



Review: [Untitled]

Reviewed Work(s):

Common Ground: The Stuggle for Ownership of the Black Hills National Forest. by Martha E. Geores

Donald J. Berg

Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 87, No. 2. (Jun., 1997), pp. 380-382.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0004-5608%28199706%2987%3A2%3C380%3ACGTSFO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-%23>

Annals of the Association of American Geographers is currently published by Association of American Geographers.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/aag.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

polarization between the unemployed poor and the new affluent, young, upwardly mobile workers.

While European cities are adjusting to the macro trend of business globalization, they are undergoing major internal changes. Declining natural birth rates are being countered by substantial increases in the numbers of single and two-person households attendant upon the pervasive contraction of the nuclear family as a lifestyle form. European governments have moved toward increased home ownership and reduced expenditure on public housing (Belfast being a major exception). The result has been a tightening of the housing market and a severe shortage of affordable accommodation, which have affected the urban unemployed and produced the spectacle of homelessness, especially in London. The housing market has exhibited a consistent spatial pattern as well. Increased car ownership has fostered further suburbanization, especially of young households with children. The inner cities have become depositories of the unemployed, and in Germany and France, can be added the families of economic migrants and guest workers, seeking cheap housing, which has largely disappeared. Aggravating this shortage has been the emergence of young career-oriented, single and two-person households established in gentrified housing close to the amenities of the city center.

City centers in turn, while maintaining cultural, recreational, and retail service functions, have declined relatively as employment centers as a sustained process of deconcentration has taken place, a process facilitated by dramatic advances in communication technology. The upshot of these spatial changes in housing and employment has been that European cities are perceived as becoming polycentric. The old monocentric, central-place hierarchy structure is disappearing. Polycentrism and the weakening of the central-place hierarchy are perceived as occurring not only within single urban agglomerations but also within system of cities. Cities are becoming "part of networks of complementary urban centres within a single urban field" (van Weeseep and Dieleman 1993). Through the contextual

discussion of Bonn, Düsseldorf, and Amsterdam, the book offers possible examples of this process, albeit assisted by the peculiar historical circumstance, of western Germany and the *Ranstaad*.

But it is the small- to-medium university-dominated town of Grenoble, Göttingen, and Lund whose role within the European urban system seems to be most difficult to evaluate. Currently credence is being placed on the importance of "knowledge spillovers" offered by certain kinds of urban environments as centers of economic growth (Glaeser et al. 1992). Of these three "knowledge towns," Lund seems to fit this latter prognosis best. On the other hand, Grenoble's future, we are told, is much less certain, and Göttingen, replete with all its prestigious research institutes, is said to have a weak economy compared to other German towns of a similar size. Clearly the economic role of universities in the towns they dominate is an issue requiring serious examination, especially in an era when the viability of university within the political economy is being questioned and scrutinized by cash-strapped national governments.

Key Words: deindustrialization, European cities, information economy, social polarization.

References

- Glaeser, Edward L.; Kallal, Heid D.; Scheinkman, Jose A.; and Shleifer, Andrei. 1992. Growth in Cities: Industrial Growth and Technology. *Journal of Political Economy* 100:1126-53.
- Hall, Peter. 1993. Forces Shaping Urban Europe. *Urban Studies* 30:883-98.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1969. *The Economy of Cities*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Krugman, Paul. 1993. First Nature, Second Nature and Metropolitan Local. *Journal of Regional Science* 33:129-54.
- van Weeseep, J., and Dieleman, F. M., 1993. Evolving Urban Europe: Editor's Introduction to the Special Issue. *Urban Studies* 30:877-82.

Common Ground: The Struggle for Ownership of the Black Hills National Forest. Martha E. Geores. Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1996. ix and 191 pp., maps, photos., diags., notes, refs., and index. \$65.00 cloth (ISBN 0-8476-8119-X); \$24.95 paper (ISBN 0-8476-8120-3).

Reviewed by Donald J. Berg, Department of Geography, South Dakota State University, Brookings, SD.

Management of publicly owned resources has always been fraught with difficulty because of the clash of

interests between local resource users and government authorities. This is especially the case with the U.S.

National Forests, because local residents frequently think that they have special user rights and take an active interest in "their forest." The forest represents a "commons" that often generates controversy concerning control and usage.

In her recent book, *Common Ground*, Martha Geores insightfully explores the multitude of complicated issues by focusing upon the administration of the South Dakota portion of the Black Hills National Forest (BHNF). In six brief chapters, which are a revision of her Ph.D. dissertation, the author traces the history of the BHNF from its inception in 1898 to the early 1990s. Although BHNF is only one unit within a national system of 154 forests, it is unique in terms of its historical development, resource exploitation, and situational setting.

Geores's volume skillfully weaves together these separate strands to focus upon her theme of the ownership and management of such a common property resource and upon its spatial nature. The introductory chapter sets the stage, including an overview of methodological and philosophical considerations, while chapters 2–5 are devoted to the successive chronological periods of BHNF development that she has identified.

Black Hills NF was established on land that had been granted to the Great Sioux Nation by the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. The official discovery of gold in 1874 by the Custer expedition and the rush two years later prompted the federal government to ignore native American Indian (Teton Lakota) tenure of what the Indians considered to be sacred ground. A century later, in 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court determined that the federal government had taken the Black Hills illegally from the Sioux. Congress appropriated financial compensation, but the membership of the Sioux Nation steadfastly has refused to accept money for land they perceive to be sacred. Since 1985 further legislation has been introduced in Congress to return the federalized portion of the Black Hills to the Sioux Nation, including the BHNF, National Park lands and other federal acreage. The bills have never progressed far in the legislative process, however, because of the South Dakota delegation's opposition.

Geores's central proposition focuses upon the BHNF users' constituency or community and how the various groups (miners, ranchers, farmers, and, later, recreationalists plus Native Americans) viewed and used the National Forest landscape in the Black Hills of western South Dakota. The author details the resource definition process to which chapter 5 is largely devoted. Interactions of the local forest users community and the forest administrators are analyzed. National, re-

gional, and local influences on forest policy are also examined.

U.S. Forest Service managers largely disregarded during the early years Native American interests because they resided on reservations located outside the forest boundaries. Indians joined the forest users' community in the 1920s in a contest of symbolism. The author observes that two famous and controversial monuments, one completed in 1941 and the other a work in progress, serve to underline the contested space of the Black Hills. Although neither Mount Rushmore Monument nor Crazy Horse Monument are now situated on BHNF land, they lie within the administrative boundaries of the forest. Mount Rushmore National Memorial, the "Shrine of Democracy," embodies the Euro-American influence in the region. It is both symbol and substance; many native American Indians view it as a desecration of sacred space. Geores notes that the Rushmore project was begun about the same time that the Sioux Indians were positioning themselves to claim land in the Black Hills. The less well-known Crazy Horse Monument has become the Sioux Nation's counter to Mount Rushmore.

Chapter 6 is a terse summary and application of the lessons learned from the BHNF experience. The author offers her synopsis of the issues under the heading "A Common Property Resource Framework," in which she says "the forest environment was sustainable when it was defined as an integrated multiple-use resource, with intentional consideration of the relationship of each separate use to every other use and the forest as a whole, and when a forest community, composed of users and the local Forest Service was responsible for development and implementation of a sustainable-use management plan" (pp. 138–39). She views the implications of her study as important to the management of both other U.S. national forests and protected areas being used for sustainable development in less-developed countries.

Overall, the author's work is interesting as a geographical exposition and makes a contribution as another block in the unfinished foundation of theory concerning resource allocation and use. Unfortunately, the author's research contribution is partially obscured by the book's numerous flaws, mistakes, and minor errors. In part, the publisher did no favors for Geores. For example, the reader is exposed to a series of maps that violate most of the canons of good cartography. These include lack of scales or incorrect scales, poor labeling, difficult-to-read type sizes, and obstructed place names. Several of the maps are especially inadequate. Figure 2 is plagued by an incorrect scale (it is off by a factor of three) and by being incomplete (the

southern N.F. boundary is missing). The Crazy Horse Monument is misplaced. Figure 3's labeling is very poor and, again, the scale is wrong by a factor of two. In addition several place names (such as recreational lakes) that were mentioned prominently in the text are not located anywhere on the maps. Another problem is that many of the photographs are so fuzzy that they defy interpretation. If it were not for the captions and commentary in the text, the reader would be lost. Even more serious are the editorial errors and miscues that occur liberally throughout the volume, including grammatical faux pas and citation/bibliography mistakes that also detract from the final result. Finally, the citation paper trail is incomplete to the extent that items referred to in the text are not listed, while listed items are not found in the text.

In sum, the reader is left bewildered by the many mistakes scattered throughout the text from page two through to the bibliography, and so the author's meritorious message has been diluted somewhat by the myriad of errors. If the three principal criteria of quality geographic presentation (describe it, map it, and pictorialize it) are applied to *Common Ground*, the outcome is mixed. Still the book will certainly be useful to those concerned with National Forest land use issues, those interested in the details of historical developments regarding the Black Hills of South Dakota, and anyone interested in the relations between place and landscape.

Key Words: Black Hills, forest community, national forests, Native Americans, resource management, South Dakota.

Postmodern Semiotics: Material Culture and the Forms of Postmodern Life. Mark Gottdiener. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1995. viii and 262 pp., diags., photos., notes, refs., and index. \$49.95 cloth (ISBN 0-631-19215-8); \$20.95 paper (ISBN 0-631-19216-6).

Reviewed by Jeffrey Hopkins, Department of Geography, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Here is an important work that should not go unnoticed by geographers. Those interested in postmodernism, consumption, identity formation, ideology, and mass culture will find much to contemplate in this book, which was written by Mark Gottdiener, an urban sociologist noted for his work on material culture within a socio-semiotic perspective. His book incorporates eight previously published articles with three new pieces. Linking these eleven works is his central tenet that "an understanding of semiotics is essential for an appreciation of postmodernism" (p.3). According to Gottdiener, "semiotics studies the nature of representation" (p.4), and the analysis of representation or signs lies at the heart of the postmodern cultural critique. He rejects the technique of deconstruction—the principal tool of postmodern analyses—on the basis that it has limited value for the analysis of material culture. Deconstruction, he says, is idealist and reductionist, neglects social context, says little about power and social interaction, and provides impressionist, elitist, and open-ended interpretations. Alternatively, he puts forth what he terms a "decompositional mode of criticism" (p.186) that is grounded in a particular branch of semiotics or sign theory called socio-semiotics.

From the semiotic perspective, all cultural phenomena are systems of signification, a process whereby

something comes to represent or stand for something else. Whereas conventional semiotic analyses are limited to describing the process of signification—that is, the symbolic relations that constitute the signs themselves—socio-semiotic analyses attempt to explain symbolic-material relations; in other words, how and why material culture acts as signs in relation to everyday life. Meaning and identity are viewed as the set of codified ideologies that are produced and consumed within the context of economic, political, and social relations, practices and activities; the relations between social processes, signification, and material forms are 'decomposed' for their explanatory power. This form of analysis, argues Gottdiener, "socializes the question of postmodernism by linking its dynamic to changes in the structure of capitalism" (p.139). The 'question of postmodernism' for him is thus an epistemological one, the answer to which lies in socio-semiotic analyses.

The book is divided into three sections: theoretical considerations, case studies, and cultural studies. The first three chapters provide a tightly-woven overview of the development of semiotics and its position relative to deconstruction, a review of key contributors to the field (i.e., Barthes, Derrida, Eco, Greimas, Peirce, Saussure, and the early work of Baudrillard in particular), and argues convincingly for a synthesis of symbolic