

## Book Reviews

Edited by AMY GLASMEIER

**European Pensions and Global Finance**, GORDON L. CLARK, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2003). 272 pp. £50.00 (hbk). ISBN 0 19 925363 3.

Critics have debated whether globalization has led to convergence of diverse national systems. In *European Pensions and Global Finance*, Gordon L. Clark examines the ways in which European social welfare institutions, facing unprecedented crises, interact with the forces of global finance embodied by Anglo-American financial institutions. The book focuses on the emergence of new institutional solutions to pension crisis.

The book's organization reveals the author's scalar understanding of global finance, interweaving socio-economic dynamics at various scales, ranging from new practices of wealth creation by German corporate managers, new organizational dynamics within Dutch sector funds, to urban dynamics of London as a global financial centre. Another organizational merit comes as the author carefully reminds the reader when his discussion at hand can be linked to arguments in previous or upcoming chapters.

The book has three parts. The first (Chapter 2) examines the overall connection between current demographic transition in Europe and the pension fund crisis. The second part (Chapters 3–6) illustrates unique adaptations by three European countries (France, Germany and the Netherlands) to the pension crisis. The last part (Chapter 7) articulates the ways in which London became a global financial centre, and why it continues to survive fierce competition from such European financial centres as Paris and Frankfurt.

In Chapter 2, Clark suggests that current ageing trends in Europe threaten the financial integrity of the Pay-As-You-Go (PAYG) social security system. One of the key issues in pension reform in Europe has been institutional competition between the European pension model (stressing social cohesion) and the Anglo-American model (with a focus on profitability). Despite the danger of 'fracturing the post-war consensus' (p. 50) in Europe, Clark suggests that the Anglo-American model cannot be simply ignored as 'the enemy of social solidarity', because it may provide a solution to the financial gap that the current European economic system (with commitment to social solidarity) is likely to fail to fill.

In Chapter 3, Clark suggests that scepticism about the capacity of the future French social security system is translated into privatization of the public pension system. In a way, this defection was inevitable due to low demographic and economic growth in the domestic economy and became a prelude to a 'requiem for a French ideal' (Durkheim's social solidarity). Clark suggests a compromise between global financial market forces and social solidarity, as the market

now assumes the role of 'realizing the promise of social solidarity' in lieu of the nation-state (p. 75). However, the outcome of this experiment is yet to bear fruit.

In Chapters 4 and 5, Clark examines the German response to market forces of global finance and the country's pension crisis. While scholars have suggested 'German firms would not voluntarily adopt higher international standards, or would do so only in a manner that did not threaten their inherited systems of management and governance' (p. 94). Clark refutes the claims by showing that many globally active German firms widely accepted international standards in order to compete/cooperate successfully with Anglo-American firms.

In Chapter 5, Clark shows how the operation of German pension firms in the USA has led to a transfer of Anglo-American investment strategies, and a redefinition of 'the natural partners in any corporate enterprise – from management and labor to management and shareholders' (p. 126). German corporate managers in the US focus on strategies to maximize the market value of the firm resulting in new intra-firm alliances between the managers and labour.

In Chapter 6, Clark suggests that the Dutch system can be an alternative to the Anglo-American model. The Dutch pension system is a mixed system with 'the elements of co-determination and collective bargaining so essential to post-war European political stability, while providing scope for financial growth and innovation so important in the Anglo American securities' markets' (p. 142). The tension in the Dutch system is increasing, however, as Dutch citizens become increasingly more dependent on supplementary pensions and thus global financial services. Although the pressure is relatively lower compared with France and Germany, the Dutch pension system becomes increasingly pressured by the logic of global financial markets.

Chapter 7 should attract more direct attention of scholars in economic geography and regional studies, as Clark effectively show the ways in which London initially became a global financial centre, and how London links European socio-economic systems to global finance. In doing so, Clark draws on two sets of arguments: scale economies and complementarities. While acknowledging that Paris and Frankfurt can assume the same geographical function, Clark argues 'they could not match London's market diversity and liquidity or London's depth of talent' (p. 192). As a result, Frankfurt and Paris act as intermediaries, transferring the continental flow of funds through London into the world.

In the Conclusion, Clark carefully challenges the audience by suggesting 'the continental European retirement systems may come to rely upon global finance to sustain social justice' (p. 196). Then Clark retreats with an interesting intervention, called 'the world safe for global finance' (p. 207). To make

the world financially safe, according to Clark, one needs to manage not only contagious effects of financial crises, but also administrative and regulatory reforms in developing countries where European investment can operate profitably. With regard to management of financial reforms in developing countries, Clark seems to depend on 'the global political power mediated and controlled by the United States of America' (p. 211). These arguments in conclusion should be considered points of engagement in the debates on financial globalization, rather than definitive answers to current challenges.

Overall, the book is another significant contribution by one of the pioneers in the field of financial geography to current debates on global finance. Some readers may find chapters (3–6) on European countries rather difficult to follow unless they are familiar with the particular pension systems in these countries. However, the author's main points in those chapters are not hard to grasp. The present reviewer particularly recommends that readers at least examine Chapter 7, which should provide a good overview of debates and issues regarding global financial centres. In this book, Clark highlights challenging research agendas that intrigue many readers.

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**Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society and Method.** ERIC SHEPPARD and ROBERT MCMASTER (Eds), Blackwell, Malden, MA (2004). 272 pp. US\$69.95 (pbk) ISBN 0 631 23070 X.

This new book seeks to provide the reader with a comprehensive survey of the ways geographers conceptualize the fundamental concept of scale. Of specific interest is the veritable smorgasbord of approaches various subdisciplines use to design studies to deal with the complexity of geographic problems across a range of spatial and temporal scales.

Easterling and Polsky provide an interesting discussion of challenges associated with linking human and environmental systems, and describe emerging approaches to linking such systems across a range of spatial and temporal scales (e.g. Multilevel modelling). Lam reviews scalar issues associated with environmental assessment and monitoring, mostly in the context of land use/land cover change, and describes the application of fractal analysis to problems of multiscale landscape characterization and change detection.

Swyngedouw uses two cases concerning infrastructural development of water resources to illuminate deeper connections between the state, the centrality of politics and the role of scale. He looked to Spain at the national scale and Guayaquil, Ecuador, at the regional/city scale. Using materialist and historical-geographical perspectives, Swyngedouw outlines the way in which trajectories of water development infrastructure ultimately relied on inseparably intertwined processes of social and natural systems. More than hydrology, it was the constellation of political, cultural, economic and social relations that explained the transformation of the natural resource – water – in these two cases. And this transformation occurred within a significant but geographically unstable set of scales. He argues that spatial scales are

perpetually redefined, contested and restructured in terms of their relative to their extent, content, relative importance and interrelations. This is in contrast to either a fixed scale or a hierarchical scale.

Philips provides one of the most interesting and synthetic chapters in the volume by discussing how the use of cross-scale frameworks informs research in Physical Geography. He contrasts operational scales with framing scales; the former explores how processes vary across a range of spatial and temporal scales, while the latter focuses on the multiscale context in which geographic problems of interest reside. This contrast between descriptive and process-based uses of scale is portable and useful for understanding how a wide swath of research in physical geography engages scalar issues. This chapter meets the central goal of synthesizing how scale is used in geographic research the editors portended.

Marston shrinks down to the body and the home to look at scale as being socially reproduced. She gives a concise review of feminist theoretical literature on social production and reproduction, and then links this to scalar issues. Marston argues, à la Lefebvre, that scale can be seen as production and reproduction through political and economic territorial restructuring. In the frame of urban gender power relations at the turn of the 18th century in Chicago, IL, Marston lays groundwork to connect the US women's reform movement, federal welfare laws and the tensions between actors at the home, the city and the federal scales.

Neil Smith discusses the bending and jumping of scale as changing socio-political structures necessitate restructuring geographic scales of spatial organization. He expands on Marston's chapter to explore the production of geographical scale as an organizational framework for the production of geographically differentiated spaces. Always malleable systems of geographic scale temporarily 'fix' social differences in more or less hierarchical spatial configurations. So we live and act within a cascading set of scalar tensions that flow from the body, to the home, to the city, nation-state, international and global context. Smith finds those instances of specific interest when actors jump from one scale to another in efforts to maximize their opportunities, e.g. local to global interactions via globalization. Also of interest is what Smith calls scale bending. He notes with interest the situations in which global power infrastructures such as the World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and United Nations often find themselves fractured over very localized imbroglios, or bank-rolled by individuals (e.g. Ted Turner or George Soros.) Our entrenched expectations about what social activities fit into what scale are being challenged or upset altogether (p. 193). Smith attributes this to new geographies of capitalist expansion and meditates on how the restructuring of scale restructures the landscape of empowerment (or not) for different classes, races, genders, etc.

While providing many useful insights into problems associated with the conceptualization and use of scale in geographic research, the editors do not successfully 'integrate across these subdisciplinary perspectives' as they intend in the introductory chapter. Instead, it is an eclectic – albeit uneven – assortment of chapters related to various scalar issues. The work ends up being somewhat fragmented rather than a cohesive consideration of scale as it has recently evolved in the discipline of geography as a whole. Every potential reader, from those interested in Geographic

Information System science to those more at home with Physical, Cultural, Cartographic and Urban interests can find an example of scalar conundrums influencing geographic research. However, the editors do not cohesively connect these wide-ranging essays, thus it might better serve the reader to digest this smorgasbord in pieces, rather than as a whole – unless one's appetite is obsessive on this subject.

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**Territories of Profit: Communications, Capitalist Development and the Innovative Enterprise of G. F. Swift and Dell Computer.** GARY FIELDS, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto (2004). xviii + 232 pp. US\$24.95 (pbk). ISBN 0 8047 4722 9.

*Territories of Profit* is a welcome addition to the literature on learning, innovation and regional development. Through a compelling comparison of two innovative enterprises – G. F. Swift, the late 19th-century provider of mass-produced fresh beef, and Dell Computers, the present-day developer of custom-built personal computers – Gary Fields identifies streams of continuity in the two firms' successful responses to technological change, which made them leaders in their respective industries in different historical periods. In doing so, Fields illustrates the insights gained from parallel comparative history, a research method that reins in the preoccupation of economic development studies with making claims about *new* trends. Instead, the comparison successfully links the examples of Swift and Dell by demonstrating how each used the new communications technology of their day to create process and organizational innovations that reconfigured time and space to their advantage and elevated them to dominant status in their respective industries. Both firms created profit from managing huge amounts of real-time information and high-volume flows of goods.

The book is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the comparison, theoretical framework, argument and methods employed in the study. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on innovation, business organization and communications revolutions emerging from the development of rail and telegraph systems and the Internet. It emphasizes an approach to innovation that considers the agency of firms in choosing learning trajectories, responding to market changes, and participating in interfirm networks. In synthesizing the three literatures, Fields incorporates assertions about the territorial patterns created by commodity chains and the tendency for innovation to concentrate spatially in regions. Chapter 3 discusses the development of the railroad and telegraph as commerce systems and facilitators of inter-regional trade and market expansion. It provides the context for Chapter 4, the case study of Swift. Chapters 5 and 6 mirror the previous two chapters by describing the emergence of the Internet as a commerce system and the case of Dell.

The author takes care to follow a similar structure in reporting the two case studies, which makes for easy recognition of the theoretical propositions they share. The final chapter reiterates the key elements of the parallel comparison: the direct-pull systems of production and distribution, the use of communications advances and administrative coordination to control time and space, and the simultaneous pursuit of the geographic expansion of markets (nationally for Swift; globally for Dell) and concentration of procurement and disassembly/assembly production (cattle disassembly and meatpacking in the Midwest and computer assembly in worldwide regionally concentrated production ensembles).

This book makes four significant contributions. First, it identifies how communications revolutions – rail/telegraph and the Internet – enable the creation of process innovations by users of technology, not just product innovations by builders of that technology. Second, it illustrates the profit associated with process innovations in the realm of logistics and distribution. It is not just product innovation and activity associated with production that can lead to competitive advantage. Fields argues convincingly that the sphere of circulation can serve as a catalyst for economic growth and even as a source of product innovations. Innovations in distribution served as 'the pathway to time compression in production and sale and space reorganization as part of this acceleration of time' (p. 223).

Third, Fields clearly shows that firms' decision to 'make or buy' is not resolved through organization along a continuum between markets and hierarchies characterized by increasing ownership of assets. Dell participates in networks of interfirm relationships that are not market coordinated, but rather linked by strategic, non-market relationships. In fact, Dell's network is not so different from Swift's vertically integrated firm. Both companies assert administrative control over the movement of their product along the value chain. Instead of vertical integration, Dell uses its market power in the computer industry to dictate that its suppliers use its communication platform, develop similar Web capabilities, take responsibility for inventory and, in some cases, locate production facilities near Dell's logistics centres. This dispels the belief that interfirm networks thrive on market coordination. It also counters the alternative idea that they rely on trust-based relationships. Instead, corporate power and administrative control are the basis for organization.

Fourth, Fields traces how each company manages time and space through simultaneously establishing patterns of spread and concentration. The use of communications technology extends each firm's market territory while management of distribution to those market territories relies on concentrations of materials procurement and disassembly/assembly production. Fields argues that these patterns of spread and concentration are characteristic of industrial districts. However, he does not define industrial districts in much detail, nor does he review more recent interpretations of Alfred Marshall's vision of them (AMIN, 2000) and how they might be different from other forms of agglomeration (cf. HARRISON, 1992).

Field's argument about how geography matters in the competitive ascendancy of Swift and Dell originates in the trajectory to profit-making he defines – a process from communications revolution to innovation to business organization to territorial transformation. This treats territorial transformation as following the other three, and the present

reviewer wonders how Fields would respond to literature that affords regions a greater role in facilitating innovation and influencing the actions of firms (e.g. COOKE and MORGAN, 1998; STORPER, 1997). While Fields argues that territorial development is fundamental to the capitalist process, he does not engage with one strand of the geographic literature that promotes the region as a 'nexus of learning processes' (COOKE and MORGAN, 1998). Readers familiar with the literature on clusters, learning regions and regional innovation systems might find themselves wanting Fields to explain the implications of his work to these approaches to innovation and territory-making.

For example, Fields mentions that Dell purposefully located assembly plants in high-technology industrial districts and benefited from government policies and incentives, but provides little analysis of these influences. He also mentions that Dell began in Austin, TX, but does not elaborate on whether proximity to the university played any role in its innovation process. Although investigation of these issues is likely beyond the scope of this book, they are pointed out here because the present reviewer thinks Fields's research has important implications for them. Those interested in developing policy should heed the message of this study, especially the use of power by lead firms to control both interfirm interaction in their networks and regional development trajectories. *Territories of Profit* presents a clear and engaging interpretation of how and when geography matters for capitalist development and skilfully demonstrates how firms yield tremendous power in shaping the answers to those questions.

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**Transportation: A Geographical Analysis**, WILLIAM R. BLACK, Guilford Press, New York (2003). xxii + 375 pp. US\$65.00 (hbk). ISBN 1 57230 848 6.

Debates in the field of transportation inherently involve geography, since transportation involves movement from place to place. Geographers care about places, and thus they ought to pay attention to issues surrounding transportation. However, William R. Black's *Transportation: A Geographical Analysis* identifies key areas in transportation where little geographic research has been conducted. Identification of research gaps is one of the many strengths of the book,

which also includes quantitative details of transportation geography, an overview of social concerns and debate surrounding transportation, and speculations surrounding transportation's status in the mid-21st century.

After reviewing the historical and current statuses of transportation in Part I, Black uses Parts II and III to explore quantitative methods used by transportation geographers. Part II deals with network analysis, using nodes and links to represent places and the transportation links between those places. Black's use of the network allows the reader to relate transportation geography to other fields that also use network theory. In Chapter 5, he gives detailed explanations on how to calculate numerical indices, such as connectivity, costs and circuitry of a network. Explanations are scaled for the non-expert reader, and in Part II, effective figures and simple formulas make quantitative network analysis accessible to the novice.

In Part III, Black deals with flow analysis and likewise presents clear formulas and figures that readers can understand and use. He describes methods such as linear programming and factor analysis, and explains the relationship between transportation flows and economics. He also makes it implicitly clear that the mathematical prediction of flow generation and attraction is rooted in modelling, where one size does not fit all and the researcher must make sensible decisions about formulas and inputs.

In the penultimate section, Black discusses decision-making and social concerns. In Part IV, he begins by explaining the history and status of transportation policy. He addresses the roles of politics, economics and the environment in transportation policy. Black critiques the use of forecasting in transportation policy: 'Forecasting-based transport planning will always yield increases in traffic volumes' (p. 226). This is because an expected rise in traffic leads to enhancements of the transportation infrastructure, which in cyclical fashion encourages a rise in traffic. Black encourages breaking this vicious cycle by promoting policies that support less-used transportation modes, such as walking and biking. Black admits that 'his is not the political thing to do' (p. 225), noting that transportation development depends on forecasts rather than on design.

In Part VI, Black continues the emphasis on current issues and problems in transportation. He uses a qualitative advocacy voice in Chapter 18 to identify how transportation affects certain groups of people, as well as how societal trends influence transportation. He makes the case that transportation decisions should consider these societal trends. In Chapter 19, he discusses the major problem of congestion and offers solutions across the technological and political spectra, from expanding the road network to controlling factors that create travel demand. The reader is left to decide which solutions are best, but Black makes clear that while transportation problems will not go away completely, geographers and others should take the initiative in reducing them. To make concrete his point, in Chapter 20 Black introduces a mathematical formula for calculating the sustainability of a region's transportation system. This introduction is followed by a sample application (p. 325) to identify ways to increase the sustainability of a regional transportation system.

Looking to the future, in the concluding chapter, Black compares his view of the transportation world in 2030 with that of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). He envisions the US and other

developed countries implementing controls that heavily restrict automobile and air travel to encourage sustainability. Some of the predicted changes seem unlikely (for political reasons mentioned earlier in the book), but most of them could happen and, most importantly, Black 'sees them happening out of necessity' (p. 339).

A reoccurring practice at the end of each chapter, Black identifies areas for further study. For example, some topics in transportation geography are not well defined, while others need new approaches. This identification of research gaps is one of the greatest strengths of the book. The format is also a plus. While the quantitative half of the book leads into the second half's qualitative discussion, the chapters can also be understood when read individually. Thus, while it is fine as a textbook on and a review of transportation geography, the book can also inform those who want knowledge on specific topics.

In *Transportation: A Geographical Approach*, Black lays out the methods and current issues involved in transportation geography. He relates transportation to many other divisions of geography and proposes solutions and future research to solve current and future problems in transportation. Geographers ought to familiarize themselves with the inherently spatial field of transportation, and this book gives geographers an accessible opportunity to do so.

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**Redundant Masculinities? Employment Change and White Working Class Youth**, L. McDOWELL, Blackwell, Malden, MA (2003). 287 pp. US\$64.95 (hbk). ISBN 1 4051 0585 2.

L. McDowell's *Redundant Masculinities?* offers readers a thoughtful examination of the socio-economic tensions, expectations and prospects of young white working-class men in Cambridge and Sheffield, UK. The book begins with a survey of the literature on Masculinities Studies. McDowell recounts the multifarious social, economic, racial, gender and sexual aspects that socially construct the identities of white working-class male youths in the UK. McDowell's command and poignant critiques of this wide-ranging literature are informative and give the reader compelling insights into the economic and social assumptions, and racial and heterosexual expectations that reside behind the conventional and far too narrow vision of 'masculinity'. The book addresses head on the 'crisis of masculinity', which in the UK, in particular, is seen as largely affecting white working-class youths.

McDowell challenges this ideological position and ensuing crisis based on a case study examination of the lived experience of UK youth. Her interview data, neatly woven into a compelling narrative, presents an insightful and informative portrayal of the lives of ten young men from Cambridge and 14 young men from Sheffield, which belie the prevailing gender expectations, societal norms and media portrayal of 'boys in crisis' in the UK. McDowell's discussion of multiple masculinities, and what she refers to as 'domestic masculinity', provides the reader with the tools to negotiate different and

divergent forms of masculinity, often outside the mainstream attitudes and norms of male behaviour.

A central motive of the book is to explore how industrial change and the transformation of work lead to displacement and alienation of the nation's youth. In Chapter 2, McDowell discusses the place-specific changes in work availability, from jobs in manufacturing – with a tradition of labouring – to employment in the service sector, where care and serving predominate. She examines how these changes create a rise in 'poor work', which significantly decreases the number of 'male-labour' jobs and creates an almost unending number of jobs that can be classified as 'feminine', based on the service and caring qualities associated with them. Here, McDowell provides an excellent and insightful exploration of how former socio-economic structures, which shaped male behavioural expectations, now must confront the effects of economic restructuring, which has virtually eliminated the opportunity of young men to occupy labour market positions that accord with socially constructed expectations of 'male work'. By intersecting race and gender, she illustrates how these economic changes affect white male youths differently than white women, and women and men of colour.

Chapter 3 addresses the 'crisis of masculinity' by asserting that the crisis is not strictly gender based, but rather is a 'fundamental transformation in the relationship between wage work, gender and class ...' (p. 59). McDowell revisits the mainstream construction of 'boys in crisis' in the UK by engaging media portrayals and the ensuing political reactions to troubled youth. She distinguishes between the more compelling and complex aspects of economic restructuring and the evolving 'risk society' to argue that conflating 'the problem of men' in the UK with gender divisions alone masks class and racial differences, which are at the root of increasing inequalities among young people. She confronts the 'crisis of masculinity' head on by exploring place-specific similarities and differences of the informants in the two very different study locations.

By comparing Cambridge and Sheffield, McDowell investigates how place plays a critical role in constructing identity, most clearly revealed when examining race and gender norms. McDowell makes plain her approach to this research project and forthrightly states her prior assumptions: positionality and the ethics involved in conducting, analysing and presenting this type of qualitative research. This section of the book is particularly instructive in exposing the methodological challenges inherent in this type of research and therefore the responsibility the researcher bears in engaging such complex issues. Undergraduate and graduate students tackling a qualitative research projects will find this aspect of the book particularly instructive.

In Chapter 5, McDowell explores the importance of work as an alternative to Higher Education for young white working-class men. Her research participants clearly identify with work rather than with education as a legitimate path to adulthood. This chapter (always active unless otherwise constrained) reiterates the importance of work to these young men, not only for economic gain, but also in the construction and maintenance of legitimate male identities – emergent at boyhood, and realized throughout manhood. McDowell explores the economic options and paths chosen by the men in her study group in Chapters 6–8 by allowing her subjects literally to explore their lives through stories and experiences.

This section is an excellent example of how to present interview data.

The concluding chapter continues to explore issues of class and gender. McDowell argues that the 'crisis of masculinity' is exaggerated, at least as represented by the media. However, in light of this extraordinary transformation of social position, disappointingly there is little if any glimmer of recognition or understanding of the relationship between masculine identity transformation and the economic position of women. Indeed, Feminism does not enter into or inform the rhetoric or attitudes of the young men in her study. Indeed, based on her own reflections, economic restructuring and growing economic inequality are more likely to reinforce rather than destabilize traditional gender relationships among people in working-class neighbourhoods. In the end, she enumerates policy recommendations in education, labour market policies, sex education, counselling, personal counselling and equal opportunity policies that might be prerequisites to a transformed civil society.

McDowell's review of the literature at the intersection of masculinity, race, class and gender is helpful for understanding the prevailing schools of thought and elaborate debates that bedevil academics. McDowell neatly ties the various theoretical positions together into a readable narrative, which is further enriched by her well-constructed critiques and qualitative analyses. This book is well suited for upper level undergraduate and/or introductory graduate courses such as gender and geography, economic geography, and/or social geography.

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**Forest Communities, Community Forests: Successes in Rebuilding Communities and Forests.** J. KUSEL and E. ADLER (Eds), Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham (2003). 192 pp. US\$32.95 (pbk). ISBN 0 7425 2585 6.

J. Kusel and E. Adler's compilation, *Forest Communities, Community Forests*, is the result of an initiative of the Seventh American Forest Congress that met in 1996 to consult on the current condition and projected future of forests in the USA. Realizing that for many traditional forestry practices are no longer the optimal choice for forest management and indeed may not be ecologically and economically viable, the Forest Congress sought to bring attention to groups that recognize the interdependence between the health of their communities and the vitality of their nearby forests. Citizen-initiated natural resource management strategies are increasing in number as communities fight to be no longer 'Ping-Pong ball[s] in a game played by distant interest groups' (p. 282). To examine this new mode of involvement, the Forest Congress gathered case studies of 12 American forests that document communities which are taking an active role in transforming both forest management practices and relations between forest stakeholders.

Organized into three categories based on the emphasis of the study, each case nevertheless includes a few basic tenets – a community group with a long-term track record of involvement with its forests, special focus on innovative ways of

dealing with changing environmental and economic conditions, and a comprehensive discussion of each group's setbacks and triumphs.

The first section, 'Investing in Natural Capital, Investing in Community', focuses on groups whose goal is to improve a degraded natural resource. Gerald Gray's case study of upstate New York's Catskill and Delaware watersheds stands out from other examples in the collection because its goal of community-based land management is supported by an outside beneficiary – New York City. Reservoirs in these rural, forested watersheds provide billions of gallons of drinking water to the city. When Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) pollution regulations threatened to require New York to spend US\$5 billion to US\$8 billion on water filtration systems, the city explored the innovative, less expensive idea of improving upstream land use practices as an alternative. The city's initial strategy was to enforce strictly new regulations that would reduce non-point source pollution, but this plan met strong resistance from watershed residents long frustrated by what they perceived as 'domestic colonialism'. Ultimately, the sides reached a mutually beneficial agreement whereby upstream residents' voluntary improvements in agricultural, forestry and general land-use practices are informed by the newly established not-for-profit Catskill Watershed Corporation, and subsidized by grants from the city.

The second section, 'From Process to Practice', highlights community groups that have had to battle policy gridlock and social conflict. The Catron County, New Mexico, case study, by Sam Burns, starts out as an example of just how badly things can go wrong. Approximately 3000 people live in Catron County's 7800 square miles of territory, 65% of which is federally managed forest and rangeland. Recent reductions in allowed timber harvesting as well as a perceived change to top-down land management practices that ignored local needs created a hostile, distrustful situation between local residents and federal agencies, ultimately resulting in a 'county supremacy' mentality exemplified by the county's assertion that it could nullify federal Forest Service directives. Desperation at the state of affairs and its effects on citizens' mental health led to the creation of the Catron County Citizens Group. The group's primary goal was to restore a sense of community by addressing common problems like job availability, environmental issues, economic diversification and greater control of change. Their first actions necessarily involved overcoming issues of extreme mistrust and perceived conflicts of interest, and indeed a group member described their initial success as simply the fact that 'no one's gotten hurt' (p. 107). Later, they were able to focus on tangible projects including formation of a group to mediate range conflicts, and facilitation of a timber sale that would both employ local loggers and improve forest health. The county continues to struggle economically, but a sense of community has been restored.

Finally, Peter Lanigne's case study of the Beaver Brook Association (BBA) exemplifies the editors' third section, 'Stewarding the Land'. Visionary cousins Hollis Nichols and Jeffrey Smith started this land-conservation and educational organization in the Merrimack watershed over 30 years ago with the goal of preserving open space and rural ways. The BBA's approximately 2000 acres of farm, forest and wetland in New Hampshire and Massachusetts are home to a highly regarded certified tree farm, education and recreational programmes that attract up to 20 000 visitors, and an expansive

natural landscape in a rapidly urbanizing area. Beaver Brook stands as a shining example of successful local watershed and forest management.

One criticism of this collection is that Kusel and Adler do not give a good description of the scale of the problem to set the stage for these innovative attempts at solution. To start, it would be useful to know how many loggers and other timber workers have lost jobs due to market declines and changes in federal forest management practices. Conversely, it would also be helpful to know how many species are endangered due to the loss of forest habitat. Without this crucial background, the lay reader is left to guess at the necessity and importance of these community-based solutions, which are obviously time intensive, difficult to achieve and might be stressful to community members.

Overall, however, this text will likely prove quite useful to community groups that wish to take a role in ensuring the health of their forests or other natural resources, both by providing examples of what works and by giving a realistic idea of what a community organization can hope to accomplish. A major strength of the collection is that it does not present community involvement as a panacea; indeed, many of the case study authors stress that the major achievements of the groups they studied were their successes in improving communication between former opponents. Actual improvements in either forest health or economic opportunities were much less common. Nevertheless, the overall picture is one of hope for the future if local residents are willing to take a stand to improve their communities and natural environments.

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**Edgeless Cities**, ROBERT E. LANG, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (2003). 196 pp US\$18.95 (pbk). ISBN 0 8157 0611 1.

This thought-provoking book analyses the origins, structure and implications of the 'edgeless city' – an emergent form of suburban sprawl that has gone unnoticed to date, despite the fact that, according to the author, it contains two-thirds of the office space located outside US downtowns. Robert E. Lang has compiled a wide range of information about the historical development and territorial extent of office space in 13 leading US metropolitan areas with the aim of examining the relationships between edgeless cities and the surrounding urban fabric. He argues that office space trends provide a veritable indicator of metropolitan growth because they lie at the nexus of interconnected dynamics of employment, housing and urban sprawl. The book also relies on a number of secondary sprawl measures to provide the broader context for office space analysis.

The mere suggestion of an 'edgeless city' possesses a certain imaginative appeal, which has imbued the book with an innovative and provocative thrust. This impression is enhanced by the finding that edgeless cities have dominated urban landscapes for a considerable time before being described in this book. Yet, the author is careful to note that his contribution is primarily 'conceptual', rather being aimed at providing a comprehensive typology of the edgeless city phenomenon. In a broader sense, the book endeavours to

'take the *edge* off the edge city concept and in the process open a new debate on metropolitan growth models' (p. 4, original emphasis). One of the most important steps in this direction is the differentiation between 'bounded' and 'edgeless' modes of suburban office development, as well as the classification of edgeless cities into three categories: in-towners (office space in older, more dense urban districts), in-betweeners (diffuse new developments located in the vicinity of older clusters) and 'outposts, which lie at the edge of the region, often in the lowest-density settings' (p. 80). These categorizations have been backed by several strands of statistical evidence as well as by specific examples from US metropolitan areas.

The empirical core of the book is framed within a brief literature review, which distinguishes between 'centrist' (i.e. LEINBERGER, 2001) and 'decentrist' (i.e. FISHMAN, 1990) interpretations of contemporary urban trends. The author also discusses the relationship between edgeless cities and antecedent urban morphologies, such as primary and secondary downtowns (the latter are 'scaled down, slightly less dense versions of primary downtowns', p. 37) as well as edge cities. While defining edgeless cities as spaces that 'capture all non-downtown office space that is not in an edge city', Lang describes them as 'more diffuse, less glamorous cousins of edge cities' (p. 40). Such distinctions have provided the basis for developing a typology of US metropolitan areas, with respect to the spatial distribution of office space. The book also discusses the future prospects of edge cities, which would have to increase the density of retail and office space in order to remain competitive. Lang concludes the book by outlining the planning, employment and economic challenges presented by the new forms of urban development contained within 'the elusive metropolis'.

Most of the main arguments have been built in relation to GARREAU's (1991) seminal contribution about the emergent geographies of the edge city. Indeed, Lang remarks that an alternative title for his book has been 'The rise and fall (or stall) of edge cities'. Positioning the edgeless city within such an analytical framework of embedded structures and trends has allowed for conceptualizing the 'elusive metropolis' as a discrete and novel urban form. By the end of the book, the reader is left with a clear understanding of the specific socio-spatial underpinnings of edgeless cities, and the need for developing locally nested policies to address their implications. However, the choice of such a narrowly focussed approach also has a number of disadvantages, not the least because the theoretical ramifications of the edgeless city phenomenon extend far beyond its distinctiveness from the US edge city. This book – as well as the broader urban literature – could have benefited from a deeper discussion of the relationship between edgeless cities and analogous urban trends at the global scale, such as, for instance, the idea of a post-polycentric metropolis (which the author mentions only in a footnote), as well as the 'liquefaction' of post-industrial urban structures (e.g. GRAHAM and MARVIN, 2001; SUDJIC, 1992). Similarly, the strong focus on office space might have prevented the author from developing a more multifaceted analysis of the complex anatomies and functions of edgeless cities.

Nevertheless, the very fact that this book pioneers a hitherto unstudied – and unnamed – urban phenomenon is sufficient proof of its forthcoming relevance and import. Lang's studious investigation of the underlying contingencies and future implications of edgeless cities has opened the path for

developing informed discussions about their theoretical and practical consequences. As such, this book promises to be of interest to a wide specialist audience, ranging from urban theorists to city planners and developers.

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