Place and Culture

The Newsletter of the Cultural Geography Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers

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Cultural Geographers Forum

What are the five most important principles that should be covered in an introductory course in cultural geography and why?

Introduction

Derek H. Alderman, Chair

In choosing participants for this roundtable forum, CGSG board members nominated several distinguished cultural geographers. Those geographers who accepted our invitation were asked to respond to the question: "What are the five most important principles that should be covered in an introductory course in cultural geography and why?" Participants were asked to limit their response to approximately 500 words, which was generally followed. A pedagogical type of question was chosen because of its relevance to a wide cross-section of the specialty group members. Moreover, the question reflects a growing effort on the part of academicians to reflect on the scholarship and intellectual assumptions that underlie teaching practice.

Participants constructed their responses independent of one another. As one would expect, there are instances in which the ideas of the contributors converge. For example, Ulf Strohmayer and Lily Kong both emphasize the importance of globalization as a principle in cultural geography. Kong joins Don Mitchell in stressing the need to distinguish the teaching of cultural geography from the teaching of general courses in human geography. Strohmayer and Anne Buttimer are both interested in seeing students explore the relationships between nature and culture. Mitchell and Strohmayer share an interest in the contested nature of culture. On the other hand, a diversity of views is also evident. While Buttimer emphasizes the connections between the cultural turn in geography and physical/environmental issues, Mitchell prefers to examine the interactions between culture and political economy as well the necessity of thinking historically. Kong provides an interesting and needed Asian perspective to the forum, focusing our attention on the need for more internationally diverse material for the classroom.

Contributions to the forum did not undergo substantial editing after being submitted to the specialty group. We wanted each submission to speak for itself in terms of content and format. Since this is the first newsletter forum we have undertaken, there is certainly room for refining the selection of participants and the presentation of their views. However, one thing is certain, the specialty group is greatly appreciative of the time and intellect that Drs. Mitchell, Buttimer, Kong, and Strohmayer donated to this endeavor. They represent some of the most talented cultural geographers our discipline has to offer. You will find their comments useful and thought provoking. (*Continued on page 2)*

Inside this issue:

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In order to answer the question at hand I have to start with an assumption: I assume that "introductory *cultural* geography" is *not the same as* introductory *human* geography. The two are different, and American geographers have done themselves and their students a huge disservice by continuingly conflating the two. If nothing else, this disservice (repeated in such evergreen textbooks as Rubenstein's *The Cultural Landscape* or Jordan et al's *Cultural Mosaic*) manifests itself as a fully naïve definition of "culture" as simply all geographical difference we choose to describe at this time and in this place. It also manifests itself in the sense that "cultural geography" is something like the mother subdiscipline gathering under her skirts all that human geographers do, and sometimes clucking disapprovingly when one of her progeny gets too scientific, too systematic, too radical, too economic, or too political. Both manifestations of American cultural geography's altogether inflated opinion of itself need to be combated.

So perhaps that is the *first* of my important things an introductory cultural geography ought to teach: that culture is decidedly *not everything*.

Indeed, *second*, culture needs to be understood as *no-thing*, which is to say that rather than an object, "culture" is an *on-going, struggled-over set of social relations* that gives rise to social meaning, to differences within and across social groups and places, and to the exercise of power. More specifically, we can define "culture" as the name given to three distinct, but always-interrelated processes:

1. "Culture" can be defined, following the anthropologists and cultural theorists like Raymond Williams, as *the total way of life of a people*;
2. "Culture" can also be defined, following the new cultural geographers and many theorists of linguistics, discourse, and ideology, as a *system through which social meanings are developed, made known, apprehended, and transformed*;
3. And "Culture" can be defined as specific kinds of social products, like music, art, literature – those things that in common parlance we call "culture."

Students need to understand that these aspects of "culture" are social relations and not "things," that they are highly dynamic, and that they are *also* specifically manifest as built structures in the land, and as differentiated patterns of social practices within and across places, regions, nations, and the globe. Each "kind" of "culture" implicates different geographical processes and outcomes, and the interrelationship between them is determinate of the geographical shape of social life.

So, therefore, *third*, culture in all three of its senses needs to be understood as part of a *geographically complex system (or set of systems) of social reproduction*. Or to put the same thing in different terms, "culture" in its three senses is not reducible to, but is also never separated from, *political economic processes*. Culture is impossible without its political economic "base," even as that "base" is impossible without its cultural "superstructure." Thus, the claim made above about how the interactions between different kinds of cultures shapes social life needs to by further developed to show that in fact it is the complex dialectic between the different aspects of culture *and* political-economic practices that determines and shapes social life – that gives it its form, its specific geographies.

Yet, *fourth*, these interactions – between "kinds" of "culture" and between "culture" and political economy – are always and everywhere the result of on-going social struggle. They are not simply given facts of life. Culture is an effect of power relations; culture is politics by other names and other means. This power and these politics are both highly local and internal (e.g. they may occur within the family or a community) *and* extralocal and external. When talking about the relations of power that are "culture," scale matters. Teaching cultural geography as a localist geography is as misleading as it is wrong. Local differentiation is never (only) locally created. Power is scalar, and that is why current debates over globalization are so important.

And so, *fifth and most importantly*, students in an introductory cultural geography class need to learn to *think*: to think *critically*; to think *politically*; and to think in terms of *process* and *system* and *struggle* rather than in terms of things and inherence and mapped patterns – *except insofar as thinking about things and inherence and mapped pat-*

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terns allows students to think historically. For, thinking historically, as well as geographically, is absolutely essential to thinking critically and politically about culture and cultural geographies.

Building on this foundation – a foundation built up not so much through theoretical argument as through clear and compelling examples – students can come to see that what they take for granted (culture as ways of life) is in fact always in the process of *becoming* and therefore up for grabs. But they can also see that the *imposition* of culture (as a system of meanings) always serves particular ends and particular powers: culture is ideological. And so finally, they can see that even the most straightforward of cultural products – the TV they watch (produced by a "culture industry" that itself has both economic and political roles to play) or the kinds of food they eat (sourced from around the world and relying on geographies of injustice in part determined by ideologies concerning different ways of life) – are wrapped up in a complex social, political, and economic life and are thus implicated in what is good and what is bad in the world. Since culture is politics, cultural geography *must be political* – and it must be learnt in *relation* to other kinds of human geography, not as a substitute for them. For without a thorough understanding of economic, political, social, and other geographies, culture really is nothing.

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FIVE "PRINCIPLES" OF CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

1. One Earth inhabited by multiple cultural worlds

Cultural diversity marks the story of humanity's progressive inhabiting of Planet Earth. The word "culture" itself derives from Latin *cultus, (colere = to till),* the cultivation of natural resources, as in agriculture, sylviculture, horticulture and other ways of life. *Humanus*, too, in Indo-European languages, means literally "earth dweller". The cultural turn in geography invites a broadening of horizons on all branches of the field, evoking fresh light on not only social, economic, urban and other sub-fields, but also on physical geography and the diverse ways in which human societies have understood and related to their environments. Given unprecedented rates of technologically-driven changes in such relationships during recent years, and current global concern about sustainable development, insights from cultural geography become ever more urgent.

2. Evolving geographical knowledges of nature and culture

Cultural geography explores varieties of indigenous/vernacular knowledge systems, highlighting their congruence or incongruence with Western scientific knowledges. Mountain and plain, river and lake, woodland and wildlife may be "explainable" in the categories of Western natural science, but in lived reality each cultural group has understood nature, space and time through its own special filters. An appreciation of humanity's diverse and often contested geographical knowledges, and the salience of each for sustainable ways of life, ranks among the educational imperatives of the present day.

3. Inventions and conventions in texts and images

Cultures are constructed, transmitted and re-affirmed through story-telling and communication networks at various scales. Cultures are learned and re-interpreted via texts and symbols which assume political and moral potency in the taken-for-granted attitudes, world-views and behaviour of social groups. Stories embedded in language, religion, territory, ethnicity and nationality continue to shape and influence cultural worlds. In modern settings, however, media, film, literature, travel brochures, and iconography have become powerful transmitters of cultural images and values. Geographers today examine communities of interest, social space and time, popular press and media, commercial and ideological labelling of merchandise and events, quite as eagerly as previous generations plotted artefactual landscape expressions of culture.

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4. Insiders and Outsiders, mindscapes and landscapes

Complementing traditional "observer" stances on landscapes and life, geographers today seek to "participate" in the lived realities of the people and places they study. They seek to understand perceptions of nature, space and time from the vantage points of lived experience, culturally varying perceptions of environment, sense of place, identity and territory. Landscapes often record the cumulative stamp - sedimented discourses - of successive generations, and these may be interpreted in highly contrasting ways by contemporary inhabitants. Herein lies ample ground for cross-disciplinary dialogue with colleagues in the humanities, arts and literature.

5. Self and Other: Dialogue toward mutual understanding

The Socratic dictum "Know Thyself" retains its perennial force. Cultural geography should enhance awareness of, and critical stances on, the values, attitudes and behaviours which are taken-for-granted in one's own everyday worlds. Heightened levels of population mobility today yield places and spaces for face-to-face interactions among people from widely contrasting cultures. Cultural geography should improve mutual understanding and respect among the earth's diverse peoples, enabling ongoing dialogue between "Self" and "Others", a pre-requisite on the transition toward wiser ways of dwelling for humanity as a whole.

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Sitting in Singapore and recently surveying the offerings of tertiary-level cultural geography classes in the Southeast Asian region, absence is stark. The issue is not yet what should be taught in a cultural geography class, but what cultural geography is and why it should be taught in the first place. Simultaneously, it is perhaps precisely by working through what should be taught that it becomes apparent what it is and why it should appear on any geography curriculum.

In approaching this question of what important principles should be covered in an introductory course in cultural geography, I focus less on specific themes as I do on characteristics of those themes and approaches. I am concerned mainly with social and/or practical relevance, accessibility, global coverage (different cultures, different geographies), and distinguishing between cultural geography and social geography in particular, and human geography more generally.

First, in Southeast Asia and many parts of Asia, the afflictions of underdevelopment, including poverty, lack of educational opportunities, crime, and disease, suggest that the privilege of those who can go to university requires of them urgent social repayment. Foregrounding the social and/or practical relevance of cultural geography can stand it in very good stead in two ways: in attracting students concerned about career prospects, and in persuading those who fund higher education its value and contributions, and hence, (continued) presence in the curriculum. In this regard, the cultural geographies that tend towards the esoteric and which lack empirics may not be entirely helpful. As Gregson, Thrift , Badcock and others have argued, there is a cultural geography that is “seduced by text” and that has “lost the desire to say anything about this empirical social world”, with “little sense of a world out there” (Thrift, 1994:110), characterized by a “descent into a self-contained theoretical universe” (Price and Lewis, 1993:12). Such cultural geographies cannot afford to overtake a curriculum agenda or run the risk of contributing to the disappearance of cultural geography on the agenda in the first place.

Second, related to the esoteric nature of some of the material is the lack of accessibility, laden with language and jargon that is debilitating and unwelcoming. Such reading material does nothing for attracting students to the value of cultural geography, particularly in an introductory course. It speaks of the need for judicious choice in the selection of reading material, paying attention to readability, but perhaps more importantly, of the need for cultural geographers to write with clarity, rather than hiding behind obscurities in language.

Third, another aspect of accessibility from a student’s perspective is the ability to relate to some of the material in real empirical everyday ways. A lot of cultural geography research, particularly but not only those adopting

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the retheorised approaches of the last decade and a half, has come out of Britain, and latterly, the US, Canada and Australia. There is not as much material from other parts of the world, including Asia, though this is changing. For students in Asia therefore, the availability of material which speaks to them of their cultures and situations is critical, and is tied to the need for a more self-conscious effort on the part of geographers in/of Asia (which of course is far from monolithic) to produce that material for the classroom (see Winchester, Kong and Dunn, forthcoming). For students in the Anglophone "hearths", exposure to such material is quite as important, for if cultural geography recognizes the multiplicities and pluralities of cultures, and argues that different geographies matter, then offering students exposure to such different cultures and geographies is critical in the classroom. A more truly global perspective of cultural geographies would be a principle I regard as important.

Fourth, cultural geography is not social geography though they are closely related. Cultural geography is also not introductory human geography as is taught in many North American universities but a distinct set of issues and approaches that deserve to be disengaged from the frequent conflation. In several universities in Asia I have observed, cultural geography syllabi deal, for example, with population geographies, development geographies, settlement geographies and so forth in ways that they might have appeared in modules titled "social geography", "population geography" or just "human geography". As a general principle, the distinctiveness (and relatedness) of cultural geography vis-à-vis other sub-disciplines needs attention in course planning.

My comments are clearly very much situated, and are historically and geographically contingent. They are informed by the social conditions in Asia and my reading of higher education needs in this part of the world. They reflect local concerns, but also global issues in inserting cultural geography in a curriculum, and planning its contents.

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Any course taught to undergraduate students will initially have to come to terms with the context set by its title; I shall hence take it for granted that the terms 'culture' and 'geography' would be accorded central stage towards the beginning of any course on 'cultural geography.' In addition, the following five key concepts and principles should feature prominently –amongst others –in the course syllabus:

The term landscape has matured into a genuinely useful category and should be accorded central stage –if only because it is one of the few geographical idioms that is recognised and used by other scientists and the wider public in equal measure. The difference between 'vernacular' and 'symbolic' landscapes can furthermore illuminate the distance between 'older' and 'newer' forms of cultural awareness, as well as foster a discussion about the territorial element of cultural geography. The idea of 'landscape' could finally serve to deliberate the importance of 'ocular' metaphors and practices within the human sciences in general – and thereby help to problematize aspects of the 'gaze' pertinent to geographical analyses.

Eminently linked with the idea of 'landscape' is the notion of materiality. A key concept in Sauerian cultural geography, the 'material landscape' is widely thought to encompass one of the key conceptual linkages between the 'natural' and the 'cultural' world and as such is tantamount to a definition of geography per se. Comprising anything from music to fence-posts, teaching cultural geography nowadays should develop the term 'materiality' to question the distinction between 'nature' and 'culture'. In this manner, questions associated with the 'resourcing' of the environment and the historical casting of geographical materiality within wider economic and cultural contexts can emerge as a central aim and objective of the overall course.

The third principle I should like to see developed is associated with the term contestation. Parting company with a static notion of culture is a widely recognised requirement of many courses on cultural geography in this day and age; 'contestation' can be introduced as one main 'engine' of cultural change. Covering a broad spectrum from sexuality to squatter movements and beyond, 'contestation' invites students of any age not merely better to understand the relevance of 'cultural' ways of thinking; it furthermore refocuses debates in and around cultural geography

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on the importance of practices and agency in general.

A culmination of many debates within the sub-discipline and a link to key developments in the human sciences comes in the form of the term identity. Here perhaps the recent change from regionalised and immediately mapable forms of cultural geography to more nuanced and (often) conflicting forms of distinctiveness – ranging from group-based to self-related forms of identity – is most pronounced. In this section, too, space should be allowed to explore the notion of hybridity, perhaps with reference to the marked difference that exists between the notion of a (cultural) 'melting pot' and the 'multi-cultural' societies now increasingly becoming the norm everywhere.

Conveniently enough, this allows me to build a bridge to my final proposition: the notion of globalisation (and the associated idea of modernisation) should feature prominently not only in courses on 'economic' geography but would sit equally well in the present environment. Like it or not, our shrinking planet has paradoxically become a globally less diverse and yet locally more heterogeneous place – even in Ireland, where I live and teach at present. The effects of globalisation in everyday life – another candidate for inclusion in the present list – can perhaps best be communicated to students by investigating them within the cultural arena. From Hip-Hop to Tolkien, from Andean pan pipes to changing culinary tastes especially in World Cities, larger processes, notably the workings of global capitalism, affect culture.

It is imperative that all of these 'concepts' would be embedded in a context that emphasises the constructed nature of the concepts employed. Frankly, if there is a better conceptual terrain than the one provided by 'cultural geography' to explore these and related issues, I would like to hear about it!

Notes From the Field

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The Sound and the Fury: Investigating the Football Stadiums of Buenos Aires.

Buenos Aires is home to more stadiums than any other city in the world. If we only count stadiums within the Federal District of Buenos Aires there are 18, but if we expand the range into the province of Buenos Aires just ten kilometers the number quickly increases to 35. Six of these stadiums (Boca Juniors, River Plate, San Lorenzo, Velez Sarsfield, Racing Club, and Independiente) have capacities of more than 50,000 and there are many others with capacities between ten and fifteen thousand. To say that the stadium and the events of the stadium have an impact upon the culture of Buenos Aires is putting the case mildly. In my many conversations with academics and media personnel, as well as the average citizen, I quickly came to the idea that one cannot fully understand the culture of Buenos Aires and Argentina without having at least some understanding of what happens in the stadiums.

My first real appreciation of the culture of the Argentine stadium came during my first visit to the Bombonera, the stadium of Boca Juniors. As I approached the stadium my companions were constantly attentive that no one would approach me unawares to steal my camera equipment. The presence of police everywhere was no guarantee of safety, they told me. The police were just another element of the stadium landscape to be navigated. Once we had passed the multiple security checks, which the police employ to control time and space outside of the stadium (though do not prevent one from brining in whatever one chooses), we entered into the throbbing bowels of the stadium itself. The noise, smell, color and sense of movement were everywhere, quite unlike any stadium experience I had had before (including World Cup matches). The stadium was literally shaking from the combined jumping of the fans on the second tier. On the third tier of the stadium where our 'seats' were located, we met with some difficulty in gaining access

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to a place where we could stand. The control of space was left completely to the crowd; in order to find a space, one had to be willing to exert one's self physically and continue to struggle to maintain personal space throughout the game. A minimum of baggage was the rule and I was certainly eyed with some suspicion as I held my video camera over the heads of the crowd while my friends continued their vigilant watch.

This was not an experience for the faint of heart. The constant motion and ebb and flow of human bodies on the third tier of a vibrating sixty-four year old cement structure did not always inspire confidence. Sadly, neither did the action on the pitch, but this did not seem to deter the intensity of either group of supporters. The crowd was comprised primarily of men between 18-45, but there were also many women and children in attendance.

The details and larger contextual realities of the experience are too involved to explicate in detail here but I will conclude on an interesting if abhorrent note. In Buenos Aires, the home fans are required to wait for fifteen minutes after the game before they are allowed to leave the stadium. This is to ostensibly give the police time to move the visiting fans out and away from the stadium before any encounters with rival groups can occur. Because of this time lag, as soon as the final whistle blows, everyone in the stands immediately looks for a place to sit. The rush to find ample space to sit was intriguing, and clearly acts as a spatial code within the stadium.

Following the fifteen minute interval, my friends and I waded through a mass of compacted humanity get out of the stands, and exited the stadium onto the same street by which we had entered. Suddenly, there were a series of loud popping noises as sensations of wetness spread down my leg. I was quickly taken by the hand and run to relative safety as the crowd excitedly scattered and the police watched on in bemused anticipation. My friend looked at my pants and informed me that I had just been hit by a bag of urine thrown from the top of the stands by fans of the very same team! I cannot say whether or not this happens at every game, but I gathered from the reaction of my friends, the crowd, and the police that this was nothing terribly shocking.

Falling bags of urine was but one of the dangers I encountered while doing field work in and around the stadiums of Buenos Aires. I was repeatedly warned of the dangers of going into certain areas of stadiums as well as spatial domains outside of the stadium. Fortunately, the above episode was the worst of my experiences. The stadiums of Buenos Aires are highly territorialized constructs in which fan groups engage in sometimes deadly battle with police and rival groups. The stadium stands in place as a locus of identity for neighborhoods, classes, fan groups, communities, and individuals. With so many stadiums in the city, the territoriality of Buenos Aires can be said to be in a continual state of flux. It is a fascinating and fertile ground for field work and one that has yielded some surprising results thus far.

Call For Nominations

At the 2003 AAG meeting in New Orleans, the CGSG will be voting on a ballot to elect three members to the board. The three positions are for Program Director, Student Awards Director and Nominations Director. These are two-year slots and automatically make a director a member of the Executive Board. Nominations will be open and taken by e-mail or letter until March 1st. The resultant slate will then be presented to the CGSG body for their vote in a closed ballot at the business meeting. Nominees must be a member of the CGSG and their consent to be nominated is required in advance. Self nominations are also accepted. Please respond directly to Artiums Keiffer with your nominations or questions. Nominations should include name, affiliation, position nominated for and a brief statement of consent.

—Artimus Keiffer, Nominations Director CGSG (akeiffer@wittenberg.edu)

CGSG Business Meeting in New Orleans

This year's Cultural Geography Specialty Group business meeting at the AAG Annual Meeting in New Orleans is scheduled for **Wednesday evening, March 5th, from 7:30 to 8:30**. Please make plans to attend the meeting as the following important votes will be on the agenda:

- The acceptance of new by-laws for the CGSG (these will be posted on the CGSG web page in mid-February)
- The election of three members of the CGSG Executive Board (Program Director, Student Awards Director and Nominations Director)
- CGSG Business and Financial Report

Peirce Lewis to Deliver Inaugural CGSG Plenary Lecture at the AAG New Orleans Meeting

The first in an annual series of lectures by distinguished cultural geographers will be delivered by Peirce Lewis, professor emeritus of geography at Pennsylvania State University, at the AAG Annual Meeting in New Orleans. The lecture is scheduled for **Friday, March 7 from 5:00 to 6:40 p.m.** The lecture will be followed by a reception and social sponsored by the Cultural Geography Specialty Group.

Organized by Blake Gumprecht (University of South Carolina) and chaired by Derek Alderman (East Carolina University), Prof. Lewis' lecture coincides with the publication of an updated edition of his classic 1976 study *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape*. Prof. Richard Schein (University of Kentucky), one of Lewis' former students, will provide introductory remarks.

This event is intended to enhance the visibility of cultural geographers at the annual meeting, honor scholars who have made significant contributions to the field, and provide a venue for social and intellectual interaction. Please make plans to attend this important event.

In addition to the plenary lecture, two special sessions in honor of Prof. Lewis are also scheduled. A paper session organized by Joseph S. Wood (University of Southern Maine) is scheduled for **Wednesday, March 5 from 1:00– to 2:40**. Participants include Paul Groth (University of California, Berkeley), Thomas Harvey (Portland State University), Ben Marsh (Bucknell University) and Wood. A panel session on Lewis' contribution to American cultural geography organized by Joseph Wood and Ben Marsh is scheduled for **Wednesday, March 5 from 3:00 to 4:40**.

CGSG-Sponsored Sessions at the AAG New Orleans Meeting

The Cultural Geography Specialty Group will sponsor or co-sponsor a total of 47 sessions at the annual meeting in New Orleans. Please consult the preliminary program at the AAG's website (aag.org) for detailed information about these sessions.

Winners of the CGSG Student Research Grant Competition Announced

The Cultural Geography Specialty Group and Awards Director Owen J. Dwyer are pleased to announce this year's winners of the CGSG Student Research Grant competition. The aim of the competition is to provide partial support for graduate students to conduct high quality research projects for their master's thesis or doctoral dissertation. Proposals were judged on the basis of scholarly merit, organization and clarity of the proposal and qualifications of the student to conduct the proposed work. Entries underwent blind review by a committee of faculty and student geographers.

This year's first-place ($500.00) winner is Natalie Oswin, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of British Columbia. The abstract of her proposal appears below.

Mapping Normal: Queer Complicity and South African Renaissance

As part of a new South Africa that respects the rights of all its citizens, including gays and lesbians, Cape Town has well and truly become one of the nodal points within the so-called "globalization of gay." But the "queer Cape Town" that international gay and lesbian tourists flock to in this post-apartheid era remains highly stratified along race, class, and gender lines and a distinct geography to "liberation" has emerged whereby the wealth and flamboyance of Cape Town's downtown gay ghetto contrasts sharply with the violent reprisals that those who "come out of the closet" in the city's outlying "black" and "coloured" townships frequently endure. As the suggestion that the solution lies in queers opting out of liberal rights frameworks and capitalist markets would be politically naïve this study will ethnographically examination enfranchisement through a study of two prominent mainstream gay and lesbian organizations in Cape Town; one a service provision organization with an emphasis on promoting queer rights and the other a festival of queer culture with aspirations of both commercial and community development. The broad goal of the project is to understand the ways in which race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality are articulated in and through the cultural, political, and economic dimensions of gay and lesbian enfranchisement in one specific place and time.

This year's runner-up ($300.00) winner is Paul Kingsbury, a student in the Department of Geography at the University of Kentucky. Congratulations to both winners!

Upcoming Professional Meetings

AAG Annual Meeting, March 4-8, 2003, New Orleans, Louisiana

Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association Annual Meeting, April 16-19, 2003, New Orleans, Louisiana (www.oah.org/meetings/2003/index.html)

Pioneer America Society, 35th Annual Meeting, October 13-16, 2003, Bridgetown, Barbados

Eastern Historical Geographers Association Annual Meeting, September 18-21, 2003, Athens, Ohio. Contact Tim Anderson (anderst1@ohio.edu), Geoffrey Buckley (buckley@ohio.edu) or Chris Boone (boone@ohio.edu) for more information.

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