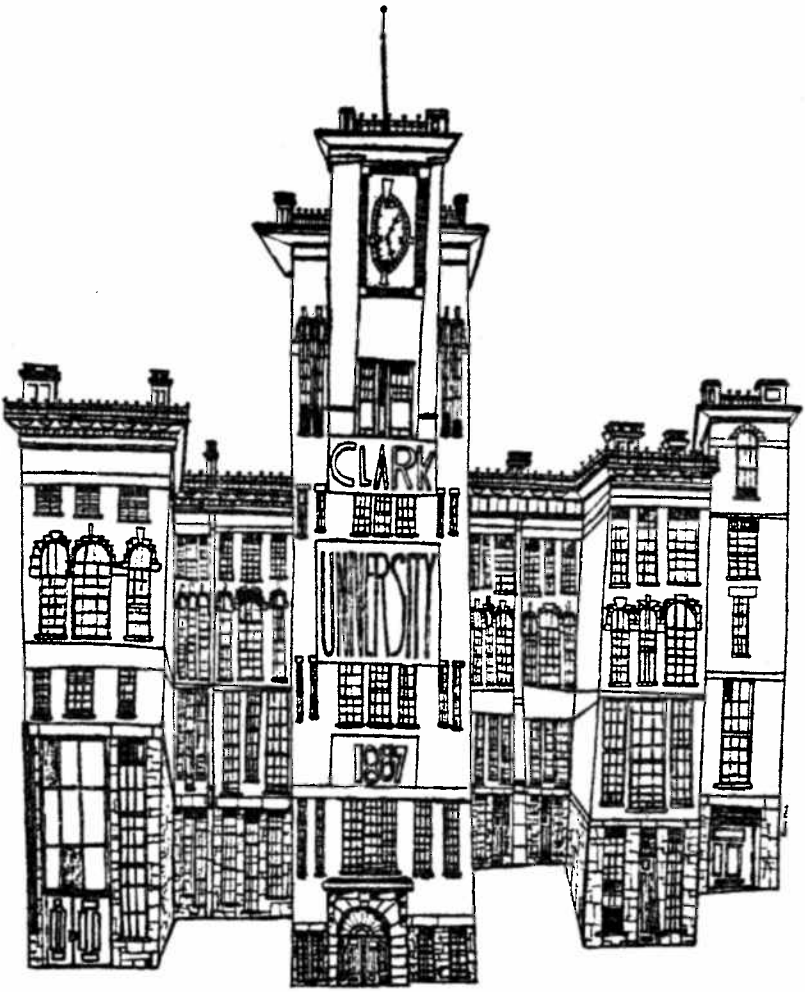
Clark University Geographical Society

Monadnock



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MONADNOCK

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The cover drawing of Jonas Clark Hall was done by Arthur Krim and published in Helicon, Clark literary magazine, in 1963.

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Editors' Note

The two years which this double volume issue of MONADNOCK covers have been most eventful and important. In the summer of 1978, the Graduate School of Geography lost its Director of thirteen years, Saul B. Cohen, who assumed the presidency of Queens College of the City University of New York. During academic year 1978-79, then, the School underwent a period of intense introspection, a search for its inner strengths in order to build upon them its future directions. This process is described by Len Berry in his Director's Message.

Self-evaluation resulted in the restructuring of the academic program into five streams reflecting the interests and special competencies of the School. The five subfields are:

(1) cultural/humanistic;
(2) environmental management;
(3) physical geography of human systems;
(4) regional and international development/political economy; and
(5) urban/social.

Also during this period, our new Director was selected from the present faculty, namely, Len Berry, who served as Acting Director in 1978-79. He will assume office in summer, 1980. Acting in his stead until then are Larry Lewis and Bob Kates.

In such times as these, the need for communication between the Graduate School of Geography and its many alumni becomes particularly pressing. The MONADNOCK is a key channel for this communication, a consideration foremost in our design of this issue.

This issue includes four papers by Clark Geography students. In the first, Ruth Fincher, a graduate student, presents a critical assessment

of the role of the neighborhood as a viable unit for planning and political activity to redress social and economic inequities. These inequities, while manifesting at the neighborhood level, arise in forces beyond it, forces which must be addressed at the levels at which they operate.

In the second, Hilary Renwick, also a graduate student, discusses fantasy environments, i.e., highly stylized reconstructions of exotic places and other times. Examples of these include Disneyland, dude ranches, and customized vans. She organizes fantasy environments in a taxonomy based on areal scale and duration of experience.

The third paper was authored by an undergraduate student, John Hunter. He examines the diner as an urban landscape element reflecting American mass culture. Alumni will remember the diner as a particularly conspicuous element in the Worcester urban milieu -- it may come as a surprise to discover that the diner is yet another invention of fertile Worcester minds.

The last article is a commentary by Paul Kariya, graduate student at Clark. It treats of the nature of humanistic geography, the tasks it has set itself, and its achievements and shortcomings in meeting these goals.

These four papers, then, represent student work in both the urban/social and cultural/humanistic streams defined by the new Graduate School of Geography program. In the article which follows, these and other streams find expression in Christine Rodrigue's report on funded research projects undertaken by Clark geographers and their affiliates. The list of dissertations and theses likewise offers examples of student work in all five subfields. By listing the interests of faculty and graduate students, we have further tried to portray these five streams in their specific and very individual expressions among the Clark community.

We at MONADNOCK wish to express our gratitude to the many people who helped us develop this issue. Our authors deserve special thanks for taking time to write and submit articles.

The Secretarial Pool of Clark University, headed by Terry Reynolds, typed the majority of the text. Jon Kannair took both group photographs and developed them. Rudi Hartman did the photograph of "Len's Berries." The Cartography Staff, directed by Herb Heidt, helped us with layout. Central Services of Clark University printed this issue and we are especially indebted to Ruth Delgreco for advice on formatting, layout, and cover design. Arthur Krim contributed his ink drawing of Jonas Clark Hall done back in the early sixties for our cover. Jim Lyons, former editor of MONADNOCK shared his experiences with us. Kay Parella helped us with budgeting. Lois Morrison, once of Central Services and now secretary in geography, was an invaluable source of procedural information. Many graduate students pitched in at various times and helped us with mailing and hauling, and Moynihan's kept us all sane. We especially wish to thank the alumni of the Graduate School of Geography for their generosity and suggestions. Without your support, MONADNOCK would simply not be possible.

Directors' Message

LEONARD BERRY

It was a time of promise, it was a time of frustration, it was a time of uncertainty, it was a time of plotting new directions. It was a time of committees, it was a time of decisions, it was a predictable time, it was a surprising time. But at least it was a time we shall remember.

We had expected to have a year without Saul Cohen, who was to be on sabbatical, but we had not expected to need to make plans for a longer period without him. Most of us in the School were appointed when Saul was Director and took not a little time to adjust to the idea of new systems and new leadership. The adjustments could have been difficult and disruptive. It is a credit to Saul's past appointments that it became exciting, positive, and forward-looking.

We searched globally for a new Director and finally decided that, despite the temptations of appointing prominent outside scholars, we would seek our leadership internally and invest our resources in a set of younger people who will help us to maintain a vital research and teaching program. They are coming into a School which has recently rethought its graduate and undergraduate curriculum with significant, yet not too drastic changes. The appointments have been geared to fill out and consolidate these new directions. They are Kirsten Johnson and Sharon Nicholson, who joined us in September, 1979, and Billie Lee Turner and Helga Leitner, who arrive in January, 1980.

All of this activity has not been achieved without hard work and more than a little pain. We have all, including our graduate students, had more than our share of committee work, but we are especially grateful to Bill Koelsch and other members of the Directorial Search Committee and to Bob Kates and other members of the Appointments

Committee. But, of course, the main laurels for 1978 and 1979 go to Saul Cohen, President of Queens College, Research Professor in the School of Geography, both for his achievment of those positions and his sustaining of us through his years as Director here.

Is the Neighborhood a Viable Unit for Social Planning or Political Activity?

RUTH FINCHER

Much has been written, since the early 1960's, which states or implies that decentralization of government control over aspects of life in U.S. cities is desirable, and conversely, that national centralization is undesirable. Suttles (1972, p. 257) describes the "community" as being juxtaposed against the "state" and "mass society," and as often being interpreted as declining at the expense of those central mechanisms. Thus, a major justification for the Federal categorical grant programs of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, programs such as Community Action and Model Cities, was the notion that, by decentralizing power and authority, sometimes to the neighborhood level, the interests of those citizens without political clout would be better represented in public planning decisions (Guskin and Ross, 1971, p. 45).

Directly from these Federal Government attempts to fund neighborhood based decision-making (which have been described as attempts to cement the allegiance of the black urban vote to the national Democratic party, rather than merely as programs aiming to solve social problems through neighborhood action) (Piven, 1970, p. 33), the issue of "community control" seems to have come to prominence, from the "maximum feasible participation" clause included in Federal grant guidelines. Suttles (1972, p. 44) notes that large numbers of popular demands were made for a greater local voice in the schools, housing and the parks, and that even the issues of pollution, urban sprawl and poverty were associated with "notions of the rights and responsibilities of the local community or neighborhood." In the late 1960's, the idea of community control became associated with that of advocacy planning. Advocacy for the community, by professionals responsible to the community, became quite widespread, and advocates began to address non-technical as well as technical problems of the communities for which they were work-

ing, for example, community organization and political mobilization (Guskin and Ross, 1971, p. 45).

Since the early 1970's, perhaps linked to the ending of categorical funding in 1973 by the new Republican administration and the associated decline in visibility of community action and neighborhood-based advocacy planning, much of the writing about neighborhood control has been based on rather utopian ideas of neighborhood autonomy and self-government. Kotler (1969) for example, discusses the historical character of neighborhoods as political units, and suggests the formation of neighborhood corporations to gain and exercise local control over those units. For Kotler, it is most important that the neighborhood should achieve an economy of its own, distinct from the flows of capital in and out of the downtown area of the city, in order to yield enough wealth to preserve its own political liberty (1969, p. 37). Morris and Hess (1975), in an imaginative piece of writing, describe the "neighborhood of sentiment" in which they live in Washington, D.C., and the manner in which it has evolved through the work of its members to become self-sufficient economically and politically.

What is the reason for this trend to claiming the advantages of decentralization, of community control, of neighborhood autonomy? It seems to be a belief that life is not bearable in a centralized society, characterized by "movement towards huge, dehumanized scale in social organization, economic organization, and in the organization of resources and technology" (Morris and Hess, 1975, p. 5). In short, the attitude seems to be one of blaming "bigness" itself for urban social problems. Following from this, there seems to be the belief that the situation of living in cities will be more pleasant and efficient, if citizens themselves control decisions which will affect them. An overwhelming improvement in the delivery of public services has not been observed in U.S. cities in which some form of decentralization has taken place (see Yin and Yates, 1975; Caputo and Cole, 1974). However, this may be a result of the fact that government-imposed decentralization has generally been quite token in nature. Also, as Kotler (1969, p. 36) points out, it may be a mistake to think that the political object of the present claims for the advantages of neighborhood power is better services, for the claimants may primarily desire "the liberty of local rule and democratic decisions."

Suttles (1972, pp. 77-79), in a fine analysis, suggests that we must view recent U.S. social movements toward community control in their broad cultural context. His statement deserves quoting at length:

> The model of the grass roots community is especially appealing to residential groups. Its imagery makes them the original and final architect of their existence and they are beholden to no-one. Such an imagery appeals to anyone reared in a society in which self-help, individual initiative, and personal responsibility are like the epitaph that one puts on people's tombstones... There is a great nostalgia for an earlier and presumed golden age of local determination. The precious autonomy of the local community, its assumed ability to achieve justice and equity through unregulated or unspecified interaction, and the maligning of big government and big business are ideas which have a durable history in the laissez-faire state... From the point of view of some observers, of course, local community control is simply a cynical or misguided way of returning to river-ward politics and of abandoning any hope of meeting national standards of education, welfare and civil rights... The alternative to inefficient, rigid and arbitrary state, federal and municipal programs seems to be a capitulation to even more arbitrary and less accountable local elites.

In considering why it is that the literature on U.S. social planning in the 1960's and early '70's often implies the desirability of local control, all these factors should be kept in mind. Realistically, it seems somewhat absurd to think of neighborhoods as autonomous economic, political or social entities; this is perhaps reflected in the fact that the "neighborhood power" movement is not, based on empirical evidence, a very widespread one (though some functioning Community Development Corporations, with problems, do exist in U.S. cities, in poor and not-

so-poor neighborhoods).

This paper attempts to ground the general "neighborhood control" idea in the realities of the present situation, accepting that most neighborhoods will continue to receive funding, resources, and thus guidelines for spending, from most levels of government. The paper is concerned to evaluate the viability and desirability of the "neighborhood" as a unit in which social planning decisions might be made and effective political activity take place. This assessment is made in the light of recent past experiences of U.S. social planning. The basic contention of the paper is that from the viewpoint of the substance and nature of social policy decisions, and from the viewpoint of the nature of the neighborhood itself, the neighborhood is neither a desirable unit for social planning nor a viable place for political activity.

Legacy of U.S. Social Planning Since the 1960's

A major legacy of the neighborhood-based Great Society programs, and of the advocacy movement closely associated with them, is the realization that local agencies and activities funded by Federal grants, even if they are largely administered and controlled by local people, depend to a large extent on the continuation of such funding. The funding situation, of course, is dependent on the political priorities of Federal administrations which may change, and whose priorities do change, quite frequently. Furthermore, this may mean that programs, especially social programs, are not in existence long enough to have the positive impact they might have had. In the case of the Model Cities program and its fate under the Nixon Republican regime, for example, we are told that there was little reason for anyone to expect President Nixon to support the program, associated as it was with the Johnson administration (Frieden and Kaplan, 1975, p. 200). Model Cities was retained in the early 1970's, but in name only; poverty neighborhoods and the urban poor, which had formerly held the central position in the rhetoric of the program, were replaced by emphases on reforming the grant-in-aid system and decentralizing authority to local government. Instead of continuing the earlier practice of targeting additional aid to problem areas, the new approach of the Model Cities program was to "increase the efficiency of the use of existing resources" (Frieden and Kaplan, 1975, p. 200). In this particular example of the changing of a social program with the advent of a new administration, the community participation aspect of the program seems to have suffered the most, more, probably, than actual service delivery, since the famous maximum feasible participation clause was sacrificed to a very weak set of "public review" requirements. Clearly, the more conservative Nixon administration modified the Model Cities program into a more conservative social planning effort. Since the local neighborhood agencies, set up in the 1960's to sponsor Federal anti-poverty efforts, had few financial resources of their own, they had no choice until their demise but to adhere to the new, politically-determined guidelines of their major funder.

The advocacy planning experience in the 1960's has provided further insights. Based on the ideas that professional services must be made available to the poor if they are to be un-manipulated participants in any decision-making process, and that professionals must be responsive to the interests of the poor as they themselves see them (Piven, 1970, p. 34), many advocates undertook the role of community organizer as well as that of technical expert. As Guskin and Ross (1971, p. 46) point out, advocacy was thus being used as a way to compensate for a perceived "imperfect pluralism;" advocates saw their task of political mobilization of the neighborhood underprivileged as one which might give that group the political clout to allow it to compete with other powerful interest groups for federal resources. The poor, according to Piven (1970, p. 34), have benefitted from these attempts, but their major gain was in raising their own expectations, which may have encouraged them to make further demands. There was little real gain, note, by mobilized neighborhood groups, since their solidarity was their only real resource. These groups did not have, before or after their organization, that combination of wealth and bureaucratic access which appear to be the chief components of success in the competition for the resources of the public sector (Guskin and Ross, 1971, p. 48). The assumption of advocates and their community clients that they could gain resources they needed through the assertion of their power, was clearly incorrect. The conclusion has been drawn, from this experience, that many of the critical needs

of the poor are related more to citywide, regional and national power centers, than to their immediate community (Guskin and Ross, 1971, p. 54). It seems clear that any further attempts to attract Federal resources to poor neighborhoods should not rely on the locally mobilized efforts of citizens from single neighborhoods, since they are insignificant actors in national budgetary and decision-making processes.

Since the start of the Republican administration's "New Federalism," initiated by Nixon in 1969, far less emphasis has been placed on the type of social planning activity which was the Great Society programs. The national focus of attention seems now away from problems of poverty and racial inequality, with the threat of a weak economy taking precedence over questions of inner city social environments (Ross, 1975). Although some national commitment to help poor and minority groups has remained, less and less has been said about it: increasingly the problem has been presented as one of "the cities" Frieden and Kaplan, 1975, p. 232). This may, in fact, be a political response; the national scene was dominated from the late 1960's till 1976 by an administration not dependent on the votes of poor residents of inner city neighborhoods. It has been noted that the inner city was not a promising source of political support for Nixon no matter what he did, since the flow of resources through the newly decentralized social program mechanisms ended up in the hands of Democratic voters (Frieden and Kaplan, 1975, p. 212).

The present Democratic administration has proposed a re-emphasis on national funding of neighborhood-based social programs. For the time being, this funding is to be administered through the existing Federal Community Development Block Grants program, despite the latter's physical improvement-based eligibility requirements, which have tended to jeopardize more directly social projects. Carter's recent national urban policy has borne out a prediction which might have been made in the light of the above past social planning experiences: that the Federal Government would not, at this time, involve itself in a social effort of the dimensions of the Great Society programs. For one thing, the welfare system no longer has an articulate constituency. Ross (1970, p. 255) notes a new perception in the U.S. that the welfare system is a failure, which holds no

promise of creating an egalitarian, uniformly affluent society. Furthermore, it was especially unlikely that any Federally sponsored redistribution effort would bypass state and local government decision-makers, and distribute resources directly to local agencies to the extent that some of the Great Society programs did. This would have risked the allegiance of mayors and governors, who have voiced their disapproval and anger at being bypassed by such funding channels in the past. In fact, the recent urban policy might be characterized as a success for the city mayors, who favored the continuation of block grant over the re-introduction of categorical grants.

Many observers have criticized the "service stragegy" approach, represented in the Great Society programs and in the continuing block grant funding by efforts to provide new or improved services and facilities to neighborhood residents: educational programs, child care facilities, health care and manpower training, for example. This approach is based on the assumption that the provision of services will help people to equip themselves to raise their incomes, and critics see this as an ineffective way of dealing with the problem of poverty. They have urged, rather, that direct income supplements be made, though projections indicate that this would cost far more than service-oriented social programs (Friedan and Kaplan, 1975, p. 244). If the Democratic administration has any real commitment to redistributive social programs, and the block grant funding strategy, when evaluated, is found to be insufficiently productive of distributive change, then perhaps this "income strategy" will be introduced. It has the advantages of attacking the problem of poverty more directly, of avoiding association with the Great Society programs, and of averting the political implications of the geographical and racial targeting of resources. This strategy, however, has no major role for neighborhood-based social planning activities.

Decisions Appropriate for Neighborhoods

Keeping in mind these experiences, as well as the fact that decentralization strategies (at least in name) have been pursued by Federal social planners and seem to be a part of the American political ideal, what sovereign decisions might realistically

be made at the local neighborhood level, in the short-term future?

Poverty and injustice are inappropriate problems, and problems of too great a magnitude, for neighborhoods to deal with by themselves. These are appropriately national planning concerns, and decisions about directions to be taken to facilitate their amelioration are, and should be, national level decisions. Wilbur J. Cohen, a former Secretary of HEW, states the reasons for this clearly:

> We have to have federal programs with strings attached because it is the only way that the disadvantaged, the poor whites and poor blacks, will get their fair share. If there are not federally regulated programs to disburse money and instead it is handled by local city governments, then they won't get their fair share (in Pressman, 1975, p. 15).

As a further good indication of the need for national control over local responses to injustice and poverty, and national funding of these responses, it has been noted that when U.S. cities first applied for Model Cities funds, they defined neighborhoods of genuine need within city boundaries, and openly acknowledged that they had neglected them in the past (Frieden and Kaplan, 1975, p. 218). Consider the following beautifully illustrative quote from the City of Detroit's first application for Model Cities funding, in 1967:

> This is not to say that the City has, in its 160 years of development, been totally insensitive and unresponsive to the needs of its people. But it is true that its sensitivity has been limited, that its response to human problems has been inadequate, and that this neglect and inaction has resulted in the most difficult and crucial problems facing the City of Detroit today (quoted in Frieden and Kaplan, 1975, p. 218).

Clearly, it is appropriate that national funding and guidelines should be applied to problems of poverty and injustice, which are not, as the adovcacy experience showed, local. But perhaps decisions about the provision of certain public and private sector services <u>within</u> localities might appropriately be made at the neighborhood level.

The geographic literature is replete with geometric statements of administrative system hierarchies which would allow for the optimal provision of different services, taking into account system efficiency and economies of scale. Soja (1975, p. 37) for example, is of the opinion that a fragmented polycentric structure of metropolitan government may strike an effective balance between the provision of local services and the recognition of community interests. This set-up is seen as providing, through "controlled competition," a "more efficient, responsive, and economical servicing of the metropolitan population." A major approach to the question of service provision in much of the geographic literature, then, is an organizational one, where researchers attempt to match particular functions with the appropriate scale of organization. More recently, discussions of public service provision and facility location have included reference to matters of distributive equity, and the political implications of service and facility spatial externalities (see, for example, Dear, 1975). Most geographic studies, then, have neglected to consider whose interests are being served by decisions being made at the suggested administrative levels. Molotch (1976, p. 312) provides an interesting discussion of the attempts of local governments to create conditions in their neighborhoods conducive to industrial growth and the maintenance of a good "business climate" to attract industry. Because the locality acts in this way as a "growth machine," it draws people into its politics and decision-making who tend to be businessmen, and parochial businessmen at that (Molotch, 1976, p. 317). Geographers in the past have unfortunately failed to link this type of analysis to their suggestions of urban administrative hierarchies, though it must be noted that Bunge and Bordessa (1975, pp. 168-171) have briefly referred to the need for such work in their discussion of the implications for the present balance of power of different hierarchies of urban political units.

Consider three services or functions present in every urban neighborhood, all of which are affected by "social planning" of some sort. To what extent might health, education, and housing be controlled, or

"socially planned-for," at the neighborhood level? In the fields of health and education we are immediately confronted with the question of the desirable balance between technical expertise and community control. Under the present health care delivery system, an emphasis on the medical model of technical expertise probably implies centralization of health facilities within an urban area; with education, this is less the case.

The present U.S. health care system has been described as one in which "physician's fees are increasing at twice the rate of general prices, hospital costs are increasing at three times the rate of general prices, and scarce physicians provide fewer services, limited to episodic illnesses, for patients -- patients, that is, who are not overlooked entirely because of race or class" (Anderson, 1971, p. 333). Many among the American poor have focused on health services in their complaints about the quality of urban life. Clearly, the quality of medical care can be measured in more ways than just that of statistical measures like mortality rates. We can measure, for example, the kind of services provided: whether a patient's general welfare is considered, or just the immediate problem. We can gain some indication of the manner in which service is provided: whether it is readily, willingly and immediately, or whether it involves long waits and a hostile reception (Gordon, 1971, p. 317). Glazer (1972, p. 167) for example, draws a horrifying picture of the fragmented nature of health care which often results from disjointed organization and specialization in U.S. medicine: even for a common "complaint" like pregnancy, patients may be shunted from one place to another for advice on different aspects of their problem. Neighborhood health centers have been set up in many poor city neighborhoods, many of them with the support of OEO in the 1960's. These centers provide accessible treatment for local patients in a comfortable atmosphere, where the emphasis of treatment is on preventive health care, rather than just on cure. Payment for services is often according to income. On the whole, as Langer (1971, p. 353) points out in her study of a Denver center, the pleasantness of the neighborhood centers was certainly established, though their permanence (especially, in retrospect, with the ending of OEO funding) and practicality remains to be proved.

Neighborhood clinics are advantageous to patients in that they are accessible and avoid the fragmented nature of other parts of the health care system. Whether the services provided are actually better has yet to be shown, but if patients feel that their health care is improved through attendance at the centers, then perhaps that is what matters the most. These clinics, controlled by citizen boards seem, then, to be desirable. But note, they have not been able to exist, to date, without Federal funding. And without such direct assistance to neighborhoods, it appears that the entire structure of social and economic institutions in the U.S. will continue to preclude the adequate provision of health care to many. Assessment of this situation has shown the problem to be basically that health care provision is increasingly tied to the priorities of profit-making institutions (see Gordon, 1971, p. 317 ff. for an excellent discussion of this). Anderson (1971, p. 333) urges that the nation's health care system must be reorganized effectively, to be based on group practice, comprehensive preventative care and prepayment.

Despite the desirability of neighborhood health clinics, it is not possible for neighborhoods autonomously to control health care delivery in their localities, dominated as this presently is by large organizations and the balance of power between national interest groups. Real "control" of the health care system might possibly be the result of large-scale Federal intervention, when this becomes politically feasible. Apart from this, the "purchasers of medical care" as Anderson (1971, p. 335) puts it, will not increase their influence over this service by political activity and social planning decisions made at the local level. Rather, they need to find national representation for themselves, and perhaps, as a national lobbying group which can afford to do so, hire physicians, economists, and social planners to protect their interests.

Gittell (1972, p. 300) describes the "political failure" of the school system as resulting largely from a high degree of professionalism and the extensive centralization of the educational bureaucracy. On the basis of her observation that those who now control the schools have been unable to "produce results," she urges that the structure be adjusted to give the community a measure of control over its

local educational institutions: personnel, budget, curriculum and pupil policy (1972, p. 301), implying a redistribution of power within the educational system. Is this really a desirable situation? It seems clear that one major cause of the political failure of schools located in poor neighborhoods is the very fact of their location: if levels of educational funding were controlled across the board at the state or federal levels, rather than the schools' relying so much on the resources of their local communities, then some inequities might be alleviated. Gittell cites fear of a parochialism which might result from neighborhoods' controlling their schools, as a major argument against the desirability of community control of schools (1972, p. 307), and goes on to point out that State controls and administrative regulations would of course be extended to cover such problems should the need arise. The level of community "control" of schools being suggested, then, is really not control over the sovereign decisions made about the directions of local education: these are represented in State and Federal guidelines, with implementation decisions alone left to localities. From this viewpoint, it is not possible for neighborhoods to make the social planning decisions which determine the running of their schools. As well, of course, neighborhood decision-makers are completely constrained by the fact that basic institutions, the "economy," require a certain type of output from schools. Neighborhood schools cannot be independent of this pressure. They are described by radical analysts as being forced by the needs of the economy to produce "conforming, deferring, persevering workers," absolutely necessary to the preservation of profits for the owners of capital (Gordon, 1971, p. 170). In no sense, then, does it seem that neighborhoods are able to control their own schools autonomously, and in many other ways, it seems undesirable that they should do so.

The housing question is a slightly different one, for housing is not a service provided by professionals, but rather a necessity for day-to-day survival. The U.S. is currently thought to be undergoing the most critical housing shortage since World War II, yet structurally sound dwellings are being abandoned in inner city areas in increasing numbers (Gordon, 1971, p. 355). It appears that the structure of the housing industry makes it virtually impossible for the industry, on its own, to construct

low-income housing, and that the quest for stability and security of investment opportunities has made such construction a weak competitor against other kinds of investments (Gordon, 1971, p. 359). Neighborhoods, particularly poor ones, at present have little control over the private sector decisions which locate housing. Richer neighborhoods exercise some discretion over building in their areas through zoning regulations, but poorer neighborhoods, those inner city sites of abandonment mentioned above, are relatively powerless and have in the past, even been subject to government-sponsored urban renewal programs based on a lack of real commitment to the provision of housing for the poor.

Quite apart from the negligible amount of control which neighborhoods do have over their housing, it is undesirable that wealthy neighborhoods should extend their freedom to prevent the location of certain types of housing in their localities, at the expense of lower-income groups: witness the need for State "anti-snob zoning" legislation in Massachusetts. The plight of many inner city poor neighborhoods, however, is often worsened by red-lining, by banks which will no longer grant home mortgages, and insurance companies which refuse to sell standard homeowners' insurance policies. This situation cries out for some neighborhood control for these adjuncts to the housing industry, especially where it involves neighborhood members' savings being invested outside the neighborhood. Chicago-based "National People's Action," a national alliance of neighborhood groups organized several years ago to stop banks from red-lining, has effectively documented the problem in studies of house sales, block by block (The Boston Globe, July 20, 1976). Their work, and the championship of Senator Proxmire, has resulted in a Federal disclosure law, which forces lending institutions to publish by census tract the number and amounts of loans made, and to whom (absentee landlords, single family, multi-family, etc.). A proposal of Proxmire's Senate Banking Committee has led to the formation of "National Committee on Neighborhoods," whose work may actually result in neighborhood people having discretion over the investment of their savings. This "credit union" possibility is one hope for some neighborhood-based prevention of discrimination against arbitrarily-judged "unsuitable" people and regions. Note, however, that this possibility did not arise through the actions of one neighborhood

group working alone, but rather through a national alliance which gained the attention of a sympathetic and politically-respected figure.

This brief discussion of aspects of the provision of housing, education and health services in urban neighborhoods indicates that single neighborhoods have little real control over these functions. It also suggests that from many points of view it is not desirable that single localities should have such control. The sovereign decisions which really direct the course of such service provision are made in the national social policy arena and, even more importantly, by those business groupings which have vested interests in them. Clearly the neighborhood, at the present time, is not a viable unit in which the making of social policy decisions can take place. Neighborhood-level decisions as to the "nuts-and-bolts" implementation of controlled guidelines do exist and are feasible, but in no real sense can such decisions be considered "social planning." We may agree with the idea of community participation at the local level, especially as the idea of community organization seems to have a long history in American society as being socially and personally rewarding. But studies indicate that what single such groups do, in single neighborhoods, is less important than that they grow and prosper (Molotch, 1972, p. 208). This is not likely to have much real effect on the direction of socially planned activities within those particular localities.

The Suitability of the Neighborhood Itself

The nature of social policy decisions, and the reality of national-scale public and private sector control over services affected by those decisions, puts social planning out of the grasp of neighborhoods. As well, however, the nature of neighborhoods themselves indicates that they are an ineffective base for the political activity which might influence social planning decisions, as well as not being units "solid" enough for the making of such decisions. Suttles (1972, p. 45) puts this beautifully:

> First, we have no well-defined and widely-shared model of the local urban community or neighborhood which is so compelling that it can be applied authoritatively to current residential groupings in the United States. Second, the absence of such a compelling model of the local urban community or neighborhood makes it difficult for us to distinguish between those rights and responsibilities which belong to local groups and those which belong to broader collectivities or administrative units.

There does not seem to be a consistent entity which we call "neighborhood" and everyone does not seem him/herself as belonging to one. Suttles (1972, pp. 47-48) describes the recent controversy over whether or not the urban neighborhood still exists in modern society, and discusses Janowitz's conclusion that the urban neighborhood, like the family, the firm and the church, has become a more specialized, voluntaristic and partial institution. In fact, the urban neighborhood appears now to be seen as a "community of limited liability," based on the partial and intentional involvement of residents in their local community activities. The neighborhood, then, is undergoing external influences, as well as internal change. Suttles (1972, p. 49) notes that residential solidarity is very unevenly developed within and between neighborhoods, and that it is not necessarily based on social homogeneity.

Thus, it is very difficult to define the essence of a "neighborhood," and what it is that gives some "neighborhoods" an appearance of residential solidarity and of citizens' involvement with one another and with issues that affect the locale. Most basic to one's presence in a neighborhood is one's residential proximity to others there. Perhaps this is all we can describe all neighborhoods as having in common. This proximity alone, however, does not necessarily imply the solidarity and involvement which would seem to be pre-requisite to the emergence of a solid, neighborhood-based political front and to neighborhood-wide participation in decision-making. So, it seems clear that neighborhoods whose residents have been politically mobilized to try to participate in national social planning decisions have had more than just residential proximity to hold them together. Perhaps they have had some class-based interest in common, or perhaps they have together been the object of a threat from outside the neighborhood, as with red-lining. However, to the extent that most neigh-

borhoods have no more to unify them than proximity, it seems inappropriate to consider "the neighborhood" as a viable unit for political activity, or for social planning decisions, were the latter possible.

Further evidence supports this assertion. Molotch (1972, p. 218) from his work in the South Shore neighborhoods of Chicago, concludes that although the wishes of citizens and community leaders may be relevant to planning decisions, the goals of community groups and organized land-holders may be conflicting, or even mutually exclusive. How appropriate, in the light of this situation, is it to differentiate "the neighborhood" from the total society of which it is a part? The answer seems to be as Suttles (1972, p. 260) suggests: that nationally-based criteria of social differentiation are taking on more significance than local ones, and that nationally defined groups and associations are the major places for individual participation, and the most powerful avenues for this.

Political activity, if it is to be effective, seems to be more viable as an expression of nationally-based interest, rather than as an expression of some sort of neighborhood consensus. It seems inappropriate to use residential proximity as the sole basis for an interest group. A major reason for the lack of success of the advocacy planning experience of the 1960's, or perhaps, rather, a major reason for its relative lack of visibility today, was its reliance on neighborhood-based activity. Suttles (1972, p. 62) in fact, notes the growth of large-scale community organizations as a response to the problems of increasing centralization for small-scale residential groups. These new organizations, he states, "expand their membership to include a wide range of residents, develop a more professional and high status leadership, and attempt to speak on all issues concerning a contiguous area of considerable size..." They are taken seriously because they do have a broad constituency, have leaders of stature, and because "in their scale and form they parallel that of big government and big business." Clearly, to be effective in social planning and in political activity, an organization (whether or not it is territorially based) must be of a size and significance to rival that of its competitors for public and private national resources. The neighborhood unit, if it really exists, is neither big enough nor representative

enough to qualify.

Conclusion

Recent U.S. social planning experience suggests that the Federal Government will probably not involve itself soon in a direct involvement with neighborhood-based organizations, as it did in various of the Great Society programs. Neighborhood agencies and organizations, then, and the citizen participation which these involve, are likely to continue under the funding discretion of all levels of government. Given this, and the real inability of neighborhoods to control the nature and pricing of many services within their localities, such as education, health and housing, and given the limited involvement of neighborhood participants united only by residential proximity, the neighborhood cannot be seen as a viable unit for social planning and political activity. Rather, in the short-term future, it can be seen as the site of "nuts-and-bolts" implementation and administration decisions, made in the context of specific funding guidelines. Also, it will probably continue to be the location of various community organizations and interest groups, functioning to give their members a sense of personal involvement and control over their lives, but not really doing or changing anything.

In this scenario, what is the role of the social planner, especially the planner committed to the redistribution of resources to low income groups, the person who would, in the 1960's, have worked as an advocate for a poor neighborhood? His or her most effective strategy seems to be to avoid working at the neighborhood level as an advocate of one neighborhood's interests. In the past, this strategy has not succeeded in diverting large amounts of resources to the nation's underprivileged: social planners working as advocates for the interests of certain neighborhoods, competing against each other for a share of the national pie, probably thus defeated themselves. A better strategy seems to be to work for the awareness of common interests at a larger scale than that of neighborhood, preferably at the national scale, and to work to develop organizations of neighborhood people, based on their common everyday experiences, to reflect these larger scales of awareness. Suttles (1972, p. 77) for example, has

suggested that the interests of local taxpayers probably lie in the organization of community groups large enough to correspond to the governmental agencies which claim them as constituencies. Since social planners concerned with national redistribution are competing for resources in the national political arena, the class-based organizations for and with whom they work, and which perhaps they organize, should be of a size to be effective at this scale. The national alliance of neighborhood groups against bank red-lining, National People's Action, is a fine example of the possible effectiveness of such a strategy. And the people organizing such an alliance, directing the research on which its stands are based, co-ordinating the activities of the national group with the needs and wishes of neighborhood people, and advocating the interests of this language constituency in Washington, D.C., might well be social planners.

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Fantasy Environments

HILARY L. RENWICK

A van with bed, stereo and bar; Disneyland; McDonald's; and a bathroom module capable of "creating five different atmospheres": what do these have in common? The simple act of stepping into each transports the individual into a different world from that outside. This paper presents a framework for understanding the different sizes and types of fantasy environments and their importance in today's United States -- at the largest scale, capable of accommodating an entire country's desire for a different place; at the smallest, an alternative environment tailored to express and satisfy the individual's need for a private world. This paper attempts to make sense of some pervasive aspects of American culture, without that component of moral and aesthetic dismay that characterizes many treatments of the topic.

It is probably true that human beings are happier if each has strong aesthetic and moral standards by which the world can be ordered and evaluated. Thus, it is reasonable and perhaps even necessary for us to maintain a critical view of our world.

Equally important, however, is avoiding the missionary's viewpoint when evaluating a culture, be it our own or another. Tuan states:

> The visitor's evaluation of environment is essentially aesthetic. It is an outsider's view. The outsider, who may be a tourist, visiting businessman, planner or geographer, judges by appearance, by canons of beauty acquired as part of one's formal education and upper-middle-class upbringing. A special effort is needed to empathize with

the values of the local people.[3]

Imposition of one's own standards, or an unwillingness to incorporate an acknowledgement and appreciation of local standards in our descriptive and evaluative frameworks, can lead to incomplete understanding or a negativism contradicting the vitality and optimism expressed by the culture under study.

I suggest that the commercial architecture and leisure-oriented devices that we see around us today are not aberrations or perversions of what was once good in America: we see instead the working out of traditional values with new materials and technologies. Ancient symbols, cultural ideals, and needs are being expressed (and for many people, satisfied) in plastic and neon at all scales of time and place. No matter what the observer's goals are, be they understanding, description, or change, it is important to interpret modern America in terms of the values of those who are building and experiencing it.[4,5] Accepting this approach implies accepting that individuals and groups attach significance and positive value to places and events that, to the outsider with different standards, appear negative or meaningless in form and content.[6]

The idea that fantasy environments form an important component of American life is not new. Relph (1976) and Venturi et. al., (1977) among others present frameworks for organizing a number of fantasy environments. Venturi states, in reference to Las Vegas:

> ...essential to the imagery of pleasure-zone architecture are lightness, the quality of being an oasis in a perhaps hostile context, heightened symbolism, and the ability to engulf the visitor in a new role: for three days one may imagine oneself a centurion at Caesar's Palace, a ranger at the Frontier, or a jetsetter at the Riviera rather than a salesperson from Des Moines, Iowa, or an architect from Haddonfield, New Jersey.[7]

The present paper organizes fantasy environments in such a way as to further the suggestion that fantasy environments can be found at all scales of time and space and that they are inseparable from the day-to-day so-called real world. The presentation moves from fantasy environments of small areal scale and relatively short occupation on up to large scale environments experienced over a longer period. This taxonomy, then, is constructed by variations in two basic components: space and time.

Small-Scale, Variable Term Fantasy Environments

Customized van decoration is one of the most visible expressions of individual self-images and preferences in the United States today. The paint job and various appendages (bubble-windows, CB antennas, big tires) hint at the human being within. Messages and decorations suggest an owner who is a loner, a playgirl, a cowboy, a tough business person, or a wild and free hippie. Inside the van, the soul's inner recesses are revealed through the installation of beds, bathrooms, and lighting that further illuminate the individual's preferred alternative environment. One brochure offers such customized "conversions" as Clipper, Colonial, Designer, Monte Carlo I, and Monte Carlo II.[8] The owner manipulates design elements so as to form an ideal personal place where his or her tastes and visions are law.

Many other examples of the extremely personal, small-scale environment come to the mind: the downtown apartment so full of vegetation as to resemble a rainforest; the teenage bedroom in an otherwise mild-mannered house transformed by hangings, posters, lights, odors and sounds into a hideaway for the beleaguered adolescent. Lawn and garden elements can also be built into personal worlds.[9]

One environmental setting on the market offers choices which enable the user to be spirited to other, more romantic climates. This, "The Environment," is a totally new, self-contained bathroom module that creates five different atmospheres or environments for your relaxation." Stepping into this cabinet, "the twist of a dial" can give you

Baja Sun, Tropic Rain, Chinook Winds, Spring Showers, and Jungle Steam. Unsurprisingly, the user can further enhance this experience with judicious use of the accompanying radio and tape player.[10]

These environments can be characterized as small-scale expressions of the individual's need to have a place that is his or her very own, though its appeal may be incomprehensible to others. The time spent within the boundaries of these places can vary from minutes to days, depending on the individual's schedule.

At a slightly larger scale are those places built for public or small group use for a time period of a few minutes to several hours. The most vivid examples of these alternative environments are restaurants, bars, and nightclubs.

For a short but intense visit to a place different from the world outside, the individual steps into the fast-food restaurant. Probably the sense of otherworldliness in this instance is most strongly experienced by children, at whom the advertising is explicitly aimed, but it affects others, too.

In 1970, a new McDonald's advertising orientation de-emphasized the low prices and quick preparation in favor of the "McDonald's Experience," with the intention of transforming the mere purchase of hamburgers into a special occasion for the entire family. McDonaldland parks have been built in several locations, and children are encouraged literally to play with their food in the Hamburger Patch, under the Apple Pie Trees, next to the Filet-O-Fish Fountain, and to clamber on such notables as the Hamburglar and Mayor McCheese.[11]

This may be dismaying or even reprehensible to some, but it surely is not a symptom of "placelessness."[6] It is estimated that 36% of the American food dollar is spent outside the home,[12] with a large amount of that in fast-food restaurants. King[4] argues that McDonald's has become a highly significant and positively charged landmark for millions of Americans.

Until recently many fast-food chains expressed regional associations through design and food served: Kentucky Fried Chicken as festively Southern; the classic McDonald's emphasized the streamlined supersonic efficiency of post-World War II mobile America; Friendly's and Howard Johnson's suggest a dainty cupola'ed New England. Taco Bell reflects some United States dream of life south of the border.[13,14] There have also been good attempts made at creating a Wild West ambience -- steak houses resembling mythological barns or stables; another with the facade of a western boom-town Main Street. Ground Round endeavors to immerse us in the late 19th century "good times" that supposedly existed before our fall into the present.

Each of these places was built out of culturally significant symbols that communicate a plasticized, cleaned up version of another time or place.[15,16] In recent years, unfortunately, the trend towards increasing uniformity across all types of fast-food parlors has reduced the uniqueness of the atmosphere of any one of the available array. The mansard roof, sober colors, and civic-mindedness, along with a broadening of food choices available, all contribute to the lessening of any need or interest in choosing among them.

In addition to this trend, McDonald's in particular has been making an effort to blend into the neighborhoods it builds in. Thus, no longer is McDonald's a place to go for an environment that is a pure and strange highway fantasy; more and more it is attempting to create, in an ideal form, the atmosphere of the surrounding neighborhood. If you reside in Back Bay, Boston, you can go to a bow-front McDonald's full of symbols of the venerable city outside the door. In Santa Monica, California, the net-draped, faded-wood look of beach life is available with burgers near the beach. There is also a disco McDonald's somewhere in Los Angeles, one hopes in Hollywood.[17,4]

Thus, recent trends in fast-food design suggest a move from alternative, far-away realities to idealized local realities. At the same time however, non-franchise restaurants and bars, des-

igned for visits of several hours, remain deeply attached to creating an experience for the visitor very different from the world outside. Polynesian (with thatch and torches), Oriental, and Nautical are among the most popular. In Santa Monica are found several British pubs, usually run by authentic British immigrants. Entering one of these bars from the sun-lit, palm-lined boulevards is a move into a dim, warm world of darts, ale, sandwiches, and the soothing patina of induced age.

Medium-scale, longer-term fantasy environments

At a larger, longer-term scale than restaurants is the fantasy live-in environment. This can be characterized as couples getting away from it all in an atmosphere of at least semi-exclusiveness, not smaller than a hotel and not larger than a private estate, for several days. In reference to Las Vegas, Venturi terms this the interior or pedestrian oasis.[18] A soothing feeling of being protected, safe from the outside is a strong theme. It is now possible to drive the family car a few blocks and enter the timeless atmosphere of the new super-hotels for a restful stay away from normal life. These hotels, including Marriott and Hyatt, have made it unnecessary for a tourist to step outside. Indoor pools, several bars and restaurants, shopping malls and nightclubs all work to create a spaceship world dedicated to enjoyment and the avoidance of the larger, dirtier world beyond the front door. A "Weekend Escape Plan" at the Providence, R.I., Marriott promises, "...all the excitement of a weekend resort...rendezvous at Providence's only 'In City' Resort...this exciting yet economic 24 hour mini-vacation...includes a luxurious room, chilled champagne, and $25.00 in Marriott Money to spend as you like in any of our fine Marriott restaurants, lounges, or facilities."[19]

Even more successful at suspending an individual's sense of time, space and expense are the honeymoon industry's efforts. The Pocono Mountains resorts in Pennsylvania are created as miniature kingdomes of love in which young couples can first get to know one another on a day-to-day

basis (that's what the brochures say) in a non-stressful atmosphere.

For example, the large shiny brochure from Honeymoon Hideaway assures us that it is "...really a secluded resort, free of traffic, pollution, and noise. It is a lovely spot where two can leave everyday life and live in a fantasy world."[20] In order to enhance this atmosphere, these resorts offer all sorts of bridal-suite styles so that the happy couple can express its image as a couple -- or explore its own honeymoon fantasies -- in such storied accommodations as those of Penn Hills, which rents Italian settings: Italian Penthouse Towers, Villas, Mountain Terrace Villas, Riviera Towers, Mountain View Cottages, and the glum Budget Accommodation.[21] Pocmont Lodge offers Mediterranean, Mountainview, Hawaiian, Royal Star, and Futuramic Suites, among others.[22] Birchwood can put us up in individual chalets in different styles: Williamsburg with Jacuzzis, Colonial Towne Houses with spiral staircases, Colonial Chalets with individual "Kissin' Bridges," Plymouth Chalets with beamed celings, and the less elaborate Valley Forge and Jamestown Chalets with panelling and canopy beds.[23] These resorts, like the super hotels, offer every activity. One brochure refers to its offerings as "Cupid's Playground."[24] The insularity of the summer camp has been turned into a sensual cornucopia for newlyweds.

There are other examples of the medium-scale, cocoon-like fantasy world, among them the more luxurious fat farms, the dude ranches, and that peculiar outgrowth of magical mystery tours by bus, the Nowhere Cruise, in which a cruise ship drives around in the ocean for five days. There is no attempt to dock and explore new places. The point of the trip is to have a five-day Shipboard Experience containing no touchpoints with the rest of humanity.

Large-Scale, Longer-Term Fantasy Environments

Large-scale fantasy worlds are well known to us, as they are designed to accommodate many thousands of people at once. These experiences have been with us for a long time, on a temporary

basis. Harvest festivals, annual fairs, travelling circuses, all transform the ordinary field or parking lot into a different, exciting world. Permanent amusement parks with roller coasters, miniature golf, games, food stands and horrendous rides have made it possible to immerse oneself in this world of fun on a regular basis.

Disneyland is different from these predecessors because it attempts to manipulate all aspects of the visitor's environment. No machinery is visible in the Disney fantasy. There are no sleazy blacktops, no empty façades: "A set may consist of façades that open onto nothing, whereas Disneyland's streets are punctuated by doors that give access to rides, entertainments, stores, and restaurants."[25]

Unlike the older amusement park which reveals its working skeleton everywhere, Disney allows us to see nothing that would interfere with our sense of otherworldliness. Additionally, Disney rides are not mere vulgar flingings of bodies about in space. They are total environmental experiences within the larger Disney-world. Boats, airplanes, ghostly sleighs convey us through starlit London, burning pirate strongholds, and into spook-filled graveyards. There is even a mangrove swamp, complete with fireflies. Some remarks about these accomplishments:

> ...the illusion is successful, perhaps overly successful. Some park officials have begun to detect what could almost be described as an impatience with the completeness of the magic. "We used to really pressure our gardeners, for instance, to finish all our replantings before we dropped the rope to let the first guests in," said one park official. "We wanted to present a perfect face. But recently we have begun to let some of that sort of activity to spill over to the hours that the park is open. There is something very natural about a man planting flowers. The magic is not destroyed by letting people see it." [26,27]

These superclean theme parks have proliferated in the past decade. Along with them has

developed the new total-environment zoo. No longer does the visitor shuffle past sun-baked cages to stare at dirty old llamas and Smokey the Bear. Instead he is transported via train or monorail through re-creations of the animals' native environments. The ecosystems of another place (and time) have been recreated to feed our fantasies. This gets very complicated and is best summarized as San Diego County veldt-and-tundra.[28]

Some of the most popular parks have been those that draw us into not only another place but also another time. Williamsburg, Plymouth Plantations, Oldtown, Deerfield Village, Sturbridge Village, the Erie Frontier, Dodge City, and perhaps even Knott's Berry Farm are examples. These parks are not pure fantasy worlds in that they do not introduce anything new or startling. Instead they are shrines where the individual imagines herself back in a simpler, wiser world, or perhaps a more primitive, even a nastier world. Unfortunately, the experience, no matter how dutifully reproduced, can never be authentic, as visitors bring with them all of the time between then and now. (I do recall one four-year-old girl who was quite convinced she was the fastest draw on the streets of Dodge City, then or now). Memorytown, USA, in the Poconos is a live-in immersion in our small-town past, where penny candy still costs a penny "...and some who glow the most are Golden Agers who remember how it all was before plastics, detergents, and TV-dinners... Memorytown is a place of refuge."[29]

Tuan states that, "an important service of museums is to generate didactic illusions."[30] In recent years the historical parks, focused on education, have had trouble competing with the fun-focused theme parks. Apparently, one of the main reasons is that the historical parks are unwilling to campaign for corporate support, as their explicit denial of the present means that they cannot display public advertising for such products as soft drinks.[31]

Another subset of large-scale fantasy environments are those places and objects that have been moved from somewhere else or that have

absolutely nothing in common with the world outside the park boundaries. These areas demand a lot of suspended disbelief from those who visit. Included in this subcategory are Havasu City, Arizona, where London Bridge now resides, splendid in the desert sun. Another is Oldtown, Virginia, one of Williamsburg's competitors. Oldtown does not reflect American culture, past, present or future. Its aim is to recreate, in plastic and new wood, the ancient dignity of Europe. Romanticized versions of the most picturesque, stereotypical European cultures from the past several centuries are represented. A recent ad states:

> We've taken the Europe of yesteryear, and a gargantuan monster from Loch Ness (a roller-coaster) and nestled them in a centuries-old forest in Virginia. It's the Old Country, Busch Gardens, Williamsburg, where the excitement and charm of England, France and Germany are yours to enjoy for a day. Fantastic shows, unbelievable rides, luscious food and a beautiful European setting are yours to discover at The Old Country. And at a price far less than you'd pay on the other side of the Atlantic.[32]

Do Americans feel content with this experience? is it regarded as an adequate substitute for the more expensive, less beautiful, real thing? In this vein, it is possible to envision future parks located adjacent to major population centers that present re-creations of natural and built wonders found elsewhere in the world. For $4.95 apiece, a family from New Jersey could visit the Grand Canyon, Crater Lake, the Brooks Range and the Pacific Ocean, all within a convenient drive of home. A lucky Tarzana couple could take their picnic lunch to Walden Pond, the Delaware Water Gap, or skip along the moody Maine coast. The range of human experience would widen and travel costs drop. Relph also suggests this possibility, though with little pleasure at the prospect.[33]

One of the most vivid experiences in environmental alternatives can be found at the border of a national park or other scenic marvel. Here the visitor can move from immersion in natural

beauty to some of the most built environments in the world in a few minutes. In fact, many tourists enjoy this split, sleeping in neon-lit Gatlinsburg and viewing the Great Smokies the next day, or going to the wax museum and gift shops in Niagara Falls before contemplating the smoking roar of the actual Falls, or spending a day at 10,000 feet in Rocky Mountain National Park before returning to the hot human coziness of Estes Park.

For the visitor, if not for the resident, an entire region, country or continent can be a fantasy environment. Articles in a Los Angeles newspaper discuss the timeless colonial charm of New England in a reverent tone nearly incomprehensible to the Massachusetts resident.[34] The visitor brings a large array of pre-conceptions and imagery to the place being visited. This mental set, combined with the vacationer's relaxation and freedom from mundane matters, can result in enjoyment of a place at great variance with the experience of the residents.[35] I am thus suggesting that a visitor to New England, Southern California, the Rockies, Mexico, etc., may have, according to the view of those resident in the area, a fantasy experience and an unrealistic perception of the setting.[36,37]

In sum, this paper has attempted to illustrate that the fantasy experience may be a part of our lives in small and in large ways. At times, the boundaries between what is real and what is not become tenuous, if not arbitrary.

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The Diner in Worcester, 1890-1976: Mass Cultural Elements in an Urban Landscape

JOHN HUNTER

The urban landscape is made up of diverse elements which have been born from different sources. This paper will look at the diner as one urban landscape element that sprang from American mass culture. A diner, as is meant here, is an eating place manufactured off-site and hauled to its site for placement on a permanent foundation. Night lunch, lunch cart, and lunch wagon were used as synonyms for diner in the early period of its development, and that practice is followed in this paper.

The methodology employed in this paper is threefold: first, a brief historical overview of the diner in America; second, a survey of popular literature, using such magazines as The Saturday Evening Post, and Literary Digest; and third, a look at the diner's growth in Worcester, using manufacturers' trade catalogs as an indicator.

The Development of the Diner

The diner was born in Worcester. In the early 1880's, Sam Jones, a native Worcesterite, converted a freight wagon for use as a hand-out wagon, dispensing pie and coffee from a window on the side. Within two years, he built a wagon into which a customer could step. The model for his enterprise was more than likely the circus wagon (Jones had spent time working for the circus) or the "waffle wagon," a popular novelty which operated at the

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Philadelphia Centennial in 1876.[1]

In the late 1880's, Charles H. Palmer began building diners in Worcester. Palmer called his diners "Owl" night lunches. They were small, having only six stools and a bar at one end. Cooking was done with kerosene, and the principal menu items were frankfurters and hamburgers. "Owl" was a well-chosen name because "at the beginning the owners of lunch wagons catered mostly to night workers such as printers, but later hours were gradually increased so that most wagons stayed open all night."[2]

The first major manufacturer of diners was Worcesterite T. H. Buckley. The T.H. Buckley Lunch Wagon Mfg. and Catering Co. was established in 1888 and incorporated in 1897. Buckley was noteworthy both for his designs and his method of sales.[3] Whereas Palmer had custom made his wagons to order, Buckley built the wagons first and then sold them. Some he sold on time, but in June, 1895, he established the United States Lunch Wagon Co. for the purpose of leasing and operating lunch wagons only. His method was to choose a promising town where no lunch wagon existed and to appear before the town council himself if necessary to expound on the benefits of allowing a lunch wagon to operate in that town. He was successful enough to have placed wagons in 275 cities by 1900.[4]

Buckley numbered his lunch wagon models, one through six, and called all but one model "White Horse Cafe." These lunch wagons were also small, with six to ten stools. His wagons featured colored glass windows picturing "ancient goddesses" on one model; presidents Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Harrison, and Cleveland, with Columbus and Columbia on another; and Admirals Dewey, Schley, and Sampson, Lieutenant Hobson, General Miles, and presidents Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Arthur, and Cleveland on yet another. In addition to the colored windows, one of Buckley's designs featured a "sixteen foot descriptive panel picture of the Battle of New Orleans." Another wagon had pictures that depicted prominent historical events of American wars, painted by C. K. Hardy.[5]

Buckley was a staunch prohibitionist, and along with these "White Horse Café" models he produced a special design, "The Way-Side Inn," for the Church Temperance Society of New York City. The Society operated these lunch wagons on the streets of New York in an effort to keep men out of saloons that offered free lunches with the purchase of drinks by providing an alternative: an inexpensive meal in the lunch wagon with no liquor. Some of these wagons were exported to England for use by English temperance workers.[6]

Buckley's contributions to the diner industry were many, but perhaps the most important was his establishing the production of lunch wagons on a commercial basis. He moved the diner industry from custom making of individual units to larger-scale commercial production and thereby established the model that would be followed by the Worcester Lunch Car Co., O'Mahoney Inc., and other diner manufacturers.

After Buckley's death in 1903, there were two significant developments in diner production. The first diner for placement at a permanent site and connection to city improvements was built by the Worcester Lunch Car Co. in 1906.[7] Though it was approximately the same size as Buckley's lunch wagons, this diner was especially noteworthy because it was fixed in place. Earlier lunch wagons had been completely mobile, being parked at the side of a street where they operated all night and then towed away the next morning. The trend toward permanent siting made day-time operation possible and probably did the most to establish diners as legitimate businesses.

At about the same time that the diner was losing its wheels, the center of diner manufacturing shifted away from Worcester to metropolitan New York City. The reason for this change is unclear, but it is possible that costs for shipping the completed diners were a factor. One manufacturer, the Worcester Lunch Car Co., operated in Worcester until 1961, but the city's major role in diner manufacturing was over.

The Diner in Popular Literature

During the earliest part of the diner's history, while it was still on wheels, there seems to have

been little notice taken of diners in the popular press. Perhaps the lack of permanent siting gave the impression that diners were not genuine businesses, which resulted in the lack of press attention.

The first mention of diners in the press appears in the late 1920's and early 1930's. An article from the July, 1928, Scientific American discusses a lunch wagon, built on a truck chassis, that traveled up and down the east coast.[8] An article from the April, 1931, American City dealt only briefly with diners, but the title conveys the tone of the article, "Wayside Stands, Billboards, Curb Pumps, Lunch Wagons, Junk Yards and Their Ilk, What Can We Do About Them?" The article, a compilation of planners' opinions, deals with controls for land use and grouped lunch wagons among land uses classified as "objectionable."[9]

One of the first articles portraying diners favorably appears in the February, 1932, World's Work. The article claimed that "the lunch wagon is the most democratic, and therefore the most American, of all eating places." The author noted that "the lunch wagon field, so long the almost exclusive field for the Irish American, now is being invaded by the Greek and the Jew." The annual aggregate cash intake was estimated to be considerably more than $100,000,000.[10] In all probability, it was figures such as this that allowed diner manufacturers to call a diner a "depression-proof business."[11] The failure rate for diners at the time was said to be about 7% against 20% for newly established restaurants.[12]

During the mid 1930's, Ladies' Home Journal developed a series of plans for roadside eating stands.[13] The plans cost one dollar, were Colonial, Spanish, and Norman in design, and otherwise were noticeably non-dineresque. The implication is that these are the kinds of places at which ladies, or at least those who read Ladies' Home Journal, stop when they are traveling. It is interesting to note that by 1951, at least one diner maker, National Diner Sales, was marketing "The Valentine Portable All-Steel Sandwich Shop," which looked more like the Journal's plans than the traditional diner. There also have been instances of diner owners covering their diners with mansard roofs

disguising their establishments' origins.[14]

In the late 1930's, two articles appear that stress the legitimacy of diners as businesses. An article in the May, 1939, Literary Digest points out the entrepreneurial aspects of the diner business, quoting Jerry O'Mahoney, the leading diner manufacturer of the time, as saying that earnings of $5,000 to $10,000 per year were possible.[15] The Christian Science Monitor in March, 1938, set the total business at $125,000,000 annually. Diners were patronized by "women as well as men, Congressmen, judges, actors, bookkeepers, and trucksters." This article also included a brief history of diners which stressed the dollars and cents of the wagons of that period and the past, noting that the early wagons cost $500 and paid no rent, and that wagons of the time cost between $6,000 and $30,000 and paid rent averaging $45 monthly.[16]

By the late 1940's, the diner had been around long enough to be a genuine part of the American scene. In June, 1948, The Saturday Evening Post called the diner "an American institution" and noted that diner operation was "no longer a matter of parlaying a hundred dollars and a lot of energy into ten thousand, but a matter of manipulating ten thousand dollars or one hundred thousand dollars into one million dollars or some appreciable fraction thereof."[17] Fortune notes in July, 1952, that diners took in about $529,000,000 annually for food that cost them about $240,000,000. "The operator of an eighty-foot diner in a good location can gross $10,000 a week,...with $1,250 a week left for himself after taxes."[18]

From 1960 on, there is a nostalgic tone in articles about diners. Diners built after 1960 are prefabricated restaurants no longer in the diner tradition. The Worcester Lunch Car Co. went out of business in 1961. The diner had become a relic of another era, as suggested by nostalgic pictorial essays, such as that in the 30 April, 1971 issue of Life.[19]

The thread that flows throughout references to diners in mass circulation journals up until the final period of nostalgia is a concern with the entrepreneurial aspects of diners. The concern is

with aggregate data -- total number of people served, total income and so on. The common perception seems to be less of diners as discrete places themselves, but rather of diners as parts of an industry. This perception suggests an industry in which one could make his fortune. "Many Americans, interested in starting their own business turned to diners as the simplified answer to a multitude of questions... All the basic facilities of an on-site constructed restaurant were available in diners: faster, cheaper, simpler."[20]

By 1940, the diner field had grown large enough to support a trade publication of its own. The Diner was established in 1940 and directed at diner operators. Its attitude is significantly different from that of the popular press. While there is a recognition that they constitute an industry, The Diner notes that there is no great chain of diners stretching from coast to coast, that diner operators are individuals, and diners are unique in and of themselves. The result is a profound absence of aggregate data, and an emphasis on what could benefit the individual owner.

The Diner in Worcester

The city of Worcester has undergone many physical changes downtown. In some cases, streets have been changed drastically, particularly in the parts of downtown experiencing urban renewal.

The period under consideration was one of intense growth in the city population. From a population of almost 85,000 in 1890, the population peaked at approximately 210,000 in the mid 1950's, and has since stabilized at about 170,000.

Figure 1 is a graph showing the number of diners in Worcester from 1890 to 1975. The number of diners increased with the increase in population and peaked at about the same time that the population peaked, but the drop in the number of diners operating since that time has been sharper than would be expected from the drop in population. The number of diners operating in 1975 is the same as the number in 1900, even though the 1975 population is substantially larger.

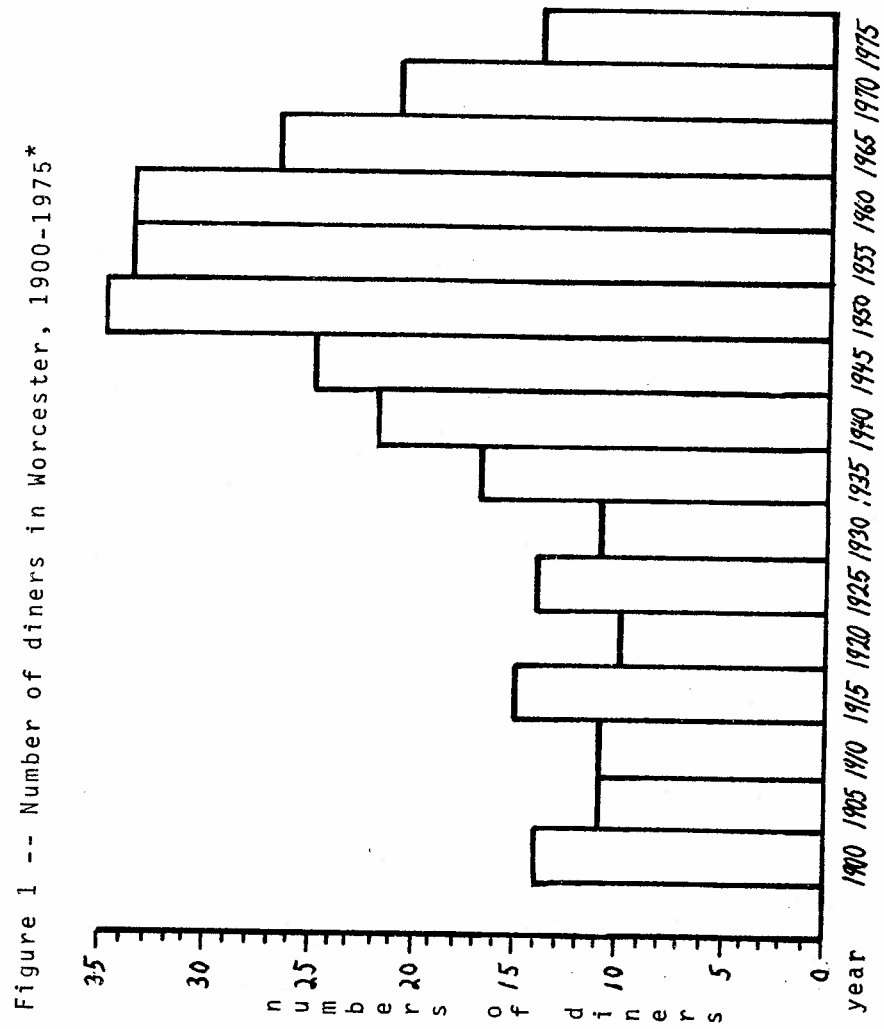

Figure 1 -- Number of diners in Worcester, 1900-1975*

*The number of diners operating was determined by examining the indices of the Worcester Directories, with the assumption that eating places with "Diner" in their names were diners as we have defined them. A problem with this method is that from 1900-20, diners were not normally listed in the index of eating places in the directories. A page-by-page search of the directories would have been the only way to discover exactly how many diners were operating at that time, but this was done for 1900 only. The result is that the figures shown for 1905-20 are probably much lower than the actual number of diners in operation at that time.

Between 1900 and 1930, the diner business was controlled by Irish and Englishmen, most of whom entered the field from such occupations as shoemaker, carpenter, baker, laborer, and wireworker. Ten years was about the average tenure in the diner business.[21] During this period, the business was very similar to the Horatio Alger system for success: the way to success was the privately owned business. The lunch wagons of this period were concentrated in the downtown area of the city. These diners relied on drop-in business, and heavy pedestrian traffic was therefore an advantage. Even today, a majority of diners are centered in and around the downtown area.

Between 1930 and 1950, the nature of the diner business had changed. Diners had lost their wheels and had become somewhat more respectable. Men, and a few women, entered the field as a career. Also, during this period, Italians and Greeks joined the business in great numbers, and in addition, there was some growth in the numbers of diners servicing motor traffic. These diners appeared mostly along major traffic arteries heading in and out of the city.

In recent years, diner locations have shrunk back toward the downtown area. It would seem that, though the diner can be adapted to serve motor traffic, it is most successful in locations more central to CBD's.

Conclusion

Though the common perception of diners as highway-oriented truck stops persists, the evidence from this paper is that it was every bit an urban phenomenon. It was born in an urban area, and, in Worcester, it has been most successful in that context.

The future of the diner is not promising. "They'll all be gone," said one Worcester diner owner. The diners that will survive are probably those that are more like restaurants than diners in the traditional sense. Otherwise, the diner seems doomed to disappear, the victim of fast-food chains.

Notes:

[1] "Coffee and...," World's Work, Vol. 61 (February, 1932), p. 29.

[2] "Lunch Wagons Deluxe," Christian Science Monitor, (22 March, 1938), p. 14.

[3] Ibid., p. 14.

[4] T.H. Buckley Lunch Wagon Mfg. and Catering Co. Catalog. From the collection of the Worcester Historical Society.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] "Lunch Wagons Deluxe," Christian Science Monitor (22 March, 1938), p. 14; Worcester Lunch Car Co. Catalog.

[8] "Lunch Wagon Modernized," Scientific American, Vol. 139 (August, 1928).

[9] "Wayside Stands, Billboards, Curb Pumps, Lunch Wagons, Junkyards, and Their Ilk, What Can We Do about Them?" American City, Vol. 44 (April, 1931), p. 108.

[10] "Coffee and...," World's Work, Vol. 61 (February, 1932), p. 26.

[11] "Slice of Pie and a Cup of Coffee...," American Heritage, Vol. 28, No. 3 (April, 1978), p. 70.

[12] "Coffee and...," loc. cit.

[13] "Journal Roadside Stands," Ladies' Home Journal, (August, 1932), p. 46.

[14] An excellent example is the Parkway Diner, 146 Shrewsbury Street, Worcester.

[15]"Mug O' Java...," Literary Digest, Vol. 123 (15 May, 1937), p. 37.

[16]"Lunch Wagons Deluxe," loc. cit.

[17]Blake Ehrlich, "Diner Puts on Airs," Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 220 (19 June, 1948), p. 130.

[18]"Diner Business," Fortune, Vol. 48 (July, 1952), p. 167.

[19]"Parting Shots: Life's Great Diners," Life, Vol. 70 (30 April, 1971), p. 68.

[20]Douglas Yorke, "Stopping at Stars: The Architecture of the American Diner," Architectural Association Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1976), p. 53.

[21]This information is based on an examination of Worcester Directories (1890-1915: The Drew Allis Col., Worcester; 1920-1936: Sampson and Murdock, Worcester; 1939+ : R.L. Polk and Co., Boston) and use of Elsdon Smith's Dictionary of American Family Names (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956) to establish ethnic backgrounds.

Commentary: Ruminations on "Humanistic" Geography

PAUL KARIYA

The numerous and diverse statements espousing a humanistic geography have reached a crescendo in the late 1970's. From earlier introductions by, amongst others, Lowenthal and Wright, the movement has acquired impetus, focus and a following from recent works by Relph, Mercer and Powell, Tuan, Buttimer and Ley.[1] However, like most movements, this drive in geography has reached somewhat of a crossroad and is in danger of being absorbed by other directions or dissipation through internal currents. There are those geographers that might dispute this appraisal as premature, but several indicators which support a contrary opinion are worth considering. Clearly, this whole issue of direction and inertia requires a lengthier treatment than that which can be afforded by a short commentary; however, I feel compelled to communicate the following ruminations from a personal perspective.

Generally, the movement has grown out of a dissatisfaction with the condition of man and human experience as expressed in geography under the helm of a spatial analytical or behavioural tradition. Drawing from source literature in philosophy, especially phenomenology, the humanistic mandate has become one of developing social theory without need for an abstract and segmented man spoken about with the language of mathematics or geometry. Capitalizing upon the richness of life-world as given, the primary task has been to approach theory building and analytical conceptualization after "authentic" contact with and description of the subject's environment and his or her own experience of it. What is paramount is the subject's subjectivity and not that of the researcher.[2]

Despite the abbreviated nature of the preceding outline, this goal continues to be the underlying thrust of a humanistic geography. However, this does not imply that those who adhere to such a goal share the same philosophical or methodological foundations or desire to do so. As is the case with all schools of thought or social movements in any academic discipline, humanistic geography contains dissident and marginal perspectives. In this case, however, some of the divergences are critical, with the "fringe" siphoning energy from the primary emphasis and also elevating the level of confusion.

As an example, Guelke's idealistic position and Billinge's critique of it as a sample of phenomenology exemplifies an extreme position together with an assessment of it by another as mainstream.[3] Similarly, Entrikin's critique of the movement based upon Husserl's transcendental phenomenology fails to account for the bridging work of Schutz between Weber and Husserl.[4]

Even more basic is the dispute over the definition of the term "humanistic."[5] This is an important area which requires philosophical clarification; however, the energy expended in the debates must not overshadow the broader goals of authentically representing and examining man and his milieu and of developing theory as social scientists.

Possibly the confusion and criticism garnered and leveled from discussants inside and outside the movement stems from a deficiency in the current state of the art. Myriad programmatic statements have been tabled but not operationalized and followed through with substantive research. The reality of an empirical life-world to be studied holistically has still only been glimpsed from a distance. There is ongoing and published research grounded in the life-world, but these are outnumbered and upstaged by a plethora of philosophical statements ending with a call or need for substantive studies.

As long as the adherents of a humanistic geography permit this imbalance to exist, uncertainty in directions for developing social theory, testing study generalizability, and establishing an alternative paradigm will remain unresolved. Only through substantive research can the lofty objective of authentically representing man as man be obtained and only by obtaining this can a humanistic geography survive and effectively confront many of its current philosophical and methodological dilemmas.

Realizing that this movement in geography has important predecessors in sister disciplines, it might be appropriate to consider the following challenge by Robert Park:

> You have been told to go grubbing in the library, thereby accumulating a mass of notes and a liberal coating of grime. You have been told to choose problems wherever you can find musty stacks of routine records based on trivial schedules prepared by tired bureaucrats and filled out by reluctant applicants for aid or fussy do-gooders or indifferent clerks. This is called "getting your hands dirty in real research." Those who thus counsel you are wise and honorable; the reasons they offer are of great value. But one thing more is needful: first-hand observation. Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flop houses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shake downs; sit in Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, gentlemen (and ladies), go get the seats of your pants dirty in real research.[6]

Notes:

[1]D. Lowenthal, "Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 51 (1961), pp. 241-261; J.K. Wright, Human Nature in Geography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); E. Relph, "An Inquiry into the Relations Between Phenomenology and Geography," Canadian Geographer, Vol. 14 (1970), pp. 193-201, and idem, Place and Placelessness (London: Pion, 1976); D. Mercer and J.M. Powell, "Phenomenology and Other Non-Positivistic Approaches in Geography," Clayton, Victoria, Australia: Monash University, Department of Geography, 1972; Yi-fu Tuan, "Geography, Phenomenology, and the Study of Human Nature," Canadian Geographer, Vol. 25 (1971), pp. 181-192, idem, "Place: an Experiential Perspective," Geographical Review, Vol. 64 (1975), pp. 151-65, and idem, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspectives," in Progress in Geography, Vol. 6, London: Edward Arnold, 1975; A. Buttimer, Values in Geography, Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 24, Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers. and idem, "Grasping the Dynamism of Life-World," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 66 (1976), pp. 272-292; D. Ley, "The Personality of a Geographic Fact," Professional Geographer, Vol. 29 (1977), pp. 8-13, and idem, "Social Geography and the Taken-for-Granted World," Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 2 (1977), pp. 498-512.

[2]P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Anchor, 1967); A. Dawe, "The Role of Experience in the Construction of Social Theory: An Essay in Reflexive Sociology," Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (1973), pp. 25-55, and D. Silverman, The Theory of Organization: A Sociological Framework (London: Heinemann, 1970).

[3]L. Guelke, "An Idealist Alternative in Human Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 64 (1974), pp. 193-202, and idem, "Regional Geography," Professional Geographer, Vol. 29 (1977), pp. 1-7; M. Billinge, "In Search of Negativism: Phenomenology and Historical Geography," Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 3, pp. 55-67.

[4]J.N. Entrikin, "Contemporary Humanism in Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 66 (1976), pp. 615-632, and A. Schutz, On Phenomenology and Social Relations, H. Wagner (ed.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[5]E. Relph, "Commentary: Humanism, Phenomenology and Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 67 (1977), pp. 177-183.

[6]Unpublished statement recorded by Howard Becker at the University of Chicago in the 1920's. From J.C. McKinney, Constructive Typology and Social Theory. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966, p. 71. Also reprinted in J. Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971.

Current Research at Clark

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The purpose of this article is to report briefly on funded research projects undertaken by members of the Graduate School of Geography and their affiliates in the International Development and Environmental Affairs programs. Such projects have become a major aspect of life at Clark.

For the faculty, they have provided funds to inaugurate innovative research and secure access to needed resources and facilities. Their interdisciplinary character has built an atmosphere of co-operation and collegiality among researchers with different specialities and training, whether in other departments here at Clark, other universities, or non-academic agencies, both here and abroad.

For graduate students, they help develop research skills and a sense of problem. They further aid in building the scholarly contacts on which graduates will draw in future careers.

The undergraduates benefit likewise. The hypotheses and findings of grant research frequently give rise to new course offerings and supplement the old. They convey a feeling for the relationship between the university environment and the world in which research and training are practically applied. In addition, undergraduates, like graduate students, are often integrated into research teams, furthering the intense faculty-student interaction for which Clark has long been noted.

The Five Research Clusters

In the last two years, funded research projects have continued increasing their contribution to the Clark Geography community. As a result,

the number of projects and the complexity of their interrelations can daunt the casually curious.

This report organizes project discussion under five principal clusters. These clusters are defined either in terms of a major grant and its subsidiary projects or a group of Clark scholars who have enjoyed a long collaboration on several grants. The five clusters are described below.

(1) International Development embraces a number of grants from the United Nations, the United States Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and State Department, among others. It has also given rise to the International Development Program (a bachelors and masters degrees curriculum) headed by Len Berry and Dick Ford. It has further been a major influence in defining the regional and international development/political economy stream in the revised geography curriculum.

(2) Environmental Affairs includes grants from such agencies as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Environmental Protection Agency, and A.I.D. Like the I.D. cluster, E.A. has resulted in the establishment of a bachelors and masters curriculum: the Environmental Affairs Program directed by Harry Schwarz. Again, like I.D., it has also influenced the new geography program, in the form of the environmental management stream.

(3) A National Science Foundation grant project, entitled "The Societal Management of Technological Hazards," is the core of a third research cluster, generally known as "HazTech" at Clark.

(4) Climate and Population (ClimPop) designates a cluster centered on another N.S.F. grant project.

(5) The Regional Development Unit (R.D.U.) is a cluster of projects pertaining to regional development and decline. It represents both an international scale of intellectual collaboration (e.g., with the Nobel Institute of Sweden) and a local planning consultation function (e.g., with the town of Lincoln, Mass.). It has recently inaugurated an interdisciplinary regional development seminar and is a key influence on the regional and international development/political economy stream in the restructured geography curriculum.

These five research clusters have recently been moved together into the old Alumni Gym, now called the Center for Technology, Environment, and Development (CENTED). CENTED is now the campus headquarters for grant-supported research projects.

International Development

International development continues to grow as a major research focus involving faculty and graduate students from the Graduate School of Geography, the International Development Program, and other departments. The several projects in this field include:

(1) Desertification has constituted a major theme of funded research at Clark. Desertification is the expansion of desert-like conditions and has become very severe globally in recent years. Clark's early record of work in this area includes Population, Society and Desertification by Robert Kates, Douglas Johnson, and Kirsten Johnson, a document prepared at the invitation of the United Nations for a world conference on desertification in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1977. Another early work was the issue of Economic Geography (1977) on desertification edited by Douglas Johnson. More recent works include Richard Ford's and Len Berry's "Recommendations for a System to Monitor Critical Indicators in Areas Prone to Desertification." Commissioned by the U.S. State Department and A.I.D., this system co-ordinates information from local field studies, regional and national reports, and global overviews by LANDSAT to aid in "grass roots" efforts to prevent desertification. Portions of the proposed monitoring task are now being evaluated in two African countries. Other continued involvments include Douglas Johnson's participation in a U.N. task force to review desertification problems in Sudan.

(2) The environmental context of development is a cluster of projects including an examination of environmental trends in East Africa, particularly as they affect development. This project has as goal the co-ordination of institution-building

and project management in environmental affairs for seven East African countries. Some of its publications are:

(a) "The Environmental Context of Development: An Analysis of National Environmental Situations and Persistent Problems in Six Eastern and Southern African Nations;"

(b) "The Environmental Context of Development in Tanzania: A Map of Environmental Pressure Points;" and

(c) "A Project to Analyze Environmental Issues and Trends in Eastern and Southern Africa."

(3) The least developed countries (L.D.C.'s) of the world have long been a focus of research for Clark geographers and their colleagues in other disciplines here. An early phase of this research was the identification of the characteristics defining the L.D.C.'s economic condition. Today, a major concern of Clark work with the L.D.C.'s is the question of the appropriateness of technology imports from the West. The transfer of high technology to the L.D.C.'s may exacerbate the situation of the majority of people living in them. Clark scholars are investigating how local and traditional technologies and resources might be marshalled today to improve health, food production and distribution, and water supply, among other things. One of the products of this research is a book entitled Making the Most from the Least, edited by geographers Robert Kates and Leonard Berry.

(4) Awareness of environmental issues describes another group of interests within the international development cluster of projects. The perception of local resources and environmental problems is the topic of a number of Clark projects in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Sudan, Nepal, Pakistan, and Panama.

Clark is also involved in two training programs with A.I.D.:

(a) in the first, groups from Clark, the University of North Carolina School of Public Health, and the South-East Consortium for International Development are working under a contract from A.I.D. to design a program for environmental training in fifteen African countries. Together with the Environmental Training Program in Dakar, Senegal, these groups have identified prioities held to be critical in environmental training by the African governments involved.

(b) the Clark I.D. program has conducted several training seminars for sixty A.I.D. field officers in the 22 countries in which they work. These seminars have focussed especially on the assessment of potential environmental impact of development projects. One outcome of these seminars is a global network of information shared among A.I.D. field officers with interests in environmental problems. This network is based in the Clark I.D. program and is managed by Clare Hilliker, a graduate student in I.D., with the assistance of Richard Hosier, a graduate student in geography.

Clark is further involved in developing recommendations for environmental priorities in a proposed re-organization of A.I.D.

(5) Fuel and energy in East Africa is the focus of a team of Clark graduate and undergraduate students, headed by geographer Philip O'Keefe, and organizations from five East African countries. Of all forms of energy that could be used in these countries (i.e., nuclear, hydroelectric, petroleum, coal, geo-thermal, solar, wind, and wood/charcoal), they found that the greatly expanded production of wood is their most effective source of energy, at least for the next several years. To overcome the severe obstacles to this expansion of wood production, the Clark group suggested the development of village-scale woodlots, similar to those used successfully in China and South Korea. These village woodlots would be owned and managed by the villagers themselves to meet their local wood needs (i.e., fuel, lumber, stock browsing, and small tools).

(6) Response to disaster in the developing world involves many Clark people. In the past, Clark geographers studied the response to the Managua, Nicaragua, earthquake and hurricane hazards in the Virgin Islands. The present focus is

drought in Africa. Drought in the Sahel has occupied many people in Geography and I.D. at Clark in a number of projects over the last several years. A second focus of research into drought in Africa was a comprehensive symposium on drought in Botswana. Clark researchers, officials from the Botswana government and drought experts from around the world contributed papers on the history and causes of drought in Botswana, its social impacts, and programs to combat or ameliorate its effects. After this symposium in Gabarone, the Botswana government developed a drought and disaster contingency plan, based on drought prediction, livestock slaughter, emergency food rationing, and local distribution of emergency aid through local and village councils. The Symposium on Drought in Botswana was then published in 1979 through the Clark University Press.

(7) A new project is centered on environmental planning and resource management under the aegis of the Institute for Scientific and Technological Co-operation (I.S.T:C.). A major goal of I.S.T.C. is to develop a strong research basis in science and technology in order to assist development planning in the Third World. Leonard Berry and Richard Ford co-authored Recommendations for a Five Year Program in Environmental Protection and Natural Resource Management for the I.S.T.C. in 1979. In it, they proposed that the research basis of I.S.T.C. be built on the principle of co-ordination and shared support among several institutions and emphasizes applications. They further recommended research priorities in rural and community forestry (as proposed in the fuel and energy in East Africa project described above); the development of information systems for monitoring, managing, and using resource data in the Third World; and experimental work in integrated pest management approaches.

Environmental Affairs

The Environmental Affairs Program is presently involved in several projects focussing on water resources management. In the last two

years, this cluster of projects has produced the following reports:

(1) "Wastewater Management Planning: Conflict in the Evaluation of Alternatives," by Harry E. Schwarz and Bradford M. Stern. This study deals with the "structural" and "non-structural" dichotomy in proposed solutions to wastewater problems. It concluded that this dichotomy was less important than the conflict over traditional, centralized approaches and alternatives to them. It further found that this conflict could exist within a town as well as between different levels of government and that the roots of conflict often lay in areas only indirectly related to wastewater management alternatives.

(2) "Urbanization and Water Quality Planning: The 208 Experience in Massachusetts," by Harry E. Schwarz, Branden B. Johnson, Robert J. Caiazzo, and Debra Pincus. This study found that the degree of urbanization has no significant influence on the 208 planning process. The 208 planning process in Massachusetts and the resulting plans were highly idiosyncratic, reflecting town priorities rather than the national pollution abatement goals of the Clean Water Act.

An ongoing project is "Effect of Water Quality Legislation on Water Supply Legislation." by Harry E. Schwarz and Robert Cole. The Environmental Protection Agency is charged with the execution of potentially conflicting laws regulating waste disposal (i.e., the Clean Water Act, the Resources Recovery Act, and the Toxic Substances Act) and water quality treatment for human drinking (i.e., the Safe Drinking Water Act). The purpose of this study is to investigate how the execution of three waste disposal acts affects the implementation of the Safe Drinking Water Act.

The E.A. program is now helping plan a project which may involve the Clark E.A. and I.D. programs with several African institutions and two other American institutions in a co-operative environmental training program. This

program is designed to meet the priorities of various African governments in environmental issues.

HazTech

HazTech is an acronym for a research group working on an N.S.F. project entitled "The Societal Management of Technological Hazards." Its four major questions are:

(1) What technologically-induced hazards does society face now and how should they be conceptualized in terms of actual and perceived characteristics?

(2) How can acceptable risk levels be determined?

(3) How does the process of hazard management work today, specifically in terms of blockages and possible improvements? and

(4) How can technical information be presented to non-experts in such a way as to facilitate their constructive participation in hazard management?

An early task in the project entailed the formulation of a taxonomy to order hazards according to their observable characteristics. This task has been tentatively completed and the resulting taxonomy is now being compared to actual hazard data.

A second task required a characterization of the hazard management process within society and government, both in actuality and as it might be ideally. This task has been approached through the creation of a hazard management taxonomy. This taxonomy classifies the management process according to the nature of the controls used, the amount of effort devoted to control, and the intelligence facilities employed and problems encountered. This taxonomy further characterizes the hazard management process according to the institution responsible for it (e.g., government agency, corporation, public interest group), with an eye to distinguishing among institutions in terms of the effectiveness of their hazard management approaches.

A third inquiry sought to clarify the feasibility and standards implied by different methods of determining risk acceptability. At the moment, governmental approaches are the focus. The possibility of inferring standards of risk acceptability directly from legislation is being explored. To that end, a study is being done to identify all Federal legislation on technological hazards enacted over the last twenty years, in order to determine which categories of hazard are actually covered.

Public perception of technological hazards is the object of the fourth task. It is intended to create a taxonomy of social and psychological aspects of hazard perception. This will illuminate the expressed preferences of various groups for levels of risk acceptable to them and the ways in which they perceive the risk characteristics of technological hazards. The perceptions elicited through experiment and survey can then be compared to the observable characteristics of such hazards.

The last major task needed to address the four questions guiding this project is the development of improved methods to communicate information about hazards and risk management. One of the steps taken towards its execution was the establishment of an advisory board of potential users from industry, labor, public interest groups, the media, and the scholarly community.

Two smaller projects are related to the HazTech project. In the first, the history of various hazards and mortality in New York City over the last 100 years is being reconstructed. The second project is examining the differences in exposure to hazard between the workers employed in the industries which manufacture hazardous technologies and the general public. In addition, this project, entitled "Labor and Laity," distinguishes those industries characterized by large unions and large corporations from those with weak unions and several competitive companies in terms of worker and public exposure to hazard.

ClimPop

Climate and Population is the name designating a research cluster the purpose of which is to investigate the effects of climatic fluctuations on human populations, to examine the interface between climate and people. The present project explores societies' vulnerability to climate fluctuations in three case studies:

(1) The Tigris-Euphrates River Valley has been an irrigation-based society in a semi-arid environment over the last 6,000 years. During this time, there have occurred several large swings in population size. In seeking to explain these shifts, the ClimPop group is examining a number of different factors that may have contributed to them. These include climate, other environmental conditions, technology, social organization, and political events. The interrelations of these factors are being assembled into a systems dynamic model which can simulate the population swings and help to explain them.

(2) The American Great Plains is also characterized by a semi-arid environment, exploited over the last 100 years through both dry farming and irrigation. The specific climatic fluctuation concerning ClimPop in this case is drought occurrence, in its various impacts on agriculture and society in that region.

During the past 100 years, there have been some fifteen major droughts. The relative social impacts of these, however, have varied greatly, as can be seen in a comparison of the 1930's drought with that of the 1950's. Two smaller projects relate to this case study:

(a) the first concerns itself with the potential catastrophic global impacts of a future severe drought in the Great Plains. The production of the Great Plains is today distributed throughout the world in global trade; hence, a 1930's-type drought might well spell global catastrophe; and

(b) the second addresses the evolution of the specific technological and societal mechanisms which have in recent decades lessened the impacts of recurrent droughts in the Great Plains.

(3) The Sahel is the semi-arid environment south of the Sahara, occupied by both nomadic and sedentary groups. It, too, has experienced a number of major droughts over the last 100 years.

In all three of these case studies, the principal questions guiding inquiry are:

(1) Do societies adapt to their environments in such a way as to lessen the impact of recurrent climatic fluctuations of similar magnitude?

(2) If so, do they thereby make themselves more vulnerable to the much rarer events of much greater magnitude?

The R.D.U.

In the spring of 1978, an interdisciplinary group of faculty and graduate students, including geographers, economists, and sociologists, established the Regional Development Unit at Clark. The R.D.U. is a research organization focussing on problems of regional development, especially that of economic decline in mature industrial regions.

The R.D.U. is presently working with an international team of scholars on a proposal entitled "The Global Context of Regional Decline." The proposed study will examine the decline of older centers of industrial development (e.g., New England, Northeast England, and the Ruhr district) in the context of global resource allocations. It is posited that development and underdevelopment are reciprocal components of a single process of global resource allocation. The tremendous increase in foreign direct investment on the part of American and other First World financial and production capital is, therefore, seen as a contributing factor in the decline of older industrial centers, which today are characterized by net capital outflow, lowered real wages, high tax burdens, and decline in public-service provision.

A related project explores the effect of legal actions on the rate of capital outflow. In another study, the politics of economic decline are the focus of a comparison between Worcester, in the center of declining New England, and affluent Santa Barbara, California, which has chosen a non-growth strategy. The town of Lincoln, Massachusetts, has contracted a study investigating the impact of "executive parks" on the town economic structure. Worcester has recently followed suit.

Another group of studies examines the impact of economic decline on real wages and on the labor market structure in the regions affected. These investigations are focussing on labor market segmentation, i.e., its division into stable primary labor markets and unstable secondary markets. Tentative findings indicate that even where numbers of jobs are stable in declining areas, they are increasingly weighted toward the secondary segment of the labor force, thereby lowering overall real wages and job security in a region.

Recently, the R.D.U. began a collaboration with the Nobel Institute of Sweden in order to pursue the issue of energy in East Africa. Phil O'Keefe and Don Shakow intend to follow through with the community woodlot concept that emerged in Phil's I.D. project.

The R.D.U. has also established a Regional Development Seminar at Clark. It serves as a forum for faculty and graduate student work-in-progress and as a context for invited speakers from other institutions here and abroad. In addition, it constitutes a major avenue of communication to the undergraduate students of R.D.U. research.

Concluding Note

In this report, I have sought to sketch the broad outlines of current funded research which involves the Clark Geography community. Not only is the volume of such research impressive, nor only the rate at which it has grown over the past two years, but the way it has complemented the special attributes of a small university is quite striking. The size of the university, in conjunction with the importance of funded research, has made for an atmosphere of intense interaction across disciplines and between faculty and students. Such research, then, has served to amplify the qualities for which Clark has long been noted. Perhaps the current Clark student would agree with Charles W. Eliot:

> The very best kind of education is obtained in doing things one's self under competent direction and with good guidance.
>
> (written above the door leading into the Geography Workroom)

Doctorates Awarded in Geography

Henry Aay, "Conceptual Change and the Growth of Geographic Knowledge: A Critical Appraisal of the Historiography of Geography."

Daniel J. Amaral, "Family, Community, and Place: The Experience of Puerto Rican Emigrants in Worcester, Massachusetts."

Monique Anne Cohen, "Market Trading in a West African City: Abidjan, a Case Study."

Michael Jeffrey Enders, "The Impact of National Territorial Size on the Utilization and Management of the Environment."

Beatrice Ruth Fincher, "Re-Investment in Inner City Boston."

Bret McLean Halverson, "The Concept of Individual Difference in Adolescents and Its Relevance to Urban Geographic Education."

Roger Andrew Hart, "Children's Place Experience in a New England Town: A Developmental Study of Environmental Exploration Knowledge, Feelings, and Use."

Edwin Lawrence Hubbard, "The Effects of Numerous Old Mill Dams on Lower Basin Stream Development: 250 Years of Industrial Use of the French River and Its Tributaries, Southern Worcester County, Massachusetts."

Nurit Kliot, "The Political Landscape: A Geographical Analyis of the Impact of Idealogy on the Landscape."

Amram Pruginin, "Public Participation in Resource Management."

William Harvey Renwick, "Short-Term Sediment Movements and Related Channel Changes: The Piciance Basin, Colorado."

Paul H. Susman, "Underdevelopment in Mature Capitalist Countries."

Robert M. Wirtshafter, "Shelter Design and Energy Usage -- A Methodology for Evaluating the Impacts of Residential Space Conditioning Technologies on the Consumer, the Electric Utility, and Society."

Proposed Dissertations

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND SENSE OF PLACE: THE CASE OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS TO WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

Daniel J. Amaral

Studies of migration frequently report the stresses which migrants undergo in adapting to the receiving environment. The relationship between changing community structures and the change in physical environment has not been much investigated, however. The proposal is to explore this relationship as it occurs among Puerto Rican migrants to Worcester, Massachusetts. Changes in the sense of community, in images of place of origin, and in images of the local socio-cultural and physical environments will be monitored in open-ended interviews and through solicitation of maps. Analysis of these data will contribute to a more sophisticated theoretical and experimental approach to the subject.

THROUGHFLOW/OVERLAND FLOW DYNAMICS WITHIN A TEMPORAL FRAMEWORK

Louise Burnard

COLONIAL IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING, A CASE STUDY: SURINAMERS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Vernon Domingo

The purpose of this study is to determine how important residential structure is in defining the features of a social system. The study shall examine the nature of Surinamese access to particular types and locations of housing in the Netherlands. Using Rotterdam as a case study, Surinamese access to housing will be assessed and compared to that of

indigenous Dutch and other immigrant groups. The causes and consequences of this differential access will be evaluated, the three main questions to be addressed being: (a) to what extent is this level of access a determinant of quality of life? (b) is this differential access due to class, racial, or socio-political position? and (c) what role does the spatial dimension play in relationships between housing classes? A conflict model of intra-societal relations will be used as a framework within which the issue of competition for housing will be analyzed. It will be posited that the development of housing class consciousness will constitute the greatest threat to the very social structures which gave rise to them.

RE-INVESTMENT IN INNER CITY BOSTON

Ruth Fincher

The proposed dissertation will consider the importance of local state activity in directing re-investment in inner city built environments. Within two case study areas, the Waterfront and South End neighborhoods of Boston, an examination will be undertaken of the relationship between flows of private property capital and public sector investment. An assessment will then be made of the political conditions underlying this use of public funds, and of the class implications of such re-investment. The dissertation will endeavor to show that the present built environments of the study areas, despite their different appearances, are the results of the same basic process: that of flows of productive capital in and out of the areas, to an increasing extent orchestrated by the activity of the state.

THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE IN ADOLESCENTS AND ITS RELEVANCE TO URBAN GEOGRAPHIC EDUCATION

Bret Halverson

This dissertation proposes to review critically the relevance of the concept of individual difference in adolescents within the context of urban geographical education. Individual differences have been recognized by researchers as critical for effective learning, but very little effort has been made to implement these findings in non-clinical situations. This dissertation attempts to remedy this situation by designing, implementing, and evaluating an urban environmentally-based geography course in a public high school. The rationale for using a geography course is that it is one of the most appropriate fields of study to enable students to recognize, accept, and cope with individual differences, for it provides many opportunities to utilize these skills and interests through a variety of instructional strategies.

A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF LIFEWORLD RELATIONS: THE RESERVATION INDIAN AND THE FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATOR IN CANADA

Paul Kariya

The lifeworlds of the reservation Indian and the Department of Indian Affairs administrator have never been comparatively studied for their subjective meanings, especially as they relate to dialogue and communication. In spite of this deficiency, based upon legislative documents and pregiven social precedents, a particular kind of taken-for-granted relationship exists. This thesis proposal outlines a project that, based on participant observation:

(1) describes and analyzes the salient natures of both lifeworlds;
(2) examines the stereotypes and typifications held by actors of both lifeworlds as they communicate with each other; and
(3) presents possible working proposals to alleviate some of the possible communication barriers that exist between Indians and federal government officials in one specific administrative district.

Besides these purposes, the thesis also illustrates an empirical example of recent programmatic statements espousing a humanistic social geography.

CHILDREN'S ENVIRONMENTAL LEARNING AND KNOWLEDGE IN A CHANGING SOCIAL CONTEXT IN RIVERAIN ARAB SUDAN

Cindi Katz

The study and documentation of peasant children's environmental learning and knowledge in a transitional socio-economic context is the topic of the proposed research. Knowledge and learning are seen as part of the larger context of the social reproduction of a specific production system. As this production system is altered, so too are the settings for, activities of, and content of environmental learning. This process will be examined in a Gaaliin village within a newly established irrigation scheme in riverain Arab Sudan using the field methods of participant observation, ethnosemantic analysis, child-led walks, environmental modeling, instructions from children, discussions among children, interviews, and oral histories.

AN INTERACTIVE COMPUTER-ASSISTED SIMULATION FOR AN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Paul Oberg

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PLANT RESOURCE COGNITION IN THE COACHELLA VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

Hilary Renwick

TO SHARE OUR WORKS THROUGH SPACE, TIME, AND BEYOND: A NEW THEORY OF ANIMAL DOMESTICATION IN THE NEAR EAST

Christine M. Rodrigue

The proposed dissertation examines the domestication of animals in the Neolithic Near East. The purpose is to construct a single synthetic theory to explain the origins of animal domestication in that region. Its contribution to the corpus of literature on which it builds is a unification of all aspects of earlier explanations found consistent with a materialist world view. This unification is novel because it is more comprehensive than any past attempt, it makes use of up-to-date archaeological data, and it alone represents a thoroughly materialist approach to the subject matter.

The specific themes to be linked include the religious sacrifice explanation usually given by geographers, the economic accounts developed by such archaeologists as Kent Flannery, and the ecological approach favored by many geographers and anthropological archaeologists. Unifying these themes are the following factors:

(1) the development of the productivity of Epi-Palaeolithic collectors;
(2) the late Pleistocene shift toward localization and sedentarization;
(3) the development of storage capacity and redistributed surplus; and
(4) the nascence of class relations in Neolithic societies.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL INNOVATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY GARDENS

Katherine Drayton Sibold

Community gardens have rapidly spread throughout the United States only in the last eight years, mainly in response to economic and environmental pressures. The focus of this research is to conduct a comparative analysis of the three approaches of appropriate technology, nutrition, and recreation to community gardening and establish how the organizational framework affects the rate and pattern of adoption. It is anticipated that each of the three underlying foundations has a distinct process which occurs and affects the manner in which it is incorporated into the social system. This is to be done through assessing the overall situation in the United States, conducting interviews in selected study areas with the organizations directly and indirectly involved, and performing a comparative analysis of the three approaches.

UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN MATURE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Paul H. Susman

Existing regional development theory does not adequately explain the persistence of underdevelopment in depressed regions within mature capitalist countries. An alternative analysis is offered in this research proposal in which development and underdevelopment are seen as two components of a single process. Particular focus is placed on the roles of transnational corporations and the State in the regional development process. The alternative analysis will be tested in Northeast England.

INFLUENCE OF ROCK TYPE, ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS, AND RELIEF ON DRAINAGE PATTERNS AND TOPOGRAPHY

Douglas Way

MOVEMENT OF BED MATERIAL IN A SMALL REACH OF A PERENNIAL STREAM -- ITS TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL ASPECTS

Abraham Zahavi

In the proposed study, two aspects of bedload transportation are to be investigated. First, the relation of particle size to distance of movement in flow events will be examined. Second, the behavior of bedload sorting within a stream reach is to be analyzed. Particular emphasis in the second portion of the inquiry is given to the processes that reduce the size of bedload in the downstream direction. The relative effects of weathering and abrasion as well as selective size transportation by streamflow are to be evaluated.

Masters Theses in Geography

Raban Chanda, "Rural-Urban Migration in Zambia: An Eco-Economic Perspective."

Mohammed Nazar Memon, "Regulation Schemes for Sind: Delineation of Sub-Region for Planning."

Johannes Sipho Talane, "Geographical Variations in Social Well-Being: The Case of South Africa."

Masters Theses in International Development

Ruvimbo M. Mabeza, "Changing Role of African Women in Development."

Seth Nyako, "Manpower and Educational Planning in the Development Process of Ghana."

Haleh Pourafzel, "Comparative Vulnerability to Drought in the Sahel, 1910-1914 and 1968-1974."

Jozef Richardson, "Rural-Urban Migration in Jamaica, 1960-1970."

Masters Theses in Environmental Affairs

Branden B. Johnson, "Federal Water Quality Planning and Wastewater Re-use in New England."

David L. Magid, "General Systems Theory -- Entropy Measures Defining Stream Network Steady States."

Alan R. Milton, "Implications of the Nitrogen Budget of Quabbin Reservoir."

Robert D. Obeiter, "The Effects of Attitudes on Residential Water Use."

Bradford Stern, "Lake Classification and Trophic Status Prediction: Exploration of Statistical Methods."

The Clark Community

FULL-TIME FACULTY, 1978-80

Leonard Berry, Ph.D., Bristol, 1969; Director of the Graduate School of Geography; Professor of Geography; Co-Director of the International Development Program (applied geomorphology).

Martyn Bowden, Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley, 1968; Professor (historical-cultural geography, urban environmental cognition, reconstruction following disaster).

Anne Buttimer, Ph.D., University of Washington, 1965; Associate Professor (social geography, urban social space, philosophy in geography).

Douglas L. Johnson, Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1972; Associate Professor (cultural geography, landscape, economic development in arid lands).

Kirsten Johnson, Ph.D., Clark University, 1977; Assistant Professor (cultural ecology, especially the cognitive aspect of human-environment interactions; resource management; agriculture and development; Latin America).

Gerald J. Karaska, Ph.D., Pennsylvania State University, 1962; Professor (urban economic geography, quantitative methods); Editor of Economic Geography.

Roger E. Kasperson, Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1966; Professor of Geography and Government (urban-political decision making, nuclear risk assessment).

Robert W. Kates, Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1962; Acting Co-Director of the Graduate School of Geography, 1979-80; Professor of Geography and University Professor (environmental perception and management, resource development, risk assessment, early childhood education).

Duane F. Knos, Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1956; Professor (geography and its teaching, simulation as a learning process, urban geography).

William A Koelsch, Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1966; Associate Professor of History and Geography; University Archivist (historical geography, the history of geographic education).

Helga Leitner, Ph.D., University of Vienna, 1978; Assistant Professor (urban economic geography).

Laurence A. Lewis, Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1965; Acting Co-Director of the Graduate School of Geography, 1979-80; Associate Professor (geomorphology, slope processes, fluvial processes).

Sharon E. Nicholson, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1976; Assistant Professor (climatology, climate change, tropical and subtropical climates, arid climates and development problems).

J. Richard Peet, Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley, 1968; Associate Professor (social and economic geography, community planning, Marxist geography); Editor of Antipode; on leave 1978-80.

Harry E. Schwarz, B.C.E., George Washington University; 1964; Professor of Environmental Affairs (water resources planning and water re-use).

Harry J. Steward, Ph.D., University of Wales at Swansea, 1972; Associate Professor (cartography, remote sensing imagery).

Billie Lee Turner, II, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1974; Assistant Professor (cultural ecology, especially tropical ecology; agriculture; and prehistory).

VISITING FACULTY

Phillip O'Keefe, Ph.D., University of London, 1973; Associate Professor (resource economics, natural hazards; underdeveloped countries, Marxist resource theory); Acting Editor of Antipode.

John E. Seley, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1973; Associate Professor (social and urban geography, city and regional planning).

Peter Taylor, Ph.D., University of Liverpool; 1970; Associate Professor (political geography, regional and local planning, statistical geography).

Richard A. Warrick, Ph.D., University of Colorado, 1975; Research Assistant Professor (natural resources management, environmental perception, natural hazards).

ADJUNCT FACULTY

Saul B. Cohen, Ph.D., Harvard University, 1955; President of Queens College, City Colleges of New York; Research Professor (political geography, educational networks).

Dennis W. Ducsik, Ph.D., M.I.T., 1976; Assistant Professor of Science, Department of Physics, Clark University (technology and society, management of energy technology, coastal zone management).

Stephen L. Feldman, Ph.D., The Hebrew University; Russell Sage Foundation (resource economics, solar energy and public utility economics).

PART-TIME FACULTY

Jean Kay (biogeography).

Paul Kay (climatology).

Arthur Krim (urban geography).

David Major (quantitative methods).

PROFESSORS EMERITI

Raymond E. Murphy, Ph.D.; Professor of Economic Geography.

Henry J. Warman, Ph.D.; Professor of Geography.

STAFF

Herbert C. Heidt, Senior Cartographer and Manager of the Cartography Laboratory.

Mary O'Malley, Administrative Assistant (until fall, 1978).

Susan Muntz, Map Librarian (until summer, 1979).

Katherine Parella, Administrative Assistant (since fall, 1978).

SECRETARIES

Graduate School of Geography:

Lois Morrison (since fall, 1978).
Gail Ploski (until fall, 1978).
Barbara Stiles (until fall, 1978).
Elsie C. Sullivan.
Jane Tangherlini (since fall, 1978).

CENTED:

Ellen Hughes-Cromwick.
Ruby Hunter (since fall, 1979).
Joan J. Ronzoni (until fall, 1979).

Economic Geography:

Louise Corbett.

International Development:

Linda Bressler (since fall, 1979).
Mary Goodhouse (until fall, 1979).
Shirlene McGrath (since fall, 1979).

Natural Hazards:

Connie Gediman.

Technological Hazards:

Miriam S. Berberian.

RESEARCH AFFILIATES

Mildred Berman, Salem State College.
Daniel Dworkin, A.I.D.
David Major, Institute for Water Resources.
Ewa Nowosielska, University of Warsaw.
Timothy O'Riordan, University of East Anglia.
Asher Schick, The Hebrew University.
John Seley, Queens College, C.U.N.Y.
David Sharon, The Hebrew University.

GRADUATE STUDENTS IN GEOGRAPHY

Anwar Abdu, geomorphology.
Abdulhamid Benkhial, political/cultural.
Eileen Berry, environmental.
Peter Bland, political.
Andrew Bomah, geomorphology.
Joe Brevard.
John Callahan, historical.
Raban Chanda, social/economic.
George Cravins, political/philosophy.
Ann Dennis, agricultural/international development.

Vernon Domingo, political.
Mona Domosh, historical/cultural.
Bruce Downing, political.
Tom Downing, hazards/resources.
Ute Dymon, cartography.
Michael Enbar, policy issues.
Kevin Ferguson, geomorphology.
Ruth Fincher, urban/social.
Katherine Gibson, social.
Abraham Goldman, resources.
Anne Godlewska, historical/cartography.
Julie Graham, environmental resources/regional decline.
Arnold Gray, general/geographic education.
Bret Halverson, environmental education.
Rudolph Hartman, recreation.
Jane Hayes, general.
Richard Hosier, international development/resources.
Tim Hudson, political.
Peter Hull, environment/political economy.
Branden Johnson, environmental affairs.
Gloria Johnson, economic/resources/water management.
Montine Jordan, cultural/cartography.
Emilias Kalapula, international development.
Paul Kariya, humanistic/social.
Cindi Katz, cultural/international development/perception.
Martin Koeppl, environmental perception/philosophy.
Susanna Leers, environmental management/biogeography.
Linda Logan, cultural/humanities.
James Lyons, philosophy/political/geographic education.
Perry Massey, urban/economic.
Marta Mavretic, environmental affairs/international development.
Janet McNaught, environmental/urban/social.
Nazar Memon, planning.
José Molinelli, geomorphology.
Janice Morgan-Jones, urban/social.
Murdo Morrison, resources/environmental management.
Paul Oberg, quantitative/geographic education.
Robert Obeiter, resource management.
Francis Odemerho, geomorphology.
Elizabeth Olson, cartography.
Michael Phoenix, international development.

Hilary Renwick, environmental perception/biogeography.
William Renwick, geomorphology.
William Riebsame, natural hazards/resources/environment.
Christine Rodrigue, social/economic/biogeography.
Barry Rubin, cultural/landscape.
Steven Sawyer, solar energy.
Joni Seager, historical.
Katherine Sibold, social/recreation.
Lawrence Simon, international development.
Michael Steinitz, cultural.
Sipho Talane, social.
James Tuller, environmental/resources.
Nancy Villanueva, development/Latin America/Caribbean.
Eliot Wessler, solar energy.
Daniel Wiener, resources/hazards.
Nancy Winter, geographic education.
Robert Wirtshafter, solar energy.

GRADUATE STUDENTS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mercedes Amundsen, resource distribution/migration in Ecuador.
James Goldstein, underdevelopment theory/geographic, economic, and social manifestations of underdevelopment.
Clare Hilliker, international exchange of information and field experience about environmental impacts of development projects.
Oliver Hunter, development and environment/alternative technologies.
Lenny Kreppel, psychology/international development.
Donna Nevel, development and education/educational psychology.
Nicholas Robin, politics/economics/international relations.
Edson Shirihuru, development and underdevelopment/Zimbabwe.
Laurence Simon, relationships between developing political economies and food production.
Thomas Tauras, public administration/urban sociology/city planning/architectural photography/construction methods.

Penny Thompson, development.
Chukwuemeka Umejuru, transportation geography/urban studies/international relations.
Allen Ward, culture/development/social change.
Robert Wilson, program design, implementation, and evaluation in West Africa and the Caribbean/assessing impact of hydro-agricultural schemes on the Sahelian environment.

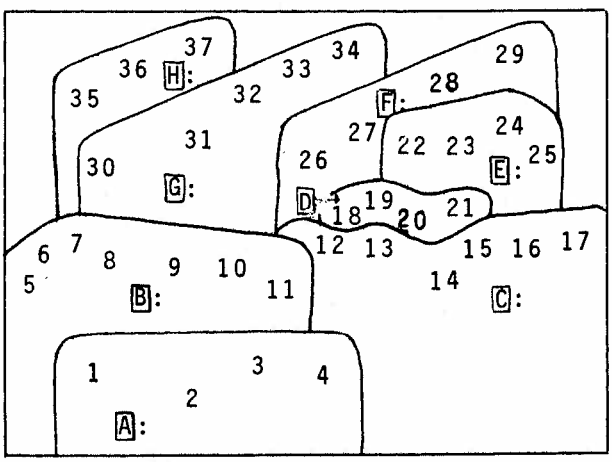
GRADUATE STUDENTS IN ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

James Arnold, water quality management.
Robert Cole, water quality and supply legislation.
San Edwards, residential water demand in Worcester.
Lynn Fredericksen, coastal water quality and agricultural development on tropical islands.
Lisa Morla, social-environmental impact of industrial consolidation: New York electroplating.
Joseph Mannarino, phosphate budget of Lake Quinsigamond, Massachusetts.
Jane Mika, effects of incinerator ash on soil-algae communities.
Susan Morgenstern, social impact of energy development in the West.
Steve Paleos, workplace environments: reactions to fatal accidents.
Debra Pincus, environmental deterioration in public housing.
David Rabinovitz, coastal management strategies in Massachusetts.
Jan Rosenberg, hazardous waste disposal.
Caroline Woolner, environmental interpretation.

Group Photographs

Graduate School of Geography 1978

Shown Left to Right,
Foreground to Background:



A:

1 Paul Oberg
2 Bob Kates
3 Kitty Sibold
4 John Bik

B:

5 Herman Jenkins
6 Bonnie Braine
7 Janet McNaught
8 Larry Lewis
9 Chrys Rodrigue
10 John Townsend
11 Harry Schwarz

C:

12 Len Berry
13 Saul Cohen
14 Vernon Domingo
15 Herb Heidt
16 Ann Dennis
17 Doug Johnson

D:

18 Abe Goldman
19 Mary O'Malley
20 Susanna Leers
21 Mitilish Srivastava

E:

22 Jimmy Wessler
23 David Magid
24 Peter Bland
25 Paul Susman

F:

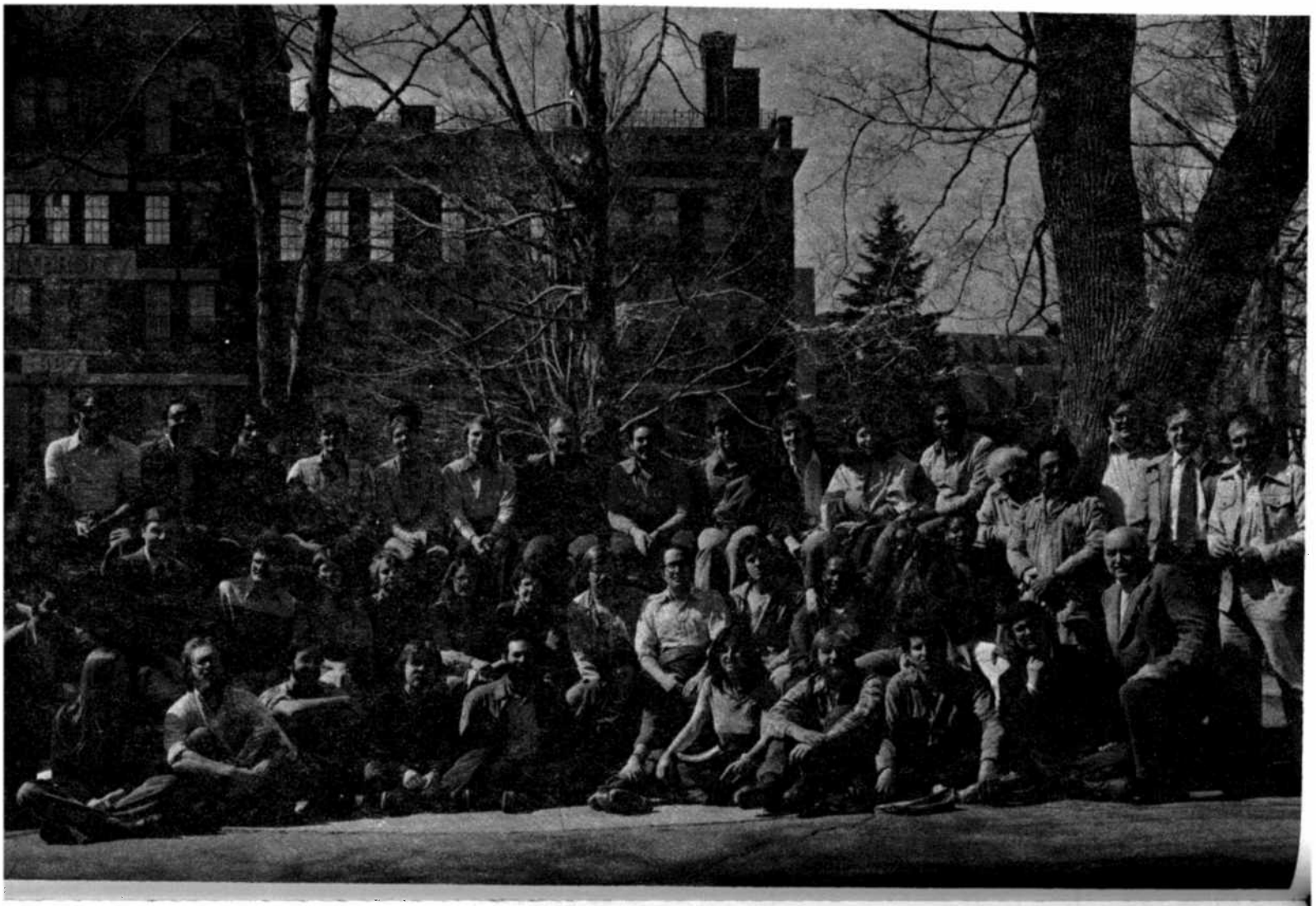
26 Jim Tuller
27 Andrew Bomah
28 Phil O'Keefe
29 Dick Warrick

G:

30 Ruth Fincher
31 Roger Kasperson
32 Barbara Stiles
33 Bob Wirtshafter
34 Bret Halverson

H:

35 Avi Zahavi
36 Bruce Downing
37 Tim Hudson



Graduate School of Geography

1979

From Left to Right:

Bottom Row:

1 Ted Johnson
2 Ann Dennis
3 Barry Rubin
4 Branden Johnson
5 Herb Heidt
6 Paul Susman
7 Julie Graham
8 Cindi Katz
9 Peter Hull
10 Danny Wiener
11 Roger Kasperson
12 Duane Knos
13 Michael Enders

Middle Row:

14 Danny Amaral
15 Janice Morgan-Jones
16 Jim Tuller
17 Bill Riebsame
18 Susan Muntz
19 Paul Oberg
20 Kitty Sibold
21 Mildred Berman
22 Bret Halverson
23 Bob Obeiter
24 Tim Hudson
25 Sipho Talane
26 Chrys Rodrigue
27 Gloria Johnson
28 Anwar Abdu
29 Len Berry

Top Row:

30 Nazar Memon
31 Mohamed Elberier
32 Abdulhamid Benkhial
33 Vernon Domingo
34 Annie Olson
35 Peter Bland
36 Phil O'Keefe
37 José Molinelli
38 Bruce Downing
39 Dick Hosier
40 Nancy Villanueva
41 Francis Odemerho
42 Harry Schwarz
43 Murdo Morrison

Len's Berries

FORMALLY SAUL'S SAVAGES

Incumbent Basketball Champions

From Left to Right:

Bottom Row:

1 Tom Tauras
2 Dick Hosier
3 Bob Obeiter
4 Tom Downing

Top Row:

5 Danny Wiener
6 Barry Rubin
7 Bruce Downing
8 Michael Enbar
9 David Rabinovitz
10 Abdulhamid Benkhial
11 Steve Fiddleman

Alumni News

ADKINSON, BURTON W. (PhD 42), though retired, is active as a member of the Board of Management and Assistant Treasurer of the Cosmos Club of Washington, D.C. He has also served as a consultant to the American Geological Institute in the joint establishment of a computerized geological sciences information system with the CNRS and BRGM of France. Recently published are his Two Centuries of Federal Information and "Public-Private Interactions," the first chapter in Annual Review of Information Science (co-authored with Douglas Berninger).

ALEXANDER, LEWIS M. (MA 48; PhD 49) is Professor and Chair of the Department of Geography and Marine Affairs at the University of Rhode Island. He published a report for the International Oceanographic Commission of the United Nations, entitled Regional Co-Operation in Marine Science and is currently working on "Access to the Sea for the Land-Locked and Geographically-Disadvantaged States of Africa," for the U.S. Department of State. He also serves as Chair of The Coastal Society.

ALLEN, AGNES M. (MA 34; PhD 37) is Professor Emeritus at Northern Arizona University, where a dormitory complex, Allen Hall, has just been named for her!

ANDERSON, JEREMY (66-71) is presently Professor of Geography at Eastern Washington University. He has taken his "first full year sabbatical after 18 years at the grindstone" in 78-79, during which he served as Visiting Scholar in the School of Design at North Carolina State University. He presented a paper to the North Carolina Social Studies Conference, entitled "Making Maps More Meaningful in the Elementary Social Studies Curriculum" and was discussant in the Special Session on Children's Geography at the AAG in

Philadelphia. He's currently working on "Environmental Determinants of Action Space and Place Learning of Fourth and Fifth Grade Students in Wake County, North Carolina," his sabbatical project. With so much to do, Jeremy has still found time to enjoy a trip across country and to visit other "Clarkies" here and there, such as Denis Wood, Bernie May, and Roger Hart. He writes "Salud y Shalom!"

ANG, DR. K.P. (3/15/77 - 6/14/77) is Senior Lecturer in Geography and Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Nanyang University in Singapore. He spent his sabbatical at the Department of Geography, University of Cambridge, England, until May, 1979. His recent publications include Agriculture and Rural Development in Peninsular Malaysia (in Chinese) and "A Geographical and Socio-Economic Study of Paddy Cultivation in Sekinchang, Peninsular Malaysia," for the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang University. He is presently working on Agricultural Development in the urban fringe, with special reference to South-East Asia.

ATWOOD, WALLACE W., JR. (MA 27; PhD 30) and CELIA ATWOOD (MA 32) are retired and live in Virginia. They write that they are feeling fine and have been travelling by car a great deal since retiring in 1974--over 160,000 miles, in fact! Mileage really adds up on regular visits to children in Massachusetts and Oklahoma, Clarence and Ida Jones on "The Farm" in Illinois, the Rocky Mountains, and, of course, the Geography Workroom at Clark.

BALTENSPERGER, BRAD (MA, PhD 74) is Assistant Professor of Geography at Michigan Technological University, where he gets plenty of opportunity to enjoy snow--more than 350 inches last year. This he manages through cross-country skiing. In the spring, he sometimes goes canoeing--at

"nearly pristine locations," about which he is downright secretive! His recent research includes three papers published or presented: "Agricultural Adjustments to Great Plains Drought;" "Newspaper Images of the Central Great Plains in the Late Nineteenth Century;" and "Agricultural Change among Nebraska Immigrants." He is currently working on Russian, German, and Finnish agriculture on the Great Plains and is contemplating a project on tree removal patterns in that region.

BOTTS, ADELBERT K. (MA 32; PhD 34) is Professor Emeritus in Geography at Trenton State College in New Jersey. Retirement allows him to pursue a number of hobbies, including oil and water color painting, lapidary, jewelry making, and travel. Summers he lives in Battle Lake, Michigan, and winters in Mercedes, Texas.

BRUNNSCHWEILER, DIETER (served at Clark as Visiting Professor from Switzerland, 1953-55, after receiving his PhD from Zurich in 52) holds a position at Michigan State University. He has three recent publications: "Environmental Science--With or Without Geography," Geographica Helvetica; Environment and Land Use in the Colombian Llanos, Michigan State University Press; and Applied Geography: Mandates, Means, and Methods, M.S.U. Press. Current research includes periglacial morphogenesis in the Pleistocene Appalachians and dune classification of Michigan using remote sensing. He plans to extend his interest in Pleistocene Geomorphology to the Andes and to examine natural factors in Latin American development. Currently, he and his family are in Yucatan, looking into the function of sinkholes in Mayan agriculture.

BURRILL, MEREDITH F. (MA 26; PhD 30) is retired, although he continues to work as a consultant. Three of his recent publications are: "Kenneth J. Bertrand--A Profile," in the Newsletter of the Antarctican

Society; "Kenneth J. Bertrand--Washington Geographer," in the Newsletter of the AAG Middle Atlantic Division; and an article on perception of named geographic entities in a work on toponymy, a field of continuing research for Dr. Burrill.

BUZZARD, HENRY LEWIS (AM ?) earned also an MS in Library Science at the University of Illinois. He then worked for the U.S. Army Map Service in Washington, D.C., for many years. He presently is Librarian at the New York School for the Deaf in White Plains.

BUZZARD, ROBERT GUY (PhD 25) is the father of Henry Lewis. He is retired from Eastern Illinois University in Charleston, an institution he served as President. Now past 88 years of age, he lives in a retirement village just south of Los Angeles, an area which provides him many "geographic chuckles" with its mudslides, earthquakes, and brush fires. He was pleased to meet Clark's President Mortimer Appley, who was visiting California a couple of years ago. Dr. Buzzard founded Gamma Theta Upsilon in 1928, with a loan fund, making it unique among professional fraternities. Gamma Theta Upsilon honors its founder each year by awarding two $500 "Robert G. Buzzard" cash scholarships for further study in geography.

CARLS, NORMAN (AM 34; PhD 35) reports that he is Professor Emeritus at Shippensburg State College of Pennsylvania and is now living in New Market, Virginia.

CERNY, JAMES W. (PhD 76) is employed by the University of New Hampshire, where he holds the positions of Liberal Arts Computer Consultant and Adjunct Assistant Professor of Geography.

CHAMBERLIN, THOMAS W. (MA 37; PhD 46) is Professor of Geography at the University of Minnesota, Duluth.

CRANE, EDITH HORNE (MA 27) is retired. After living in Stuart, Florida for eight years, she and her husband decided to move back to New England. They now reside in Concord, New Hampshire.

CREVELING, HAROLD F. (PhD 51) met his wife, then Mildred Day, at Clark in summer, 1948. They married that very summer and she worked at the Clark Library from 1949-51, while he worked on his doctorate. Now a retired Professor of Geography, Dr. Creveling is teaching a class in Geography for Senior Citizens in Norman, Oklahoma. He reports the the participants show great enthusiasm. For a hobby, he paints in acrylics He and his wife travelled to Yugoslavia and Italy this spring, and he is considering doing some research on the Mediterranean.

CULBERT, JAMES I. (AM 38; PhD 39) is retired and living in Taos, New Mexico and continues to do some research for a local historical society. He writes that Mr. and Mrs. Frank Schadegg paid him a visit earlier this year.

CUMMINGS, HARRY (MA 73; PhD 75) is employed by the University of British Columbia. He was recently in Ujung Pandang as Project Director for the Sulawesi Regional Development Study. His wife, Marion (née Lefkowitz, BA 73), gave birth to their son, Jeremy Roger, on 13 July, 1977, while they were in Ujung Padang. They returned to North America this year, where he plans to write up his Sulawesi research.

CUMMINGHAM, FLOYD F. (AM 28; PhD 30) is retired. On 7 October, 1978, he received the Alumni Distinguished Service Award from the Alumni Association of Illinois University. His biographical record appeared for the first time in the 1978-79 edition of Who's Who in the World, having been in Who's Who in America, since 1942. He was a Fulbright Lecturer at two universities

in Egypt in 1953-54 and has travelled throughout the Middle East. He is working on lectures on the Middle East now.

DEAN, VEVA K. (MA 40; PhD 49) is retired and living in Edgartown, Massachusetts. She continues a research interest in the Middle East and visited the region with a friend late in 1977. Highlights of that trip included Cappadocia in Turkey, the mosques of Isfahan, a cruise on the Upper Nile, and an automobile trip to Eilat and the Gulf of Aqaba.

DONNELL, ROBERT P. (MA 71) is completing his doctoral dissertation and defends it this summer at Syracuse University. It is entitled: "Fire in the City: Spatial Perspectives on Urban Structural Fire Problems." He is presently Assistant Professor of Geography at Framington State College in Massachusetts, where he compiled and edited the Fire Safety Regulations handbook for his campus. It may become the standard reference for the whole Massachusetts state college system. He summarizes his research interests as the geographic analysis of structural fire problems and the perception of and response to fire hazard. He addes that he and his wife, Susan, together with fellow "Clarkie," Sally Lemaire, got the grand tour of Arizona in June, 1978 from still another "Clarkie," Ken McGinty of The Bureau of Land Management in Phoenix.

DORNBACH, JOHN E. (PhD 67) is presently Assistant Chief of the Earth Observations Division at the Johnson Space Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Houston. He was recently named Project Scientist at NASA-JSC for the large format camera, which is to fly on the Space Shuttle mission in the early 1980's. He adds that he may be interested in a teaching position in a few years, when he retires from NASA. He and his wife, Marie, now are grandparents.

EL-GAMMAL, FAROUK M. (MA 63; PhD 66) is Professor of Geography at the University of Puerto Rico. He is soon to publish "Conservation Philosophy and Practice in the Third World Countries" and presented "A Sociology of Geographic Thought in Puerto Rico" to a conference that dealt with an evaluation of the social sciences in Puerto Rico held at UPR in 1978. He also serves as Co-Director of the "National Atlas of Puerto Rico" project, now in its final stages. He intends to publish "The Corracón and the Barrida: A Geographical Interpretation of the Central and Peripheral Latin American Shantytowns" in the Annals of the AAG soon. He very much looks forward to his long overdue sabbatical in 1980, which he intends to devote to a study of the problems and potentials of Northeastern Brazil.

ELLIOT, FRANCIS E. (PhD 52) is retired and living in Oxon Hill, Maryland.

EPSTEIN, BART J. (PhD 56) is Professor and Chair of Geography at Kent State University, Ohio. He is involved in conferences in applied geography at State University of New York at Binghamton. He was Co-Director of the May, 1978, conference and Co-Editor of its Proceedings. He gave an address and paper there: "Marketing Geography: A Chronicle of 45 Years." He is again Co-Director and Co-Editor, with John W. Frazier of the second annual conference, also at SUNY Binghamton.

FAIRCHILD, WILMA BELDEN (MA 37) works as a free-lance editor. She co-edited Sourcebook on the Environment (University of Chicago Press, 1978) and edited C.P. Rosenfeld's The Medical History of Menilek II, Emperor of Ethiopia (Munger Africana Library Notes, Nos. 45-46, October, 1978). She authored "The Geographical Review and the American Geographical Society" (Annals, AAG, the Diamond Anniversary issue, March, 1979), drawing on her 24 years as editor of the Review. She now resides in Pasa-

dena, California.

FISK, BRADLEY, JR. (MA 52) is Associate Professor in Geography, History, and Political Science at Cape Cod Community College. He is President of Arey's Pond Boatyard in South Orleans.

FLETCHER, ROY J. (PhD 68) is Professor at the University of Lethbridge in Alberta, Canada. He is conducting various studies dealing with climatology in southern Alberta and Arctic Canada. He is especially concerned with the psychological and physiological influence of the Chinook winds on people. He still travels whenever possible. In summer, 1978, he spend a few weeks in Asia: three in China and a hike to the opium fields within the rainforest of northern Thailand.

FRASER, J. KEITH (PhD 64) is now the Associate Executive Secretary of the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council and Executive Secretary of the Canadian Committee for Geography in Ottawa, Ontario.

GASSAWAY, ALEXANDER R. (PhD 71) is Professor of Geography at Portland State University in Oregon. His current research is concerned with the adequacy of pedestrian walkways along motorways in sizable urban areas. He has developed a typology of walkways, together with a criterion of adequacy and a system for their evaluation, based on his work in Portland. This work has generated three papers which were presented to the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, the Oregon Academy of Sciences, and the Association of American Geographers. He also expressed an interest in mainland China for future pursuit.

GLASGOW, JON (MA 59; PhD 71) is Associate Professor of Geography at State University of New York in New Paltz. A recent publication of his is "An Example of Spatial Diffusion: Jazz Music," in Geographical Survey, January, 1979.

GLEDHILL, THOMAS E. (MA 67) currently teaches earth sciences at Burrillville Junior and Senior High School in Rhode Island. He leads the Burrillville section of "Project EQ," a student environmental quality study involving teams from all over R.I. He intends to continue his work of developing environmental and energy-related topics for classroom use. He also serves as President of the Burrillville-Glocester Youth Soccer Assocation and Head Coach at Burrillville High.

GOULD, LOREN (AB 53; AM 59) is Director of Institutional Research at Worcester State College. He presented a paper entitled "State College Central Offices--A Problem in Communications" to the North East Association for Institutional Research at State College, Pennsylvania and served on a panel discussing "The Collaboration of Institutional Research and Public Relations: The Massachusetts State College System's Experience." He and his wife were honored at an author's tea held by the Age Center of Worcester Area, Inc. at Worcester's newly restored Mechanic's Hall.

GRIFFIN, DONALD W. (PhD 63) is Professor of Geography and Director of The Institute for Regional, Rural, and Community Studies at Western Illinois University. He is completing three papers, which profile viewing areas of a three-station educational television network that begins programming in late 1979. This network will serve central and western Illinois and the Eastern portions of Iowa and Missouri. Dr. Griffin was given a Regional Service Award from the Western Illinois Regional Council, a five-county planning organization which he chaired last year and on which he represented the University for six years. He also received an award from the Illinois Association of Regional Councils for his service as its Vice-

President.

HANKINS, TOM (PhD 74) holds the position of Associate Professor of Environmental Studies at the West Virginia College of Graduate Studies.

HARRIS, ALAN (1951-52) is Reader in Geography at The University, Hull, England. He continues his interest in the historical geography of England. His recent publications have been concerned with the historical geography of northern England.

HAUK, SISTER MARY URSULA, RSM (PhD 58) works as Archivist at Mount Aloysius Junior College in Cresson, Pennsylvania. She has been listed this year in the American Book of Honor, The World Who's Who of Women and the International Men and Women of Distinction. She also received a citation from the Pennsylvania Association of Geographers for 25 years as a Fellow and for notable service both to the organization and the discipline of geography. She intends to do research on the geographical content of children's literature.

HECOCK, RICHARD D. (PhD 66) is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Geography at Oklahoma State University. He is presently working on river use measurement for the U.S. Forest Service and recreationists' perceptions of noise for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

HUNTER, ESTHER KINCH (MA 40) works as a homemaker.

JAMES, PRESTON E. (PhD 23) is Maxwell Professor of Geography Emeritus at Syracuse University and lives in Atlantis, Florida. His recent publications include: "Grove Karl Gilbert, 1843-1918" and "Albert Perry Brigham, 1855-1932" for the International Geographical Union Commission on the History of Geography Biobiblographical Studies and The History of the Association of American Geographers (with G.J. Martin). Other recent work comprises "Field Studies in American Geography" and "Ellen Churchill Semple" for the Kentucky Studies in Geography and "Sources of Geographical Ideas in America, 1890-1910" for the IGU Commission on the History of Geography Symposium at the University of Nebraska in 1979. He plans to continue studying the history of geography. Dr. James went to the University of Hawaii in January, 1979, in order to lecture on the program of the 75th annual meeting of the AAG in Philadelphia.

JEYASINGHAM, WILLIAM LUTHER (MA 51; PhD 58) is Associate Professor in Geography at Jaffna University of Sri Lanka. Together with Mr. R. Mathanaharan, MA, he published a paper proposing modification of the Salt Water Exclusion Scheme, Jaffna, in OOTRU, a local journal of regional development. Dr. Jeyasingham served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Jaffna Campus of the University of Sri Lanka until December, 1978, after which the Jaffna campus was declared a University in its own right.

JONES, ALLAN WYNNE (at Clark in 1963) and his wife, Enid, developed and have been operating the first truly Welsh Hotel in Wales: Plas Maenan. It offers local cuisine, entertainment and hospitality. Mr. Jones has also recently joined the Board of a small Welsh Hotel group as its Marketing Director. He is presently examining the company's marketing prospects and hopes to report on expansion ideas shortly. He sends his best regards to his old Clark associates and fondly recalls socializing with them.

KIRCHER, HARRY B. (PhD 61) is Professor in the Department of Earth Science, Geography, and Planning at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. He is also the Coordinator of the MS program in Environmental Studies. He is presently working on the fifth edition of Our Natural

Resources, prior editions of which have sold in thirty states. His daughter, Susan, started college at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, in 1978-79.

KISTLER, ESTHER L. (MA 38) is a retired teacher living in Nanticoke, Pennsylvania. She taught for forty years and has been retired twenty. She still takes long trips each March on the Greyhound Bus. This year, she travelled for six weeks, stopping in Homestead, Florida; Dallas; Arizona City; Denver; and home again in Pennsylvania.

KOELSCH, WILLIAM A. (AM 59) is Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Geography and the University Archivist at Clark. He served as the Director of the Graduate School during summer, 1978, and chaired the Director Search Committee during 1978-79. In 1978, he was re-appointed to another three year term on the Massachusetts Archives advisory commission. He gave a paper to the Symposium on the History of American Geography, held at the University of Nebraska in April, 1979, entitled "The Institutionalization of American Meteorology, 1880-1930: A Problem in Historical Geography." He is now working on several pieces of research on the history of American geography and related fields and is planning to study the development of geography at Clark.

LAWSON, MERLIN PAUL (MA 66; PhD 73) is Associate Professor at the University of Nebraska. He directs the Nebraska Atlas Project, which has produced three volumes thus far: Agricultural Atlas of Nebraska, edited by Williams and Murfield; Economic Atlas of Nebraska, edited by Lonsdale, and Climatic Atlas of Nebraska, authored by Lawson, Dewey, and Neild. Dr. Lawson is now working on a National Science Foundation Grant: "Comparative Analysis Climatic Reconstructions Derived from Tree-Ring and Ice Core Indicators in

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LEMAIRE, MINNIE E. (MA 32; PhD 35) is Professor Emeritus of Geography at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. She spent a week on a houseboat on the Nile last year and got to go to China. She was very struck by China: "masses of people, masses of bicycles, masses of cabbages." She went there with the Society of Women Geographers group and reports their great fortune in meeting with a group of Chinese geographers, some of whom had just been to the USA. Dr. Lemaire has also been giving lectures, including "Glimpses of West Africa" and "Colombia and Venezuela."

LLOYD, TREVOR (PhD 40) is Professor Emeritus in Geography at McGill University in Montréal, Executive Director of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, and Special Lecturer at Carleton University in Ottawa. He recently addressed the Royal Society of Canada on Canadian international policies in the Arctic. He is now studying Greenland-Canadian relations.

LOCKHART, MIRIAM (AM 57) is the Co-ordinator of the English as Second Language project for the City of Somerville, Massachusetts. Like her husband, Richard, she is very active in their children's schools, serving on the Executive Committee of Cambridge Montessori School Parents' Association.

LOCKHART, RICHARD (AM 57) is the Chief Project Administrator for the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts and chairs the Cambridge School (of Weston) Board of Trustees. He and his wife, Miriam, express a commitment to researching the hiking geography of the long trail and Great Britain. Their oldest daughter is in the class of 1982 at Mount Holyoke College

and has survived freshman geography.

LOUGEE, CLARA ROM (PhD 56) is retired, but very busy as homemaker, researcher in geography, writer, consultant, and conferee in a variety of pursuits. She reports that she is the actual author of Richard J. and Clara Rom Lougee, Late-Glacial Chronology. She served as conferee in the Conference for Women in Non-Traditional Careers at the University of North Dakota, where she also attended her fiftieth class reunion. In 1977, she received the "Sioux Award" for distinguished service and outstanding achievements. She is currently working on a manuscript on the Human History of the Mouse River drainage basin in MD, once a part of Prince Rupert's land. She continues her explorations of the problems of the handicapped and the concept of basic education.

LYONS, SISTER MARION (PhD 63) is retired and doing volunteer work, such as showing slides of her travels to schoolchildren. Last year, she spent some time in Hawaii. She resides in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts.

MAIER, EMANUEL (PhD 61) is Professor of Geography at Bridgewater State College and lives in Lincoln, Massachusetts, where he is pleased to welcome visitors. H "Air Cargo Transportation System" was published recently by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He is presently interested in territorial behavior.

MCINTYRE, WALLACE E. (MA 47; PhD 51) works for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

MENSOIAN, MICHAEL G. (AB 49) is Professor of Geography and Chair of the Department of Regional Studies at the University of Connecticut. He was recently appointed Director of the Graduate Program for American Teachers in American Schools Overseas.

MERRIAM, FREDERICK S. (AB39; MA 46) is a Registered Representative of Waddell and Reed, Inc.

MILSTEAD, HARLEY P. (MA 26; PhD 33) retired from Montclair State College in Upper Montclair, New Jersey in 1956, after having started there in 1926. He also taught at Brooklyn College in 1956-57, East Carolina College in North Carolina from 1957-63, and Arizona State University in Tempe from 1963-65. He has a book out on the geography of New Jersey.

MINOGUE, JAMES A. (MA 36; ABD 37) retired from the U.S. Federal Government in 1970. He has been President of the American Rock Garden Society since 1976. He is also a member of the Board of Directors, Blue Ridge Chapter of the Virginia Museum and of the Board of Directors of the Wayside Foundation (Parent Organization of the Wayside Theatre, one of the best such groups in the Eastern states). He lectures on rock gardening and gardening under artificial light to gardening organizations and the graduate horticulture program at the National Arboretum. He lives in Bentonville, Virginia.

MONIER, CLAIRA P. (MA 66) is Executive Director of the New Hampshire State Council on Aging. In 1978, she was named one of the ten outstanding young women of America. Her husband chairs the Geography Department and directs the Urban Studies Program at Saint Anselm's College and was recently elected President of the New Hampshire State Senate.

MORRILL, ROBERT W. (PhD 73) is Assistant Professor of Geography at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

MOULTON, BENJAMIN (AB 39) is chair and professor of the Indiana State University Department of Geography and Geology. He has edited the Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences for the past five years. His teaching interests include Alaska, climatology, and cartography. He is currently directing two mapping projects, which feature a tax parcel

numbering system for new style platbooks. The areas being mapped are Jaspar and White counties in Indiana and the projects are valued at $200,000.

MUNCASTER, RUSSELL (MA 68; PhD 72) became Chair of the Geography Department at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, where he holds an Associate Professorship. He has a publication in the Canadian Geographer in the 1975 volume.

MURPHY, RAYMOND E. (on Clark staff 1946-69 and editor of Economic Geography from 1948-69) is retired. His recent publications include "American Geography as I have Known It," Journal of Geography, 1977, and "Economic Geography and Clark University," Annals, Association of American Geographers, Diamond Issue, March, 1979. "A Geographer in Micronesia" is forthcoming and he plans to undertake a study of the evolution of urban geography in America.

MURPHY, RICHARD E. (PhD 57) is Professor and Chair of the Geography Department at the University of New Mexico. He is included in Who's Who in the World, in 1979.

NASON, NATALIE E. (MA 48) is now retired from her position as Air Force Education Officer and lives in Minot, North Dakota.

NISHI, MIDORI (MA 47) lives in Monterey Park, California.

OHMAN, HOWARD L. (AB 47; MA 49) is retired, living in Worcester.

OLSON, RALPH E. (PhD 46) is Emeritus Professor of Geography at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, where he still resides. He and his wife spent 1977-78 in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and returned there again in 1979. They continued research and writing on the now much changed country on which Dr. Olson did his dissertation. During the fall semester of 1977, he taught a course on Western Europe at the Miami University of Ohio European Center in Luxembourg City and presented a guest lecture, "Luxembourg: Then and Now," or the American Businessmen's Club of Luxembourg and the Luxembourg-American Society. After their stay in Luxembourg in 1979, the Olsons went on to Sweden to visit relatives and search for their roots.

PARSON, RUBEN L. (MA 34; PhD 43) is retired and living in Battle Lake, Minnesota. In 1978, he published Ever the Land--A Homestead Chronicle, which relates his grandfather's emigration from Sweden and his experiences as a homesteader in Otter Tail County, Minnesota in 1869. It is rich in history and geography. Dr. Parson spent February and March of 1979 in Tennessee, Minnesota having gotten a mite too cold and snowy!

PICO, RAPHAEL, (MA 34; PhD 38) retired from the Commonwealth Government and the Banco Popular de Puerto Rico in January, 1978. He makes his home in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico and presently serves as Visiting Professor of Geography at Inter-American University. His recent publications include newspaper articles on fellow geographers Earl P. Hanson and Enrique Laguerre and a revision of his "Geografia de Puerto Rico," which is to be published as a separate volume of La Gran Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico in 1979. He maintains an active interest in such new developments as mining in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean. On the occasion of his retirement, Dr. Pico was called on to give a speech on banking in Puerto Rico. He has recently been elected Fellow of The Explorer's Club, New York City.

PIKE, RICHARD J. (MA 63) works as Geologist with the U.S. Geological Survey in Menlo Park California. His research focusses on

extraterrestrial geomorphology, as reflected in his recent publications on planetary surface forms and his current work on the geomorphology of impact craters and volcanoes. He plans to develop a numerical taxonomy of asteroids and investigate the landforms of the Galilean satellites of Jupiter. He wonders whatever became of the motley (spacey?), interesting workroom crew of 1960-62: "Some are dead and some are missing; in my life, I've loved them all."
(Come on, "Clarkies," write to us here at MONADNOCK: your old compadres do remember and miss you.)

PIKORA, THEODORE S. (MA 64) is Associate Professor at Salem State College in Massachusetts. He received a $42,000 HEW grant for cooperative education program development at Salem State. He is actively involved in developing experimental education opportunities, such as internships and volunteerism, for undergraduate geography majors.

PRESTON, RICHARD E. (PhD 64) is Professor of Geography at the University of Waterloo in Ontario. His research concerns the role of cities in regional economic development.

PRUNTY, MERLE CHARLES, JR. (PhD 44) is Alumni Foundation Distinguished Professor of Geography and Senior Faculty Advisor to the President, University of Georgia. He also serves on the Editorial Board of the Southeastern Geographer and is Editorial Consultant to the Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation. His recent publications include "Geography in the South Since World War II" and "Clark University in the 1940's," Both in the Diamond Issue of the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, March, 1979. He was invited to lecture at the University of South Carolina on the "Dynamics of the Southern Landscape"

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RAHM AN KHAN, AZRA HUSAIN (PhD 53) is a housewife and visiting honorary lecturer at Kinnaird College in Lahore, Pakistan. She has two sons and two daughters, all grown up, but still in educational institutions.

RAJAH, D.S. (PhD 77) is Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Durban-Westville in Durban, South Africa. He gave a paper recently to an international planning conference and an address entitled "Population Problem in South Africa: Myth or Reality?" He has completed an investigation into community participation in planning for a master's degree in town and regional planning. He plans to undertake studies pertaining to legislation and the form and function of South African cities, the social relevance of geography in South Africa, and the planning of cities.

RISLEY, EDWARD (AB 46) holds a position on the Executive Staff at the Office of the Secretary in the Department of the Interior. He served on the program committee and participated in the International Symposium on Remote Sensing of the Environment, held in Manila, Philippines, in 1978 and is now on the special interagency task force on developing remote sensing systems for civil applications.

RISTOW, WALTER W. (PhD 37) retired in 1978 as Chief of the Geography and Map Division

in the Library of Congress and now serves the Library as Honorary Consultant on the History of American Cartography. In 1978, he received the Library's Distinguished Service Award for the work represented in the following publications: "The Greening of Map Librarianship," in the Bulletin, Special Libraries Association, Geography and Map Division, 1978, "The Hauslab-Liechtenstein Map Collection," 1978, "Worlds of Christmas Greetings," 1978, and "The French-Smith Map of New York State," 1979, all in the Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress; "The First Maps of the United States of America," Actes Handelungen, 1978; and a review of Descriptio Austriae, Osterreich und seine Nachbarn im Kartenbild von der Spätantike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert in The American Cartographer, 1978.

SANDY, I MADE (MA 59; PhD 60) is Director of Land Use Surveys for the Department of the Interior in the Republic of Indonesia. He has three recent publications: Atlas of Indonesia (Fourth edition of Book I, second edition of Book III); Land Use in Indonesia; and The Indonesian City. He expresses regret at Dr. Saul Cohen's departure and hopes to visit here again soon.

SHARON, DAVID (1967-68 and 1972-73) is Professor of Climatology in the Department of Geography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1978, he presented "The Uncertainty of Desert Rainfall as a Factor in Desert Ecology" to the second International Congress of Ecology in Jerusalem. He published "Rainfall Fields in Israel and Jordan and the Effect of Cloud Seeding on Them" in the Journal of Applied Meteorology, 1978. He is now participating in an interdisciplinary study on the arid watershed ecosystem of the Negev and the interrelations of climate, erosion, microbiological crusts and burrowing animals. His future interests include correlation analyses of desert rainfall fields and the climatic factors in desertification.

SHAWKEY, ADA M. (1947-48 and summer 53) is retired after serving as Chair of the Geography Department at Framingham State College in Massachusetts.

SHIN, SUK-HAN (MA 68) is Associate Professor of Geography and Adjunct Associate Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at Eastern Washington University. Two of his recent publications are: "American Conservation Viewpoints," Environmental Conservation, 1977, and a review of Hester's Neighborhood Space in The Annals of Regional Science, 1978. He plans to visit Korea to see urban environmental change in Seoul after extensive urban planning. He continues to develop geography courses for urban and regional planning students, such as location analysis. His son, Yong, a twelfth grader went three times to a state meet as a distance runner and twice was the captain. He starts at University of Washington in 1979-80. His daughter, Soo, a ninth grader, earned a gold medal in the Bach section (piano) at the Greater Spokane Music Festival and two first places and a scholarship at the Greater Victoria Music Festival in British Columbia. He and his wife now collect classical music records.

SIEVERS, ANGELIKA (MA 36) is Professor Emeritus of Geography at the University of Osnabruck, Vechta Campus, Germany. One of her recent publications is "Die Relevanz der Entwicklungsländer im Geographiestudium" (The Relevance of Developing Countries in the Geographic Curriculum"), Osnabrucker Studien zur Geographie, 1978. She is now studying the development of tourism in Sri Lanka and comparative studies in Thailand, based on fieldwork in winter, 1978-79. She intends to expand this study to still other parts of Asia, emphasizing the long term character of tourism in the Third World.

SIM, VICTOR W. (MA 57) is Associate Executive Secretary of the Canadian Association of University Teachers. Even since leaving the Department of Geography at the University of Western Ontario, in 1973, he has not been actively involved as a geographer. He spent 1978-79 on sabbatical leave from CAUT, studying labor, administrative, and public law in the faculty of Law, Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

SMILNAK, ROBERTA ANN (PhD 73) is Chair of Urban Studies and Associate Professor of Earth Science at Metropolitan State College in Denver. In 1978, she was appointed as a Danforth Fellow. Her research interests include displacement of the elderly, recycling, and visual blight.

STERNBERG, ROLF (MA 56) is Associate Professor of Montclaire State College in New Jersey. Recent papers include "The Parana: Golden Waters, Leaden Politics," AAG, New Orleans, 1978; "The Parana: Energy and Politics," AGB, Ceara, Brasil, 1978; "Cities in Two Worlds: Form and Functions," Syracuse, 1978, and "Historical Geography in Argentina: Needs and Prospects," Sonoma, California, 1978. He is presently writing several papers on hydroelectric developments in Brasil and resource use in Amazonia with the introduction of systematic land use, e.g., rice and rubber. He and his wife, Frances, spent summer, 1978, in Brasil.

TELLER, CHARLES (MA 69) is a social scientist at the Nutrition Institute for Central America and Panama in Guatemala. His research is concerned with population and nutrition; food and nutrition surveillance; regionalization of natural nutrition situation; social, demographic, and ecological indicators of malnutrition; and historical trends in the interaction between child mortality and malnutrition. He has been in Guatemala five years and loves it. He has done work in all six Central American countries and spent much time in Honduras while doing his dissertation. He writes that his "Natural resource training with Kates comes in very handy."

TUCKER, GRADY (PhD 57) is a consultant with Larry Smith and Co., Ltd., in Rockville, Maryland, continually involved in research related to land use, real estate development, and related subjects. In 1979, he participated in two seminars: International Council of Shopping Centers and National Retail Merchants Association. There are two geographers on the Rockville Office Staff.

VAN TUYL, H.E., JR. (1954-55) lives now in Arlington, Virginia.

VAN WINKLE, A. KEITH (MA 69) is President of the Van Winkle Custom Enterprises, Inc., and of the Upper Valley School of Gymnastics, Inc., in Norwich, Vermont. He reports that he is still happily married, with two great children, Kari (age nine) and Shannah (age five), and is still very interested in geography.

VOURAS, PAUL P. (MA 51) works at William Patterson College in Wayne, New Jersey. His current research is concerned with the depopulation of Greek mountain villages and the economic development of Macedonia. He wishes to look into the impact of the European Common Market on Greek agriculture as a result of Greece's joining it. He spent his recent sabbatical researching in Greece, this time entering from the east.

WARMAN, HENRY J. is Professor Emeritus in the Clark Graduate School of Geography. After retiring in 1974, he served one and a half years as a Visiting Professor at the University of Rhode Island, teaching a course in "Human Ecosystems." He has been revising his textbook, "Geography: Factors and Concepts," but mainly taking it easy, travelling and fishing

and boating at Lake Quaqumquasit in East Brookfield, Massachusetts, in the summers.

WEST, SEYMOUR (MA 41) is a retired Federal employee, who is active as an out-of-print book hunter. "Si" would like to hear from old friends and anyone looking for a book.

WILSON, STEPHEN O. (MA 63) is Manager of Environmental Research and Development for the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority in Albany. A recent Publication is "Recreation Resources Plan, A Component of the Hudson River Basin (Level B) Water Resources Plan." Current research interests include acid precipitation in the Adirondacks, environmental risk assessment related to energy production and consumption, coal waste and scrubber waste disposal alternatives, and reduction of seismic risk through crustal stress mapping. He is part of a small team of local officials in the non-profit center for Environmental Options in Albany. They offer services in environmental analyses, natural resource inventories, project reviews, and public participation counseling, and conduct environmental awareness programs for other organizations, such as the EPA Toxins Program. They have started an urban self-reliance program and hold major responsibilities for the environmental affairs of several suburban towns as consultant to their Conservation Councils.

WOODLAND, MARY VOGT (MA 43) is President of Environmental Geoservices, her consulting firm which deals with environmental matters, particularly as they affect local governments. She is working on soil erosion and sedimentation control and intends to consider environmental geology and environmental geography problems. She lives in Homewood, Illinois.

ZUBER, LEO J. (1948-1949) retired in 1978, after working principally in urban planning since 1934. He received the distinguished service award from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the award being given him by the Secretary of HUD. He is also a life member of the American Institute of Planners and the American Society of Planning Officials. His wife and he will observe their fortieth wedding anniversary in November, 1979. They have six children, all of whom have left home and are living everywhere, and, so far, four grandchildren. He and his wife live in Decatur, Georgia.

IN MEMORIAM

Dr. Leonard W. Bowden (PhD 65), 16 April, 1979.
Dr. Edna M. Gueffroy (AM 27), January, 1979.