles ; second, it is in the same time zone as Los Angeles , an important factor in coordinating a shooting schedule; third, it has a relatively mild climate with topographic diversity in close proximity to Vancouver (Coe 1998). In 1997, British Columbia generated \$630.6 million in direct expenditures and accounted for 167 productions (mostly television shows). Vancouver has

been home to many television shows including, *Jumpstreet*, *Wiseguy*, *McGyver* and the enormously successful *X Files*. Vancouver, however, will be loosing the *X Files* in the fall of 1998 to Los Angeles. It will be interesting to see how much this will affect the geography depicted in the *X Files*.

Conclusion

A cinematic city can be understood in many ways: as it is depicted in representational space; through the industrial practices which occur at real locations in cities like Los Angeles, New York City, San Francisco, Toronto and Vancouver; or, as a site which interweaves the two spaces producing a thirdspace, one that possess the qualities of both real space and representational space (cf. Soja 1996). Examining the cinematic city as an urban thirdspace has been difficult in the past because the two spaces have often been considered mutually inclusive or mutually exclusive. As mutually inclusive spaces the real and the representational are considered the same and therefore the relationship between the two does not need to be addressed. From this perspective a representation of a city and the real city are the same and should not be considered as separate spaces. As mutually exclusive spaces, the real and representational are distinctly separate spatial realms where one realm is often considered more important than the other. Here, what occurs in the real city may be considered infinitely more important than the way a city is represented by film and television. The third (space) choice shifts the focus away from the strict delineation of real and representational space by focusing on the way in which space is produced and interwoven in particular cities in North America. From this perspective, cities are cinematic because the industrial practices that occur within them produce a space that is both real and representational. The cinematic city is thus a real location which produces an audio-visual product and is depicted in that product.

Cinematic cities become prominent in real and representational space for aesthetic or economic reasons, or a combination of both. Both Los Angeles and New York City will remain prominent for both these reasons and because of industrial inertia. The San Francisco Bay Area has traditionally been a cinematic city for aesthetic reasons – its geographic realism and sense of place saturates its representational space. The representational space produced in the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City usually emphasizes geographic realism over placelessness. For these cities to increase their production they must, however, be able to offer more economic incentives which allow film makers to save money. Cheaper products usually mean less geographic realism and the production of placelessness. For the San Francisco Bay Area to expand its production it must be able to keep some of the decommissioned Naval

bases as active, low-cost soundstages where placeless imagery can be easily and cheaply produced. Similarly, New York City may be able to boost its production if it is able to build more soundstages and avoid another labor crisis. Both of these cinematic cities struggle with the dynamic tension of economic incentives and placelessness and, aesthetic incentives and sense of place.

Toronto and Vancouver also struggle with this dynamic tension but they excel in offering economic incentive and the production of placelessness. Vancouver has risen from an occasional location for film production to a dominant player in less than twenty years. Its rise to prominence offers us clues how future cinematic cities may rise to fame. With the expanding need for low-cost television productions the five major cinematic cities and other production centers will seek to lure production dollars through economic incentives. Cities which can offer economic incentives and attract television productions may become the future cinematic cities of tomorrow. Vying for future stardom are the Dallas/Forth Worth area, San Diego and Miami. Future cinematic cities will predominately emphasize placeless imagery over sense of place making geography into a series of set stages upon which stories can unfold. Placelessness continually allows characters, stories and events to rise above and perform upon a deadened space. While geographic realism seeks to make space come alive, placeless imagery produces an anesthetized geography which is a secondary consideration to the actions of social life. The challenge to geography is to chart these dynamic tensions lying within the cinematic city and present them in ways which can be taught and understood. We might favor the production of geographic realism over placelessness, but both geographies constitute our perception of and cohabitation in the cinematic city.

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Southern California

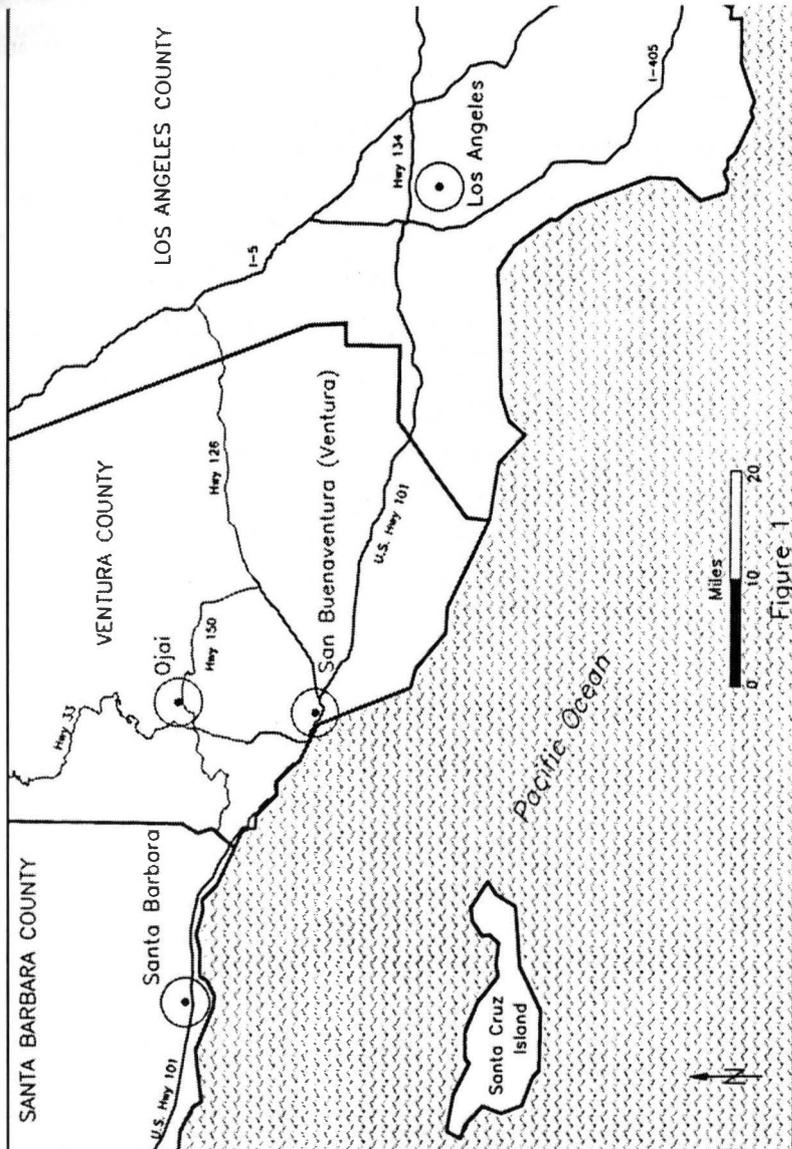


FIGURE 1. Map of Southern California

Sense of Place for Ojai California

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Abstract

This paper is based on a master's thesis presented to California State University, Fullerton in 1994. A questionnaire was used to elicit responses people and place, critical Ojai issues, and concerns for the future. Findings are examined in the context of the concepts of topophilia, topophobia, and *genius loci* and compared to current census data.

Survey findings demonstrate that Ojai residents generally have a strong, positive, and distinct sense of place and are anxious about its preservation in the future. Respondents agree that Ojai is a place with striking physical features and residents unusually diverse for a small town. Threats to Ojai's lifestyle are perceived to derive from external forces of urbanization and economic development. Cohesive views regarding sense of place and common perceptions of imposing threats translate into community strength and a strong local identity or *genius loci*.

Introduction

This study investigated the sense of place held by the residents of Ojai, California. One of the few distinctive places remaining in southern California, Ojai is under pressure to develop in ways that may threaten its individuality.

As such distinctive places disappear under the spreading standardization of modern development and mobility people are losing their sense of place feeling a diminished sense of rootedness and personal attachment. The alienation resulting from the increasing urbanization of humanity is contrary to historical boundedness of humans to their physical and cultural place. Humans need attachments to significant places. Without these attachments people may feel estrangement or alienation from their environment (Bunkse 1990).

It would seem imperative for communities and their leaders to acquire a clear awareness of what it is they value so that they might make sensitive development decisions that preserve the spirit of a place or create meaningful new places (Lynch 1976). To help prepare for such decision-making, a sense of place study provides an invaluable tool. Sense of place studies have been used increasingly in the past 20 years by sociologists and geographers to increase our understanding of humans in their environments. This study is an attempt to provide such a tool for Ojai California.

Sense of Place

Humans thus shape and are shaped by the landscape in which they live.

A location has little meaning for a person just arrived. That person gradually develops a sense of place while carrying out everyday activities and acquiring memories in that location over time. Cultural values affect the ways in which humans view and use the environment. A person's relationship with places over time contributes to the creation of an experiential perspective. Locations then become behavioral settings, and places with human meaning are thereby created. This common human shared identity or spirit of place is also called *genius loci* which also can be thought of as a place's character, or atmosphere, as determined by the everyday life experiences of its inhabitants over time. A sense of place study must focus on the spirit of place concept by asking diverse members of the community about particular elements of their lives to find commonalities of perception.

As places developed independently through history they each acquired local characteristics and an identity derived from their physical and cultural geography. However, such regional differentiation of places is disappearing with the advent of a high level of developmental homogenization in the modern world. This extinction of uniquely identifiable places has two main. First, the move toward a global economy is standardizing diverse commercial, economic and cultural landscapes through universal building codes and materials. Secondly, our contemporary society, bombarded by media images and information, is far less tied to particular places than any society that has preceded it. Increasing mobility and tourism are also creating inauthentic landscapes that provide entertainment for visitors but may have little lived-in meaning for local residents.

Humanity has been tied to locality throughout history. Are we ready to lose these attachments? If we must progress beyond locality, should we not try to understand the dynamics of these historic attachments?

This study explores the distinct landscape of Ojai, California through field observation, interviews with citizens and public officials, and a questionnaire/survey delivered to a cross-section of residents. The survey elicits residents' experiential perceptions, and degree of commonality among a diverse population concerning such issues as traffic congestion, impact of tourism, directions for development, natural and the built environment, social landscape and concerns for the future.

Rationale for Using Ojai as a Study Site

The city of Ojai is located 80 miles northwest of Los Angeles, 14 miles directly north of the coastal city of Ventura and 30 miles east of Santa Barbara (Figure 1).

In the southern California context, Ojai's landscape is both physically and culturally distinctive. Ojai is in a valley in the Transverse Range Province, one of only two east-west running mountain ranges in the United States. The physical setting of the valley and mountains, with a historic legacy of limited access by two small roads, sets the community apart from the surrounding region. This relative spatial isolation may have contributed to Ojai's cultural identity which makes it appropriate for this study.

The eclectic mix of people who inhabit or visit the Valley give Ojai its cultural distinctiveness. With a population of 10,000, Ojai is noted for its large concentration of private schools and diverse social groups. In addition, the community's extant cultural values of small town preservation are evidenced by some of the strictest slow growth policies in southern California. Such policies have helped Ojai remain essentially rural (Figure 2), with the lowest population growth in Ventura County, while most of the surrounding region endures rapid development.

Ojai has a strong local identity (*genius loci*) manifested in its many diverse social groups united against growth. Ojai residents are known for their activism and have been successful in preventing a freeway from being built into their community (Figure 3). Ojai's strong local identity and spatial isolation from the surrounding region make it a microcosm of community place-making dynamics in the face of change.

There is a pressing need to document the general sense of place of Ojai because the Valley is under increasing pressure to urbanize in the context of the overall development of southern California. Regional growth has caused Ojai, in its rural setting, to become an increasingly popular tourist destination and desirable place to live.

Historical Development of Ojai

The Chumash Period

About 500 Chumash occupied the Ojai Valley when the Spanish arrived in 1779. There were four main villages one of which was called *A'hwai*, pronounced a-ha-hee, a Chumash word meaning moon (Fry 1983). The word "Ojai" is possibly the Spanish pronunciation and spelling for *A'hwai*. Although the non-literate Chumash sense of place will probably never be known, the idea that they might have considered the place spiritual is a part of Ojai's mystique and contemporary culture.

The American Period

Oranges were grown successfully in the 1880's and the citrus industry gradually expanded to the present 1500 acres thanks to the "agricul-

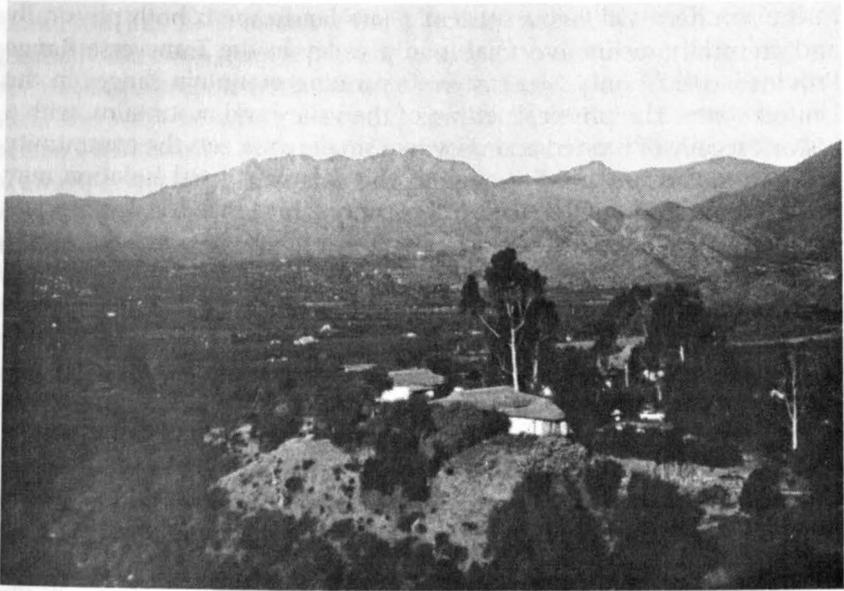


FIGURE 2. The Ojai Valley features many large mountains and is still an essentially rural place.

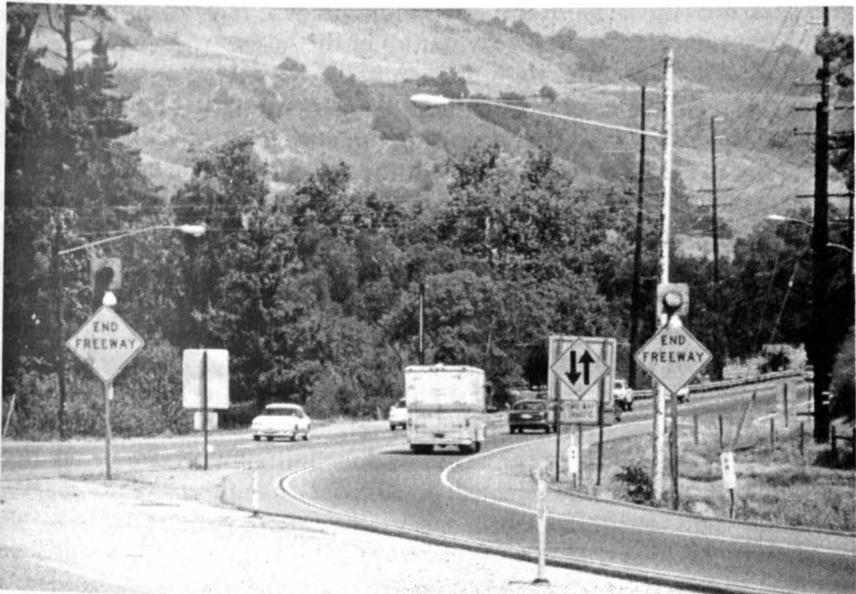


FIGURE 3. The freeway from Ventura ends 10 miles before reaching Ojai.

tural preserve" which lowers taxes on land kept under cultivation. Ojai's orange groves are one of its distinctive landscape features.

Tourism in Ojai commenced with the publication of Charles Nordhoff's (1872) *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence: A Book for Travellers and Settlers*. Nordhoff gave high praise to the mild winter climate, lacking the wintertime extremes which eastern Americans endured. Nordhoff's descriptions of the advantages of California's climate and lifestyle attracted hordes of easterners to the West Coast. His book and the successful treatment of respiratory victims in the area's dry climate led to the development of Ojai as a health resort. Sherman Thacher came to Ojai for the health of a younger brother in 1887 and stayed to start a private high school in 1890 which still draws wealthy students from throughout the United States. Other private schools were started in the area and attracted an educated population mostly from New England (Fry 1983).

The downtown shopping area and post office, with their distinct California mission style architecture (Figure 4), were constructed in 1917 by Edmond Libby to unify the appearance of the buildings along the main street. This architecture has endured, becoming an integral part of Ojai's distinct ambience.

Ojai's spiritual history began in 1922 when the Theosophical Society came to the Valley. The philosopher Krishnamurti arrived in 1922 and stayed as a winter resident in Ojai, writing, teaching and giving annual public lectures until his death in 1986. Many other spiritual and *new age* groups have been attracted to Ojai which has been characterized as one of the first *new age* centers in California.

By the mid 20th century, the special ambience that attracted so many types of people became threatened by growth. In response, the city strengthened development laws, created moratoriums on tree cutting and building, and implemented signage limitations (Figures 5 & 6).

The historic legacy of Ojai's type of development has created a community which is relatively enclosed and culturally different from surrounding areas. Its population of 10,000 includes artists, actors, spiritually minded people, business persons, environmentalists, educators, developers, ranchers, and commuters attracted by historic circumstance and the valley's special qualities. This diversity of people living in Ojai is one of its recognized features. However, this unusual community is facing external pressures to conform to a dominant southern California culture evident in a wide array of issues.

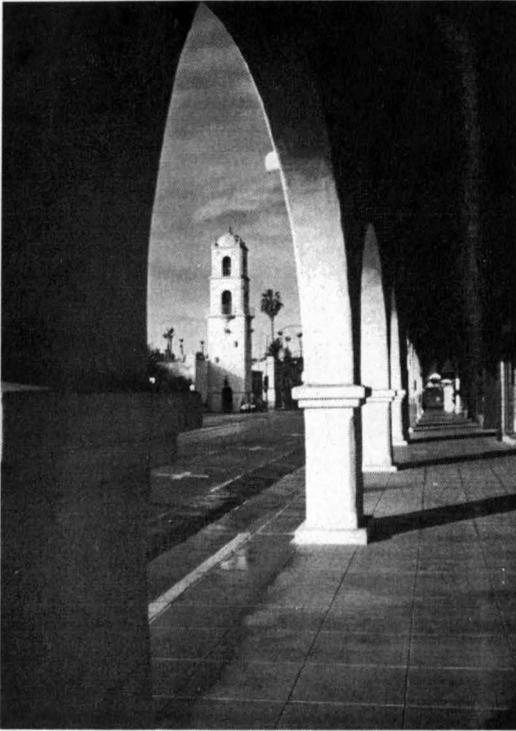


FIGURE 4. Ojai's main shopping arcade with post office tower across the street.

Current Issues for Ojai
Careful control of development has preserved Ojai's rural charm and fostered a strong tourist industry during the last 20 years.

Although tourism as a clean industry bringing income to the area has been a positive force, it has its negative side. Traffic has become heavy in town and property values have risen to levels which may force out many of Ojai's lower-income residents. A serious question is whether the established population and culture can survive the increasing impacts of tourism and immigration from the surrounding urban region. Ojai has so far remained distinctive in the face of change.

In this study I try to discover the current sense of place of Ojai residents through a survey regarding attitudes to life in the Valley and opinions about tourism, traffic, growth, and both hopes and fears for the future. The survey is designed to discover the sense of place qualities felt by Ojai's inhabitants while also attempting to uncover Ojai's *genius loci* from a commonality of responses among a diverse sample population.

The Ojai Survey

I have included a phenomenological element in this survey which allows the respondents to describe their community in their own terms. The phenomenological-humanistic approach in geography focuses on the elements of landscapes as perceived by the inhabitants, with the aim of understanding without pre-conceived theories. However, in order to provide a broader context in which to interpret residents' perceptions I will compare these perceptions with government statistical data.



FIGURE 5. Restrictions on tree cutting has fostered a landscape of trees growing in the street in Ojai.

The survey includes both closed and open-ended questions. Closed-ended questions are used to elicit demographic data. Open-ended questions are used to determine respondents' perceptions of Ojai. These open-ended questions were intended both to encourage and enable respondents to contemplate and provide individual answers in their own words without the influence of pre-set closed-ended options.

The survey comprises 36 questions divided into the following categories: background of the respondent; Ojai and local issues; community identity within Ojai; Ojai descriptions and perceptions; Ojai's future; demographic data; and, open-ended, opinion questions to allow for factors missed in other parts of the survey.

I chose a sample of 100, approximately one percent of the population of the Ojai Valley. The sample population included individuals representing seven groups: general population; members of spiritual organizations; business owners; government workers; artists; educators; and youth under 18. The purpose of including the categories was to diversify the sample.

I have presented the results of the survey in the context of *topophilia* (love of place), *topophobia* (scorn of place), and *genius loci* (Spirit of place).

Topophilia

Ojai provides the ideal home for most of the respondents. Although a large majority (88%) describe a small community as the ideal place to live, they generally desire to be near a sizable city for cultural and retail amenities. Most (88%) identify Ojai as being home for a variety of reasons including: length of residence, family, friends, climate, lifestyle, and love of the place. Most responses in the youth sample group provide exceptions to the general trend because they grew up in Ojai, feel it is confining and dull, and want to move once they graduate from high school. Nevertheless, some say they might return to raise children because it is quiet and safe.

The respondents have most of their friends and social contacts in Ojai by a factor of four to one which is important as an indicator of place attachment.

A sizable majority (83%) of the respondents feel that Ojai is a spiritual place. However, they have differing interpretations as to the meaning of spiritual. These include: the power of Ojai as a New Age energy center; spirituality of nature and wilderness; the sunset; and the presence of Jesus and God everywhere. This overwhelmingly affirmative response to a question on spirituality marks its importance as a factor in the respondent's topophilia and Ojai's *genius loci*.

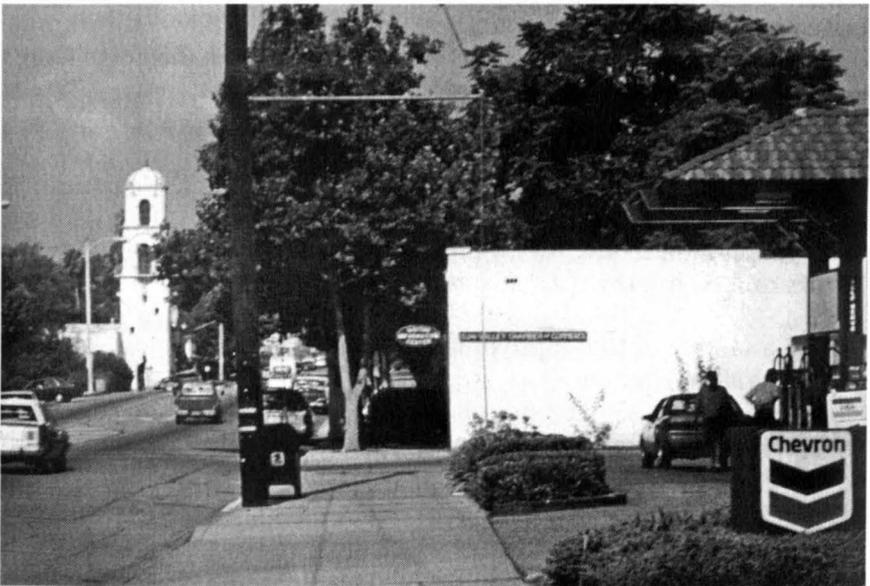


FIGURE 6. Notice the low-rise stature and wood frame of this Chevron sign.

Ojai's spiritual essence and the presence of many religious and spiritual groups, contribute to a cultural attitude that views nature, spirituality, and preservation as being more important than development and materialism. This has shaped the cultural landscape of the valley because the values of slow growth and natural preservation have prevented numerous development projects.

Physical setting and scenic resources of the Ojai valley are strong elements of the sense of place for residents. Ninety-three percent state that physical setting is important. The Ojai Valley contains large dominant and permanent natural features, such as imposing and steep mountains, which influence the residents' sense of the community's physical boundaries and identity. In a related question (What does Ojai look like?), the descriptions of Ojai's visual appearance follow clear physical and cultural themes. The main features include: mountains; valley; sunsets; citrus and oak trees; Spanish architecture; small town nestled in a valley surrounded by arid chaparral mountains; a town from the past; an agricultural place and an oasis or a Shangri-la. Ojai as a Shangri-la is based on an event that remains a part of Ojai's current mystique. In 1933 James Hilton wrote about a hidden paradise called Shangri-la in his novel *Lost Horizon*. In 1937 Ronald Coleman made the movie *Lost Horizon* and used Ojai as the setting for Shangri-la. The view of Ojai featured in the movie is virtually unchanged by developments in 60 years. The perception of Ojai as a beautiful and tranquil valley beyond the grasp of an outside world has endured and is a part of residents' current sense of place.

I asked the respondents to list their likes about Ojai as a place. The top five features which inspire satisfaction for Ojai residents, in descending order, are: people, community, nature, beauty, and the mountains. Their list of physical attributes includes: the climate; beauty; open space; bowl-like geography; mountains; quiet; peace; agriculture; proximity to other good places; and, clean air. Comments regarding social characteristics include: people are tolerant; caring; friendly; artistic; diverse; open-minded; environmental-minded; traditional; and, offbeat. The community invokes feelings of safety, belonging, community pride, relaxation, smallness, and good will.

I included a question "Is there anything about Ojai which makes a special (unique) place to live?" to discover if there was anything distinctive about Ojai. The responses to this question were almost unanimously positive (only one negative statement out of 47 responses). Ojai's uniqueness is derived from its physical geography, its available social contacts and ambience, and sense of history - which are evident in the seal for the city of Ojai (Figure 7). Common answers include: descriptions of the

mountains, valley, and community; isolation from, yet proximity to, a city; mix of people; variety of activities; rough terrain which inhibits future development; social tolerance; and, Ojai's artistic and spiritual atmosphere. Ojai's uniqueness is the essence of its distinct identity as a place.

Topophobia

Topophobia is the scorn of place. Human-environment interactions invoke both good and bad emotions and to understand sense of place accurately, both the positive and negative aspects of this relationship must be explored.

Growth and development are generally viewed as negative by Ojai residents whose wish for Ojai to remain small is evidenced by the City's slow growth policies. The survey focused on the growth issues of tourism, building, traffic, and the perceived amount of change taking place.

I asked residents about growth and development because these are important issues in southern California and could change the ambience of Ojai if not controlled. An example of the effects of population growth can be seen in the Ventura County community of Thousand Oaks which grew at an average annual rate of 16% from 1970 to 1993. Its ambience has changed from a small community to a large commuter suburb of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. By comparison the ambience of Ojai has changed little, growing at an annual rate of only 3.1% which was the lowest of any Ventura County incorporated area. Ventura County grew at a rate of 6.7% for this period (Table 1).

**TABLE 1
1970-1993 POPULATION GROWTH**

Place	1970 Total	1993 Total	Average Annual Change
Ojai	5,591	7,850	3.1%
Thousand Oaks	35,873	109,200	16.0%
Ventura County	378,497	700,100	6.7%

(Source: Population of California Cities, 93 E-1 and 84 E-1)

Growth is felt to be economically positive by a minority (27%) of respondents but only if controlled and in the context of long-term development plans. As one respondent commented, "Growth and change can be positive if controlled, planned and creative."

The issue of traffic is perceived to be a problem by most of the respondents but others think it is negligible compared to other places. Traffic is seen as a problem by a sizable 82% of the respondents. However, even though they perceive traffic to be troublesome, Ojai respondents like Californians elsewhere, are not keen to change their modes of transportation, typically the automobile. The City of Ojai is aware of the traffic issue and the need for appropriate planning. The City continues to oppose any plans to build a freeway into the valley which would alleviate the traffic along the main road into Ojai but make the town more accessible, thereby increasing local traffic in town.

The survey featured a question about two aspects of change: absolute change (Is Ojai changing rapidly?) and relative change (Is Ojai changing rapidly compared to the rest of southern California?). The responses to these two questions were radically different. Almost two to one said Ojai was changing rapidly but over ten to one said Ojai was not changing rapidly as compared to the rest of southern California.

The City of Ojai, with an average annual increase of 3.1%, ranks last in Ventura County for population growth for the 1970-1993 time period (Table 1). In addition, growth forecasts show that Ojai will continue to grow at a slower pace than the surrounding region.

Census data validate the perceptions of those respondents who say that Ojai is not changing rapidly compared to surrounding areas. The perceptions that Ojai is changing rapidly are not validated by census data so may be considered subjective as a 3.1% average annual population increase cannot be considered rapid growth by any criteria. Ojai residents may be sensitive to local change because they have a highly evolved and intimate sense of place.

These views about growth, regardless of their accuracy, are important to the researcher of a phenomenological study and to the city government because they represent an intimate view of Ojai and are expressed by a two to one majority of local opinion as measured by this study. In the context of regional growth, their anxiety could appear to be understandable as nearby cities have changed greatly.

Since tourism is viewed positively by 82% of the respondents, it would seem a topic appropriate for topophilia. However, after a more careful



FIGURE 7. Seal of the City of Ojai showing the mountains, citrus, oak trees, architecture and Libby Bowl concert facility – all part of Ojai’s genius loci.

evaluation of comments about tourism, it becomes clear that it is perceived as a mixed blessing. Tourism generally is viewed as a necessary and relatively clean source of income for the city government and local merchants. Tourist dollars are seen as contributing to the extensive social calendar of sports tournaments and cultural festivals. Ojai as a tourist product is relatively successful with the majority of visitors coming from Los Angeles County, followed by visitors from Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties. However, tourism is also seen by residents to be the cause of: traffic on weekends; boutique shops along the main street that are overpriced for residents; and, the feeling of an artificiality in the community.

There is a local verb in Ojai, “to Carmelize”. “Carmelization” is the process of becoming like Carmel, California. Carmel is an exclusive community, also with strong growth control policies, where most of the downtown consists of expensive boutiques catering to tourists. In reality, Ojai is not as expensive or economically active as Carmel, which has twice the average housing value, twice the number of service industries, with four times the value of receipts in a community with half the population. The per capita receipts for service industries for Ojai (\$4,749) is an eighth of that for Carmel (\$37,270). In fact, Ojai has a very long way to go before it becomes another Carmel.

Ojai is not yet Carmel but some Ojai residents perceive that their city is on the way to becoming "Carmelized." Ojai's median age is higher than the rest of Ventura County but is 15 years lower than Carmel. Ojai is an expensive community with a median gross housing cost as a percentage of household income of 29.6% for renters and 26.4% for mortgage holders, normally 30% is considered high. However, Carmel is more expensive with a median gross housing cost as a percentage of household income for renters of 35.0% and for mortgage holders 33.0%. Carmel is a more crowded community with over double the population density. Although the majority of respondents in this survey believe that tourism is positive for Ojai's economy, many also feel that "Carmelizing" development should be avoided.

Ojai residents recognize the economic value of tourism but feel strongly about the preservation of their cultural and scenic resources. Ojai residents' conflicting feelings about tourism are common in areas which are experiencing pressures from outside visitors. The Ojai Chamber of Commerce and the City government are developing and promoting tourism only if there is little or no negative impact on Ojai's scenic resources. Tourism is critical to the Ojai tax base: over \$800,000 is collected yearly from the hotel bed tax while only \$700,000 comes from all property taxes. In effect, tourists as a group pay more tax than residents. These figures do not count the benefits of tourist based sales, payroll, and business taxes. The tourist contribution to the local tax base helps pay for such benefits as the higher than average proportion of Ojai land devoted to parks and open space. The Ojai Chamber of Commerce promotes the well-being of existing tourism-related businesses but avoids expanding the number of tourist facilities.

I asked residents to list at least three things they do not like about living in Ojai. The most frequently mentioned negative aspects of life in Ojai broadly fit into five categories, in descending order of frequency: types of people; boredom; high prices; and climate. The types of people are criticized as being racially homogeneous. Residents who experience a feeling of boredom describe Ojai as being too small, confined, boring for teens who want to leave: lacking activities, employment, and shops. Complaints about traffic indicated perceptions that the valley is crowded now and will get worse with future development and tourism. Complaints about high prices indicated a perceived lack of affordable housing and expensive boutiques. Complaints about the climate referred to suffering from summer heat and polluted air.

Controversial issues reflect a diversity of perceptions, perspectives and opinions among the Ojai residents surveyed for this study. It is interesting to note the disagreement among residents' complaints about life in

Ojai: 28 complained about the types of people in Ojai but this is also its most mentioned positive attribute.

Genius Loci of Ojai

Perceptions about a place that garner a high level of agreement among a diverse sample group are a good indication of that location's *genius loci*. Clearly an important aspect of sense of place is the spirit of a place, or *genius loci*, which contextualizes people's lives.

To discuss Ojai's *genius loci* I have included those responses discussed in the analysis of topophilia and topophobia with the highest incidence of agreement. This perceptual consensus indicates that the power of the character of a place has the force to overshadow a possible diversity of individual points of view.

The responses with the highest level of agreement are: Ojai is a spiritual place (83%); the physical setting of Ojai is important (93%); Ojai is undergoing many changes (65%); and Ojai is not changing rapidly compared to the rest of southern California (91%). The survey questions on Ojai as a symbol and on hopes and fears for the future are included in this analysis as indicators of *genius loci*.

The question "What first comes to your mind, what best symbolizes the word Ojai?" garnered many responses. The most common image was of a beautiful, peaceful, agricultural valley surrounded by mountains and containing a dynamic community. As Ojai residents view the reality of rapid growth beyond the boundaries of their valley, responses indicate that there is a marked difference between what people expect and what they hope the future will hold for Ojai. Residents generally expect that there will be continued growth in the next 20 years but hope that Ojai will remain the same. Many residents (64%) are fearful of continued change; development; environmental degradation; increase in trinket tourism; and being overrun by problems from the outside.

The Housing Element of the Ojai City General Plan reports that growth of population, housing units and jobs will remain slow, well below Ventura County, for the next 20 years. This would indicate that the apprehensions of an overcrowded, heavily polluted future may be unfounded. When asked about their hopes for Ojai in the future, a large majority (80%) express a desire for things to remain the same. Some (13%) hope for a return to the past when there were fewer of the negative things that currently affect life in Ojai (traffic, development etc). Some of the hopes include: increase in activities for teens; more walkers and bikers with fewer cars; and less elitism.

The responses to these questions show that a sizable majority of Ojai residents are generally satisfied with the way things are and view change negatively. Change, as has happened in some surrounding communities, is also perceived to be the major threat to Ojai's future.

Summary of Survey Findings

This study has given the people of Ojai an opportunity to describe community perceptions and opinions, and express their sense of place. They have given their impressions of Ojai in the context of positive perceptions (topophilia), negative perceptions (topophobia), and overall perceptions (*genius loci*).

In the context of topophilia, residents concur that most of their friends are from Ojai; they are satisfied with available social activities; and they view Ojai's physical setting as being important. The people and community are the two most mentioned positive attributes of living in Ojai followed by nature, beauty, and mountains.

In the realm of topophobia, residents agree that traffic, urban development, lack of employment and entertainment opportunities, and the high cost of living are negative aspects of Ojai life. It is paradoxical that residents express discontent with the signs of development and change and yet are displeased with the lack of economic opportunities. While development usually brings economic opportunity, Ojai residents reject the negative aspects of economic growth.

The strong agreement among respondents in both the contexts of topophilia and topophobia, shown by the overall findings of the survey, may be due to the power of Ojai as a place with a strong *genius loci*. Those aspects of Ojai life which garner strong agreement among respondents include: importance of physical setting (93%); spirituality of Ojai (87%); and, importance of tourism (82%). Respondents also profess a strong sense of place for Ojai as a distinctive place and a clear anxiety about its preservation in the future. They agree that Ojai is a place with striking physical features and residents who are unusually diverse, culturally if not racially, yet tolerant for such a small community.

Most respondents are satisfied with life in Ojai and perceive problems being due to regional developments in southern California. This perception would contribute to a strong sense of place and unity against a common problem. Most respondents like being different in a distinctive place and fear change toward a conformity with the rest of the world. This is evident in their topophilic feelings of contentment about Ojai as has been in the past or currently is, and topophobic fears of

change and future population growth. These problems are perceived to have ruined outside communities and to be a possible eventual danger to Ojai. Indeed, some of the respondents conclude Ojai to have been ruined already.

The respondents to this study have reflected on their everyday world, how they interact with it, and how they want it to be. Their participation will have increased their understanding and appreciation of Ojai as a place and may enable them to guide Ojai toward a meaningful future for the majority of its residents and visitors.

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Geographic Chronicles

The Internet and the Collapse of the Gravity Model

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Palomar College

The gravity model for spatial interaction has served generations of geographers as both an explanation and predictor of movement of people, goods, services and communication between nodes of significant populations. In the model, $S = (P_1 \times P_2) / D^2$, S is the relative spatial interaction, P_1 is the population of the first locality, P_2 is the population of the second locality and D is the distance between the two localities. One of the reasons this general relationship has been so workable is that D can be measured in actual distance (miles, kilometers, etc.), cost or time.

Prior to the invention of the telegraph, all communication occurred at transport speed. You could communicate with someone else in the world as fast as the horse or ship could carry you or your letter. With the invention of electronic communication via telegraph and then telephone, etc., the time it took for communication decreased to the instantaneous. However, the cost of this form of spatial interaction was still a function of distance. A long distance call to Asia costs more than a call to the next city. Thus the gravity model was still valid because D could still be considered a variable as distance was measured by cost.

With the internet this is no longer true. As it currently works, once you've paid for an access fee, you can communicate with Peru and Peoria for the same cost. Thus the standard measurements of D as actual distance, time or cost become meaningless. As far as the internet is concerned, the gravity model is now $S = (P_1 \times P_2)$. As technology improves, expands and computer servers become more efficient, one can envision one computer handling billions of interactions from all over the world. Thus the element of P (the computer) may approach unity.

In broad geographic terms, the implications of the development are enormous. In the past, spatial interaction was directly affected by affluence, cultural inclusion or exclusion, actual physical location and the total infrastructural transport/communications network. This is no longer true. Except for access fees and basic equipment, the internet is totally blind to time, distance, cost, race, religion, nationality and most especially, economic status. Access to communication and information is no longer a function of personal wealth. However, access is still limited by language. As much as other societies may object, the dominant language on the internet is English. So the spatial interaction model will have to be rewritten with a factor 'E'.

The Millennium Project on Australian Geography and Geographers

Elaine Stratford
University of Tasmania

Storytelling is more than merely learning something to tell – a folk, fairy, or literary tale; a myth or legend; or a historical or personal anecdote. Storytelling encompasses the bulk of our communications with others. Stories can form the basis of many things we study or experience to enrich and enliven ... (Lynn Rubright 1996, xvii).

I have been collecting and recording people's stories since my honours year. As I have worked, and as I have examined the works of others, I have been reminded of the partiality of knowledge, the paradoxical frailty and power of memory, our desire to represent ourselves and be represented by others in particular ways, and the centrality of geographic concepts and practices in the negotiation of place and of our recollections of place. Storytelling is always placed, and is always political.

At an institutional level, I have also been interested and active in debates about changes to geography and environmental studies, changes that have often meant the amalgamation of these two in numerous Australian universities. Having undertaken my PhD in an interdisciplinary graduate centre for environmental studies, I am particularly conscious that feelings of concern about these amalgamations are not exclusive to my base discipline. But that is a different – if related – story.

In a very specific way, these patterns in my own life serve to explain why it is that, in 1996, I proposed to the IAG Council that there was a pressing need for an intellectual and oral history project on Australian geography and geographers. In part, this need arises from the demographic profile of the discipline's foundational figures, and a perception that their stories and memories – critical to the history of geographic thought in this country – are being lost.

In part, the need stems from a growing trend for geography departments to be merged with other disciplines. It is my conviction that we have a responsibility to the discipline to document what is unique about it, and to record how it has influenced the development of Australia and the Australian peoples.

And in part, the need arises because of the way in which we are coming to understand the power of geography and the influence of geogra-

phers in the creation and recreation of place and nation, in the construction and maintenance of literal and metaphoric borders and territories, in the development and validation of particular forms of knowledge.

In July 1997, the Council endorsed my proposal. At present, there are three objectives to the work. First, it is important to record and document for the discipline - and the community at large - the lives of geographers who have contributed to the field over many years. Second, it is desirable to map the various terrains in which these men and women have worked: to contemplate changes in philosophical approach, political orientation, practical focus, and pedagogic thrust. Third, it is important to account for what has been important to geographers over time, noting whether and how these priorities have changed. Finally, it will be useful to trace the complex influences that geography and its practitioners have had on the wider Australian and international communities. In my view, however, this work must try to capture the folkloric as well as the heroic within the discipline.

Projects of this kind are not novel. The Association of American Geographers has undertaken both audio and audio-visual recordings of members' oral histories. Work on the International Dialogue Project (IDP) by Anne Buttimer and Torsten Hägerstrand is also often seen as pioneering this kind of work. Furthermore, interviews with various Australian geographers have already been undertaken: Patrick Armstrong, Les Heathcote, and Peter Scott (as part of the IDP), Ann Marshall, Oskar Spate, and Graham Lawton among them. Nevertheless, there are distinctly vernacular elements to our situation and our history. An approach which allows the folkloric, the local, the less visible or seemingly less valued elements of the discipline be heard and documented is also called for. It is a method perhaps more in keeping with the work of Janice Monk, who has been collecting stories about women geographers in the United States, particularly from among the ranks of non-academics.

The International Dialogue Project

There are several useful things to be gained from examining the IDP. In *Geography and the Human Spirit* (1993), Anne Buttimer brings together some of the thematic and theoretical fruits of a decade-long project which Torsten Hägerstrand and she administered from 1978 to 1988. She notes how geography, because of its traditional and eclectic position in both the sciences and humanities, was an ideal focus for a project designed to bring together in conversation scholars from disparate disciplines. Despite the chauvinism which derives from that schism, dur-

ing the emergence of the IDP integration once again became appealing to geographers. Buttimer's vision was for a collectively 'owned' – for an integrated – project, and it is a vision that already characterises the Millennium Project, as will emerge in a moment.

The core of the IDP consists of 'video-taped interviews with senior and retired professionals in various fields where stories were told of career experiences, the dream and reality of major projects, and the circumstances in which ideas were inspired, developed and tested' (1993, 4–5). Tapes then served as a stimulus for discussion and debate among other specialists in diverse fields 'who otherwise had little occasion for dialogue' (1993, 5).

In all, over the course of the decade, 150 interviews were conducted with specialists in geography, planning and development, health care, creativity, enterprise, intercultural communication, philosophy and science. A number of these stories form the focus of *The Practice of Geography* (Buttimer 1983) and many are reported in *Life Experience as Catalyst for Cross-Disciplinary Communication* (Buttimer 1986).

In her 1993 analysis of the IDP, Buttimer categorises her findings according to three themes. First is meaning – the vocational skills, talents, and work preferences of those interviewed. Second is metaphor – the cognitive style or basic world-view underpinning the research models and paradigms produced, used and circulated by these individuals. Third is milieu – those issues of public interest that geographers have sought to elucidate and to influence through disciplinary thought and practice.

These three themes correspond in several ways to the Millennium proposal to monitor and map changes in Australian geography's philosophy, politics, practice and pedagogy through oral history, autobiography and group conversation. As Buttimer notes 'These ... intertwining themes enable one to appreciate the uniqueness of each individual's career journey, and simultaneously to discover general processes involved in the relationships between scholarly practice and its societal context' (1993, 5). Of course, Buttimer's conceptualisations are not the only ones that can be brought to bear, and it will, I think, be one of the most intriguing elements of the Millennium Project to see how its contributors frame their analyses.

Mapping Change

In terms of mapping change in the discipline, it is clear that during the last twenty years, the intellectual tussle over the validity of the concept of scientific revolutions, and the debates over the production of knowledge

sparked by various scholars both within and outside geography, have clearly influenced the discipline.

Whether one explains such changes as 'paradigm shifts' or as an ongoing argument 'between Gnostics and Socratics ... between images of reality as being in perpetual flux versus images of self-aware human subjects seeking rational understanding of the world' (Buttimer 1993, 71), change there has been. Mapping its terrains is important work for this discipline. But, again, in my opinion such cartographies should not exclude reference to wider, more generic shifts in the political economy, in social and cultural narratives, and in the practice of science.

Buttimer's own rationale for story-telling is that a malaise in the discipline has prompted a drive toward self-reflection which could yield positive signposts to the future, especially in terms of 'the nature and quality of KNOWLEDGE whose history we wish to reconstruct, the processes whereby such historical research is to be done, and the effectiveness of our results for contemporary thought and practice within geography' (1993, 2; original emphasis). Whether or not one agrees with this line of thinking or its philosophical underpinnings, there are strong motivations to document the past, and certainly one of these motivations is to provide directions to the future, compass bearings into terra incognita.

Methodological Concerns

How, then, to undertake an intellectual and oral history project of a discipline and its adherents? Methods by which to undertake memory work, story-telling, and autobiography have been explored by me in *Australian Geographical Studies* (Stratford 1997), and there is a significant literature in various disciplines on these forms of knowledge production. As Jane Jacobs alludes in the forthcoming *Meridian Series* volume on *Australian Cultural Geographies* (1998/99), a robust working relationship between the theoretical and the empirical is imperative. Beyond this proposition, one could also point to a need to restyle and reconfigure the ways in which we produce and circulate knowledge. The use of story-telling is part of that agenda. However, such story telling need not be confined to one-on-one discussions, but could also take in group conversations among members of study groups at future IAG conferences or specialist meetings.

In relation to questions of 'how to?', Buttimer's evaluation of the *IDP Life Experience as Catalyst ...* (1986) is illuminating. She notes the following:

- (i) A substantial collection of documents is rapidly generated by this kind of work, and 'this constitutes a unique body of research material' (p.87) for both teaching and research.
- (ii) Budgeting must be realistic, and should account for the administrative, technical, and developmental needs of the project.
- (iii) Interest in the project was a function of level of people's participation in it.
- (iv) The process of any dialogue project is enormously demanding on people and institutions, and clear ways must be thought of to ensure that resources are adequate and ongoing.
- (v) Story-telling is the most successful for eliciting information, although choice of media (audio/video/writing) is important. As Buttimer observed in relation to people who were reluctant to be filmed or recorded: 'It would seem feasible, therefore, to arrange for the printing of essays and reflections, many of which remain unpublished' (p.89).
- (vi) In situations involving more than interviewer and one respondent, and in situations crossing disciplinary boundaries, recounting the tasks of certain problem solving exercises was the most effective means to elicit lively conversation among people not usually engaged in conversations of these types.
- (vii) Video-taping adds complexity to the work by an order of magnitude, this medium needs trained and experience personnel; the involvement of professional editors is crucial.
- (viii) Continuity is essential: 'Given the long-term needs for continuity and cumulative expertise which the dialogue project envisions, it seems that a solid institutional anchoring is required' (p.96).
- (ix) There is a need for a base of contact outside the academy, and for networking [hence the added emphasis in the Millennium Project on eventually involving members of government, of Geography Teachers' Associations, and of the Royal Geographical Societies].

From the foregoing, it is clear that eclectic patterns of investigation and appropriate levels of funding were important.

So where are we at after several months? Notices about the project have been circulated on the IAG's listserver, and in the IAG newsletter. Stemming from these exercises, close to 30 nominations have been received from geographers in Australia and from overseas, suggesting whom from among the members of our discipline might be most appropriate to interview in a first phase of biographical and oral history work. I have been undertaking preliminary literature searches on various matters, including what has been published by and about some of these individuals, though much remains to be done there. As well as interviewing these individuals, it will be desirable to seek permission to examine respondents' primary documents – such as laboratory and field reports, professional and relevant correspondence, and academic curricula designed by them, among others.

At present seventeen interviews are in the pipeline:

RESPONDENT	INTERVIEWER	STATUS
Harold Brookfield	Barbara Rugendyke	in process
John Connell	Barbara Rugendyke	in process
Bill Cooper	Roy Jones	in process
Jack Davies	Bruce Thom	in process
Margaret Feilman	Jean Hillier	in process

Ruth Fincher	Kate Myers	interviewed
Jim Fox	Jim Walmsley	in process
Joe Gentilli	Eleanor Bruce	interviewed
Reg Gollege	Ray Sumner	in process
Les Heathcote	Cecile Cutler	in process
Trevor Langford	Smith Bruce Thom	in process
David Lea	Barbara Rugendyke	in process
Jack Mabbutt	Bruce Thom	in process
Murray McCaskill	Cecile Cutler	in process
Janice Monk	Ruth Liepins	interviewed
Peter Scott	Les Wood	in process
Jim Walmsley	Neil Argent	in process
Murray Wilson	Lesley Head	in process
Bob Young	Lesley Head	in process

Other names have also been forwarded to me: Janice Corbett, Bruce Thom, Patrick Armstrong, Eugene Fitzpatrick, John Holmes, Diana Howlett, Ian McPhail, Mal Logan, Joe Powell, Peter Rimmer, David Smith, and Gerry Ward. Interviews are currently being arranged for some of these, and work will commence on others shortly. Fay Gale has recently been interviewed in another context by Kay Anderson, who has kindly agreed to provide copies of the transcripts for our the archives.

Word has also been received from David Outhet, a senior administrator in the New South Wales government – and a geography graduate. He would be pleased to be involved in organising workshops with geographers in government. This kind of work, alongside that tapping into the wealth of stories from people in Royal Geographical Societies, could be a valuable part of the broader idea of the discipline's history. However, I think it warrants more thought, and certainly would require additional resources.

From discussions with Council, it is also clear that there is need for a second phase of the Project, documenting changes to sub-disciplines of geography (a task which has important differences from biographical work). Jane Jacobs, for example, has suggested that there be an examination of our complex relations with Asia, in various sub-disciplines. There may also be considerable scope for audio- and video-taped group discussions on several matters that pertain to the history (and indeed the future) of the discipline, and to its important linkages to other parts of Australian society.

Proposed Procedures and Outcomes

A loosely standardised approach to the collection of interviews and

related materials has been developed by me, in conjunction with Council, and in particular after consultation with Roger McLean and two Council representatives, Iain Hay and Jane Jacobs. This approach is documented in the Guidelines for Interviewers. There are nine core questions to the Project, although this certainly does not proscribe the conversation ranging much more widely. The steps for approaching respondents are designed to fit NH&MRC guidelines for ethical research, and respondents will be asked to sign copyright over to the Project – either conditionally or unconditionally. The Guidelines for Interviewers and related papers are attached at the end of this document.

Protecting and maintaining interview tapes has been given some thought. While living in Canberra in 1996, I held discussions with staff at the National Library of Australia about how to preserve audio-tapes, establishing that this procedure is both difficult and costly. Many organisations whose members are eliciting histories from each other are often resigned to accepting the deterioration of tapes, relying on written and electronic copies transcripts. In terms of the subtleties of oral communication, this is not ideal. There is also the issue of how and where to establish the Project's archives, and whether to lodge copies of all tapes and documents with an organisation such as the National Library. I would welcome input from members of the IAG on these matters.

There are many ways in which this work can emerge into the public forum. I am sure that there are innovative ways to produce electronic and other teaching tools around the presentation and interpretation of interviews and related documents. There may well be opportunities to produce one or more volumes on Australian geography and geographers through the Meridian Series. And, of course, the development of scholarly and popular commentaries in the print media is predicted. Again, I would welcome other ideas and input from members of the IAG on how best to disseminate the findings from this work.

Funding

I am most grateful to the IAG Council for providing seeding money to start this Project. The Head of School of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania has also generously ensured that the School has absorbed numerous printing, telephone and fax costs, but this arrangement cannot be a long term one. In other words, ongoing funding will be needed to maintain the viability of this work.

As Buttimer noted, under-estimating the financial resources needed for a venture such as this can be disastrous. In discussions with staff of the Research Office of the University of Tasmania and various colleagues

about funding for the project, a typical reaction has been "Why isn't the discipline supporting this work?" If each of the twenty or so departments were to contribute a modest annual sum to the Millennium Project, there would be sufficient support to ensure its ongoing security, and this would more readily guarantee quality outcomes for the research. The promised and anticipated involvement of many people will also foster collegiality, and individuals (and thus departments) will have the added benefit of being involved in an active publishing program, most likely from 1999. Finding appropriate sources of external funds is also a possibility.

Conclusion

I mentioned at the beginning of this paper that there are presently three objectives to the work of the Millennium Project. I think it worth reiterating these.

First, it is important to trace the lives of geographers who have contributed to the field over many years.

Second, it is desirable to map the terrains in which these men and women have worked: to consider changes in the discipline's philosophical approach, political orientation, practical focus, and pedagogic thrust.

Third, it would be intriguing to account for what has been important to geographers over time, noting whether and how these priorities have changed.

Fourth, it will be productive to track the complex influences that geography and its practitioners have had outside the discipline and in non-academic fora. This work should embrace the folkloric as well as the heroic.

In closing, it remains for me to repeat that this exploration will only work as a collective one, and that there are many paths, many perspectives, and many outcomes that form that act of exploration.

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San Bernardino Meeting May 1-3, 1998

The California Geographical Society returned to southern California when CSU-San Bernardino hosted the 52nd annual meetings organized by Jenny Zorn.

The field trips at the meetings included an excursion to Palm Springs visiting the local museums and cultural sites before ascending Mount San Jacinto via the Aerial Tram. An urban field trip of San Bernardino examined the redevelopment issues of the downtown area. Rugged adventurers explored the Mojave Desert in an all day adventure while a walking field trip in the foothills of the San Bernardino Mountains was offered for tamer types.

The opening session "A Tale of Two Cities" by CSU-San Bernardino History Professor, Ward McAfee provided a dynamic look at the historical development of Los Angeles and San Francisco. Four concurrent sessions offered more than 50 presentations of posters, papers, and panel discussions.

The highlight of the meetings was the Awards night. *Jenny Zorn*

Papers and Posters presented at San Bernardino - Abstracts

Rails to Trails

Lesley Albert and Erica Brim, Humboldt State University

Communities, like people have life-cycles and , as they evolve and so through the aging process, historical imprints are left on the land. One of the major imprints is transportation. In isolated Northern California, the Arcata and Mad River Railroad once was a major artery connecting the community of Blue Lake to Humboldt Bay via Arcata. Today most of its infrastructure, especially its trackage, sits in decay in need of much repair and begging for use. Both public and private financing to restore the railroad to usable standards are unavailable. Recently it has been proposed to convert the railroad right of way for use as an unmotorized pedestrian trail. The impacts of such a conversion are many including property rights, liability and costs.

Grand Staircase - Escalante National Monument and the Kaiparowits Coal Reserves

Ryan M. Beard and Hans Lechner, Humboldt State University

On September 18, 1996 Bill Clinton, by presidential proclamation, established 1.7 million acres of southern Utah as the Grand Staircase - Escalante National Monument. While backpackers and tourists enjoy the beauty of the area, energy tycoons are fueled about the potential mineral wealth available. The Kaiparowits Plateau within the monument contains one of the largest coal reserves in the western contiguous United States. In our

paper we intend to explain the stratigraphy of the deposits, the current mining policies, and discuss the effect that coal extraction would have on the aesthetic value of the Grand Staircase – Escalante National Monument.

The Relationship Between Sea Water Temperature and Bottom Topography

Steven I. Berger, California State University Los Angeles

This paper will explore the relationship that exists between sea water surface temperatures and bottom topography within the California Borderland. In order to show and understand this relationship, a Geographic Information System, more commonly known as a GIS, was used to manage and visualize the information collected. One of the many features of a GIS system is the ability to overlay spatial data in the form of themes. In order to use the GIS effectively, the hierarchy of data needed to be established. Certain data was selected to be used as a base theme with additional information to be overlaid to show relationships and/or patterns.

Redwood Forest Ecology

Noemi Carbajal, Humboldt State University

The topic of my paper presentation will be about the endangered redwood ecosystem in Northern California. The Coast Redwoods grow on a narrow range along the Pacific Ocean from central California to southern Oregon. A Coast Redwood forest is a perfect ecological recycling system. In my presentation I will include the history of the Redwoods all the way back to the last Ice Age. Paleobotanists have discovered fossil redwoods as much as 160 million years old in other parts of the world such as Europe and Asia as well. I will discuss their past and present range. Redwood forests are unique and complex ecosystems. As part of my presentation I will discuss the deal to protect Humboldt County's Headwaters Forest. Within this forest are largest groves of virgin redwoods still in private hands. There has been much activism and controversy around this issue. I will present an objective discussion presenting both sides of the argument, Pacific Lumber Company and the various environmental groups.

Edaphic Factors of the Arcata Bottom

Erica Chernoh, Humboldt State University

It is the intent of my research to study the diverse soil characteristics of the bottom and the requirements of the farms in relation to the available soils. The Arcata Bottom lands have been used for agricultural purposes since the second half of the nineteenth century. The area stretches from Humboldt Bay in the south, to the Mad River in the north, and west to Alliance Road. It consists mainly of three types of soils: Bayside, Ferndale, and Loleta. These soils offer different characteristics, such as permeability rates, nutrients, texture, etc....necessary for certain types of agricultural and crop selection. Today, the bottomlands are used primarily for pasture and lily bulbs, both of which take and return certain elements from the soil for maximum productivity. What is the relationship between the distribution of soils and the distribution of farms? How are the soils distributed along the bottom? Where are the farms located, and why? What characteristics do the farmers seek in the soil?

Marpha, Nepal: Reflection on Mountain Dilemmas

Connie Condron, Humboldt State University

A month long home-stay in Marpha, with a Thakali family, taught me many things about life in the Himalayan landscape. Marpha is located in the Mustang District, which lies within Nepal's Western Mountain Region. At nearly 2,500 meters in elevation, the village is nestled in the Thak Kola (Kali Gandaki River valley) along the upper end of the Kali Gandaki River, in the rain shadow of Nilgiri Peak (6,900 meters), which is the extreme western of the Annapurna Mountains. My paper will demonstrate how the Thakali, in the isolated location of this geologically fragile Himalayan landscape, have been able to survive. Concerns revolving around the lack of roads, male out-migration, food shortages, production techniques, maintaining water and electricity, tourism, healthcare, and climate change have set the leaders of Marpha into a complex decision making process. All of this will be presented, and explored.

Mexico's Zapatista Rebellion of 1994

Daniel J. Dempsey, Humboldt State University

Lying southeast of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Chiapas is the southernmost state in the country of Mexico. The region has been continuously inhabited by the ancestors of today's Tzotzil, Tzeltal, and Tojolabal Maya since 3,000 years before the arrival of Spanish conquistadors. On January 1, 1994, with the signing of the North American Trade Agreement by Canada, the United States and Mexico, a poorly armed yet well organized force of 2,000 indigenous rural peoples rose up to protest their government's involvement. After surviving five centuries of social and economic marginalization, first under the yoke of Spanish colonialism and then at the hands of an independent Mexican government, the present native population came to believe that the agreement's conditions would hasten their cultural demise and rule out any hope of recovery. This presentation attempts to explain the uprising by examining the related historical and contemporary geopolitics.

Preventing the Next Ice Age by Damming the Mediterranean Sea

Lucretia C. Melcher, California State University San Bernardino

At the end of the last interglacial, the growth of ice sheets in the Labrador Sea and the Baffin Bay areas was probably triggered by an increase in the sea surface temperature there and the subsequent storms which resulted from this warming. A link to this warmth may have been a growing hydrologic deficit in the Mediterranean Sea resulting in increased salinity of the Mediterranean waters. This was followed by an increased outflow of water from the Mediterranean Sea into the Atlantic which forced stronger upwelling off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland and the diversion of the North Atlantic drift into the Labrador-Baffin area. Today, the significant loss of Nile River discharge into the Mediterranean is expected to create a similar hydrological deficit. This will result in greater possibilities for increased ice sheet growth in the Labrador-Baffin area. Damming the Mediterranean Sea may delay, or even stop, the ice sheet growth.

Jolly Giant Creek Status Update

Douglas C. Morton, Humboldt State University

The Jolly Giant Creek Watershed is located in Humboldt County California and runs almost

exclusively through the city of Arcata. Human activities within the watershed include historic and contemporary logging in the headwaters, urbanization and sub urbanization of the middle and lower sections, and the reclamation of estuary for farmlands. It is my belief that these activities have had long term impacts on the nature of the watershed. A base line study of the Jolly Giant Creek Watershed will be conducted to determine the current condition of the watershed. This will serve as a starting point for future studies of said watershed, using a general systems theory as a guide. Systems theory is an important tool in studying natural processes due to its emphasis on the interconnectedness of component parts. This initial study will focus on identifying all component parts of the Jolly Giant Creek watershed and their current status as referenced against past studies of said watershed.

Urban Development of Saigon South, Vietnam

Tung T. Nguyen, Humboldt State University

This presentation provides vision for sustainable growth, planning concepts, and a developmental framework to guide the implementation of Saigon South, Vietnam. Saigon South is a new, well planned modern city south of the old Saigon or today Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC). It is planned as modern, international community that will that will provide HCMC, Vietnam's economic powerhouse, with the necessary infrastructure, amenities, and services to accommodate HCMC's projected population of 10 million people within the next decade. South Saigon, itself, will be a new core community of work, residential, educational, and recreational facilities. The format of the presentation is divided into five major sections as follows:

1. Original Proposal
2. Actual Master Plan
3. Current Development
4. Foreign Investment
5. Role in Vietnam's and HCMC's Future

An Assessment of Environmental Issues Surrounding Big Lagoon of Humboldt County

D. Brian Powell, Humboldt State University

I am presenting an analysis of the Big Lagoon area of Humboldt County, California for several reasons. First, Big Lagoon is a coastal body of water involving many dynamic processes, including soil erosion, landslides, aggradation of sediments in Maple Creek, and the natural cycle of the sand spit breach that allows for the mixing of sea and fresh water. Secondly, the lagoon has a variety of land uses, including a Humboldt County public campground and boat ramp, a Yurok Indian Rancheria in progress of building a Bingo Casino, a private residential area located on a highly erodible sandstone bluff, and Louisiana Pacific timber harvest land. Lastly, the property owners surrounding the lagoon have different agendas creating conflicts of interest, while each contributes to speed up the degradation of the area. We will look at how humans are impacting the natural environment of Big Lagoon, as well as problems that the changing environment poses to development by humans.

SLOVAKIA: The Birth of a Nation

Andrew Young, Humboldt State University

The history of any one country's rise to independence is individually unique. In this presentation, the history of the Slovak nation is outlined from medieval times to present day. In examining the state of Slovakia and how it came into existence, such as it is today, it is important to see the methods by which it eventually gained autonomy. Territorial claims and conflicts generally have their roots in Western understanding of property rights however, territory in dispute has long been the cause of most war and armed struggles in the world. In understanding this one case history of a nation's rise to sovereign power, we can further understand other nations' struggles for interdependence. Also important to note, is the relevance of Slovakia to California. In this matter I will show some migration trends to California and to America in general.

Gang Graffiti on the City Landscape

Alejandro Antonio Alonso, University of Southern California

An analysis of graffiti on the urban environment can serve as an excellent tool in understanding behavior, attitudes and social processes of society. The thematic content of graffiti can provide valuable information on subordinate groups which dwell invisibly in the urban environment. Subcultures in our society, that have gone against the normative values that the dominate culture has laid out, have been overshadowed by the practices of popular culture. Understanding graffiti can unveil hidden knowledge of these subcultures. There are several types of graffiti, each associated with a different type of culture, serving a distinct function. Gang graffiti in Los Angeles serves as an important text to understanding these groups, as the graffiti delineates space, and reemphasizes existing territory. It also serves as a tool for communication, as it constantly challenges the hegemonic discourses of the dominant, and it aids understanding the social and cultural meaning of these marginalized groups. Interpreting graffiti through the use of photos, will show how gangs from different ethnic backgrounds claim space, communicate thoughts and feelings, and express group and individual identity.

The Impact of the Presence of Trees on the Viability of Shopping Centers and Small Downtowns in the San Jose, CA Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area

Cheryl Anderson , San Jose State University

A group of San Jose State University urban geographers undertook, at the request of Our City Forest, to examine the relationship of the presence of trees on the viability of retail commercial areas in the San Jose area. To accomplish this, tree counts and canopy areas were collected from aerial photographs of 30 randomly selected shopping centers and 6 small downtowns for both 1971 and 1996. To account for land values, the types of businesses were classified for both 1971 and the present. A profound change was indicated with many of the shopping centers and all of the downtowns converting from local market neighborhood centers to broad area market providers of high-end goods and services. While much of this change can be attributed to increased disposable income, architectural improvements and change in lifestyle, the positive association with tree cover and other landscaping improvements is a contributing factor.

Using Discriminant Analysis to Measure Changes in Residential Segregation Patterns: The Los Angeles Patterns

Daniel E. Borough, California State University Los Angeles

When looking at segregation patterns, researchers have tended to focus on identifying the causal factors that have resulted in the various patterns being explored. This research will instead focus on identifying those socio-economic variables that are significant in explaining changes in residential segregation patterns. Once identified, those variables that have been determined to be significant, can be used to gain an understanding of the dynamics taking place in highly populated, multi-ethnic urban environments. The methodology that was utilized in this investigation is discriminant analysis. The entropy index was used as the dependent variable because of its capacity for dealing with multiple ethnic groups simultaneously and because it can be geographically disseminated at the same level at which it was calculated. So as not to include errors into the analysis, (that may have been introduced by the Census Bureau to comply with invasion of privacy laws) it was decided that the analysis would be done at the census tract level. All of the data were obtained from the 1980 and 1990 Census Bureau's Summary Tape File 3. The presentation will be comprised of a discussion of the discriminant analysis model that was derived and how the findings can be used to describe the changes in residential patterns in Los Angeles. The relevancy of each of those variables that were determined to be significant will also be discussed along with any long term implications.

Clark and Bryan's Westmoreland: A Turn-Of-The-Century Los Angeles Subdivision

Michele A. Galassi, California State University Los Angeles

Neighborhood decline is a process of great interest to urban geographers, city planners and redevelopers who hope to grapple with the complex problems of urban decay, demographic transition, gentrification and urban renewal. This paper presents a case study of just such a neighborhood. Westmoreland Place was one of several wealthy gated subdivisions platted in turn-of-the-century Los Angeles. Its promoters, Wesley Clark and Elden P. Bryan, were well-respected real estate developers who belonged to the best society clubs of Los Angeles. Westmoreland Place was regarded with such prestige, that many subdividers' advertisements often cited their proximity to the neighborhood as a sign of affluence. Yet Westmoreland Place, unlike neighborhood of similar stature, was not a success. Out of the approximately 70 lots for sale, only nine homes were ever built, with unsold lots remaining vacant until sudden redevelopment to multifamily housing in the late 1930s. Today Westmoreland Place is unrecognizable from its affluent past. Part of an area known as Koreatown, it is a low-income neighborhood and home to recent Central-American immigrants. Why did this prestigious subdivision fail? Why did the tract remain stagnant until the 1930s? And why did this once wealthy enclave undergo neighborhood succession? Using census data, city records, historic maps and photographs, the history of Westmoreland Place is reconstructed in an attempt to resolve these questions and solve the mystery of a failed subdivision in turn-of-the-century Los Angeles.

Children's Geographies and Contested Identities

Thomas Herman, San Diego State University

Empirical research undertaken in one of San Diego's most diverse urban neighborhoods reveals some of the content and significance of 10 - 12 year old children's everyday geographies. Children's photographs, narratives, and interview responses are used to il-

lustrate and emphasize two different perspectives on their relations with the neighborhood environment. Caretakers work to produce a “kid-space” in an environment characterized by hazard and instability. Children, conversely, actively expand their horizons by seeking out novel experiences, often by transgressing established boundaries. The discussion considers both the ways in which children are socially and spatially isolated, and therefore de-skilled, and the ways in which children take control and maximize the utility of their geographies to support their need to learn about the world and locate themselves within it.

The Spatialization of Hunger: Food Not Bombs in San Francisco, California

Cary L. Karacas, San Francisco State University

Food Not Bombs is a volunteer, grassroots, non-violent direct action group that provides free vegetarian meals to people in need of alimentation. What distinguishes Food Not Bombs from other groups which feed the hungry is that it serves food in public spaces. In effect, the group intentionally spatializes the fact of hunger by making it visible to the public. This brings into tension with the public at large the fact of hunger in their community. In addition, this appropriation of public space creates critical locations from which marginalized groups may represent themselves before society, form community, and organize for further acts of resistance. In this paper, I examine how Food Not Bombs has used the tactic of appropriating public spaces in the city of San Francisco and municipal government responses to these actions.

Marine Swell Forecasting

Chinmaya L. Lewis, Humboldt State University

Prompted by a freak swell event that occurred in late July 1996, and my subsequent interest, the Meteorologist in charge at the National Weather Service Office in Eureka asked me to give a presentation to the staff on marine swell forecasting for beachgoers and mariners. In my presentation at the 1998 CGS Conference I will be discussing the methods involved in swell forecasting and how it pertains to the safety of mariners, surfers, and beachgoers. I will also be discussing swell/wave characteristics and dynamics, along with the interaction between swells and the sea floor which comes into play in the breaker zone. This discussion will lead to conclusions about possible improvement of swell forecasting so that California beachgoers and mariners can obtain the most accurate information concerning swell height, period, and direction for a specific geographic area.

Reconstructing Fire History in the Santa Monica Mountains Using Hyperspectral Imagery

Marcos J. Luna and Hong-lie Qiu, California State University, Los Angeles

Recent hyperspectral data made available by remote sensing systems such as Jet Propulsion Laboratory’s Airborne Visible Infrared Imaging Spectrometer (AVIRIS) allow the identification of certain landscape features which has been difficult if not impossible in the past. This study explores the possibility of reconstructing fire history in the Santa Monica Mountains by correlating recorded fire regions to regions classified by spectral reflectance. The study area is noted for frequent wildfires that have resulted in considerable damage to the environment and private property. The recorded fire regions contain information regarding fire frequency, latest fire occurrence, and areal extent of individual

fire occurrences for the last seventy years in a GIS format. AVIRIS data, consisting of 224 spectral bands and covering a wider spectral range than traditional sensors, are classified based on several classification schemes. These classification schemes take into account the presence of non-vegetated areas, seasonal variation, and vegetation types. The hypothesis tested is that regions of different fire history are detectable in terms of spectral reflectance. More specifically, images acquired in the last four years from the Santa Monica Mountains are tested as to whether or not a "fire signature" exists and how far it can be traced back into the past.

Examining International Trade at the Local Level: The Export trading Patterns of California's cities

Laura Martin Makey, San Diego State University

As the process for economic globalization continues and local, metropolitan economies become more interdependent, there is increasing interest in examining the role of internationalization on subnational economies. Traditionally, the focus of international trade theory and related research has been on nation-states. Theoretical advances, as well as recent progress in data reporting however, make accurate substate analysis of international trade flows possible for the first time. Data on manufactured exports from 22 metropolitan areas in California are used in calculating indices of trade intensity for each city. In addition, a shift-share analysis is applied to data detailing change in manufactured exports between 1993-1995. The shift-share method allows the change over time to be allocated among local, national, and international components.

The Role of Old Towne Orange on Orange County's Postmodern Urban Landscape

Irene Naesse, San Diego State University

Postmodern urban landscapes are characterized by the lack of a dominant urban center and the contextualization of images from other places. Older urban environments, such as old downtowns and industrial area, have also received the attention of researchers as private and public cooperation transforms them into profitable festival marketplaces by capitalizing on society's nostalgia for the past. Studies of Orange County, however, are primarily focused on the new, large-scale, master-planned developments in the southern section of the county. The role of the historic district of the City of Orange as the 'Antique Capital' of Southern California and its relatively intact urban structure suggests that the old downtowns are important elements within the postmodern urban landscape.

Mapping the Food Shed – A Comparison of Regional Projects in Community Food Security

Stina Perry, San Francisco State University

In many American cities, access to safe, nutritional food is limited, especially for the poorest residents. Additionally, land-use patterns have destroyed hinterlands once used for truck and market gardening. Commodities must travel greater distances and consumers are increasingly dependent on corporate agriculture for their daily diet. In California several grassroots organizations are trying to decentralize and to gain democratic control over their food systems. Mapping is employed to examine issues of access and to aid with site selection for urban markets and gardens. This paper examines contemporary food

systems and profiles some recent California efforts to map the regional food shed.

Disposal of Home Source Medical Waste

Doris J. Powell, California State University at Los Angeles

This paper is an examination of how used needles and syringes from home source medical waste are being disposed in Southern California. Currently one billion needles per year enter the countries waste stream or are carelessly discarded on city streets and in parks. These needles have the potential to transmit life threatening disease such as HIV and hepatitis B. Those at greatest risk of contacting these diseases from needles disposed in the trash are disposal workers, landfill operator and line workers at material recovery facilities. In order to gage the extent of this threat an extensive literature search of medical and solid waste journals was conducted. The search revealed that potential for contracting communicable diseases exists however it is a rare event. Despite this contact with needles buried in trash can be a terrifying experience for worker and costly prospect for disposal company owners. Better methods need to be found to dispose of this waste. To this end government agencies which regulate medical waste in Southern California were contacted through telephone interviews to asses the availability programs which assist residents to safely dispose for used needles and syringes. It was revealed that home source medical waste is exempt from state medical waste regulations and the very few programs exist to properly collect and dispose of this waste . The main reason for the lack of collection programs appear to be lack of funding, potential liability, and security of the collection site. The few programs already in place were used as case studies for this paper. Disposal of home source medical was in a growing problem and responsible solutions need to be found.

Health Disease Related Data Collection: A Geographer's Quest

Mary E. Prichard, California State University Los Angeles

With the increasingly vital and useful role of Geographers as investigators of the geography of disease and other health related issues, the challenge of obtaining data from private and public sector resources is a critical reality for researchers. While data today is more available to most at lower levels of resolution, i.e., at State or County levels, difficulties tend to arise when academic researchers seek data at higher resolution levels, i.e., by census tract. While data collection issues are of concern to professional and student geographers alike , they may present more collection difficulties for student geographers (i.e. graduate level), who do not have the professional clout ad experience to successfully gain cooperation of public and/or private agencies for access to data. This paper investigates some practical considerations and issues surrounding the acquisition of health and disease related data. Topics to be discussed include the definition of "public data" (i.e. data collected and controlled by publicly funded agencies); legalities governing access to health/disease related data; rights of academic researchers to have full access to "confidential" or "sensitive" publicly held data, and problems that can occur related to the level of resolution available from public agencies. A case study will also be presented to illustrate some of the issues explored in the paper.

Suburban Ethnic Enclaves

James P. Allen, California State University, Northridge

Immigrant settlement in cities has traditionally been associated with enclaves (residential

concentrations) for specific ethnic groups in poorer, more central sections. With cultural and economic assimilation, immigrants and their children presumably leave an enclave and disperse in the suburbs. However, recent evidence from Southern California indicates the presence of many suburban ethnic enclaves. Although many immigrants have dispersed as expected, the presence of suburban enclaves of moderate or high income is expected. They indicate the importance of ethnic social and cultural ties despite substantial assimilation. Maps of residential distributions illustrate this widespread pattern as well as key exceptions. A few ethnic groups have no enclaves at all; a few groups show suburban enclaves but none in more central locations; and some groups show only the traditionally expected pattern. Characteristics of specific groups help explain each group's type of settlement pattern.

Environmental Inequity in Los Angeles: Historical Explanations

Christopher G. Boone and Ali Modarres, California State University, Los Angeles

Environmental problems are not distributed evenly in cities. Often the most offending and hazardous sites are located in disadvantages communities. Using the EPA Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) data for Los Angeles (1987 – 1994), we identified socioeconomic variables that best explained the frequency of TRI sites. A GIS overlay of land use revealed were run through a subsequent discriminant analysis, land use emerged as the most critical variable in explaining the frequency of TRI sites. This analysis demonstrated that understanding the development of land use is essential to understanding the development of toxic neighborhoods. This paper examines the transition of the City of Commerce region from agricultural fields to a major industrial (and toxic) center. It suggests that historical momentum, accessibility, and availability of vacant land may have been the most important elements in creating a hazardous site. The paper calls into question simple correlations made from contemporary snapshots of demographic data and the location of TRI sites and argues that environmental equity research requires more substantial historical analysis.

California Awareness in Business Students

Sally A. Boyes-Hyslop, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

The object of this study is to examine the knowledge/awareness of business students as related to the location of 20 points of interest in California. The points of interest will include cities, physical (naturally occurring) landmarks and human created attractions. The study will be conducted using a California map and survey instrument, Demographic information as well as educational experiences will be included in order to determine if native (US born) business students have more awareness of California or whether non-native (foreign born) business students are more aware of California.

California Microbrewery Location and Age, Education, and Income

Shannon J. Casey, City of Henderson , NV

Between 1990 and 1994, the number of microbreweries (breweries that produce 15,000 barrels or less of beer) opening in the United States increased from 51 in 1990, to 161 in 1994. California, with 126 microbreweries as of 1994, has more microbreweries than any other state. Although phenomenal growth is associated with the microbrewery industry, much is assumed and little is known about who makes up the microbrewery market and if microbreweries locate based upon this assumed market. Using census data and geo-

graphic information system (GIS), this thesis will identify significant age, education, and income demographics associated with California microbrewery location at the zip code level. Furthermore, a case-study of the Riverside Brewing Company illustrates the role of a microbrewery in defining the geographic theme of the community that it locates.

Red Skin, White Skin, and a Pink Landscape: A Cultural Geography of the Sioux Quartzite in Southwestern Minnesota and Southeastern South Dakota

Shannon J. Casey, City of Henderson, NV

Sioux quartzite is a major natural resource in Southwestern Minnesota and Southeastern South Dakota. It has many uses such as building blocks for structures and gravel for roads. However, it only has been in the last century that European Settlers and their descendants have viewed Sioux Quartzite as a natural resource. To the Native Cultures local to the study area, Sioux Quartzite was a rock layer hindering the extraction of their precious "pipestone" (catlinite), a softer claystone used to make peace-pipes. Using Literature, site visits, and interviews, this paper contrasts the use of Sioux Quartzite by Native American cultures and European settlers. From this, particular uses of the Sioux Quartzite are chronicled and Sioux Quartzite use zones are defined.

The Military at Port Hueneme

Raymond B. Crawford, California State University Northridge

Port Hueneme has seen many changes, but none so drastic as those that transpired during the build up for World War II. This period marked the beginning of the military presence in the area. The military has waxed and waned through the last fifty odd years, but always maintained a firm grasp on the facilities at Port Hueneme. As we enter into the twenty-first century, the debate continues over the optimum use of this unique port facility. Port Hueneme is the only deep-water port between Los Angeles and San Francisco. Today it is doubtful that the military presence is still warranted, yet the reluctance of the Navy to surrender the facilities to civilians, and the equally compelling justification for additional harbor facilities for international trade has established a rift between these opposing factions. Port Hueneme's future may rest on political imperatives rather than military ones.

US. Borders, Boundaries, and Related Nonsense

Tom Deal, Foothill College

Political divisions, unlike natural features, are often hastily and inaccurately determined. The inconvenience imposed on those already settled on the land can vary from tragic to comical, and a few current disputes promise to endure into the next millennium. The US. is blessed (or cursed) with many such divisions, and all have geographical stories to tell. This presentation will be a light-hearted look at the folly of these human endeavors when dividing the North American continent like a prized cheesecake. Stories of vague treaties, inaccurate surveying, wandering rivers, and political intrigue promise to enrich the repertoire every geography teacher and geo-phile of US. and North American history.

From Santa Clara Valley Small Towns To Silicon Valley Yuppyvilles

Richard Ellefsen, San Jose State University

This paper traces the transformation of six small towns (Palo Alto, Los Altos, Los Gatos, Mountain View, Willow Glen, and Campbell, located in what is now widely called Silicon Valley) from parochial trading centers catering to local market needs to glitzy regional magnets for an affluent, sophisticated, high-tech based population in the market for goods and services at the upper end of the threshold and range continuum. Accordingly, the size of market areas has grown from each town's immediate environs to South San Francisco Bay Area wide. Most dramatic change is seen in: Palo Alto (with its 77 eating and drinking establishments); Los Gatos (with its antique shops); Mountain View (with its Asian restaurants); and Los Altos. Willow Glen and Campbell are taking steps to emulate the others. Change is measured from a base date of 1971, in the early days of Silicon Valley, to today. Special focus given to the improvement of the towns' physical ambiance, trees and landscaping. Graphs and photographs illustrate the changes.

Evolution of the Trail System in the Klamath Mountains

Chris Hughes, Humboldt State University

Discovering Geography in Character Education Literature

David M. Helgren and Marcia Holstrom, San Jose State University

Character education has a growing if somewhat controversial following. The National Council for the Social Studies has issued a Position Statement and the California Council recently devoted an entire issue of their journal, *Social Studies Review*, to various aspects of Character Education in the K-12 curriculum. This presentation will discuss the geographic themes present in specific works of literature. John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, JD Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, and Jack London's *Call of the Wild* are three books listed by Character Education specialists as ones that address particular "Traits." The Geography in these books will be addressed in the context of *Geography for Life*, The National Standards for Geography, and the California History-Social Science Framework. The presentation will include examples of classroom lessons linking Places and regions, Human Systems, and Applying Geography to the contents of the three works of literature.

Urban Geography: Seeking a New Paradigm

Richard S. Hyslop, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Although "urban geography" has historically been a mainstay in the field of geography, it has not always had a commonly understood or appreciated sense of purpose. Ranging from not much more than description to detailed statistical and/or computer modeling, the study of urban areas has undergone many transformations. I would suggest that there are two distinctly disparate levels of discourse concerning the topic: (1) the research-based, intellectual focus (concerned with models and concepts more of interest to professionals and scholars), and (2) the expository focus of teaching about and getting students interested in urban geography. It is the second of these two approaches that is the focus of this paper. It is probably safe to suggest that current textbooks dealing with urban geography would not be described as fascinating or compelling reading by most students (and some teachers alike). The field of urban geography itself has demonstrated some concern over this issue, with debates about appropriate methodologies and sys-

tematic analysis. The point of this paper is to explore HOW the study of cities can be made more vital, meaningful, and INTERESTING to students. Various suggestions and approaches will be presented as a “work in progress.”

Urban Evolution of North Humboldt Bay, California

Joseph S. Leeper, Humboldt State University

Humboldt Bay, California exists in isolated northwestern California and most of its northern shoreline is dominated by a variety of settlements. The largest urban place, Eureka, is noted for its many architectural features and industrial areas. The other major urban place, Arcata, is primarily known as being the home of Humboldt State University. However, Arcata has a very unique morphology and cityscape. Using a unique set of primary resources – amateur aerial photography of a mail pilot – coupled with more modern ground truth photography, this paper will analyze the changing town morphology of Arcata through time. Causal factors will be cited as special patterns are pointed out with the use of key relict features.

Real to Reel Urban Geographies: ‘Placing’ the Production of the Representational Space in an Economic and Industrial Context

Christopher L. Lukinbeal, San Diego State University

Media studies in geographies have failed to find a focus in geography primarily because of the strict distinction between ‘real’ spaces and representational spaces. Locked within this dualism, examinations of the visual media have tended to focus on representations as ‘texts’ and thereby differ meaning away from media and onto specific topics such as, sense of place, gender, urbanism, ethnicity, etc. With this presentation I will offer an analysis of visual media and representational space by grounding these practices within the practice of ‘on location’ filming. By shifting the focus to the ‘real’ locations where media produces representational space, we can begin to explore mediated spaces as a third space – a space that is both real and represented. This approach places mediated practices within the historical changes in the television and film industry since the 1970s and shows how the demise of the studio system, along with flexible speculation and decentralization, allowed new regional networks to form in Vancouver BC, Florida, New York, and San Francisco.

Santa Cruz Island: A Case Study in Cooperative Management of an Island Ecosystem

Christiane Mainzer, California State University Northridge

Perched on the edge of Southern California’s continental shelf are the Channel Islands. They can be divided into: 1) the Northern or Santa Barbara group, comprised of San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz and Anacapa; and 2) the southern chain or Catalina group which includes the islands of San Nicolas, Santa Barbara, Santa Catalina and San Clemente. In 1980 the four islands of the Santa Barbara group and the tiny isolated island of Santa Barbara (a part of the Catalina group) were designated as the sixth national park for the state of California, or Channel Islands National Park. It is the largest island of the Channel Islands group, Santa Cruz, which exhibits the unique co-management that exists between the Federal government and a private guardianship over the protection of a precious island ecosystem. During the past 18 years the National Park has become the “keeper” and the “protector” of the land and marine resources of the eastern 10% of Santa Cruz Island.

The Nature Conservancy, a privately funded organization, has responsibility over the remaining western 90% portion of Santa Cruz island with a stated mission: "To understand, conserve, protect and restore the natural values of the island environment." Therefore, it is manifest to see through a policy of cooperative guidance that promotes wilderness suitability, and preservation of cultural resources. Does the mutual interest shared by several concerns provide the backdrop for possible conflict in the protection of the Channel Islands? This paper briefly explores the role of voluntary cooperation of the varied public and private interest groups under the firm hand of the National Park service.

The Geomorphology of Channel Confluences in Ephemeral Streams

Linda O'Hirok, California State University Los Angeles

Web Based Training in Geographic Information Science

Michael Phoenix, Manager of University Relations, ESRI

As we head into the next millennium the world will increasingly be a knowledge based economy that will require lifelong learning. In order to meet the demands for continuous professional development in the field of GIS, ESRI is developing a Virtual Campus that will offer literally hundreds of courses related to geographic information technology, applications, and science. Courses will range from basic spatial literacy to advanced spatial statistics. Some courses will teach the application of geographic techniques to various disciplines such as forestry, crime analysis, precision farming and marketing. ESRI is partnering with leading scholars and practitioners in the field of GIS to offer a wide range of high quality courses. This presentation will discuss the structure and goals of ESRI's Virtual Campus. Partnership possibilities will also be discussed.

California's Population and Economy: Diversity, Connections, Change

William A. Selby, Santa Monica College

Throughout California's history, diverse immigrant populations have rushed in, often attracted by economic opportunities. Then, during the early 1990's, California suffered through painful economic restructuring that shattered the stability many residents and families once enjoyed. This restructured economy ushered in a new period of immigration that has reshaped the state's population in profound ways. What has emerged from the turmoil of this decade? Probably the most vibrant economy in the history of the world. How does our new economy match our new population? How do we deal with the powerful barriers which separate haves from have-nots in this new California? These forces are transforming California landscapes into the 21st century. Geographers must share information and ideas that will keep us on the cutting edge of these trends.

Cultural Ecology of Long Beach – A Digital Archive

Ray Sumner, Long Beach City College

For three semesters students have been exploring, researching and recording aspects of the changing urban environment of the City of Long Beach, California. Topics addressed are:

1) visual uses of language in the urban landscape of Long Beach

- 2) religious landscapes of Long Beach
- 3) ethnic "flags" in Long Beach

This is an ongoing project, which will address other aspects of the cultural landscape in future semesters. It has been highly motivating for students, who learn to read their local landscape, instead of relying on textbook examples and illustrations. The archive already records some features which have now vanished from the Long Beach environment, and serves as a resource for local teachers, or anyone else with WWW access.

Poster Abstracts

Los Angeles Gangs Territories

Alejandro Antonio Alonso, University of Southern California

In Los Angeles and other urban areas of the United States, the gang problem among minors and young adults has been escalating. There is an estimated 500,000 gang members in the United States, with 125,000 of those members from Los Angeles, giving Los Angeles the dubious title "gang capital of the nation." As gang membership has increased and gang related homicides soared, very little has been discussed about the expansion and the proliferation of gang turf. Through research, intensive field work, and several dozen interviews, African-American gang territories in Los Angeles have been mapped over time to show gang diffusion. The purpose of this poster project is to present a temporal representation of gang territories in Los Angeles.

Modeling Climactic Conditions in the Tijuana River Watershed

Dan Henderson, San Diego State University

The poster displays the multiple components utilizing for classifying climate such as elevation, aspect, distance from the ocean, and the location of weather stations in and surrounding the basin. The study will be using various spatial interpolation techniques such as trend surface analysis and kriging to create temperature and precipitation surfaces to help classify the micro-climates of the region.

Japan: Land of the Rising Vending Machine

Cary L. Karacas and Stina Perry, San Francisco State University

The vending machine is a ubiquitous feature of the contemporary Japanese landscape. Found both in cities and along rural roadsides, these machines offer a cornucopia of items for the consumer. From the predictable soft drink to beer and sake, from a five pound bag of rice to a bouquet of flowers, from condoms sold according to one's blood type to the required black tie for a funeral, all this and more can surely be found in a vending machine. This poster offers a revealing photographic glimpse of vending machines in the rural prefecture of Gunma, Japan, and briefly examines the diffusion of certain machines to San Francisco and other Pacific cities.

How Far Will She Go?

Marlyn Gilden Sussman, California State University San Bernardino

This study of American women sculptors born between 1850 and 1995 shown the location of their birth and place they chose to study. Appropriate data was found for 483. Of those for whom no birth date was available other dates were used to confirm time of birth. Birth dates were given less and less often the closer time approached the present. Around the 1920s women started giving their specialty as sculpture combined with other medium. These artists were included in the study. Data was narrowed to a limited time frame (100 years) and a limited area (United States). The focus was on travel patterns showing distances women would go in order to get the training necessary to become sculptors. Confirmation of data came from two separate sources. Travel was traced with threads and sites were marked with different colored pins.

CONSTRUCTED WASTELANDS: A Wastewater Treatment Model in Arcata, California

Windy Travis, Humboldt State University

The constructed wetlands of Arcata, California serve two important purposes. First, these wetlands serve as a wastewater treatment facility for the city of Arcata. The treatment facility includes the "Headworks", oxidation ponds, and treatment marshes. Wastewater is pumped through the treatment areas where chemical and biological agents work in combination to produce clean water. The land also offers recreational opportunities for residents and visiting tourists. The wetland provide a unique setting for walking, picnicking, and jogging. The ponds also supply valuable habitat for waterfowl with easy access for bird watchers. Although unlikely, this combination of land uses has proven to be a valuable community asset.

AWARDS 1998

DAVID LANTIS SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

Undergraduate: Daniel J. Dempsey, Humboldt State University.

Graduate: Sophia Habl, San Diego State University.

JOE BEATON POSTER AWARDS

First Place (\$100):

Alejandro Antonio Alonso, University of Southern California, "Los Angeles Gangs Territories."

Second Place (\$75):

Dan Henderson, San Diego State University, "Modeling Climatic Conditions in the Tijuana River Watershed."

Third Place (\$50):

Windy Travis, Humboldt State University, "Constructed Wetlands: A Waste water Treatment Model in Arcata, California."

TOM MCKNIGHT PAPER AWARDS

GRADUATE STUDENT:

First Place (\$ 125)

Irene Naesse, San Diego State University, "The Role of Old Town Orange in Orange County's Postmodern Urban Landscape."

Second Place (\$100):

Martine Vallade, CSU-Northridge, "The Spatial Distribution of Tuberculosis in Los Angeles County, 1993-1996."

Third Place (\$75) Tie:

Marcos Luna and Hong-lie Qiu, CSU-Los Angeles, "Documenting Fire Recovery in Chaparral of the Santa Monica Mountains Using Hyperspectral Imagery."

Third Place (\$75) Tie:

Stina Perry, San Francisco State University, "Mapping the Food Shed-A Comparison of Regional Projects in Community Food Security."

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT:

First Place (\$ 125):

Lesley Albert and Erica Brim, Humboldt State University, "Rails to Trails: The Fate of the Arcata and the Mad River Railroad."

Second Place (\$100):

Tun T. Nguyen, Humboldt State University, "Urban Development of Saigon South, Vietnam."

Third Place (\$75):

Erica Chernoh, Humboldt State University, "Edaphic Factors of the Arcata Bottom."

ROBERT AND BOBBE CHRISTOPHERSON "GEOSYSTEMS PAPER AWARD" (\$250)

D. Brian Powell, Humboldt State University, "Assessment of Environmental Issues Surrounding Big Lagoon, Humboldt County, CA."

1998 CGS Awards

OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR

Barbara Friedrich, San Diego State University.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD:

Carolyn Whorff, Mount San Jacinto Community College.

FRIEND OF GEOGRAPHY

Jack Dangermond, President, Environmental Systems Research Institute.

DISTINGUISHED TEACHING AWARDS:

Diane Bruns, Lake Arrowhead

Don Cross, Barstow

Laurie Finucane, Fontana

CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION:

Jenny Zorn, 1998 Meeting Coordinator

Geographic Education

World Wide Web Project

Marcia M. Holstrom

Center for Geographic Education, San Jose State University

Abstract: This report describes the methodology and results of a project designed to help college students understand selected differences and similarities among regions of the world, while discerning the value and use of Web information in the context of a regional study of our planet. Students were asked to 1) use only World Wide Web sources to obtain data and information, 2) illustrate their findings on a map, and 3) describe the findings and their Web experience in a paper. Over a period of two years, the methodology and results varied slightly, but overall the outcomes were as intended.

Introduction

In the past few years, the World Wide Web (WWW), using graphical servers and browsers that run over the Internet, has rapidly expanded its capacity to where it now offers billions of pieces of data to millions of users around the planet. The reliability and use of that data have become controversial in education. Garbage in–garbage out is a phrase oft–repeated by skeptics, while believers constantly tap this resource for everything from Central Intelligence Agency data to the political opinions of a dozen or so Webmasters who maintain sites on East Timor. This project was designed to introduce students to the plethora of Geographic information available on the Web, to allow them to use their personal interests to select the subjects to be investigated, and to help them improve their understanding of Geography by comparing regions of the world. The project also required students to demonstrate some basic map skills by illustrating their data on a world outline map using symbols, colors, or patterns of their choice.

Methodology

Students were given detailed written instructions as well as a complete in–class description, which included information on starting point Web sites. The written instructions included specific details on due date, format of paper, and point distribution for grading. Students were not given specific data categories in the written instructions. Some suggestions were made in the classroom discussion, and will be described in the Results section. The general instructions to students were as follows:

Summary of Instructions to Students

After a preliminary investigation into data and other information available on the World Wide Web, complete a project proposal that includes

the two categories of data to be investigated, the 13 countries on which this data will be reported, and a brief list of Web sites already visited.

Using only the World Wide Web, find two pieces of data from the same two categories for 13 countries, two countries from each of six specified regions and either the United States or Canada. Find additional information on the Web that may give further insight into the reasons for the differences and similarities of that data when compared to the data of other countries and regions investigated.

Illustrate the data on a map.

Write a five to seven page research paper describing the results of the investigation, including possible reasons for the differences and similarities among countries and regions, and include a description of Web crawling problems and/or successes.

Detailed Student Project Guidelines

Getting started... If you have not done so before, the first thing you must do is familiarize yourself with how to access information using the World Wide Web. Web site addresses usually begin with `http://www` followed by a specific set of letters unique to that site, followed by a classification, which is similar to a zip code. Currently, these classifications are as follows:

.gov	Government (e.g. Census Bureau, CIA, Dept. of Education)
.edu	Education (e.g. San Jose State, Stanford, Harvard)
.com	Commercial (business addresses)
.org	Non-profit Organization (e.g. U. N., Population Reference Bureau)
.net	Network (e.g. Pacbell, Netcom)

To find information on the Web without a specific address, you should start with a Search Engine. Examples include Yahoo, Altavista, and Infoseek. These Search Engines allow you to enter key words and phrases and search for appropriate Web sites. If you are unfamiliar with searching for information on the Web, these Search Engines will also give you specific instructions on how to find what you are looking for without spending a lot of time searching through useless (for this project) Web sites.

What you are looking for... The information you are required to find for this project includes two pieces of data from the same two categories for 13 different countries as follows:

Either the United States or Canada and two different countries from

each of the following regions as delimited by your textbook:
Europe (not including countries in the next region listed)
Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union
Southwest Asia and North Africa
Africa South of the Sahara
Asia (except Southwest) and Oceania
Latin America

You also need to investigate general information related to that data for each country. Look for data and related information about subjects that interest you, that may be related to your major field of study, and/or that could be used for other research projects.

Make notes on your Web experiences, including information about sites that were particularly informative in the context of this assignment, or particularly inaccurate or biased when compared to other sites.

What you will do with the information... Illustrate your data on a political outline map of the world. You do not need to draw your own base map. Blank outline maps are available at the campus bookstores or on the Web. Include a title and legend that explains the patterns, symbols, and/or colors you are using to show the data.

Write a five to seven page paper reporting the results of your investigation. Include information about the data you gathered, general information relating to that data, your view of the meaning of that data and related information in the context of a regional comparison, and an account of your experiences using the Web. Attach a bibliography of Web sites from which you used information for your map and paper, and a separate list of at least 25 Web sites you visited.

Results

This project was assigned for two years to several hundred students at San Jose State University who were enrolled in General Education World Regional Geography classes. Most of these students had no prior formal Geography instruction, and this was the only Geography course they would take during their academic career.

Overall results were generally very positive. Students reported on a variety of data, and wrote very specific comments about Web sites. Many students commented that they spent an inordinate amount of time on the project for various reasons, many of which were related to the amount of data and information that is available on the Web. The quality of the written reports was comparable to that of more traditional assignments.

Samples of student comments included in papers:

"After I had completed my map I sat there and studied it for a while...I wanted to make sure...information was correct...but the other was...it was great to see all the information I had collected in a visual representation."

"Thank you, Mrs. Holstrom. Doing this project opened up a whole new world for me." (from a student who had never used the Web)

"Out of all of the numerous term projects that I have done during my years in high school and this, my first year in college, this term project had to have been the most interesting project that I have ever done."

"I'm sorry, but I'll have to drop this class. I've never used a computer and I'm too old to start now."

The results of the map portion of the project were varyingly interesting, fun, encouraging or appalling. When the project was in its infancy, little instruction was included on the details of illustrating data on a map. That omission proved fortuitous. Most students did not include a title; many demonstrated little knowledge of the purpose and use of symbols, colors and patterns. For example, students would put one color on top another, use two different colors side by side in the same country, or use a different symbol, color, or pattern for every piece of data for every country – defeating the purpose of a regional comparison. Legends were occasionally omitted from the map, or submitted on a separate page. Some students turned in a separate map for each country or region, rather than use a single world map illustrating a regional comparison.

However, many students submitted maps that would be acceptable for a beginning cartography class project. Some used very creative map symbols to represent their data, such as oil wells, tires (for number of automobiles), airplanes, and soft drink bottles. One student used the word "baby" to illustrate the birth rates in four categories, the highest birth rate represented by the entire word and the lowest represented by only the "b". The media used to complete the maps varied from crayons to computer mapping programs, with everything in between. The quality of the maps had little connection with the media used, although the few computer generated maps were generally very neat, but did not necessarily illustrate the data more appropriately.

Conclusion

This project has proved to be very successful with only a few isolated problems. At least 25% of students assigned this project had never used the World Wide Web, and a few had never used a computer. For these students, the learning curve in completing this project may be unfairly steep. However, surely part of our mission as Geography educators is to encourage students to acquire information and skills that will help them in future careers. If they have not yet learned to take advantage of computer technology, and investigate the variety of information sources available through this medium, this project encourages them to begin exploring that capability.

Students investigated only two facts for only 13 countries. This may not have been a fair base from which to do a regional comparison, depending on which countries were chosen. Perhaps the number of countries could be expanded, and more specific guidelines issued on which countries are to be used.

If students were given specific examples of data categories, e.g., birth rates and female life expectancy, a much higher percentage of the reports were on those two categories. Students should be given specific data examples that cannot be used, either because that data is not available worldwide, or simply because they need to choose data that has not been given as an example.

This project required students to view limited data and information about various countries in various regions which, hopefully, aroused their curiosity about other Geographic factors affecting the world and its people. It certainly expanded their concept of the scope and relevance of Geography.

A New NSF Funded Faculty Enhancement Program – “GIS ACCESS”

Les Doak
Cypress College

A new two-year opportunity will give faculty, from high school through university, the opportunity to learn the advanced technology of GIS coupled with active learning pedagogy. “GIS ACCESS”, funded by the National Science Foundation, will enable 120 faculty, working in regional teams, to study, design, and implement both GIS and active learning in their curricula. The National Science Foundation Information Technology Workshop Report (NSF 98-82), “Information Technology: Its Impact on Undergraduate Education in Science, Mathematics, Engineering, and Technology” (<http://www.nsf.gov/cgi-bin/getpub?nsf9882>), strongly supports development of advanced technology learning environments utilizing active learning pedagogy.

“GIS ACCESS” is now actively seeking participants. The project requires a commitment from interested faculty to participate in two consecutive Summer Institutes, each of two week duration, and to develop modular classroom materials. Institutional support for these commitments is critical. Participants will be expected to design and incorporate GIS and Active Learning Pedagogy into their teaching and to act as regional resource team members following the completion of the project. Geographers are strongly urged to apply. “GIS ACCESS” is also seeking participation by populations not usually associated with implementation of GIS or other advanced technology. Modest stipends and subsistence are available to all participants.

Interested faculty should notify: Steve Palladino, Senior Co-PI, “GIS ACCESS”, c/o NCGIA, Geography Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-4060, email: spalladi@ncgia.ucsb.edu.”

“GIS ACCESS” is a National Science Foundation funded project developed by the Department of Geography at Cypress College, Cypress, California.

EDITORIAL POLICY

The California Geographer is a refereed annual publication of the California Geographical Society.

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2. **Geographic Chronicles** – shorter items of general geographic interest, including thesis abstracts and preliminary research findings, notices of professional meetings, grant and study opportunities, travel advisories, book reviews, discussions of current debates, literature and theory related to geography (subject to editorial review).
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Guidelines for submission:

1. Papers are subject to anonymous review and should not identify the author except on the cover page.
2. Papers that have been previously published or are currently being considered for publication elsewhere cannot be considered.
3. Please submit three paper copies, typed and double spaced. These will not be returned. Manuscripts also submitted on disk are preferred, either as an ASCII file, or in a commonly used word processing program.
4. Manuscripts should conform to the general guidelines published each year in the March issue of *The ANNALS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS*. All photographs, diagrams and maps must be numbered as figures and be camera-ready, or in digital form.
5. Original research articles should not normally exceed 10 000 words. Please indicate the total number of words on the cover page.
6. Both manuscript editing and review by referees will focus on clarity and succinctness.

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