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In this issue:

- Thirdspace and the contemporary geography curriculum
- Football, place and migration
- Ecotourism in Amazonian Peru





Geography Editorial Policy

Geography aims to re-energise the subject at all levels of education by stimulating dialogue and debate about the essential character and contribution of the subject. Articles submitted should be relevant to geographers and educationalists in schools, colleges and universities worldwide and to those involved in teaching, curriculum development, advanced study and research.

The Editorial Collective welcome articles which:

- provide scholarly summaries and interpretations of current research and debates about particular aspects of geography, geography as a whole or geographical education
- explore the implications and consequences of changes in the subject and in education for the well-being and progress of geography at all levels
- make meaningful and substantive connections between everyday life, public policy and geographical understanding and so help to widen participation and interest in geography
- foster a critical and analytical approach to the subject and aim to challenge popular assumptions about place, space and environment
- explore and develop opportunities to gain geographical insights from and develop synergies with other disciplines and new and unusual resources.

Articles submitted should normally be one of the following types:

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- **Challenging Assumptions** (1000–2000 words): short items presenting a well-argued viewpoint which challenges existing ideas or throws a new light on a current issue or debate.
- **This Changing World** (1500 words): short articles aimed at updating readers about a current topic, place, educational matter or trend.
- **Spotlight on ...** (2000 words): short items focusing on a book, idea, approach, resource or technique and exploring its relevance and challenges for geography and geography education.

Challenging Assumptions, This Changing World and Spotlight On articles do not require an abstract or references and are not usually peer reviewed.

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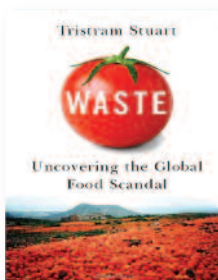
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Editorial: A world of difference

Peter Jackson, for the Editorial Collective

As geographers we aim to make sense of the diversity of the world around us while also trying to 'make a difference' to those we teach and for whom we write. Rex Walford, who died earlier this year and whose obituary we carry in this issue, used a similar phrase in the subtitle of his study of the last 150 years of geography teaching in British schools which, he claimed, set itself the task of 'making a world of difference' (Walford, 2001). Adequately recognising and dealing equitably with difference has become a key issue of our times. While sociologists like Stuart Hall have asked 'How are we to make some sort of common life together without retreating into warring tribes?' (Hall, 2007) it is we, as geographers, who often feel we have some special responsibility for responding to the challenges of 'living with difference'.

A good case can be made for treating difference as one of geography's keywords alongside concepts like space and place, scale and interdependence. The National Curriculum refers to 'diversity' rather than difference as one of the key concepts at key stage 3 where geographers are charged with promoting 'cultural understanding and diversity' (QCA, 2007). According to the QCA, our job is to teach students to appreciate 'the differences and similarities between people, places, environments and cultures [in order] to inform their understanding of societies and economies' (QCA, 2007, p. 103). Our students should also learn to appreciate 'how people's values and attitudes differ and may influence social, environmental, economic and political issues [while] developing

their own values and attitudes about such issues' (QCA, 2007, p. 103).

Important though these aims are, I would argue that understanding cultural diversity is not quite the same as confronting the challenges of difference. In an article in this journal nearly ten years ago, I attempted to distinguish between a liberal model of multiculturalism and a more critical version; the former emphasising the celebration of diversity (where pre-existing 'cultures' come into contact with one another), the latter recognising cultural differences as actively produced through specific encounters, based on distinct historical experiences and established hierarchies of power (Jackson, 2002). The current Prime Minister's recent assertions about the 'failure' of state multiculturalism in Britain (as reported on the BBC News, 5 February 2011) only serve to strengthen my commitment to this critical model of 'living with difference'. David Cameron distinguished between the 'passive tolerance' of cultural diversity, which he felt had contributed to the undermining of national security, and a 'more active, muscular liberalism' with which it could be defended. But there are many other ways of facing up to a world of difference and I hope that we, as geographers, will help to articulate them.

What, then, do the articles in this issue say about the challenges and opportunities that face us on a global, national and local level? At first glance, they may appear to demonstrate little beyond the discipline's inherent diversity. But, examined more closely, I think they reveal much more about the challenges of living with difference (its promises and threats) including some indications of how such differences should be studied and how conflicting forces might be resolved.

In the first article, **Richard Bustin** reports on a three-year action research project at his school in Essex, using Ed Soja's concept of 'Thirdspace' to investigate the political and moral geographies of illicit drug users. Drawing on a range of sources, including Danny Boyle's film *Trainspotting* (based on Irving Welsh's novel), Bustin contrasts the 'Firstspace' of the city's built form with the

'Secondspace' of imagined or representational space. He uses the idea of 'Thirdspace' to transcend the conceptual binary between real and imagined spaces. In their efforts to engage with these different experiential and representational spaces, Bustin argues, students are encouraged to struggle with ideas, arguments and uncertainties, making sense of their own lives and experiences alongside those of disadvantaged inner-city residents (as depicted in Welsh's novel and Boyle's film). This is an exciting pedagogical experiment in which students develop their geographical imaginations and creativity in the context of a school curriculum that Bustin describes as 'stuck in a time warp'.

In the second article, **Victoria Cook** provides a historical perspective on the development of geographical fieldwork in British schools, examining how fieldwork came to assume its current iconic status where any criticism of its value and purpose can be interpreted as an assault on the very core of the subject. Cook shows how geography's fieldwork agenda has been shaped by forces from inside and outside the discipline. Inspired by the historiographical impulse of authors like Rex Walford, Cook provides a critical account of fieldwork's contested history, including a valuable perspective on current initiatives such as Young People's Geographies.

The following article by **Jennifer and Ross Hill** reflects on the dilemmas of a different kind of 'fieldwork', examining the development of ecotourism in Latin America. Taking the example of Peru, their article probes the promise of ecotourism to reconcile a range of potentially conflicting forces: international tourism, environmental conservation and local community development. While conscious of possible tensions between conservation interests and local livelihoods, the authors are cautiously optimistic about the future prospects of ecotourism in Amazonian Peru provided that these potentially conflicting forces are effectively managed.

The next article examines the geography of sport, a topic of perennial interest to students but one which, despite their raw enthusiasm, they often find challenging. **David Storey** examines the dislocation of sport and place through the commercialisation and internationalisation of British football, analysing the geographical origins

and migration flows of foreign footballers in the English Premier League. While the transnational migration of players has undoubtedly increased in recent years, Storey suggests that its geographical extent is restricted by the social networks of players, agents and managers. Storey concludes that the internationalisation of football might lead British fans and viewers to become more insular or could become a force for positive social change.

We round off the issue with our usual 'Challenging Assumptions' and 'Spotlight on...' features. In a vivid essay, **Carl Lee** questions whether India's economic liberalisation has led to a more just and equal society, as claimed in Thomas Freidman's technologically-driven 'flat world' hypothesis. Focusing on the experience of Bengaluru (formerly known as Bangalore), a major centre for research and development in new technologies, Lee shows how rampant inequalities persist and how they are being revealed through the innovative cartographic methods of local researchers and activists such as the Bangalore Patrol. Finally, **Anna Krzywoszynska** reviews Tristram Stuart's recent book on the 'global scandal' of food waste, exploring the socio-structural forces that underpin our apparently profligate attitude to food.

Mike Morrish's obituary of Rex Walford provides a fitting conclusion to this issue, highlighting the world of difference that can be made through a single life, powerfully devoted to the advancement of geographical thought and teaching.

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The living city: Thirdspace and the contemporary geography curriculum

Richard Bustin

ABSTRACT: With the widening of the national curriculum, geography teachers in secondary schools can now develop their own curricula around a series of 'key concepts'. This article describes how ideas from academic geography can be used to inspire and motivate students in secondary schools. Here, Soja's (1996, 2000) concept of 'Thirdspace' forms the basis of classroom-based activities for year 10 (14–15 year old) students. It focuses on perceptions of urban space which are conveyed through the 'Thirdspace' of illicit drug users in Edinburgh. The article indicates how those concepts and ideological traditions that underlie geography curriculum in schools, including the need to employ the 'grammar' of geography, have helped to inform the classroom-based action research described here. It also argues that introducing approaches such as Thirdspace in school geography may help to overcome the perceived irrelevancy of the subject by students and thus address the decline in the number taking geography at GCSE and A-level.

Introduction

The Geography National Curriculum (QCDA, 2009) in England and Wales has recently undergone a radical change, allowing teachers to develop their own curricula for the first time in decades. These changes have, once again, reignited the debate over what we should be teaching school students in geography lessons; as Lambert observes, 'whenever we ask ourselves what education (or school) is for, we inevitably get into curriculum debates about what we select, or elect, to teach young people' (2008, p. 207). Many commentators feel school geography should be about imparting a 'body of academic knowledge' from one generation to the next (e.g. Whelan, 2007) with little concern about entering into any moral or political discussions with students, while others (e.g. Beneker *et al.*, 2007) believe that a contemporary geography curriculum should be grounded in the life worlds of students as well as drawing on ideas developed in the academic discipline.

As a school subject geography has been branded 'boring' and 'irrelevant' by the school's inspectorate, the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted, 2008). Ofsted's criticism has coincided with a decline in students opting to take geography at GCSE from 302,298 in 1996 to 196,018 in 2009, and at A-level from 46,680 in 1992 to 32,227 in 2009 (RGS-IBG, 2009). At the same time, there has been a gradual divergence of the subject as taught in schools and as developed in universities. School geography, it could be argued, is stuck in a time warp, the content of which is similar to the 'new geography' of the 1960s rather than some of the latest developments in higher education (e.g. see Kent, 2000). Indeed, Goudie was the first to identify the 'great divide' between school and university geography, describing it as, 'a chasm' (1993, p. 338). As Lambert argues, 'to continue bolstering what is essentially a 19th-century curriculum in which selected knowledge is packaged and "delivered" will not serve well citizens of the 21st century' (1999, p. 11).



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*The Meadows, Edinburgh.
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Furthermore, Fein warns, ‘without engagement with academic geography, school geography “is in danger of becoming epistemologically and socially irrelevant”’ (quoted in Firth and Biddulph, 2008).

However, from September 2008 and with the changes implemented by QCDA (2009), teachers regained control of the curriculum. The result is that ‘there is now for the first time in a generation, opportunity and encouragement for teachers of geography to think about what they are doing in conceptual terms’ (Lambert, 2008, p. 209). The ‘curriculum makers’ – teachers and heads of departments in schools – now have the opportunity to update and redesign the geography curriculum to make it relevant and contemporary to the students they teach. Although new classroom technologies are being developed, including developments in geographical information systems, all too often such technologies are being used to deliver outdated knowledge in a contemporary fashion, rather than tackling the outdated curriculum in the first place. Change is needed, and, as Beneker *et al.* argue:

‘if material currently being developed at university level might be more helpful to children in making sense of the world than some of the more traditional elements of ... geography, is it fair to deprive current students of this material as we wait for it to somehow filter down?’ (2007, p. 264). Thus, this article presents the outcomes of a three-year classroom-based action research project

which introduces concepts from the academic discipline – namely Thirdspace (Soja, 1996, 2000) – to secondary geography students.

Thirdspace

The concept of ‘Thirdspace’ was developed by urban geographer and sociologist Ed Soja (1996, 2000). Intended for use with undergraduate students, Thirdspace combines three interacting urban ‘spaces’:

- Firstspace is the ‘real’ space – the urban built form of physical buildings that can be mapped and seen.
- Secondspace is the ‘imagined’ representational space – i.e. how the space is perceived, seen and argued over. In urban settings this would be evident through, e.g. the role of marketing and redevelopment projects.
- Thirdspace takes this thinking further – it combines First and Second space to create what Soja describes as, ‘a fully lived space, a simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual locus of structured individuality and collective experience and agency’ (2000, p. 11).

As Soja (2000) continues,

‘[Thirdspace is] a product of a “thirding” of the spatial imagination, the creation of another mode of thinking about space that draws upon the material and mental spaces of the traditional dualism (of First and Second spaces) but extends well beyond them in scope, substance

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and meaning. Simultaneously real and imagined and more ... the exploration of Thirdspace can be described and inscribed in journeys to “real-and-imagined” places’ (2000, p. 11).

Thirdspace then is the experience of life in the Firstspace mediated through Secondspace expectations. Thirdspace traditionally uses the lived experience of disadvantaged individuals and groups in urban society, which ‘is created by those who reclaim these real and symbolic spaces of oppression, and make them into something else’ (Smith, 2005, p. 29). The context chosen for this research is the experiences of illicit drug users in Edinburgh because their ‘lived space’ was perceived as providing a way to approach urban geography from a humanist perspective, and one which students could engage with.

Toward a modern school curriculum

Designing engaging and challenging geography for school students is difficult, especially in view of the fact that what constitutes ‘geography’ is still under debate. In an attempt to set parameters for the subject, a number of geographers have proposed a set of ‘key concepts’ which they claim underlie the subject (Table 1); and it is those suggested by QCA which teachers now have to design their curriculum around.

No matter how the underlying concepts of geography are organised, notions of ‘space’ and ‘place’ appear readily, and it is these that Thirdspace helps to address. Ideas around ‘place’ and ‘space’ have changed through time, which has had important repercussions for school geography. The move from ‘the idiographic regional approach’ to new ‘quantitative’ geography of the 1970s, ‘with its emphasis on theoretical models, conceptual frameworks and quantitative techniques was influencing a new generation of teachers ... within 10 years a paradigm shift had occurred in terms of changed syllabuses and textbooks in the direction of the “new geography”’ (Kent, 2000, p. 114). What followed in human geography was a ‘cultural turn ... in which the traditional belief in objective knowledge has given way to more sceptical and critical understandings of the relationship between power and knowledge’ (Jackson, 2000, p. 5). This was accompanied by a postmodern, cultural turn of which Thirdspace forms a part. A similar ‘curriculum shift’ to accommodate some of the more recent thinking in human geography has yet to occur in schools. This lack of curriculum development has had implications for the way students experience geography in the classroom. As Rawding points out:

‘locations are seen as settings for the delivery of national curriculum themes ... this undoubtedly simplifies and sterilises the study of place, often resulting in an arid narrative and uninspiring factual accumulation ... with no

Table 1: Key concepts in geography, 1998–2007. Source: Taylor, 2009.

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Leat (1998) Cause and effect Classification Decision making Development Inequality Location Planning Systems</p> | <p>Geography Advisors’ and Inspectors’ Network (2002) Bias Causation Change Conflict Development Distribution Environment Futures</p> <p>Inequality Interdependence Landscape Location Perception Region Scale Uncertainty</p> | <p>Rowley and Lewis (2003) Describing and classifying Diversity and wilderness Patterns and boundaries Places Maps and communication Sacredness and beauty</p> |
| <p>Holloway et al. (2003) Landscape and environment Physical systems Place Scale Social formations Space Time</p> | <p>Jackson (2006) Proximity and distance Relational thinking Scale and connection Space and place</p> | <p>UK 2008 Key Stage 3 Curriculum (QCA, 2007) Cultural understanding and diversity Environmental interaction and sustainable development Interdependence Physical and human processes Place Scale Space</p> |

coherent theoretical or philosophical underpinnings' (2007, p. 22).

In schools, a recent study (Beneker *et al.*, 2007) identified six key areas of urban geography that teachers felt should be explored with lower secondary students. These are: planning and management, urban change, social issues, urban structure, world contrasts, and sustainability. Contrast this with with a similar list produced by academics, who identified 'political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions of cities ... globalisation, neo liberalism and post industrial society' (Beneker *et al.*, pp. 260–1) as areas of exploration for lower secondary students and one begins to understand the divide between school and university geography.

In order to address this divide, Rawding encourages school teachers to, 'consider place as an active process ... putting place at the centre of study, [which] enables both teacher and learner to develop deeper insights into the complex and diverse attributes of place' (2007, p. 22). It was this notion that led to the research outlined here.

Thirdspace in the classroom: illicit drug use in Edinburgh

The process of taking an idea from academic geography and presenting it to students as a meaningful learning exercise is not straightforward. As Morgan and Lambert argue 'lesson planning is not just a technical activity, but an intellectual activity' (quoted in Brooks, 2006, p. 75). Engaging with the lives of marginalised people can bring educational benefits to students of urban geography. Much of the discussion around urban decline and rejuvenation focuses on people, and a Thirdspace approach allows students to investigate the interaction between marginalised people and the built form itself. While many urban development projects simply look at providing more jobs or better housing, students who use Thirdspace to study an area gain a much more holistic understanding about the nature of the social problems in an area and therefore obtain a better informed and more critical stance on regeneration projects. Thus, Thirdspace can be a powerful conceptual tool to help students engage with the urban environment.

The research was carried out with year 10 GCSE students (14–15 year olds) studying urban decay. The 'traditional' element of the course – the structure of cities in the form of urban modeling – formed the start of the unit. In effect, the students had already looked at the Firstspace of cities. The sequence of lessons were aimed specifically at getting them out of the habit of looking at urban problems from a purely economic perspective and to consider some of the social reasons why an area may become rundown and why it may remain so. The Thirdspace of illicit drug use in Edinburgh activity was designed for students to engage with lived space concepts in an environment in which the interacting spaces (First and Second) are less well defined and thus overlap. Edinburgh as an urban environment is easily identifiable to students – its structure and layout is similar to many other UK cities. Furthermore, the focus on drug abusers may also hold resonance with some students – as Parker *et al.* have observed, 'when we find that half this generation has tried an illicit drug by the end of their adolescence and perhaps a quarter are fairly regular "recreational" drug users, we can no longer use pathologising explanations' (1998, p. 1). The majority of the 'voice' of the drug users comes from the novel and film *Trainspotting* (Welsh, 1993; Boyle, 1996). This resources was chosen because it depicts the lives of a group of drug abusers in Edinburgh and, as Hemingway points out,

Trainspotting brings into view the geographies of the street and provides fertile ground for teachers and students to explore the social relations and interconnectedness of mundane urban environments (2006, p. 326).

Showing extracts from the film was designed to inspire and enthuse the students as well as to provide an insight into the protagonists' lived experience. Its use, however, is problematic: the film is rated '18', contains 'strong' language throughout and there are potential copyright issues around showing media clips in the classroom. Therefore, the suitability of screening *Trainspotting* needs to be considered carefully; teachers may elect to read a passage from the novel (Welsh, 1993). During this research, and after consultation with senior managers at the school, it was decided to stream the first two and a half minutes of the film from a freely-available video-sharing website. The students were deemed sufficiently mature and responsible to watch the extract because it was for 'educational purposes'; furthermore, most of the

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students had already seen the whole film themselves at home. The clip chosen is iconic in British cinematography: it follows the drug addicts as they are being chased through the streets of Edinburgh. While the eloquent 'choose life' monologue includes a constant stream of expletives, it articulates the frustrations the characters are feeling at that time and in that place and, as such, provides a rich opportunity to explore these ideas with the students.

After the film clip, a PowerPoint presentation was used to introduce the students to the variety of First- and Second-spaces in Edinburgh. A worksheet was provided to scaffold students' thinking and help them to separate out the interacting spaces. This enabled them to obtain a clear idea of the first two spaces before linking them in Thirdspace. Two students' responses to

Drug addicts in Edinburgh would live in deprived areas (1st space) such as Granton, as it is cheap. There would also be affiliations (2nd space) with the drug culture, with drug dealers and fellow addicts based in the area. The reputation of areas such as Prince's Street (2nd space) as places where tourists converge, and flaunt wealth, may attract drug addicts in search of potential targets to rob to feed their habit. Drug addicts may travel to areas such as Rose Street, which has a reputation for pubs and prostitutes (2nd space). Drug addicts may 'hang around' parks (1st space) as they perceive these to be areas of leisure (2nd space). Whilst in possession of drugs, addicts may be both aware of, and fearful of H.M.P. Staughton, in case they are caught.

The drug addict would live in Granton, due to its secondspace reputation of being run down, and would get his money from mugging people in Prince's Street and during the Edinburgh Festival, because of their secondspace reputation of being busy, and from the renowned number of tourists, many of which will have money. The local hospitals would act as a safety net, as they are used to treating patients with drug overdoses, and would probably hang out and deal or take drugs in The Meadows, with a secondspace reputation of being an open area with not too many people about. However, he would be put off crime by the local firstspace H.M. Prison Staughton, knowing he would be punished.

the final enquiry question 'What is the lived experience of drug addicts in Edinburgh?' are shown in Figure 1.

These extracts exemplify how Thirdspace can be integrated into students' work. Both students readily and confidently use the terms 'Firstspace' and 'Secondspace' in the correct context and indicate an understanding of Thirdspace. It also provides evidence of high order thinking according to Bloom's taxonomy (as described in Hill and McGaw, 1981). Here, the students are in the 'evaluation stage', using the interacting spaces from the film/novel and combining them. The students' use of phrases such as 'due to' and the reasoning given for each of their statements pushed this work into the higher order thinking.

Nevertheless, a potential drawback of engaging with the issues of drug abuse and spaces of crime is the notion of stereotyping of both places and behaviour. In tackling these issues with students, it is important to clarify that not all drug users are poor and nor do all muggings in Edinburgh take place in Princes Street. An extension activity designed to address this concern is to change the perspective of the Thirdspace. Students can look at the lived space of Edinburgh through the experience of other local residents: young people, the elderly, those with a disability, the unemployed, and so on. Will each view the same areas of the city in different ways? Exploring the variety of viewpoints with students may start to break down some of the set ideas and stereotypes about those particular places.

In order to extend their understanding students can be encouraged to explore the elements of the Thirdspace of their own lives. They can investigate how places they see and use everyday could have different meanings for other people. This approach could form part of some innovative fieldwork.

Discussion

Any attempt to enliven the teaching of geography in secondary schools by incorporating ideas from the academic discipline in the classroom, needs careful handling. As Morgan argues, 'there are potential problems when ideas from cultural geography are picked up and translated into classroom activities without a clear understanding of the intellectual contexts in which they are implemented' (2008, p. 22). It is these contexts

Figure 1: Two year 10 students' responses to the enquiry question 'What is the lived experience of drug addicts in Edinburgh?'

that are picked up when observing lessons, as Brooks indicates when she asks her trainee teachers: 'what sort of geographical knowledge is being studied in this lesson?' (2006, p. 78).

This elementary question is actually very difficult to answer and requires a sound understanding of the curriculum ideologies which underpin the way the way the subject is taught. In order to illustrate this, Table 2 outlines some of the major ideological traditions and how they have impacted on school geography in England.

Nevertheless, engaging with Thirdspace is not just about updating the content of geography lessons; it is about altering the ideology through which urban space is studied. It could be argued that

school geography, with its emphasis on 'scientific methods, theories and techniques' (Rawling, 2000, p. 212), is still in the most part approached from a 'liberal humanist' tradition. When 'lived experience' is placed at the heart of the study, as Thirdspace encourages, there is a shift in ideology to 'progressive educational' or even a 'reconstructionist' viewpoint. This 'cultural turn' in school geography, which is a slow and ongoing process to which this research adds, can be allied to what Moore (1999) dubbed 'New Education' and which 'has been influenced by perspectives from cultural studies and postmodernism' (Morgan, 2000, p. 283). It bridges the gap between place in school geography and place in the academic discipline, and goes some way to preparing

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Table 2: *Ideological traditions underpinning the geography curriculum.*
Source: Rawling, 2000, p. 212.

| Ideological tradition | Characteristics | Impact on school geography in England |
|--|---|--|
| Utilitarian/ informational | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> education primarily aimed at 'getting a job' and 'earning a living' a focus on useful information and basic skills | Locational knowledge ('capes and bays'), map skills and useful information about natural resources, travel routes, economic products. Prevalent in the 19th century but re-emerged strongly in the 1991 national curriculum. |
| Cultural restorationism (as promoted by the New Right in English policy making in the 1980s and 1990s) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> restoring traditional areas of knowledge and skills (cultural heritage) providing students with a set package of knowledge and skills which will enable them to fit well-defined places in society and the workplace | Aspects of locational, regional and economic geography related to Britain's early 20th-century empire and trading links. School geography in the 20th century. Re-emerged in 1991 national curriculum giving a view of a relatively unchanging world. |
| Liberal humanist (also called classical humanist) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> worthwhile knowledge as a preparation for life; the passing on of a cultural heritage from one generation to the next emphasis on rigour, big ideas and theories, and intellectual challenge | The development of geography as an academic discipline in the 20th century and resulting higher status. Stress on concepts, scientific methods, theories and quantitative techniques. Transferred to schools via the 'new geography' of the 1960s and 70s and prevalent in GCE 'O' and 'A' levels. |
| Progressive educational (also called child-centred) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> focusing on self development or bringing to maturity the individual child/student using academic subjects as the medium for developing skills, attitudes, values and learning styles which will then help them become autonomous individuals | Emphasis on enquiry, active learning and the development of skills (e.g. communication), attitudes (e.g. respect for others) and values (e.g. care for the environment) through geography. Emphasised in child-centred primary education in 1960s and 70s and in Schools Council geography curriculum projects of 1970s. Re-appearance in thinking skills in late 1990s? |
| Reconstructionist (also called radical) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> education as an agent for changing society, so an emphasis on encouraging students to challenge existing knowledge and approaches less interest in academic disciplines, more focus on issues and socially critical pedagogy | Geography's involvement with e.g. environmental education, global education, multi-culturalism. Prevalent in the 1970s and 80s radical geography. Interest by 1997 Labour government in sustainable development education and citizenship seems to offer opportunities but may be a utilitarian reaction to societal concerns. |
| Vocational or industrial trainer (Note: in some ways this cuts across all the other traditions) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> provides students with knowledge and skills required for work or use workplace and work-related issues as a stimulus for learning skills/abilities or use work-related issues for questioning status quo | The Geography, Schools and Industry project 1983–91 used work-related contexts in a progressive way for curriculum change and active learning. In 1990s and 2000s governments have promoted careers education, work-related initiatives and key skills, which are more utilitarian in character. |

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students for undergraduate studies. As Cresswell asserts:

'I see no reason why students should not arrive at university with a basic understanding of philosophy of place ... I would like to see students arrive at (university entrance) interview with an interest in "place" and not simply "places"' (2008, p. 137).

Furthermore, the separation of Thirdspace away from geographical 'content' to a 'way of approaching' geography is allied to what Jackson (2006) has termed 'thinking geographically'. In his discussion, Jackson cites the work of Lambert, who distinguishes between geography's 'vocabulary (an apparently endless list of place names) and its grammar (the concepts and theories that help us make sense of those places)' (Jackson, 2006, p. 199, emphasis in original). The vocabulary of the geography lessons described in this research has remained consistent with and similar to the vocabulary currently seen in schools. Although it deals with urban geography, the reasons for urban decline, factors of multiple deprivation, etc., what Thirdspace challenges is the grammar – the way in which these places and ideas are approached and contextualised for the students to engage with. 'Thinking geographically' rather than 'learning geography' is a major shift in emphasis for geography teachers, and one which the Geographical Association supports through its manifesto (GA, 2009). Nevertheless, this approach is not new: in *The Teaching of Ideas in Geography*, the authors argue 'in a discipline, the fundamental concepts which structure its thinking and have wide application are inevitably abstract ideas' (DES, 1978, p. 6). These 'ideas' can be presented to students as concepts, generalisations, models and systems to facilitate understanding – Thirdspace provides a contemporary version of these approaches.

Implications

This article has argued that teachers need to update their curriculum content to include concepts from the university discipline, yet some teachers are reluctant to move away from safe, traditional material of the current schemes of work. This may not be a product of unwillingness, but a belief that there should be a divide between school and university geography. It could be argued that what geography students learn at school should give them a basic level of understanding

that universities will build upon and develop. For instance, it is impossible for university lecturers to discuss with undergraduates whether or not a central business district (CBD) exists in an urban area if those students have no concept of the basic idea of the CBD in the first place. Yet, as Beneker *et al.* indicate, 'a very real question is how can younger students offer an informed but independent reaction to ... geographies they have not been taught' (2007, p. 265). In the context of this research it could be argued that students should gain a sound understanding of Firstspace and Secondspace in schools, even if such terminology is not used; and the notion of Thirdspace be left for universities to introduce. Of course if one followed this belief then school geography would have not progressed from the 'capes and bays' approach of the early 20th century. School geography would simply be about accruing facts – viz the names of capital cities, longest rivers, highest mountains – and would not engage with 'issues' at all, leaving those to the universities, a (somewhat extreme) situation that has been advocated by some in the geography curriculum debate (see e.g. Standish, 2007). At the other extreme, there is a danger that in a highly contemporary geography curriculum some of the more basic 'core knowledge' (as Hirsch, 1988, might describe) would be neglected. Of course, students should, as part of their time in schools, be developing the knowledge and skills that enable them to locate countries on a world map, know how to use an atlas or understand how tides work. To say to teachers that they need to teach geography taken from somewhere along the continuum from traditional (or old-fashioned) to contemporary (or trendy) is too simplistic; a balance needs to be reached with ideas and approaches from across the spectrum of curriculum content and ideological approaches.

Whatever critical arguments and debates occur between and within the geography teaching community, the education of students has to be our priority; as Smith and Ogden indicate, 'students entering university are often unprepared for the kind of geography that awaits them' (1977, p. 47). Thus, we do our students a disservice by supporting the current 'early 20th-century' curriculum, no matter how creatively we choose to present the ideas. Geography's success, Lambert and Machon assert, 'will depend on how successfully it speaks to young people and can

entice them into a struggle with ideas, with argument, with uncertainty' (2001, p. 207). If a variety of voices, including our students', can help inform a modern curriculum then this would have the potential to create student-centered learning and, therefore, be more relevant.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, school geography has been accused of being 'boring' and 'irrelevant'. Yet, as the research reported here indicates, if we are prepared to enter into, 'the contested cultural life worlds of young people' (Hemingway, 2006, p. 333) we can make the subject more relevant to their lives. This kind of cultural geography has the potential to 'reinvest (school) geography with its radical potential' (Hemingway, 2006, p. 333). As Lambert argues, 'we may need to throw out crusty old favourites ... in favour of ... lessons that challenge students to make geographical sense of their own lives and experiences' (see Geographical Association, 2009, p. 3). By using Thirdspace (Soja 1996, 2000) to approach urban social issues from the lived experience of disadvantaged communities, we can encourage our students to make geographical sense of the lives of others. This will, in turn, help inform young geographers about their own role in society, their own place and their own lives. Subjects such as geography can, according to Morgan, 'broaden and deepen young people's understanding of the world around them, enlarge their knowledge of what they share with other people, and develop a critical awareness of the society and times in which they live' (2000, p. 69).

This author concurs with Taylor's assertion that, 'over the next few years I hope there will continue to be a lively debate about enquiry, big concepts, key concepts and maybe even organising concepts in geography' (2008, p. 53). The time is right to introduce concepts developed in the academic discipline to update and develop geography into a 21st-century school subject that motivates and enthruses our students.

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To find out more about using the Thirdspace concept in the classroom, read Richard Bustin's article 'Thirdspace: exploring the "lived space" of cultural "others"' published in *Teaching Geography*. Go to www.geography.org.uk/tg and click on the link to the Summer 2011 issue.

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The origins and development of geography fieldwork in British schools

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ABSTRACT: Fieldwork is viewed by many as a central part of students' geographical education. How fieldwork came to assume this status is perhaps less well understood. This article explores the origins and development of fieldwork as a traditional part of students' geographical education in British schools. The non-linear nature of the developmental process is attributed to the multiple influences from both inside and outside the discipline that have shaped the fieldwork agenda over the years. The article argues that an appreciation of this diversity is important to our understanding of the multifaceted fieldwork agenda that is evident today.

Fieldwork's origins and development

Fieldwork's origin as a traditional part of the geographical education goes back to the days before the subject of geography itself was recognised distinctively on the curriculum (Walford, 2001). Fieldwork was, and continues to be, central to the endeavours of both the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), founded in 1830, and the Geographical Association (GA), founded in 1893, (Brunsden, 1987; Marsden, 1998), organisations whose work is arguably inextricably bound to the legacy of the exploratory tradition (Gold *et al.*,



1991). However, the more widespread development of fieldwork was fuelled by the nature study movement of Victorian and Edwardian England (Rickinson *et al.*, 2004), which was in keeping with society's interest in flora and fauna at this time. Two key figures allied to early studies of nature were Psetalozzi and Huxley (Brunsden, 1987). Huxley's late 19th-century local studies of nature ('physiography') had a profound influence on educational methodology (Brunsden, 1987). Early fieldwork was frequently local in nature. Studies of school grounds and the school locality were encouraged by Her Majesty's Inspectors from the 1870s onwards and arguably sowed the seeds for the development of local geographical fieldwork in schools (Ploszajska, 1998). The importance of the school locality to geography education was reflected in Geikie's (1887) pioneering text *The Teaching of Geography*, which devoted four chapters to this theme (Marsden, 1998).

Fieldwork's early agenda was multifaceted. Aside from its role within formal geographical education, the literature reveals a secondary agenda: fieldwork's social agenda. Ploszajska (1998) argues that from the 1870s fieldwork became a

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popular means of teaching both geographical knowledge and changing ideas of responsible citizenship. In her analysis of geographical fieldwork in English schools from 1870 to 1944, Ploszajska describes how residential fieldwork, usually to rural areas, was increasingly undertaken from the late 19th century onwards. She argues that this captured the zeitgeist of the time in which a return to the land was advocated in light of decreasing levels of agricultural production (Ploszajska, 1998). As the importance of experiential learning became more widely recognised by the 1890s, field trips to parks and similar environments also became a common addition to geography teaching (Ploszajska, 1998). Later, with the First World War looming, systematic local surveys similar to those utilised by Huxley became widespread. Reminiscent of the German pedagogical principle of *heimatkunde* (knowledge of home areas) that was popular throughout Europe at this time, the surveys were particularly valued for their ability to foster national patriotism (Ploszajska, 1998). The *heimatkunde* approach had previously been accredited in the evidence assembled for the 1886 RGS report entitled 'In Reference to the Improvement of Geographical Education' (Marsden, 1998).

The *heimatkunde* approach also influenced the development of the school journey movement in Britain, which led to the establishment of the School Journey Association (SJA) in 1911 (Marsden, 1998). Largely omitted from the historiography of geographical education, the SJA was billed as the sister organisation of the School Nature Study Union (SNSU) founded in 1903. Both organisations reflected the commonly-held belief within society at this time that urban areas were unsuitable environments in which to bring up children, and so opportunities to experience rural environments were encouraged. The number of school journeys within Britain fluctuated from one or two per year from 1896 to 1902 to over 800 by 1931 (Marsden, 1998). In the 1920s the formation of a continental section of the SJA led to the development of overseas excursions. As a result, in 1937 the *Times Educational Supplement* was able to report that over 20,000 children were going abroad each year (Marsden, 1998). However, despite their common interests, the SJA and the GA did not share their ideas or resources (Marsden, 1998).

Fieldwork was not established as an important part of British geographical education until the 1920s (Walford, 2001). At this juncture, British fieldwork took on a distinctive academic form that set it apart from its American and Australian counterparts, where the emphasis was (and still remains) frequently on the 'experience' itself – a chance to experience the 'wilderness' or 'outback' (Walford, 2001, p. 105). Thus outdoor education in Australia, with its associated images of physical prowess and athleticism, is closely allied to traditional perceptions of what it means to be Australian (Purdie *et al.*, 2002). The more academic nature of fieldwork in Britain means that it has evolved partly in response to paradigm changes in the subject and pedagogical developments (Job, 1996). However, also important is the socio-economic context in which fieldwork developed, as the formation of the SJA and the SNSU both demonstrated. The proliferation of leisure time and private transport after 1918 also helped to encourage environmental interest, which had knock-on benefits for the development of geography fieldwork (Walford, 2001). Demonstrating fieldwork's alternative agenda, Walford (2001) contended that such fieldwork was linked (wilfully or otherwise) to the development of children as better citizens and, more specifically, custodians of the countryside.

Academic influences are, of course, also discernable. According to Everson, the oldest philosophy of fieldwork in school geography is the English approach called 'field work, field studies, or field teaching' (1973, p. 107). Everson (1973) specifically recognises the work of the eminent geographers Wooldridge, Stamp and Le Play in contributing to this traditional approach to fieldwork in England. The traditional approach was strongly influenced by the regional tradition and was characterised by observation, description and passive student learning. Students were taught the skills to read and interpret a landscape, enabling them to develop a sense of place in the landscape, but their interpretations were frequently lacking a critical element (Job, 1996). Everson, like Wooldridge, stressed the aim of developing an 'eye for the country' through such traditional fieldwork. Working in America, Sauer (1956) was also concerned with the primacy of fieldwork as a science of observation. Rather than studying the historical development of landforms, however,

Sauer was concerned with geography's role in studying cultural landscapes.

The French school of academic regional geography, typified by the work of Vidal de la Blache, inspired the small-scale surveys that were undertaken in Britain after the First World War, as did the work of Herbertson (1865–1915), Geddes and Le Play (Brunsdon, 1987; Walford, 2001). Geddes (1854–1932), through the development of his 'Outlook Towers', helped to inspire a movement for regional survey (Matless, 1992). Le Play (1806–82), who travelled widely in Europe and Russia from 1835 to 1854, valued local field surveys as a means for gaining insight into working-class conditions and the need for social reform (Brunsdon, 1987). Once again the social agenda of fieldwork is revealed, but whereas rural fieldwork was concerned with nurturing custodians of the countryside, urban fieldwork was more concerned with social inequalities. Geddes was the first president of the Le Play Society when it was founded in Britain in 1930 (Matless, 1992). The Le Play Society (1930–60) ran nearly 100 field surveys, many of which were attended by school teachers (Walford, 2001). Le Play's work was conducted at a time when regional survey fieldwork was very popular. The GA had even set up a Regional Survey Committee to encourage schools to undertake such fieldwork (Walford, 2001).

During the inter-war period, concerns about agricultural decline and increasing urban development in Britain were rife. Such concerns,

coupled with the paucity of knowledge about land-use in Britain, spurred Dudley Stamp to co-ordinate the 'Land Utilisation Survey'. This survey was a very descriptive regional geography. (Stamp was himself a member of the GA's Regional Survey Committee.) Conducted between 1930 and 1934, the survey aimed to create an accurate land-use record that could be used to inform planning policy. It has been dubbed a classic modernist enterprise (Rycroft and Cosgrove, 1995) through its drive to ensure that land was used responsibly. This concern with responsibility further exemplifies the social agenda of rural fieldwork. Involving 250,000 students from almost 10,000 schools, the project is arguably one of the great achievements of inter-war geography in Britain (Ploszajska, 1998). The survey has since been emulated by Alice Coleman (Coleman, 1961) in the 1960s and again in 1996 by the Land Use-UK project. Stamp's original (1930s) survey had led to the post-war Town and Country Planning Acts; the purpose of Coleman's (1961) study was to evaluate urban design. This second survey was much more complex than Stamp's original and printed maps on a 1:25,000 scale were produced for some areas (Walford, 2001). The third (1996) survey, organised by the GA in association with the Institute of Terrestrial Ecology and the Ordnance Survey, included a section for surveyors to reflect on their 'Views and visions' of the land (Walford, 2001), which reflects an increased awareness of the importance of affective learning around this time.

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Photo: Richard Gill



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Following the success of Stamp's Land Utilisation Survey, geography fieldwork continued to grow and develop. Whereas the focus had previously been largely on rural fieldwork, during the 1930s urban fieldwork became more widely accepted in schools (Marriott, 1997). In 1936 James Fairgrieve (1870–1953), an influential figure in British geographical education, called for a move towards inductive teaching methods involving the collection and recording of data. These methods were underlain by educational philosophies stressing observation and empiricism. Thus, Fairgrieve specifically advocated the use of fieldwork as a means of introducing 'reality' into geography teaching (Biddle, 1985, p. 19). In 1938 the GA's Standing Committee for Geography in Secondary Schools issued a report that emphasised the importance of taking students out of the classroom for local studies (Smith, 1992). The founding of the Field Studies Council (FSC) in 1943 led to the establishment of a network of specialist field centres across England and Wales, but again no mention was made of the SJA's work (Marsden, 1998). Some schools and local authorities also purchased their own field centres (Walford, 2001). Between 1945 and 1965 a series of handbooks and articles were published concerning geographical fieldwork and local studies in particular (see, for example, Wilks, 1956). By the 1960s, signs of a formulated role for fieldwork were emerging. Hutchings, in his presidential address to the GA in 1961, praised the opportunity that fieldwork provided for students to learn through observation. He claimed that 'no child is too young to begin field studies, and the earlier the beginning the better the quality of the work likely to be done in the later stages of school life' (Hutchings, 1962, p. 10). However, as fieldwork was still not officially recognised as part of formal geography teaching, during the 1970s fieldwork was largely confined to post-16 teaching (Foskett, 1999).

By the 1970s the traditional expository approaches to fieldwork known as 'field teaching' had been superseded by 'field research' (Rynne, 1998). Field research involved testing theories in the field that explain and predict the spatial patterns of various characteristics of the Earth's surface (Everson, 1969). Everson argued that critics of this more scientific approach feared that it may develop 'an eye for a problem not an eye for a country', thereby reducing the 'thrill' and

'understanding' gleaned from traditional fieldwork (1973, p. 111). The move towards field research was in response to the broader methodological developments within the discipline that advocated the scientific method and pedagogical trends towards more student-centred heuristic learning (Rynne, 1998). The intensive, small-scale nature of field research was therefore similar to the small-scale analysis of surface processes that had been the dominant approach in geomorphology since the 1960s (Summerfield, 2005). Although the hypothetico-deductive system had become the leading framework for fieldwork by the 1970s, the approach has been subject to criticism (Job, 1996). A reliance on logical positivism was thought to undermine the authority of non-quantifiable forms of knowledge and experience, thereby refuting the importance of the affective learning domain (Rynne, 1998). Others argued that the use of restricted hypotheses focusing on only one element of a complex system fostered a reductionism that failed to teach a holistic and integrated view of the Earth. Unlike the traditional approach to fieldwork, this nomothetic, law-seeking approach was criticised for failing to teach a sense of place. However, both the traditional approach and the hypothetico-deductive system have been criticised for failing to include a critical interpretation of the landscape (Job, 1996). Caton (2006) has also argued that the hypothetico-deductive approach may not fully develop students' conceptual understanding. This may be partly due to the over-emphasis on data collection and presentation, but it may also be due to the tendency to discuss conceptual issues back in the classroom when the data has been collected rather than out in the field (Harvey, 1991; Rynne, 1998).

Despite these criticisms, hypothesis-testing and data collection in fieldwork remains popular in schools today (Job *et al.*, 1999). However, the criticisms of the hypothetico-deductive system have not gone unheeded, since they contributed towards the emergence of an enquiry-based approach to fieldwork. The rise of enquiry-based fieldwork was also fuelled by physical geography's search for relevance and application, the development of humanistic and behaviourally-orientated approaches in human geography, the desire to foster greater student autonomy, and increased concern over misuse of the Earth and its resources (Job, 1996). Enquiry-based strategies

were heavily influenced by the work of the Geography 16–19 Project Team in the 1980s (Hart, 1983). It was also around this time that fieldwork became an officially recognised part of geographical education for all ages with the advent of the National Curriculum in 1988 (Walford, 2001). Enquiry-based fieldwork adopted more heuristic approaches to the study of people–environment issues, representing a move away from the primacy of the visual. However, critics have argued that this approach also suffers from reductionism because the questions that are asked are frequently too narrow.

Such concerns have led to the development of a range of qualitative fieldwork strategies in recent years. Job (1996, 1997, 1999) has been a particularly influential contributor to this field. Caton (2006) has identified four main categories of qualitative fieldwork: sensory fieldwork, trails and expeditions, discovery fieldwork and fieldwork for sustainable development. Such approaches typically adopt a heuristic, student-centred approach to learning to varying degrees. Sensory fieldwork, for example, encourages students to explore the environment through their senses. This approach capitalises on the embodied nature of fieldwork and is exemplified by the 'Mywalks' web-based project undertaken by Fuller *et al.* (2008). The Mywalks project encourages students to consider how vision, sound, touch and smell influence their emotional responses to different environments. Discovery fieldwork is potentially the most heuristic, since 'the entire direction and focus of a study should arise from a student's spontaneous interaction with an environment' (Job, 1996, p. 39). Here the teacher functions as an animateur, responding to a student's spontaneous interest in an environment. Such qualitative approaches arguably provide a richer educational experience as a result of engaging with the students' feelings and emotions, but, Caton (2006) argues, careful management is needed to ensure that students produce worthwhile outcomes.

Recent developments within geography have placed further emphasis on student-centred learning in the field. Research has demonstrated how attendance to the emotional and sensory nature of young people's everyday geographies may support the development of geography fieldwork in secondary schools (Cook, 2010). Such

work overlaps with the Young People's Geographies project, run by the GA, which seeks to make young people's lives and experiences a central part of the school curriculum. Specifically, the project aims to bridge the perceived gap between students' lived geographies, school geography and academic geography by recognising the agency of young people and giving voice to their experiences (Firth and Biddulph, 2009). The project has encouraged students to record their personal experiences in the field through a variety of different means, including using images to explore students' personal geographies (see Monahan, 2009). Such activities may be used to develop students' sense of place and local cultural heritage, important facets of fieldwork's evolving secondary agenda. A far cry from custodians of the land in the early 20th century, fieldwork today is increasingly used to explore issues of identity, diversity and citizenship, as exemplified by the recent 'Who Do We Think We Are' project supported by the RGS.

Conclusion

Geography fieldwork in British schools has developed in response to many different influences, both from inside and outside of the discipline, and it continues to evolve today. From within the discipline, the exploratory tradition, the regional tradition, observation and empiricism have all played important roles in the development of fieldwork in the geography curriculum (Gold *et al.*, 1991). Perhaps partly a result of this complexity, the developmental process has not been linear in nature. Historically, a lack of integration between the different proponents of fieldwork such as the GA, the SJA and the FSC has meant that considerable overlap and repetition has occurred.



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Indeed, 'many were the post-war articles which re-invented the wheel of field work and school journeying, as though they had never been conceived before' (Marsden, 1998, p. 93). These different influences have undoubtedly played their part in shaping the multifaceted fieldwork agenda that is evident today.

We find ourselves at a potentially exciting time for the future development of geography fieldwork, as the move towards student-centred learning in the field continues to gain momentum. Only time will tell how this affects the future of teaching and learning in the field. While educational research has started to recognise and value the diversity of lived experiences that young people, as active agents, bring to the fieldwork teaching and learning process, many are still constructed as passive observers in the field.

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Ecotourism in Amazonian Peru: uniting tourism, conservation and community development

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ABSTRACT: With reference to two ecotourism enterprises that operate within Tambopata, Peru, this article evaluates key principles necessary to enable the successful achievement of ecotourism in a little-developed tropical forest region. In so doing, it highlights the intricacies of the relationship between ecotourism, environmental conservation and local community development. Principles are identified as i) empowering communities by integrating them in an ecotourism venture; ii) exchanging knowledge between a community and tour operator; iii) managing forest resources jointly between a community and tour operator; iv) minimising local economic leakage; v) educating tourists through interpretive programmes; and vi) minimising environmental and wildlife disturbance. The article offers cautious optimism that the tourism enterprises are consciously helping to protect the rainforest of Tambopata, while meeting the socio-economic needs of the local communities.

Introduction

Ecotourism has been defined as 'environmentally responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people' (The Ecotourism Society cited in Western, 1993, p. 8). Ecotourism should involve local people, feed economic profit into local environmental protection, and contribute to the maintenance of local species diversity by minimising visitor impact and promoting tourist education. The challenge is to accommodate increasing numbers of visitors seeking an intrinsically environmental tourism experience, while minimising the costs and enhancing the benefits associated with natural area tourism (Boo, 1990; Cater and Lowman, 1994). As such, ecotourism is being promoted by governments and the tourism industry alike as a sustainable alternative to mass tourism, despite criticisms that it can be just as damaging to the natural environment and local cultures (Wheeller, 1991; Conservation International, 1999; Kruger, 2005).

Peru is the third largest country in South America, comprising three distinct physical regions: the western desert coast, the central mountainous inter-Andean region, and the eastern lowland tropical forest which occupies the upper reaches of the Amazon River (O'Hare and Barrett, 1999). Here, we investigate two ecotourism enterprises operating within the Department of Madre de Dios in south-eastern Amazonian Peru. We evaluate key principles necessary to enable successful achievement of ecotourism in a little-developed tropical forest region and thus highlight the intricacies of the relationship between ecotourism, environmental conservation and local community development.

Study area

South-eastern Peru is a hotspot of biological diversity and this is reflected in its status as one of the most protected regions in Amazonia (Phillips, 1993; Myers *et al.*, 2000; Hill and Hill, 2001). This article makes reference to the

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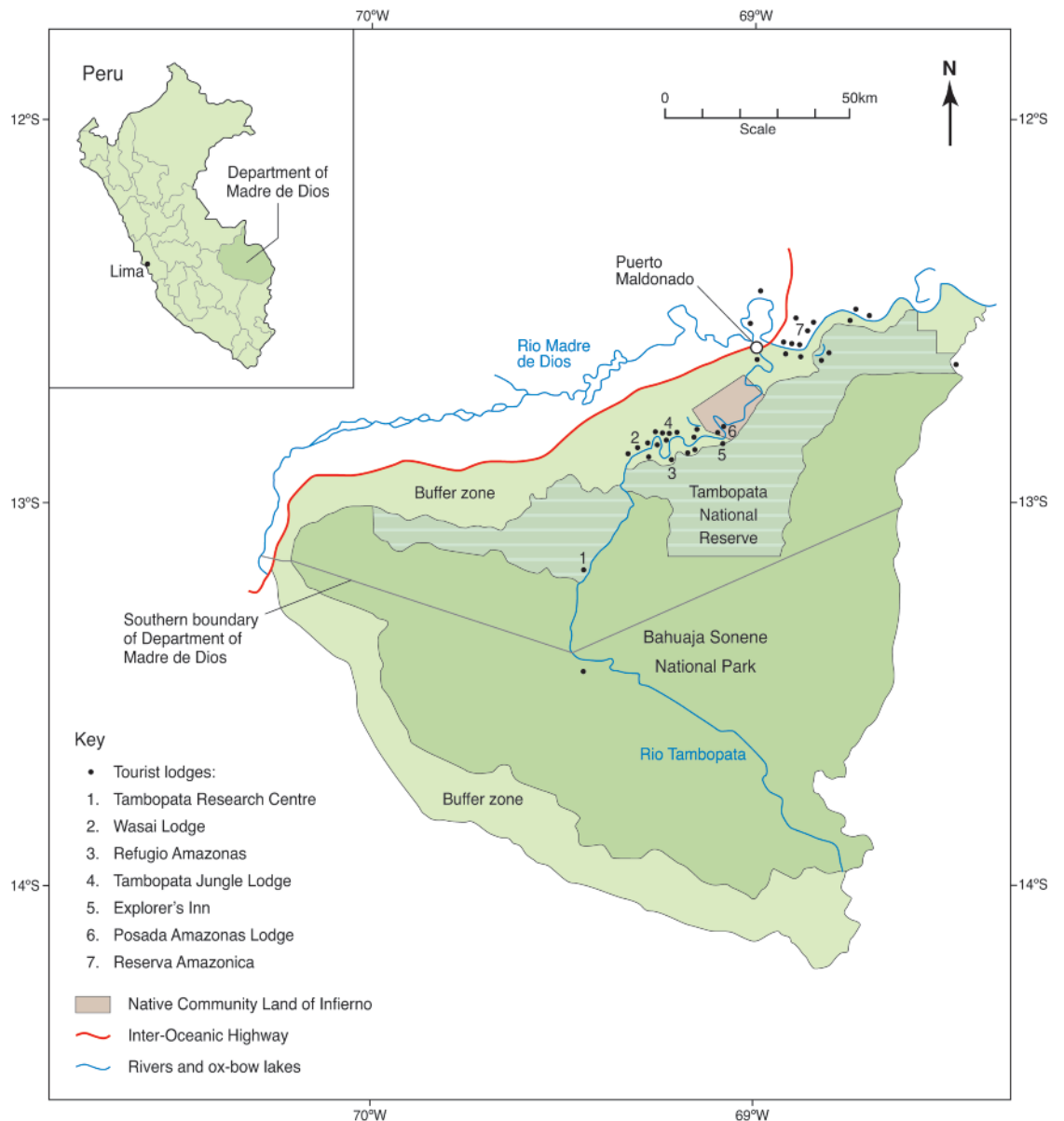
Tambopata National Reserve (TNR), created in 2000 with an area of 274,690ha, and the Bahuaja Sonene National Park (BSNP), first created in 1996 and subsequently extended in 2000 to an area of 1.1 million ha (Figure 1). Unlike National Park status, the National Reserve designation officially permits sustainable use of forest resources into the future (Matsufuji and Bayly, 2006). The TNR and BSNP together support 1300 bird species, 200 mammal species and approximately 10,000 plant species (INRENA, undated). The key attractions for tourists include relatively abundant populations of monkeys, macaws, giant river otters and harpy eagles.

In 2006 over 40,000 visitors passed through Puerto Maldonado on their way to the Tambopata rainforest (Kirkby *et al.*, 2008). While the key motive for visiting the area is to experience an

exotic location relatively close to Cusco, tourists have also expressed an interest in learning about the forest ecosystem and its conservation (Kirkby, 2002). Increasing numbers of visitors to the region have prompted a rise in the number of eco-lodges along the Madre de Dios and Tambopata rivers: from 14 in 1998 to 37 by 2007 (Kirkby *et al.*, 2008) (Figure 1).

Two ecotourism enterprises are examined here: Inkaterra, a Peruvian ecotourism company that has offered ecotourism experiences since the mid-1970s; and Rainforest Expeditions, a private ecotourism company founded in 1992 by two Peruvian conservationists. Inkaterra's mission is to generate profit while simultaneously helping to research and preserve the local ecology as well as aiding the sustainable development of local communities. The company has established a

Figure 1: The Tambopata region in the Department of Madre de Dios, south-east Peru, showing the many tourist establishments in the area and their relationship to protected areas. Source: Paul Revell.



parallel non-governmental organisation, the INKA TERRA Association (ITA-NGO), which is funded by profits gained from ecotourism and which invests in research, conservation, social development and education. The company owns and operates Reserva Amazonica Lodge (formerly known as Cuzco-Amazonico), which opened in 1976 as the first tourist installation along the Madre de Dios River. Rainforest Expeditions combines tourism with environmental education, research and local sustainable development to support the conservation of the areas in which they operate. The company manages three rainforest lodges: the Tambopata Research Centre (opened 1989), Posada Amazonas Lodge (opened 1998) and Refugio Amazonas Lodge (opened 2006). For the purpose of this article, only Posada Amazonas Lodge of Rainforest Expeditions and Reserva Amazonica Lodge of Inkaterra are examined.

The two enterprises were selected because of their long history in the region as well as their focus on environmental conservation and community development through tourism. There is a notable difference between the enterprises, however, with respect to the extent of community participation. The Posada Amazonas venture is highly participatory, displaying many characteristics of community-based ecotourism (Cusack and Dixon, 2006). The lodge is owned by the Ese'ejá Native Community of Infierno (a mix of native Indians and immigrant peoples) and is operated jointly with

Rainforest Expeditions. Reserva Amazonica, by contrast, is owned and managed by Inkaterra and involves local community members as employees and service providers. This difference is primarily a result of the geographical locations of the lodges and their relative accessibility to Puerto Maldonado (Figure 1). The Reserva Amazonica Lodge is located on the Madre de Dios River, approximately 13km east-north-east of Puerto Maldonado and less than 5km north of the TNR. The Posada Amazonas Lodge is located on the Tambopata River, approximately 25km south-south-west of Puerto Maldonado. It falls just outside the protected area of TNR and within the native community land of Infierno. These differences in location and participation help to draw out some distinct issues for consideration with respect to the achievement of ecotourism.

Research methods

A case study approach was adopted to investigate ecotourism in context and to provide a detailed source of reference material (Buckley, 2003). Primary data were obtained by participant activity in the ecotour products of the two companies. Field research was carried out for two weeks in April 2006, when the authors undertook a three-day ecotour at Reserva Amazonica Lodge, followed by a five-day ecotour at Posada Amazonas Lodge and the Tambopata Research Centre. In order to ensure an authentic experience and avoid bias in product delivery, the authors elected to identify themselves

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Figure 2: The reception building at Inkaterra's Reserva Amazonica Lodge. Photo: © Jennifer Hill

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as academic tourists at the close of each ecotour. At this point they also obtained permission from the lodge managers and the tour guides to publish comments and observations. Factual statements originating from all interviewees are referred to as personal communications with the respondent's initials in the results.

Key informant interviews were undertaken with the lodge managers (Chris Blakeley at Reserva Amazonica and Malu Gutierrez at Posada Amazonas) and allocated local interpretive guides (Yuri Torres and Oscar Mishaja at Reserva Amazonica and Posada Amazonas respectively). The lodge manager interviews were in-depth and semi-structured, each lasting one and a half hours and focusing on: the lodge's tourism mission; the operator's role in mitigating the impacts of lodge operations and visitor activities on local environments and cultures; the role of visitor education in the ecotourism experience; the nature and extent of community participation in lodge enterprises; and the destination of company revenue. Interviews with the interpretive guides were shorter and more informal, focusing on the role of the guide in visitor education and the extent of local community involvement in lodge operations. Finally, after the authors' return to the

UK, Kurt Holle, a co-founder and co-director of Rainforest Expeditions, answered the same semi-structured questions as the lodge managers via email. Mr Holle provided direct access to the motivations of Rainforest Expeditions and supplied first-hand economic and socio-cultural data about the company. Secondary data were accessed from unpublished reports available from lodge libraries and staff during the field visits. This information was combined with published material from diverse subject backgrounds.

Results

Reserva Amazonica Lodge

The Reserva Amazonica Lodge (RAL) was opened in 1976, and in 1977 the Peruvian government granted the lodge an ecological reserve totalling 10,000ha to administer ecotourism and research (Kirkby *et al.*, 2000). In 1990, however, a new government failed to renew the reserve status of the land and, subsequently, it was partially colonised by settlers. Undeterred, in 2004, Inkaterra obtained government approval for an ecotourism concession over the land by signing a benefit-sharing agreement with neighbouring communities and demonstrating ongoing sustainable ecological management. The status of the Inkaterra Ecological Reserve today prohibits the extraction or conversion of natural resources by local inhabitants (CB personal communication). This allows Inkaterra to act as a direct agent of conservation, but the arrangement necessitates making payments to communities in cash and kind as described below.

Lodge buildings (including 34 private cabins) are constructed from local materials in the traditional architectural style of the native Ese'eja Community. The buildings consequently have a low visual impact in the landscape (personal observation). The reception is thatched in the traditional style and includes a circular mezzanine, built around the trunk of a strangler fig, with balconies overlooking the Madre de Dios River and surrounding forest (Figure 2). To minimise energy use by visitors, no electricity is supplied to cabins, and kerosene lamps and candles provide lighting. Most cabins have cold water supplies and visitors are advised to use the resource sparingly (personal observation). Non-biodegradable tourist waste is taken off-site and organic waste is composted at the lodge or used as animal fodder by community members (CB personal communication).

Figure 3: Section of canopy walkway close to Reserva Amazonica Lodge. Photo: © Ross Hill



The lodge receives general interest tourists who usually stay for three days, predominantly as part of international package tours to Peru (CB personal communication). The lodge possesses the oldest rainforest trail system in the area, with four marked trails covering 8km and providing access to a variety of forest types. Inkaterra offers guided walks along the shorter trails, with visitors exploring the longer trails at their leisure. Visitor impact on the environment is thereby limited spatially to these trails. Additionally, Inkaterra, in partnership with the World Bank and National Geographic Society, has constructed a canopy walkway close to the lodge (Figure 3). This consists of 275m of bridges raised 30m above the ground providing views of the rainforest canopy. In total, there are two towers accessing the vertical profile of the forest, six platforms for viewing wildlife and seven hanging bridges (personal observation). A small fee allows access to the walkway and provides entrance to an interpretation centre. Information in the centre describes the vertical stratification of the forest and the specialised types of flora and fauna that can be found in different forest layers. The economic benefits derived from the walkway contribute to education and conservation projects in the Ese'eja Community (YT personal communication).

At RAL information is supplied to visitors in a number of different ways. Pre-departure information includes ecological detail about the site and its biological diversity. An interpretive eco-centre on site explains how tourist activities benefit the local community and environment. Most importantly, field interpretation by guides is related to current research, and slide shows about the local ecology (including information gathered from research projects on-site) are presented to tourists after evening meals (personal observation).

Figure 4 shows the itinerary for a typical three-day stay. The manager at Inkaterra stressed the importance of a small group experience to his clients (CB personal communication). Walks undertaken by the authors on the lodge's trail system consisted of tourist-to-guide ratios of 4:1 or 2:1. Minimising visitor numbers per guide ensures a personal experience and reduces disturbance to wildlife. This has been demonstrated by a 23-month study into the relationship between tourist traffic on trails and the diversity of 26 species of large mammal across five lodges in the region,

including RAL. The study found no significant difference in species richness of mammals between tourist trails and non-trafficked pathways (Kirkby *et al.*, 2000).

The Peruvian guide who accompanied the authors during their ecotour was very knowledgeable about rainforest ecology and conservation, providing high quality bespoke interpretation. During a visit to Lake Sandoval, visitors walked 3km to an ox-bow lake, stopping at a visitor centre to examine interpretive information. The guide walked the visitors around information boards, explaining the formation of the lake and how successional vegetation change is causing the lake to in-fill slowly over time, while contributing to local species richness.

Inkaterra promotes biological research within its Ecological Reserve, most of which is driven by the academic interests of visiting scientists. Revenue from its primary economic activity, ecotourism, is used to defray the expense of the biologists working in the reserve (CB personal communication). In association with the National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA) the company funds and manages a primate rescue centre on Rolin Island in the Madre de Dios River to rehabilitate endangered monkeys and to reintroduce them into their natural habitat. Since 2003, Inkaterra has operated the Amazon Centre for Environmental Education and Research (ACEER). This initiative is sponsored by the National Geographic Society and it co-ordinates projects that benefit the local communities, such as an environmental education programme for school students. Although accommodation at

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Figure 4: *Itinerary experienced by the authors at Reserva Amazonica Lodge over a three-day stay.*

Day 1 (half day)

Boat journey (45 minutes) along the Madre de Dios River to the lodge. Introduction to the lodge, including guest rules in camp and in the ecosystem. Guided walk along the lodge's trail system. Evening nature presentation on Amazon ecosystems and local communities in the eco-centre.

Day 2 (full day)

Morning trip by boat to Rolin Island in the Madre de Dios River to visit primate conservation project and

then to Lake Sandoval by boat, foot and canoe. Afternoon visits to the canopy walkway to view birdlife and to a native Amazonian farm to sample regional fruits and learn about farming practices. Evening river tour to encounter black, white and dwarf caimans. Nightwalk locally around the lodge to find tarantula spiders and other nocturnal wildlife.

Day 3 (half day)

Early morning visit to the canopy walkway and forest trails. Tour of a butterfly farm at Puerto Maldonado.

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Figure 5: *Itinerary experienced by the authors at Posada Amazonas Lodge and the Tambopata Research Centre over a five-day stay.*

ACEER is primarily for researchers, ecotourists may also visit the centre (see ACEER website). The project fosters awareness of rainforest conservation among local, national and international stakeholders, including communities, government agencies, tourists and academic groups (CB personal communication).

Inkaterra also supports development in the surrounding native communities. Training in sustainable forest management and agriculture (including crop rotation, natural pest control, soil management) has been initiated for communities surrounding the lodge, with funding from the United Nations Global Environment Facility (CB personal communication). Tourists, with their interpretive guide, can visit farms belonging to families of the Lorin or Gamitana communities. Visitors are informed about farming practices and are encouraged to taste the local 'exotic' fruits (personal observation). The farmers receive remittance from Inkaterra for allowing tourists as visitors and they gain extra money from the sale of craft items (YT personal communication). A small shop at RAL also sells a variety of locally-sourced handicrafts, in addition to Inkaterra products (personal observation).

Posada Amazonas Lodge

The Posada Amazonas Lodge (PAL) is constructed from local materials purchased from the Ese'eja Community and is relatively compact in size to minimise its ecological footprint (c. 1.5ha) (MG personal communication). The 30-room lodge combines traditional indigenous architecture with low-impact modern technology. The 'walls' of rooms facing the forest are open verandahs to allow contact with nature, while those separating rooms incorporate clay to regulate heat naturally (personal observation). The operation of the lodge follows the same principles of resource sustainability as described for RAL above (MG personal communication).

The Ese'eja Community became interested in developing an ecotourism partnership with Rainforest Expeditions as competition for diminishing resources within its communal lands increased (Piana, 2000; UNDP, 2006). The mission of the partnership is to develop a profitable ecotourism product that effectively catalyses the conservation of natural and cultural resources (Nycander and Holle, 1996). To this end, Rainforest Expeditions brings commercial expertise in the wildlife and cultural tourism market, and the Ese'eja Community brings ownership of biologically diverse land and cultural heritage. A legal contract was signed by both Rainforest Expeditions and the community in 1996, producing a democratically elected 10-member Ecotourism Committee. The Committee represents the community in the partnership and is elected by communal assembly every two years. It includes roughly equal participation of Ese'eja and immigrant men and women (Pauca, 2001). This 20-year contract guarantees that 60% of the profits from the lodge go to the local community and that decision making is split equally among the two partners. Full operation of the lodge will be passed to the local community in 2016, entitling it to 100% of the profit. It is expected that by then the community will have the capacity to manage the lodge without external assistance.

Rainforest Expeditions trains community residents to occupy lodge positions and, currently, nearly all staff members working at the lodge are from the native community (Nycander *et al.*, 2006). Apart from guides, the allocation of jobs follows a rotational system where, after the Ecotourism Committee has shortlisted applications each year

Day 1 (half day)

Boat journey (approximately 2.5 hours) along the Tambopata River to Posada Amazonas Lodge. Introduction to the lodge, including guest rules in camp and in the ecosystem. Introduction to the Ecotourism Partnership. Visit 35m-high tower to view rainforest canopy and wildlife. Evening video presentation about the rainforest of Tambopata.

Day 2 (full day)

Visit Tres Chimbadas ox-bow lake – a river otter habitat. Undertake a raft ride around the lake to view wildlife and to fish for piranha. Continue journey (approximately 6.5 hours) to the Tambopata Research Centre. Lodge orientation and guided ecological walk on forest trails (12km). Evening educational lecture on Tambopata macaws.

Day 3 (full day)

Dawn visit to a local macaw/parrot clay lick. Guided ecological walk on forest trails. Guided walk to an observation tower at a palm swamp to view a macaw nesting site. Guided night walk on forest trails.

Day 4 (full day)

Dawn visit to a local macaw/parrot clay lick. Return journey to Posada Amazonas Lodge. Visit a local farm to view and taste the farm products. Guided walk along forest trails.

Day 5 (half day)

Guided walk along forest trail for dawn visit to 35m-high canopy tower. View rainforest canopy and wildlife. Return to Puerto Maldonado.

and suitable training has occurred, each employee works at the lodge for two years before passing on the position to another community member. This helps to spread income throughout the community and means that community members leave as qualified workers. Currently, more than 50 of approximately 130 families in the community are involved in the venture; either directly as staff members, or indirectly as suppliers or members of the Ecotourism Committee. The partnership is also committed to diversifying income. Thus, community crafts are sold at the lodge if they are equal in quality and price to those available elsewhere in the market (MG personal communication). The local community is able to express its voice through the Ecotourism Committee, which holds twice-monthly meetings with Rainforest Expeditions staff to make decisions about hiring employees, solving staff problems and implementing itinerary improvements (KH personal communication).

Visitors to PAL travel predominantly with all-inclusive tour operators and they generally undertake between three- and five-day tours (MG personal communication) (see Figure 5). The tourist-to-guide ratio does not exceed 10:1 in order to minimise environmental impacts and disturbance to wildlife (OM personal communication). The authors actually experienced

a tourist-to-guide ratio of 2:1 on a five-day ecotour, undertaken with a guide from the Ese'eja Community. Rainforest Expeditions directors recognise the importance of interpretive guides to visitors: 'The guides make or break the guest's experience' (KH personal communication). The guide accompanying the authors proved to be extremely knowledgeable about local species, ecosystem functioning and conservation issues. During a visit to Tres Chimbadas Lake, for example, he indicated that it is the responsibility of community members to protect the lake. He conveyed to visitors how this occurred during a raft trip round the lake (Figure 6). Following a Frankfurt Zoological Society management plan to preserve the populations of endangered giant river otters that inhabit the lake, tourists are restricted to its eastern half. The western half, which has high banks suitable for otter holts, is off-limits to tourists. This management plan has reduced human impacts on the otters, which have been recorded swimming, fishing and relaxing on the eastern side of the lake on a regular basis, even when visitor boats are present (Dehnert, 2003).

The contract between Rainforest Expeditions and the Ese'eja Community involves community responsibility for biological conservation (KH personal communication). PAL is located within

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Figure 6: *Wildlife observation from a manually powered raft on Tres Chimbadas Lake. Photo: © Jennifer Hill*

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10,000ha of communally owned land, 2000ha of which are protected voluntarily (Nycander *et al.*, 2006). Hunting of wildlife considered a tourism resource, such as jaguars, harpy eagles and macaws, is prohibited on this land. Likewise, the community has committed not to fell trees in the areas designated for ecotourism (Nycander and Holle, 1996). There is an ongoing community



Figure 7: A scarlet macaw, one of the key tourist attractions in the Tambopata rainforest. Photo: © Ross Hill

project aimed at conserving macaw populations on the community's lands, assuming that this will be beneficial not only to the breeding success of the birds but also to the long-term success of the lodge (Figure 7). Over the short term, the project provides employment in the form of project assistants and offers small cash rewards for families that agree to host a macaw nest box on their land (roughly US\$25 initially plus a further US\$25 if one or more chicks fledge). Over the long-term, the project aims to increase the quality and quantity of tourist macaw sightings by increasing macaw reproduction rates (Brightsmith, 2001).

A number of community projects have been established to promote capacity building and profitable business opportunities (KH personal communication). A computer house has been constructed for primary and secondary students, financed by families who work at PAL and who have children in the schools that will be serviced by the centre. In 2000 a US\$50,000 World Bank grant helped to initiate an artisans committee with 25 community residents using local materials to create tourism products (Pauca, 2001).

Income generated from the lodge is invested in the community. In 2000, net profits paid from the lodge to the community were approximately US\$15,000 – three-quarters of which was divided among community members and the remainder used for investment in education (UNDP, 2006). By 2007 the figure had risen to US\$148,000, again distributed between private improvements in living standards and communal projects (KH personal communication). Positively, most families continue to engage in a variety of economic activities including farming and livestock-tending, thus avoiding becoming totally reliant on a single source of income (Stronza, 2007).

Discussion

Successful ecotourism requires fulfilment of socio-cultural, economic, natural and political objectives. Rainforest Expeditions adopts a fundamental social principle with respect to the achievement of ecotourism; committing to community integration in the ecotourism venture (Cole, 2006; Okazaki, 2008). Community empowerment is identified as a priority, a responsibility that is recognised by the community. A survey of 69 community members, undertaken by the Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund, found that 87% of the respondents felt involved in the business of PAL (Rainforest Expeditions, undated). However, in diverse communities, culture and gender differences can limit democratic co-management of ecotourism and conservation (Mitchell and Eagles, 2001; Mitchell and Reid, 2001; Southgate, 2006). Some conflicts of interest exist in the Ese'aja Community due to ethnic differences among community members (KH personal communication). Likewise, in terms of gender, Stronza (2001) found that fewer women participated in the Posada Amazonas venture simply because taking up employment at the lodge meant living there and neglecting their household duties. However, at the time of writing, the president of the Ecotourism Committee and 80% of handicraft suppliers were women. Additionally, the majority of lodge managers appointed by Rainforest Expeditions have been women (KH personal communication). Conversely, there has been less integration of local communities into the management of RAL. Inkaterra owns and manages the lodge entirely, but it does employ local community members as lodge workers, artisans, guides and boat handlers. This situation can be explained largely by historical forces. With degradation of forest occurring rapidly in the early

1970s, due to uncontrolled land speculation (Yu *et al.*, 1997), the establishment of an ecotourism lodge and associated ecological reserve was the fastest and most effective way to protect a threatened resource.

It is important to facilitate knowledge exchange between the ecotour operator and the community, and to foster the equitable spread of information throughout the latter (Vincent and Thompson, 2002). Communities must be able to state their demands and negotiate equitable relationships with agencies in ecotourism development so as to make informed decisions about their tourism development (Cole, 2006). There is an important role here for community organisations such as the Rainforest Expeditions Ecotourism Committee, which allows ongoing interchange between community members and the company directors. At RAL, with a diversity of ethnic groups surrounding the lodge (making information transfer and community consensus difficult), there is currently less of a two-way articulation between tour operator and the community compared with Rainforest Expeditions. This means that enthusiasm and vision come primarily from the tour operator (top-down) rather than the community (bottom-up).

Training in managerial skills is necessary if communities are to accept increasing responsibility for ecotourism ventures in the future (Victurine, 2000). To overcome the challenge of instilling these skills, Rainforest Expeditions employs an adaptive management strategy (learning by doing) in the operation and management of its lodges. Likewise, Inkaterra trains local community members to manage sectors of its activities in order to improve community managerial capacity.

Joint management of natural resources between a community and tour operator can offer a means of utilising resources sustainably. Ceding of authority to a local community and allowing its members to decide how local resources are used, can be a powerful incentive to alter behaviour towards conservation and thereby protection of natural resources. This is witnessed in the Ese'ejá Community commitment not to hunt wildlife considered a tourism resource, nor to log forest in areas designated for ecotourism. As one community member noted 'we do not have many

development options, but we do have flora and fauna' (Stronza, 2001, p. 9). This is supported by a constant message from the ecotour operator that natural resources attract tourists and hence provide revenue for the community.

Economically, income generated by tourists to a region should be maintained in place and not lost to outside companies who transmit their wealth to headquarters in distant cities (Ashley and Roe, 1998). By offering a full range of tourist services through the companies directly (including employment of local people and using local products) both Rainforest Expeditions and Inkaterra reduce such economic leakage. Integration of the communities into lodge operations ensures that the local people gain direct financial investment.

Environmentally, ecotour operators should aim to develop visitors' knowledge and awareness of the natural environment and minimise local wildlife disturbance (Lee and Moscardo, 2005). Both lodges examined explicitly link tourism and education via interpretive programmes for visitors. Tourists are restricted to small groups in the forest in order to minimise impacts on ecosystems, and (as stated above) there is evidence that such management is protecting species diversity locally. Eco-lodge owners depend upon the protection of the surrounding natural assets as part of their business plans. A primary aim at RAL is to maintain the biodiversity of its ecological reserve under increasing pressure from human activities. The reserve is under threat from illegal loggers who operate businesses in nearby Puerto Maldonado and from some community members hunting within the reserve. This venture highlights the tension that can exist between the conservation interests of ecotourism and the livelihood interests of communities (Salum, 2009). In recent years the tension has been resolved partially through formal agreements with local communities in which they receive assistance to improve their quality of life without damaging the forest. This has included technical assistance to improve farm yields and to manage the forest sustainably. In return, the communities agree to help protect the ecological reserve.

Politically, for successful ecotourism to spread more widely (a strategic direction of Peru's Ministry of Tourism) there needs to be government support in terms of legal land entitlement. The Ese'ejá

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Community holds legal title to its land; and Inkaterra holds an ecotourism concession which affords it management control over the forest surrounding its lodge. At both lodges, therefore, tourist income is invested directly in forest and wildlife protection. Legally reserved status for broad areas of tropical forest, in which concessions are awarded based on ecotourism merit, would ensure protection of much larger and less fragmented areas of forest. Such extensive areas of forest are necessary to maintain ecosystem processes (Hill and Curran, 2001, 2003, 2005) as well as to support ecotourism. Thus, any controlled expansion of ecotourism in the rainforest of Peru, via community participation, is likely to be most effective as a component of broad conservation and development strategies, linked to national policy legislation.

Conclusions

Conscientious ecotour operators adopt four broad codes of socio-ecological and political conduct: indigenous community participation/development (employing and consuming locally, imparting management skills); visitor education (provision of pre-departure guidelines, in situ interpretation); environmental conservation (operating in small groups, minimising visitor environmental impact, avoiding wasteful practices); and minimising economic leakage (employing local people, consuming local products).

The research presented here describes two largely successful examples of ecotourism, but the extent of success is influenced by the level of community participation. While Inkaterra has, to a large extent, protected the forest surrounding its lodge and spread the economic benefits of ecotourism throughout the local communities by offering direct employment opportunities and supplying goods and services to local residents, a lack of full community participation has resulted in partial disturbance of its ecological reserve by local inhabitants and the company is unable to engender the capacity for residents to plan a sustainable future for themselves. Conversely, Rainforest Expeditions has encouraged local residents to be active participants in making tourism a long-term option for their livelihoods. The Posada Amazonas Lodge enterprise provides a good example of community integration in ecotourism with respect to employment of local people, inclusive decision-making and stakeholder

ownership. However, the positive impact of full participation may not be universal (Wunder, 2000). It depends on the ability of the ecotour operator and local community to work together to secure long-term financial and technical support in order to establish a foundation of indigenous leadership and management.

Overall, this research offers cautious optimism that ecotourism at Inkterra's Reserva Amazonica Lodge and Rainforest Expeditions' Posada Amazonas Lodge is consciously helping to protect the rainforest of Tambopata, Peru, while meeting the socio-economic needs of the local communities in a largely sustainable fashion. With due acknowledgement of their varying social and geographic contexts, the enabling principles identified here might be considered in other areas of the wet tropics.

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Football, place
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foreign
footballers in
the FA Premier
League



Football, place and migration: foreign footballers in the FA Premier League

David Storey

ABSTRACT: The connections between sport and geography are many and varied. This article explores one facet of this focusing on the increasing number of foreign-born players in football's Premier League in England. In recent years the league has seen a sizeable influx of players from outside Britain and Ireland, a reflection of an increasingly commercialised game with a global reach. From data on players' places of birth the internationalisation of the game in England is readily apparent, though distinct spatial patterns are clearly evident. However, as the article shows, when information on where players are purchased from is taken into account it becomes clear that the Premier League is more limited in its global reach, with the majority of foreign imports being signed from just six western European countries. The flows of migrant footballers appear to be shaped by various networks and channelled through specific routes.

Introduction

There is a myriad of connections between sport and geography. These include the geographic

distribution of sports and sporting facilities, the economic, social and cultural importance of sport in specific localities, and the connections between culture, identity and sport (see Bale, 1994, 2000, 2002; Vertinsky and Bale, 2004). Looking more specifically at football such issues as the spread and diffusion of the game, and the connections between club, place and community can be explored from a geographical perspective. Football also provides much scope for an exploration of themes of identity at various spatial scales – national, regional, local – whether evident through intense loyalty to a club or bitter rivalries between teams (Finn and Giulianotti, 2000; Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2001). In considering ideas of place and identity in sport in general or football in particular, one area of enquiry is that of the connections between sportspeople and the club or place they represent. Originally teams tended to be composed of players drawn from the club's immediate locality. However, the evolution of scouting networks and a transfer market in players has meant that professional teams are now composed of players drawn from elsewhere in the country and (increasingly) from further afield. A few years ago English club teams were likely to contain at least a sprinkling of players drawn from the locality; now they are much more national, and indeed international, in their reach.

Migration is an important social geographic issue but, despite the pioneering work of John Rooney (1987), the migration of sports people is a relatively under-explored phenomenon. This article explores the comparatively recent influx of players from outside Britain and Ireland into the Football Association (FA) Premier League in England. The increasing transnational mobility of football players might be seen as symptomatic of the globalisation of the sport and an indicator of the lessening of bonds between club and place (Duke, 2002). For the major professional clubs, their players are no longer drawn from the immediate locality or indeed from within the UK or Ireland. The player pool now appears global rather than national and it is this

increasingly diverse make-up that this article examines. More particularly the article maps the geographic origins of players in the Premier League and assesses the extent to which this might be deemed a reflection of broader trends of economic globalisation and transnational migration (see Bale and Maguire, 1994). The analysis is further developed by identifying those countries from which players are bought (as distinct from their native countries), thereby casting light on the migrant routes traversed by footballers.

Football has always had important linkages connecting places. Some clubs were formed by, or as a result of, British migrants, and in some instances this is still reflected in contemporary club names or colours. Athletic Bilbao's origins and English name are due to English migrant workers in the Basque country (Ball, 2003) and a similar explanation accounts for Young Boys in Switzerland, Go Ahead Eagles in the Netherlands and The Strongest in Bolivia, among others (Goldblatt, 2007). The shirt colours worn by Juventus were reputedly borrowed from Notts County (the world's oldest professional club) shortly after the Italian club's formation (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001). Despite this early evidence of international linkages, for many years English football remained somewhat insular with restrictions on the importation of foreign players. While the migration of professional footballers is a long-standing phenomenon, and quite pronounced in countries such as Spain, France and Italy, migration of players into or out of Britain was much less apparent (Taylor, 2006). However, recent years have seen substantial numbers of footballers from other parts of the world arriving in the Premier League (and into the lower tiers in the English league system). This internationalisation has occurred alongside the increasing commercialisation of the game.

Migrating players

Throughout much of its history as an organised sport in England, football in other countries seemed to be viewed as inferior with English clubs, managers and players having little, if anything, to learn from abroad (Harris, 2006). Such was the extent of this detachment that England did not enter the early World Cup competitions and English clubs did not participate in the early years of European club competition. While English clubs employed many Scottish, Welsh and Irish

footballers throughout the 20th century (see McGovern, 2000) a variety of restrictions limited the importation of players from beyond the 'Celtic fringe'. Although there were some earlier imports into the English game, it was not until the 1990s that this really took off. A number of background factors help to account for this dramatic shift. The early 1990s witnessed a significant change in English football with the advent of the FA Premier League in 1992–93. This is, as its name implies, the top level of club football in England and Wales. It formed as a breakaway from the long-established Football League and the Premier League's creation was closely bound up with enhancing revenue generation from the televising of live football matches and from sponsorship. The league itself is sponsored and is currently known as the Barclays Premier League. The advent of satellite television, most notably Sky, led to a much enhanced profile for the game, increased the numbers of people who could watch live football (albeit in pubs or in their own homes rather than actually attending matches) and led to significant sums of money entering the game as clubs enjoyed enhanced revenue from the media coverage. In turn this allowed clubs to pay players higher wages, while (at the same time) the broadcasting of matches outside the UK heightened the profile of English clubs. Both of these elements could be said to have made the Premier League an attractive proposition for foreign footballers.

Overall, from the 1990s onwards the transformation of football into a business (though not necessarily a profitable one for all concerned) is very clear (Conn, 1997). This is amply demonstrated by the acquisition of football clubs by overseas business people – a phenomenon which has been greeted with dismay by some fans. The Russian oligarch Roman Abramovich owns Chelsea; both Manchester United and Liverpool are owned by US businessmen; while Manchester City was purchased by the Abu Dhabi investment group in 2009. Thus, from the early 1990s onwards the league became not only a much more commercialised operation but also one with a wider global reach and a distinct outward vision. Premier League games are now broadcast live in many countries from the USA to China. While this has obvious attractions for advertisers, from the perspective of players it means the league is a global stage on which to appear. More complex

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scouting networks and the proliferation of agents who operate at an international level, combined with the impact of satellite television, has made both clubs and fans much more aware of players from other countries playing in different leagues. The increasing commercialisation of the sport has further contributed to opening up the game in England to overseas players who can substantially boost their earnings and profile, with knock-on effects in terms of sponsorship and product endorsements.

Other factors have also contributed to the freer movement of players. Of particular importance is the impact of what came to be known as the Bosman ruling. Named after the Belgian footballer Jean-Marc Bosman, who took legal action against his club, the result was that from 1995 onwards out-of-contract players were free to join a new club without the payment of a transfer fee, thereby enhancing the freedom of movement of players within and between EU countries. Players now have considerably more power in negotiating the terms of their contracts. In addition, EU employment law has meant that, although there have been attempts to restrict the numbers of foreign players,

footballers are treated like any other workers and are entitled to work in any member state of the EU. The situation is different for players from outside the EU where certain restrictions continue to apply. The contemporary role of agents (operating on behalf of players and clubs in facilitating transfers) in the game also rests on ever-more complex transnational connections. All of these factors have led to the Premier League in England becoming a more attractive option to footballers from various parts of the world.

It is tempting to think of the migration of talent as a borderless phenomenon, reflective of broader migratory trends and characteristic of a more global world (Castles and Miller, 2009). While we can point to the Premier League in England as an apparent example of globalisation, this does not mean that geography is redundant or that borders have disappeared from this aspect of football. There may be a general drift of players to countries with stronger leagues (Spain and Italy, as well as England) but the precise composition of such moves may also be influenced by colonial or cultural (including linguistic) linkages. Thus, many players from Senegal, Togo, Cameroon and Tunisia



Arsenal vs Fulham, 9 May 2010. In the 2009–10 season Arsenal had only four English-born players out of a squad of 30. Fulham had seven out of a squad of 26. Photo: Wonker/Flickr. Reproduced under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic licence.

play in France; while a number of South Americans (particularly Argentinians) play in Spain. Moreover, there are still regulations preventing the movement of non-EU players, and clubs constantly devise strategies to overcome these.

It is also not surprising that the influx of foreign footballers into the Premier League from the late 1990s onwards has been a source of considerable debate among fans, sports journalists and pundits. For some it is seen as a dilution of the national game, with clubs standing accused of losing touch with their locality and many players characterised as mercenaries with no attachment to the place in which they ply their trade. Some discourses display a strong hint of xenophobia very much akin to more general arguments about immigrants. As with other migrants, foreign footballers are sometimes cast as not belonging 'here' and blamed for displacing 'native' workers. Such discourses also tend to echo wider debates surrounding racism and identity in English football (Back *et al.*, 2001; Garland and Rowe, 2001; Millward, 2007).

Foreign footballers in the Premier League

As already indicated, recent years have seen a marked increase in the numbers of foreign-born players (other than those from the Republic of Ireland) in the English leagues, particularly the Premier. Within this, certain 'landmark' moments have been reached. On 26 December 1999 Chelsea's starting line-up for a match at Southampton did not include a single British player. Instead an eclectic multinational selection of French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Brazilian, Nigerian, Romanian, Uruguayan and Norwegian players represented the west London club. Further milestones occurred in 2001–02 when less than half of all players who appeared throughout the season for all clubs in the Premiership were British or Irish. On 14 February 2005, Arsenal's team (including their five substitutes) for a match with Crystal Palace became the first squad not to include a single British or Irish player (Harris, 2006). In a match between Blackburn Rovers and Wigan Athletic on 23 January 2011, 22 different nationalities were represented on the pitch. These examples highlight a sizeable shift in the football transfer market and exemplify the recent trend towards procuring footballers from overseas. When international matches take place, players from the

Premier League turn out to play for a wide range of countries with a sizeable number appearing in such competitions as the African Cup of Nations. It would appear that professional football in England could be viewed as a very specific exemplar of what Vertovec (2007) has referred to as 'super-diversity', where the game depends on migrants drawn from a wide variety of countries and ethnic backgrounds.

An examination of the first team squads of Premier League clubs in the 2009–10 season was conducted using information maintained by the clubs themselves and which appears on their official websites. Information on the players, such as their country of origin and previous clubs, was cross-checked with a range of football websites and publications such as the *Sky Sports Football Yearbook* (Rollin and Rollin, 2009); the latter is generally regarded as an authoritative source of information on the game in Britain.

Looking at the composition of Premier League teams (as at April 2010), it is obvious that the majority of players are not English-born and that a wide range of nationalities is present. Only six clubs had more English-born than non-English-born players in their squads (Table 1). However, 42% of

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Table 1: Country of birth of Premier League players, 2009–10 season.

| Club | in team | Number of players | | |
|-------------------------|---------|-------------------|--|----------------|
| | | born in England | born in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland | born elsewhere |
| Arsenal | 30 | 4 | 1 | 25 |
| Aston Villa | 31 | 18 | 3 | 10 |
| Birmingham City | 31 | 17 | 7 | 7 |
| Blackburn Rovers | 35 | 11 | 5 | 19 |
| Bolton Wanderers | 29 | 12 | 2 | 15 |
| Burnley | 38 | 24 | 7 | 7 |
| Chelsea | 30 | 7 | 0 | 23 |
| Everton | 28 | 13 | 3 | 12 |
| Fulham | 26 | 7 | 5 | 14 |
| Hull City | 39 | 19 | 4 | 16 |
| Liverpool | 34 | 7 | 0 | 27 |
| Manchester City | 35 | 11 | 4 | 20 |
| Manchester Utd | 44 | 16 | 8 | 20 |
| Portsmouth | 26 | 7 | 3 | 16 |
| Stoke City | 35 | 23 | 2 | 10 |
| Sunderland | 29 | 13 | 9 | 7 |
| Tottenham Hotspur | 31 | 16 | 2 | 13 |
| West Ham United | 33 | 16 | 1 | 16 |
| Wigan Athletic | 34 | 10 | 3 | 21 |
| Wolverhampton Wanderers | 40 | 24 | 7 | 9 |

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Table 2: Percentage of Premier League players born in England, 2009–10 season.

| Club | Percentage of players born in England |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Stoke City | 66 |
| Burnley | 63 |
| Wolverhampton Wanderers | 60 |
| Aston Villa | 58 |
| Birmingham City | 55 |
| Tottenham Hotspur | 52 |
| Hull City | 49 |
| West Ham United | 49 |
| Everton | 46 |
| Sunderland | 45 |
| Bolton Wanderers | 41 |
| Manchester United | 36 |
| Blackburn Rovers | 31 |
| Manchester City | 31 |
| Wigan Athletic | 29 |
| Fulham | 27 |
| Portsmouth | 27 |
| Chelsea | 23 |
| Liverpool | 21 |
| Arsenal | 13 |

players are English and a further 12% are from the traditional sources of Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Thus, although there has been an undoubted transformation of the game, it is still the case that just over half the players are drawn from the UK and Ireland. Nevertheless, many of these domestic players are relatively young squad members, most of whom are unlikely to become major stars. While foreign players are ubiquitous throughout the league, the proportions vary considerably between individual clubs. Arsenal has only four English-born players (plus one from Wales) in a squad of 30, while Burnley has 24 English-born out of 38.

Though the relationship is far from clear cut, some of the more successful clubs appear to reach further afield with higher numbers of overseas players. The three clubs with proportionately more non-English-born players – Arsenal, Chelsea and Liverpool – have for some time (together with Manchester United) been seen as the ‘big four’ clubs in the league (although Liverpool only achieved seventh place in the 2009–10 season). The clubs with proportionately least foreign-born players were Stoke City, Burnley and Wolverhampton Wanderers (Table 2). The latter two were newly promoted in 2009–10 from a lower division, and this was only Stoke City’s second season in the Premier League. To some extent this

will relate to the spending power of clubs and their ability to support and sustain international scouting networks. It also reflects levels of organisation and managerial knowledge, the attractiveness of these clubs to players from elsewhere and their ability to pay generally higher wages. It is notable that Hull City had more non-British or Irish players in its squad in 2009–10 (16) than in 2008–09 (9), the club’s first season in the top division. It is also noteworthy that the clubs with the greatest number of nationalities among their playing staff were not necessarily from the largest cities. Instead, the most international teams hail from the north-west towns of Blackburn, Bolton and Wigan with 16, 15 and 14 countries represented in their respective first team squads.

Origins

While the multinational complexion of the Premier League is readily apparent (Table 3), there is also a

| Country of origin | Number of players |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| France | 37 |
| Republic of Ireland | 33 |
| Scotland | 20 |
| Brazil | 17 |
| Spain | 15 |
| Netherlands | 15 |
| Northern Ireland | 13 |
| Nigeria | 12 |
| Wales | 10 |
| USA | 10 |
| Ivory Coast | 9 |
| Senegal | 9 |
| Italy | 8 |
| Germany | 8 |
| Argentina | 8 |
| Hungary | 7 |
| Denmark | 6 |
| Portugal | 6 |
| Ghana | 6 |
| Norway | 6 |
| Serbia | 6 |
| Belgium | 6 |
| Poland | 5 |
| Australia | 5 |
| Democratic Republic of the Congo | 5 |
| Sweden | 5 |
| Czech Republic | 5 |
| South Africa | 5 |
| Other | 71 |

Table 3: Number of players from each country playing for Premier League clubs during the 2009–10 season.

| Region of origin | Number of players |
|---|-------------------|
| Scotland, Wales, | |
| Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland | 76 |
| Other European Union countries | 137 |
| Other Europe | 33 |
| South America | 36 |
| North and Central America and Caribbean | 26 |
| Africa | 55 |
| Australia, New Zealand and Pacific | 7 |
| Middle East | 5 |
| Other Asia | 3 |

Table 4: Non-English-born Premier League players, by region of birth, 2009–10 season.

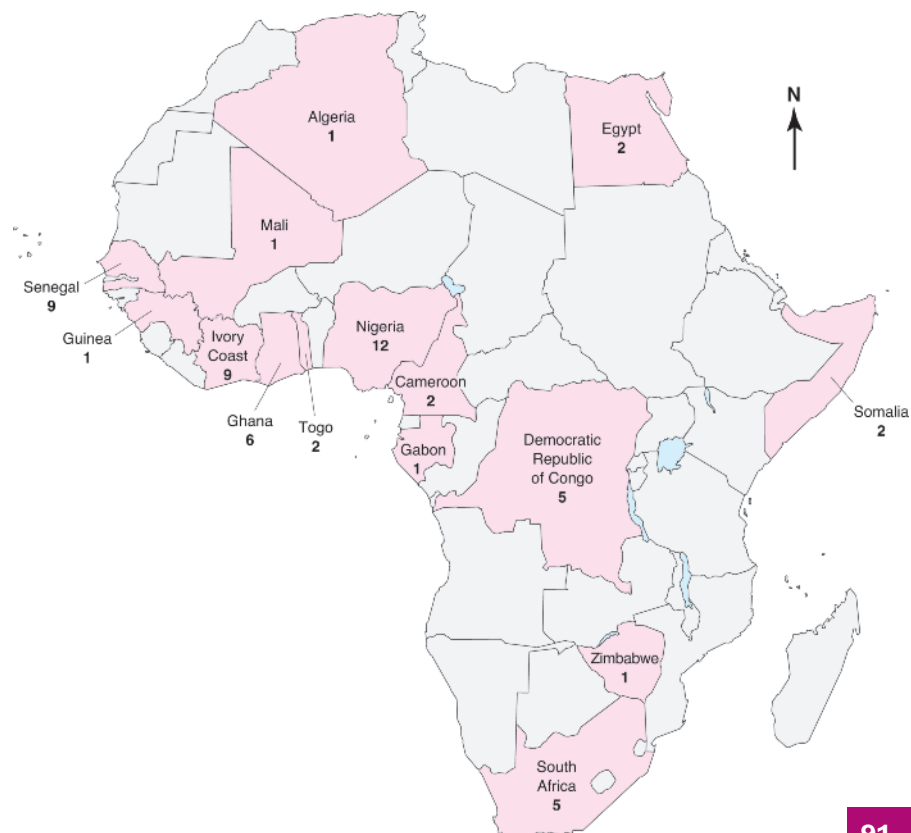
distinct geographical pattern to this, with some regions better represented than others. The majority of foreign players emanate from other European countries, followed some way behind by Africa and South America. Relatively few players from other parts of the world have entered the Premier League (Table 4). In part this reflects both legal issues (such as work permit requirements for non-EU players) and 'cultural' factors such as the development and popularity of football as a sport in certain parts of the world. South America, in particular Brazil and Argentina, are recognised as major footballing heartlands while recent decades have seen the steady rise of a number of African countries as forces to be reckoned with (Nigeria and Ivory Coast for example). This also explains why, even in these regional blocks, a relatively small number of countries dominate the player pool. Brazil and Argentina account for almost three-quarters of South American footballers playing in the league while Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Senegal account for more than half of the African footballers (Figure 1).

Although there may be generic factors attracting players to English clubs there may also be more specific reasons explaining why they arrive at a particular club. Thus, the specific 'ethnic' composition of individual teams may be due to an array of factors. Looking at the clubs with the biggest proportions of foreign-born players, Arsenal, Chelsea and Liverpool were all managed by foreign-born managers in 2009–10: the Frenchman Arsene Wenger manages Arsenal and the Spaniard Rafael Benitez was at Liverpool, while in recent years Chelsea has been managed by three Italians, two Dutchmen, a Portuguese, an Israeli and a Brazilian. Elsewhere, Portsmouth was managed by an Israeli in 2009–10 (Avram Grant),

Wigan by a Spaniard (Roberto Martinez) and Manchester City by an Italian (Roberto Mancini). Although Fulham was managed by an Englishman (Roy Hodgson), he has (unusually for an English manager) extensive experience of managing clubs and international teams in a number of other countries. It could be argued that these clubs benefit from a wider knowledge of, and connection with, players and clubs in other countries. Foreign managers may also retain close connections with their native countries, or with countries in which they previously worked, having a better knowledge of the game, and closer personal contacts, in those countries. Liverpool's team has a notable bias towards players from Spain (five) and Argentina (four), which is probably due to the then Spanish manager and support staff connections. Similarly, Arsenal appear to favour players from France (seven) or French-speaking players (a further five of the squad are from countries in which French is widely spoken), an apparent consequence of the French manager's connections and the club's scouting activities. When the Portuguese Jose Mourinho became Chelsea manager in 2004, one of his first acts was to sign two Portuguese internationals (Paulo Ferreira and Ricardo Carvalho) from his former Portuguese club FC Porto. In 2008, one of Mourinho's successors

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Figure 1: Countries of origin of African footballers in the FA Premier League, 2009–10 season.



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Frenchman Arsène Wenger has managed English Premier League team Arsenal since 1996. In the 2009–10 season Arsenal had seven French-born players, plus another five players from countries where French is widely spoken. Photo: Ronnie Macdonald/Flickr. Reproduced under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic licence.

Table 5: Premier League players classified by country from which they were signed, 2009–10 season.

| Club | Number of players | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| | Total | signed from England | signed from Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland | signed from elsewhere |
| Arsenal | 30 | 6 | 1 | 23 |
| Aston Villa | 31 | 23 | 2 | 6 |
| Birmingham City | 31 | 21 | 6 | 4 |
| Blackburn Rovers | 35 | 21 | 1 | 13 |
| Bolton Wanderers | 29 | 18 | 0 | 11 |
| Burnley | 38 | 26 | 8 | 4 |
| Chelsea | 30 | 8 | 0 | 22 |
| Everton | 28 | 19 | 3 | 6 |
| Fulham | 26 | 17 | 0 | 9 |
| Hull City | 39 | 28 | 4 | 7 |
| Liverpool | 34 | 9 | 1 | 24 |
| Manchester City | 35 | 21 | 1 | 13 |
| Manchester United | 44 | 29 | 0 | 15 |
| Portsmouth | 26 | 17 | 0 | 9 |
| Stoke City | 35 | 34 | 0 | 1 |
| Sunderland | 29 | 21 | 4 | 4 |
| Tottenham Hotspur | 31 | 24 | 0 | 7 |
| West Ham United | 33 | 21 | 1 | 11 |
| Wigan Athletic | 34 | 16 | 3 | 15 |
| Wolverhampton Wanderers | 40 | 32 | 2 | 6 |

at Chelsea, the Brazilian-born former Portugal manager Luiz Felipe Scolari, immediately signed the Brazil-born Portuguese international Deco (Anderson Luís de Souza) from the Spanish club Barcelona. Sunderland has seven Irish-born players (four from the Republic of Ireland and three from Northern Ireland). The fact that the club was owned for a time by an Irish consortium, with former Irish international Niall Quinn as chairman, and was managed for a while by another former Irish international, Roy Keane, would appear more than coincidental. Overseas managers (and those like Roy Hodgson who have overseas experience) may have better knowledge of players in some countries and may specifically maintain links to those leagues. In short, and echoing the work of John Rooney (1987), it is important to emphasise the role of recruitment strategies and networks when exploring the migration of sporting talent.

Flows

While birthplace data are useful in assessing the extent to which footballers from a wide range of countries ply their trade in England, this presents only a partial (and slightly misleading) picture. In order to obtain a clearer assessment of the international connections operating within the English game, it is useful to look at the places from which players are signed rather than their country of birth. In doing so, we find that only three clubs (Arsenal, Chelsea and Liverpool) bought more players from abroad than from England. Many players arrive in the country from abroad, but then move between clubs within England; thus many of what have become known as the ‘foreign legion’ are in fact signed from other clubs in England. Once again the more successful clubs appear more reliant on players purchased from abroad; Stoke City by comparison signed only one player from outside the UK and Ireland (Table 5).

The key finding here is that the spatial reach of England’s top tier is more restricted than might appear at first glance. One-third of foreign-born players are recruited within England. Only 25 players were signed from clubs outside Europe and over half the players were signed from clubs in just six western European countries. France alone accounts for over one-fifth of imports (Table 6). An element in this of course is that EU players have freedom of movement, whereas players arriving from non-EU countries are subject to immigration regulations. Other relevant issues here include the

geography of scouting networks which tend to heighten the 'visibility' of players in some leagues rather than others. It is striking that of the 55 African-born players in the Premier League only two were signed directly from clubs on that continent. Many African-born players are picked up from French clubs because they have grown up in France. Clubs in other countries, such as France, do purchase players directly from African clubs, and there is a growing concern over the poaching of African schoolboys by European clubs as well as their exploitation by agents and a range of unregulated football academies (Darby *et al.*, 2007). However, the recruitment of players from Africa into England is, on the whole, a more indirect affair. The evidence presented here indicates that the migrant streams of footballing talent are neither as random nor as geographically extensive as might first be thought. Instead, the social networks of players, agents and club management play a key role in shaping these migrant flows.

Discussion

Despite the belief that English club football is awash with foreign players, the extent to which this reflects a globalising trend is open to question. Premier League players are recruited from a more limited range of places of origin than might initially be thought. Although in the 2009–10 season players were born in some 70 countries, they were signed from only 34 countries plus the 'home' nations. Even here the source of players is more spatially restricted with just over a fifth being purchased from French clubs. Some clubs appear to have well-focused linkages which bring in players from specific parts of the world, while others are reliant on attracting players already with English clubs or playing in other western European leagues. In summary then, the top division of English football shows clear signs of internationalisation and, although its reach may be virtually global in terms of media and merchandising, the backgrounds of Premier League players is somewhat more limited than first presumed. Specifically, the routes taken by players are more restricted than it might initially appear, with players being channelled within and between a limited number of countries. Personal contacts, social ties, recruitment networks and cultural connections play a prominent role in explaining the distribution of countries of birth or origin, within the Premier League generally and at specific clubs.

| Country signed from | Number of players |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| France | 44 |
| Spain | 30 |
| Holland | 17 |
| Italy | 13 |
| Germany | 11 |
| Russia | 10 |
| Portugal | 8 |
| Norway | 8 |
| Switzerland | 7 |
| Belgium | 6 |
| USA | 5 |
| Brazil | 5 |
| Hungary | 4 |
| Denmark | 4 |
| Poland | 4 |
| Croatia | 3 |
| Serbia | 3 |
| Mexico | 3 |
| Other | 23 |

The resultant geographic patterns display a marked internationalisation with a strong degree of regionalisation rather than what might be seen as a truly global pattern (see McGovern, 2002; Taylor, 2006). All of this suggests that, just as with migration more generally, networks of contacts come into play and help to shape the flows of player migrants across international boundaries (see Fussell and Massey, 2004).

As suggested earlier, the growing number of foreign-born footballers has provoked some negative reactions. However, the retention of a predominantly local fan base indicates a willingness to see multinational teams as continuing to represent or embody a place. Furthermore, the positive manner which many fans display towards imported players suggests that football (like many other sports) retains some potential to act in a socially progressive manner. Indeed, it may serve to link places together providing fans with an (albeit limited) knowledge of a wider footballing world and connecting them to other distant places. Some years ago, Arsenal fans sang 'he comes from Senegal, he plays for Arsenal' in honour of their Dakar-born, French international Patrick Vieira. In 2006, Birmingham City fans waved a large Senegalese flag in a gesture of sympathy with the club's Senegalese international Aliou Cisse who had lost a number of family members in a ferry disaster. And in 2007, Watford fans protested against a court decision to

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Table 6: Non-English-born Premier League players classified by country from which they were signed, 2009–10 season.

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deport their Sierra Leone-born player Al Bangoura on the grounds that he was an illegal immigrant. Such examples suggest that, in some circumstances at least, sport can be seen as facilitating positive social change (Jarvie, 2011).

Conclusion

In the context of high levels of sporting migration, there is evidence of both a retreat into insularity by some and a broader acceptance of sporting 'others' as legitimate representatives of place. Whether this is viewed in terms of traditional place connections or in terms of the internationalisation of the game, a range of geographic issues are at play here. Football is an excellent arena in which to examine migration patterns, ideas of identity and the connections between people and place. More broadly, it can be argued that the substantial immigration of footballers to the Premier League in England has contributed (albeit in a somewhat specific manner) to Vertovec's (2007) idea of 'super-diversity' resulting from the arrival of migrants from a wide range of geographical backgrounds, displaying wide cultural diversity and linked into complex transnational networks.

Acknowledgements

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Challenging Assumptions
Wake up and smell the masala: contested realities in India

Challenging Assumptions

Wake up and smell the masala: contested realities in urban India

Carl Lee

When, in January 2011, Michael Gove, the British Education Secretary, exhorted geography to return to 'the facts' (BBC News, 2011) I was still trying to make sense of the challenge to certain assumptions that a recent visit to Bangalore, India, had thrown up. First the city, the state capital of Karnataka, had changed its name from Bangalore to Bengaluru in 2006. More importantly the 'facts' about modern urban India are becoming

increasingly contested. Should the narrative be one of a technologically-advanced country led by the towering wealth of its billionaires whose wealth was brought about by the mighty transformative power of neo-liberal globalisation? Perhaps the story should be about the poverty, environmental degradation and slums as suggested by India being Britain's largest recipient of overseas development aid (ODA). It appeared that now may be the time to re-examine our assumptions about urban India whatever narrative we are drawn towards.

In 2005 Thomas Friedman flew to Bangalore to talk to the high rollers of what had become known as the silicon plateau. He travelled Lufthansa business class (Friedman, 2005) and returned home with his 'flat world' thesis based upon his analysis of intellectual and technological global convergence, and a worldwide best seller. In late 2010 I followed, on Lufthansa economy class, to Bengaluru. I returned home with thoughts not about how flat this new global world was, but how increasingly bumpy and unequal it was becoming.

As the New Year fireworks above Brigade Road, Bengaluru, illuminated the 100,000 revellers hemmed into this brash strip of neon, restaurants, bars and night clubs of global consumerism, India clearly had something to celebrate. With its gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate edging back towards the 10% it experienced in 2006 (Figure 1) India was 'buzzing'. Its youthful urban population senses the city is at the dawn of a new consumer

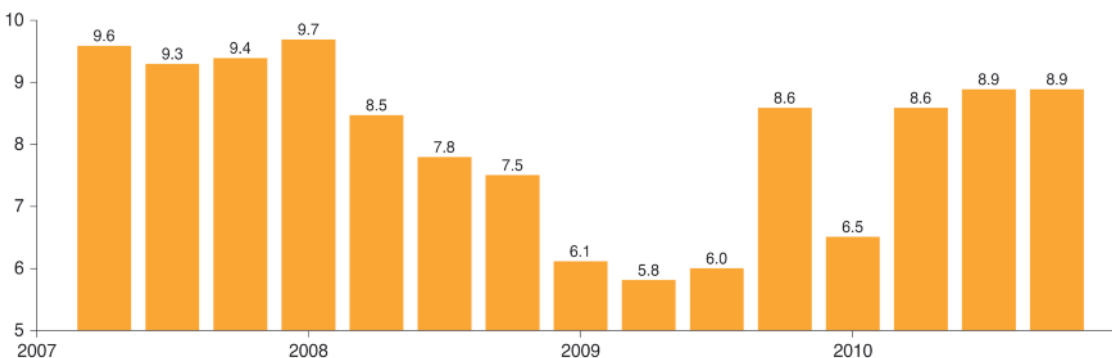


Figure 1: GDP growth rate India 2007–10 by quarters. Source: Trading Economics

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Photo: Bryan Ledgard

age, breaking through into the global élite, a player, a deal maker, confidently embracing globalisation. I had first visited India a quarter of a century earlier. It was a 'third world' country then. You felt it as soon as you hit the scrum at Delhi Airport's arrival terminal. By 2010 the lexicon has changed and the airport has as well. Bengaluru's shiny new, and calm, international airport sits 35km north of the city at the end of an equally new motorway.

At the end of the 1990s I returned to India and Bangalore to research chapters for an A-level text book (Drake and Lee, 2000). In this work we were concerned with trying to convey to students that urban life in India's growing cities was complex and could not be left to a few case studies of slums (a one-dimensional approach that was often the diet of school geography at that time).

I travelled the city so extensively I could have got a job as a taxi driver. I saw all life: the unrecognised slums, the recognised slums, the old housing areas, the middle-class colonial cantonment suburbs and high-end Indiranagar. Bangalore was a complex city where describing one area as indicative was as helpful as writing about the Manor Estate in Sheffield and thinking that would provide students with an overview of the city. Not that I was blind to the glaring inequalities of the Indian city, far from it. It was this reality that I found most striking on my recent return. Bengaluru was, like my home town Sheffield (Lee, 2009), a 'tale of two cities' (Thomas *et al.*, 2009). A story about the haves and the have nots.

One of the key narratives of globalising India is of expanding inequality as part of the price for its stellar economic growth. That India is an unequal society is self evident. The country is littered with forts and palaces which are testament not to some great egalitarian history but one riven by class and caste, history and hierarchy. Yet what India appears to be doing today is developing a new type of inequality; a type that is more familiar to anyone living in those countries in the world blown about by neo-liberal globalisation.

In Mumbai, Mukesh Ambani, according to Forbes magazine the fourth richest man in the world with a personal fortune of US\$29 billion (Forbes, 2010), has just run up a 29-storey house, apartment, palace, what could you call it? There is enough room for his 100+ cars, a helicopter pad

and health spa. The house is described as being the 'first billion dollar home in the world' (BBC News, 2010) and consumes in a month enough electricity to power 7000 homes (Suryawanshi, 2010).

Such is the wealth within India, yet it is also the country to which Britain, in 2008, sent £613 million of development aid, more than any other UK ODA recipient (Townsend, 2010). India is, after all, a country where levels of rural poverty in states like Bihar and Orissa are some of the highest in the world. Some 456 million Indians live on less than US\$1.25 (Purchasing Power Parity) a day according to the World Bank (2008). However, not on Brigade Road, Bengaluru, where US\$1.25 or Rs55 (approximately £0.60, 2011), buys a McDonald's 'Happy Meal' or a starter at Nandos.

My first foray out of my marble and glass three-star hotel on Brigade Road was to Bagalur, a long standing and officially 'recognised slum', a 1960s city-edge settlement that had been overtaken by the expanding city in the 1980s. I got lost because where stood its once modest entrance off Hennur Main Road is now a huge concrete flyover.

Bagalur was also not much of a slum anymore. In *The Urban Challenge* (Drake and Lee, 2000) we used Bagalur as an example of a mature slum dominated by scheduled castes and tribes, half constructed with *kutcha* materials (tin and palm thatch) and without a legal connection to the electricity grid. At that time a project to improve Bagalur was about to be instigated (Bhaskara Rao, 1994). This investment programme was led by low-cost seed capital for housing improvements of Rs20,000 (£450 per household at 1998 prices). It had clearly led to a relative transformation. By 2010 Bagalur was cleaner, better serviced, more 'pucca' and on its fringes sat houses that reflected a confident prosperity. Even cars lurked where none had been seen before. Everywhere people were building, extending upwards and outwards, painting walls and connecting to the grid. Goats still roamed, water was still drawn from on-street taps, small children still use the gutters as toilets, and the sewage system – well it sort of existed. What was evident was that quality of life was visibly improving. It was clearly no Dharavi, the Mumbai slum that film directors Danny Boyle and Loveleen Tandan used for the film *Slumdog Millionaire* (Boyle and Tandan, 2008). Bagalur was still a poor area. It is just that the

poor are not as poor as they were. They sit at the edge of global consumer capitalism and have dipped their toes in, buying pressure cookers, televisions and mobile phones. Clean water in every home and proper sanitation may be just around the corner. Perhaps even free health care could be dreamed about if some of the wealth that is being siphoned out of India by its super rich, upwards of US\$16 billion a year between 2002 and 2006 (Kar, 2010), could be captured by a revenue service not hampered by business corruption and cronyism (Dalai, 2011).

My next Bengaluru neighbourhood visit was to Indiranagar. It was, and still is, home to many of Bengaluru's wealthy élite, although the city-edge enclaves of exclusivity are an increasing pull for this ever-expanding group who have built and

benefited from the city's technological boom. Architect-designed homes, tightly packed but shaded by palms and spreading trees stretch in grids away from busy thoroughfares along which McDonald's, Pizza Hut and the ubiquitous (in India) Cafe Coffee Day compete for space. Mercedes, Range Rover and BMW supplant Toyota, Chevrolet and Suzuki on the driveways. Personal trainers zip about on scooters, well fed pedigree dogs are walked, the small local park is well maintained yet, surprisingly in a city this dense, empty.

Soon the well-heeled citizens of Indiranagar will be able to rub shoulders with the rest of Bengaluru beyond the tinted windows of their air-conditioned cars. A new metro (light rail) system is on its way. This US\$1.4billion building project is currently dominating the city centre with huge elevated

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Bagalur in the 1990s and 2010. Photos: © Carl Lee.



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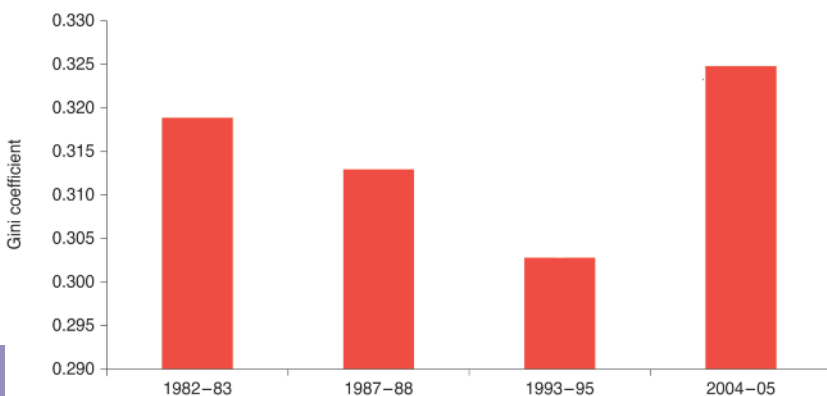
Above right: Indiranagar, home to many of Bengaluru's wealthy elite. Photo: © Carl Lee.



flyovers and towering stations stretched north to south and east to west in two interconnecting lines. But will it end the tortured congestion on Bengaluru's ever more overloaded road network? Probably not, but the metro system should mitigate against total transport structure meltdown in the city.

The hard statistical evidence of the impact of neo-liberal globalisation on India's socio-economic structure will start to be unveiled by the country's latest census as the data begin to be released in 2012. Yet econometric analysis by the International Monetary Fund already points up two key dynamics (Topalova, 2008): the reduction of poverty but growing inequality. Poverty has and is being reduced, both in absolute and proportional terms. It is now hovering just above a quarter of the population (approx 300 million people) when back in 1983 it was 47% of the population (345 million). However the report's author, Petia Topalova, states 'there was a marked shift in the way the benefits of growth were distributed across the income distribution' (Topalova, 2008, p. 24). Clearly, as Figure 2 demonstrates, after years of narrowing inequalities under a paternalistic socialist state, India's liberalised economic boom has reversed this trend and the fruits of growth are disproportionately being channelled towards the rich, often the super rich. According to one recent estimate, 52 dollar billionaires in India control 25% of the country's GDP – an accumulated US\$276 billion of wealth (Frank, 2009).

Figure 2: Social inequality in India. Source: IMF.



Bengaluru's richest man, Wipro CEO, Azim Premji, has discovered philanthropy on a grand scale with a US\$2 billion gift to fund primary education programmes and teacher training (Rai, 2011). His is a view that business should also be concerned with social reform. In this Premji is suggesting a different approach from simply market-led economic liberalism.

Across India injustice is throwing up a range of responses. Naxalites (Maoist revolutionaries) in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Manipur take an insurrectionist stance (Buncombe, 2010). Others organise around environmental campaigns and the holistic wisdom of Vandana Shiva (2005). In Bengaluru, the most wired and numeric of India's metropolises, it is no surprise that one response has been to map and illuminate the disparate development within the city by the use of 'Bangalore Patrol', a joint project between *The Times of India* and the Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (Bangalore Patrol website).

The objective of the Patrol, to empower citizens in pushing for civic improvements to their core quality of life, is already being felt (Rao, 2010). In Figure 3 the uneven spread of water resources is mapped across Bengaluru's 198 wards. What should not be too surprising is that new areas of slums and enclave housing on the city's periphery are the least well served by a water supply that can barely keep up with growing demand. However, this includes some of the city's most desirable real estate, areas like Whitefield on the eastern periphery where many return migrants to India live; I met a few. They are paying premium prices for an area of poor infrastructure, pot-holed roads and high walls to separate them from the poor. These are often the 'revenue layouts' – sub-divisions of agricultural land on the city periphery transformed into informal residential settlements often for the middle and upper-middle classes (Ranganatham, 2011). Success in securing infrastructure frequently lies in the hands of overt political patronage. Land scams, the 'waste mafia', the civil service 'permit babus' and the plunder of government monies all make up the money merry-go-round which shapes the lives and aspirations of India's urban consumer classes. However as Leela Fernandes (2006) suggests in *India's New Middle Class*, it is these 'consumer citizens' that most

effectively represent how the new middle class has come to embody the aspirant horizons of the liberalising Indian nation (Fernandes, 2006). It is also these citizens who will pore over the Bangalore Patrol data in an attempt to deduce what needs to be done to improve where they live and whether the real estate prices for their area are justified.

As Bengaluru grows in prosperity and the expanding middle class increasingly asserts its will, it must be hoped that political change can occur within a relatively clean and transparent environment. This is why initiatives such as the Bangalore Patrol are important in arming citizens with as much objective evidence as possible to enable them to evaluate their own residential environments. Furthermore, the politically and economically marginalised urban poor need these champions to lift up their quality of life. It is probably hoping for too much that a reduction in

inequality will result from economic liberalism; the 'trickle down' will need to be more of a flow if it is to stymie the discontent from the bottom. This is a running political sore and the critics are gathering (see Lamont, 2010; Mitra, 2011; Mukerj, 2006; Sivaraman, 2005).

There is no doubt that India and Bengaluru are within a transformative phase of their history. The exuberance of New Year celebrations in Brigade Road in 2010 were testament to the bullish confidence that is sweeping the country. Looking in from outside one cannot help but be both impressed and concerned. The 'Lakshmi' generation (Rai Umraopti Ray, 2011), so named after the Hindu goddess of wealth and prosperity, are coming of age. Nevertheless one is left wondering whether the shiny glitter of some of their new-found riches is blinding them to the imperfections of neo-liberal globalisation and the inequalities and environmental destruction which

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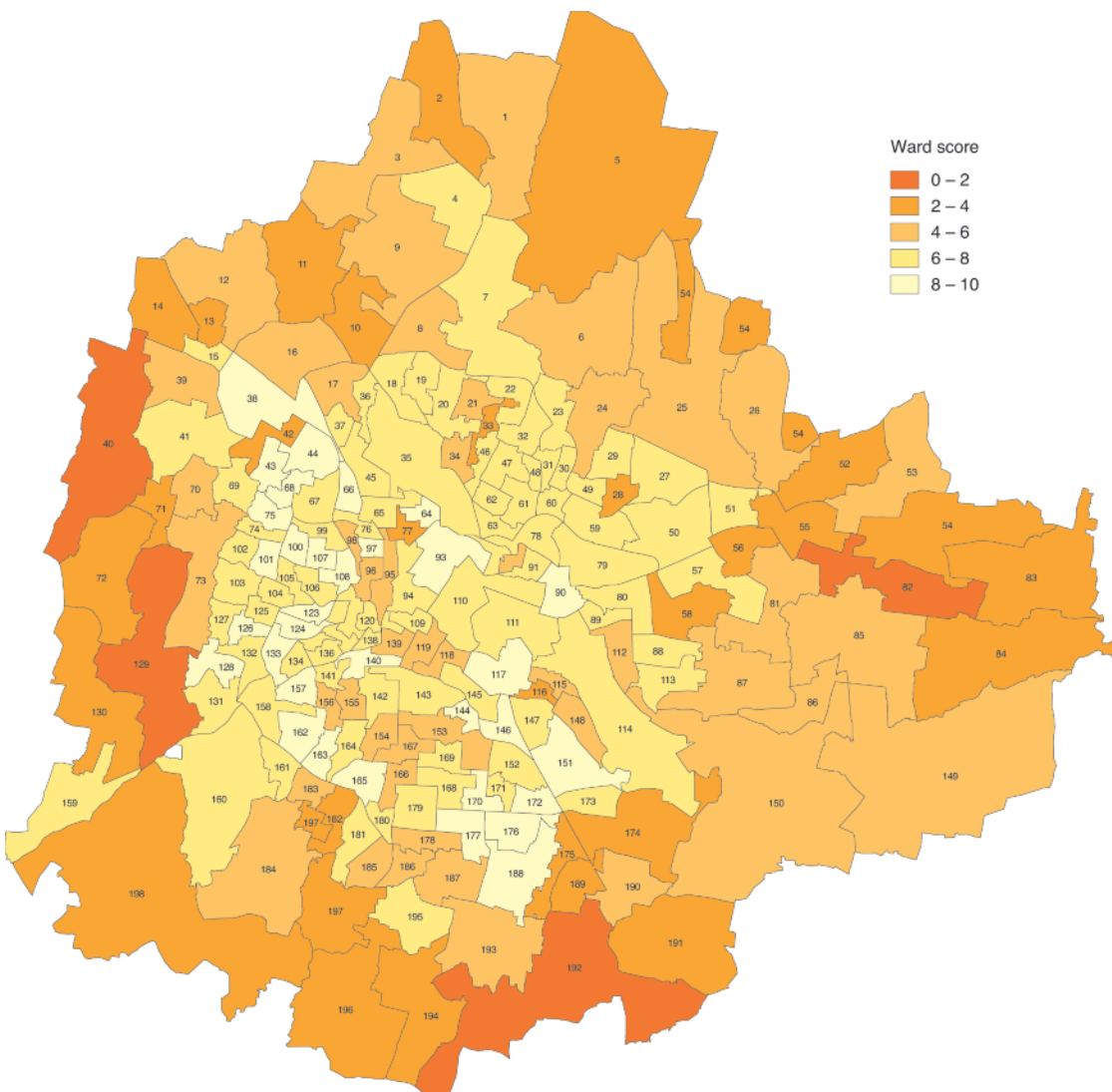


Figure 3: Overall water quality scores for wards in Bengaluru 2010.
Source: Bangalore Patrol

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inevitably trail in its wake. What are the 'Gove facts' that should underpin my teaching of India now? Is it a flat world or just a more unequal one?

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A short film showing the areas of Bengaluru mentioned in this article is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=49m8Hr9IVWg It was made for students studying residential inequality in Indian cities.

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Waste:
Uncovering the
global food
scandal

Spotlight on ...

Waste: Uncovering the global food scandal

Anna Krzywoszynska

How would you react to someone throwing half of their weekly shopping straight into the bin? With shock, dismay, disbelief? And yet, in *Waste: Uncovering the global food scandal*, Tristram Stuart (2009) argues that throwing our food away is

exactly what we are doing, every day, on a global scale. Stuart's argument is potent and deeply disturbing. In a world where nearly one billion people are undernourished and hungry (FAO, 2010), and where unique natural habitats are being destroyed to make space for growing crops, up to half of the food we make globally is wasted. In this very important book, Stuart examines many of the links in the food provision – and disposal – systems. He travels the globe to bring back rich stories of production and destruction of food, demonstrating time and again that the extent of human food waste is one of the most pressing issues in the world today. Food production, consumption and disposal are interconnected and at the root of many challenges faced by the globalised world, including malnutrition, global warming and biodiversity loss. Simply by wasting less food, Stuart argues, we can make a massive step towards addressing environmental concerns and 'relieve the hunger of the world's malnourished 23 times over, or provide the entire nutritional requirements for an extra 3 billion people' (p. 193).



Waste: Uncovering the global food scandal

In order to find out how we have arrived at these absurd levels of squandering, Stuart investigates what happens to food in the supply chains. He focuses most of his attention on food consumed in the UK, but brings in examples from the US and other countries (see Figure 1). Supermarkets, Stuart argues, are responsible for the majority of food waste, due both to in-store policies (such as overstocking) and as a consequence of the power they exercise over other agents in food supply chains. Manufacturers, who are often bound by exclusive contracts, are forced to over-produce to ensure they can meet last-minute orders. Farmers are similarly contractually bound to supermarkets and often discard the majority of their produce due to absurd aesthetic standards (some of which are enforced by the European Union). The same binding contracts then prevent them from selling the discarded produce to other buyers. Stuart's book thus feeds into the continuing public and academic critique of power inequalities in the food provisioning system, discussed at length in, for example, Young's *Sold Out!* (2004), Blythman's *Shopped* (2007) and Simms' *Tescopoly* (2007).

We are to blame too. Consumers in the UK throw away one-third of the food they buy, and (Stuart suggests) a radical shift in food buying and cooking habits is needed to prevent this. True to his activist background, Stuart encourages us as consumers to stop feeling guilty about wasting food, and instead to 'feel empowered by the sense of responsibility' (p. 84). Throughout the book he provides his readers with waste-reducing tips, including the best way to store lettuce, why we should learn to love offal and how to interpret 'best before' dates. A strong believer in consumer power, Stuart also argues that only by 'voting with our wallets' can we affect changes in the behaviour of food retailers.

Importantly, Stuart's book shows that waste is not

just a result of the affluent West's decadence: the developing world arguably experiences even more unnecessary food waste. In some less developed countries the lack of basic infrastructure (such as silos, roads and refrigeration) and, in certain cases, corruption, have resulted in mountains of grain and fruit being left to rot while the population suffers from chronic undernourishment.

Less attention is devoted to the structural reasons for the current levels of food waste. While systemic waste in the fishing industry is well researched – a full chapter is dedicated to the issue – Stuart's critique of agricultural waste focuses on particular cases, rather than universal causes. For instance only two pages are devoted to the institutionalised production of surplus which is the EU's Common Agricultural Policy. Modern agricultural production is, without doubt, an extremely complex industry, and very little qualitative or quantitative research has been done in the area of food waste. Nevertheless, the lack of data is less of an issue than its presentation. *Waste* succeeds in illustrating all the systemic reasons for food waste, but because the arguments are predominantly case study-based, and scattered throughout the book, readers may struggle to gain a coherent picture of the global food waste problem. A recent article by Parfitt *et al.* (2010), which draws largely on the same sources as Stuart's book, is much more concise in this respect, and presents a useful structure on which to pin Stuart's more detailed illustrations.

In looking for underlying causes of our wastefulness, the chapter 'Evolutionary origins of surplus' argues that the creation of surplus, and the waste it entails, formed a necessary evolutionary step in the development of humans as a species, in that it enabled the creation of complex societies. According to Stuart this evolutionary paradigm has now been superseded and, he argues, it is time reason took over from genetic determinism. This chapter draws heavily on the cultural materialist school of thinking of Marvin Harris, which in these post-structuralist days appears somewhat reductionist. It is also unclear what this chapter contributes to an already lengthy (451 pages) and complex book.

In the third part of the book Stuart discusses how the food waste crisis can be resolved. He adopts a 'pyramid of use' approach. Here all edible surplus

Figure 1: Disturbing food statistics. Source: Stuart, 2010.

- In the UK up to 20 million tonnes of food waste are created each year, 4.1 million of which is wasted at the household level.
- 35–40% of India's fruit and vegetables go to waste before they reach the consumers.
- 77 million people in Pakistan suffer from the lack of food security, while 12.5% of Pakistani wheat is lost from the field to the milling, and up to 15% of its milk production is wasted.

food is redistributed to those in need, organic waste is collected and fed to animals, and animal waste and other organic remains are used to produce clean energy. But how do we make this happen? Consumer power, Stuart believes, is a powerful driver of change. He urges all of us to put pressure on retailers – although how exactly this is to be achieved, considering the lack of a dependable supermarket ‘waste index’ and the contingencies of daily life, is not clear. Policymakers are also a target for Stuart’s calls to action. However, those UK agencies that work the hardest in this area – the Waste and Resources Action Programme (WRAP) and the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) – have both recently had their budgets slashed and their future activity seems uncertain. Regardless of these factors, I agree with Stuart’s conclusion that, ‘making it expensive or more difficult for companies to waste food may be simpler, more remunerative, and easier to enforce than targeting consumers’ (p. 217).

As governments and companies are not in the habit of quantifying their waste, Stuart struggles with the lack of available data. He unravels complex calculations using an array of sources to arrive at approximate figures of food waste. The Appendix is replete with useful maps, graphs and

tables and, rather than including all the figures in the text, it may have been better to expand it even further. While certainly alarming, the figures also have the effect of making the chapters difficult to read, and at times they obscure the clearer and more readily-accessible messages that urge the reader to take action.

In spite of the lack of comprehensive data available, *Waste* is extremely well researched, with a 40-page bibliography that lists the multiple sources Stuart draws on; with the WRAP, Defra and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations as well as the (recently dismantled) Sustainable Development Commission among the most quoted. Stuart also draws on his life-long experience of ‘freeganism’ (or ‘dumpster diving’). This is an anti-consumerist movement in which individuals live on the foods and other consumer items discarded from the mainstream consumption cycles. Photographs of the amazing dumpster-found bounties Stuart includes in his book illustrate well the extent of the food providers’ wastefulness. The numerous interviews, visits and adventures with food waste that Stuart has collected from around the globe when researching this book make for a data-rich publication.

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Waste: Uncovering the global food scandal

The structure of the book makes it a challenging read, and positions it awkwardly as neither a popular science book nor as a full-blooded academic publication. While the three sections indicate a clear structure, in fact the chapters are very similar: all contain a mix of the author's personal experiences, quantitative and qualitative data from an array of sources, and a critique of policies and behaviours of actors in various food provisioning systems. The book is also unnecessarily difficult to use as a teaching resource because the section and chapter titles do not fully betray their contents. However, the index at the end of the book partly makes up for this shortcoming.

Stuart's attention to numerical data, while pointing to the breadth of research that went into the writing of this book, has the unfortunate effect of drawing attention away from the actual stuff that is wasted: food. Little attention is paid to the cultural and societal dimensions of the way we treat our food, and how we waste it. For example, Stuart calculates that if an average Western adult needs around 2000kcal a day, and we aim to provide around 130% of nutritional requirements of the population to guarantee food security, then 'a supply of 2600 to 2700kcal per person per day would ... be sufficient for affluent countries' (p. 174). This kind of reasoning obscures the question of what kind of calories? Though Stuart admits that the tomato, in spite of its low resource-to-calorie efficiency ratio, may be essential to 'our survival, perhaps, and our happiness' (p. 89), he is generally unwilling to consider the cultural importance of such food within other societal practices.

More recent research (Evans, in press) suggests that perhaps we (as consumers) do not waste food because we are careless, but because wasting food is an element of our routine social practices. Stuart acknowledges that over-stocking the pantry in order to provide a variety of foods for our family may be of importance to our identity as good parents, but he then goes on to suggest that 'home economics education' (p. 73) could easily change this inefficient behaviour. Thus Stuart follows the liberal/individualist way of thinking about how we act in society, portraying human beings as rational calculating individuals. Shove (2010) notes that the same kind of logic is employed in governmental attitudes towards climate change, which see Attitude, Behaviour and

Choice (ABC) as the primary drivers of human action and put stress on individual behavioural choices. Stuart admits that culture bears strongly on public attitudes towards food waste and states that while 'there are legal, fiscal and logistical measures that can be taken to reduce food waste ... their strength will derive from what society deems acceptable' (p. 201). However, in Stuart's view, the context (cultural, social) of action is something that influences our behaviour, but is not an integral part of it; therefore, using our powers of reasoning, we can simply shut it out. This approach mirrors the way that UK policymakers conceive of human behaviour: their failure to encourage pro-environmental conduct in the population suggests this attitude may not be the best way to achieve society-wide change. Instead, perhaps we need to think that 'relevant societal innovation is that in which contemporary rules of the game are eroded; in which the status quo is called into question; and in which more sustainable regimes of technologies, routines, forms of know-how, conventions, markets, and expectations take hold across all domains of daily life' (Shove, 2010, p. 1278).

All in all, *Waste* is one of those books that leave the reader with an urge to act, and in this sense it certainly fulfils its purpose. Whether it is possible for us to act, and how we can best create a waste-free society, remains an open question.

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Obituary

Rex A. Walford OBE

1934–2011

It takes a very special person to fill a cathedral, but on 16 February 2011 well over a thousand people packed Ely Cathedral for a service of thanksgiving for the life of Rex Walford. Relatives, friends, professional colleagues, former students, associates from the worlds of geography, education and drama, and many others gathered to remember this wonderful man. The news of his tragic death in a boating accident on the River Thames, followed by an agonising month's wait until his body was recovered, triggered a wave of shock and disbelief among those who knew him. The service at Ely provided an eloquent confirmation of the way in which Rex had touched so many lives with his remarkable gifts. It also celebrated his zest for life, his energy and commitment, his intellect and scholarship, his infectious good humour, his optimism and his steadfast religious faith.

Rex was born in the north London suburb of Edgware when it was in the throes of inter-war expansion, stimulated by its role as the terminus of the Northern Line. The developing community proved a fertile environment for Rex's childhood and he never lost his fondness for his suburban roots. He would return to the growth of north west London and suburban society for his PhD research topic in retirement. His primary school years coincided with the Second World War and the backdrop of aerial conflict over London must have been exciting for a youngster. Much later, as a Cambridge resident, he relished his proximity to the Imperial War Museum Duxford, attending many air shows to experience again the thrill of Spitfires and Hurricanes in flight.

As the war ended, Rex gained a county scholarship to University College School in Hampstead. He travelled there each day by bus and tube, reinforcing a lifelong commitment to public transport. His house was adjacent to the local Anglican church – another product of the inter-war building boom – and this became the natural focus of his social life, incorporating as it did Bible Class, Scouts, Youth Club and Theatre Group. In 1952 he went up to the London School of Economics on a state scholarship to study for an Economics degree. At the same time he joined the Student Christian Movement (SCM) which he later described as 'the key factor in bringing me to a reasoned and living Christian faith'. Rex carried his faith lightly and was never judgemental, but it provided the central thread to his *raison d'être* and his practical motivation to help others whenever and however he could.

After successfully completing his first degree, Rex studied for his PGCE at Kings College, London, passing with a Distinction. He was then given the opportunity to take a Theology degree at Kings and was awarded his BD after just two years of work. During his student years Rex revealed his flair for multi-tasking. As well as his commitment to the SCM, of which he was the National Chairman 1956–57, he was also moonlighting as a journalist for the *Hendon and Finchley Times*, having begun as a cub reporter in the sixth form. At the age of 24, Rex embarked on his first teaching post at St Mary's secondary modern school in Hendon. The untimely death of the departmental head meant that Rex became Head of Geography on his first day, a challenge to which he rose with typical fortitude and skill. In the early 1960s the burgeoning higher education sector was seeking bright young subject specialists for teacher training. Rex was appointed to a lectureship in Geography and Mathematics at Maria Grey College in Twickenham in 1962, rising to Principal Lecturer in Geography and, later, Senior Tutor over the next 11 years.



Obituary

During this period Rex became one of the key players in the development of the 'new' geography, mixing with like-minded individuals who were seeking a modern alternative to the 'capes and bays' tradition. In the broader context of the subject's quantitative revolution, Rex used his personal enthusiasm for games to introduce teaching approaches rooted in role plays and simulations. After observing Rex's innovative work, John Morris, Chief Inspector for Geography, promptly instructed all subject HMIs to investigate it themselves. Rex was also heavily involved in the annual Madingley Seminars, arranged by Richard Chorley and Peter Haggett to disseminate their revolutionary ideas. In 1969 his *Games in Geography* was published, followed in 1972 by *Simulation in the Classroom* (with J.L. Taylor). In early 1970 Rex co-ordinated the first of the Charney Manor conferences – a gathering of young teachers and lecturers at a Quaker retreat in Berkshire which led to the seminal work *New Directions in Geography Teaching*, edited by Rex.

Rex had married Wendy in 1969, the beginning of a loving and supportive partnership that would sustain them both through lives of wide-ranging enterprise and fulfilment. In 1973 Rex moved to the Department of Education at the University of Cambridge to run the Geography PGCE group. Over the next 25 years he would launch the teaching careers of hundreds of young people, nurturing their first forays into the classroom with a potent mix of inspiration, encouragement, practical advice, humour and rigour. It did not take long for the label 'ex-Rex' to become a nationally-recognised quality mark when appointing a new geography teacher. A former HMI recalls a visit to Rex's PGCE group in Cambridge in the mid-1980s:

That day was a model of good practice ... however, what was unusual, and especially memorable, was the number of students who quietly went out of their way to tell me how much they appreciated Rex's enthusiasm, his understanding and skills, his high expectations of them and the personal support he gave them ... they recognised that they were privileged to be taught by him.

A great networker and committee man, Rex worked tirelessly to translate his and others' ideas into action. He had joined the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) when he began teaching and signed up for the Geographical Association (GA) in 1960.

As the emphasis in geographical education shifted from description and the memorisation of facts to enquiry learning, Rex was in the vanguard of those introducing these exciting new methods to schools. He was a vital bridge builder between the higher education sector and schools through his professional activities, his own writing and the editing of several influential textbook series. By the late 1970s Rex was a prominent figure in the GA, chairing the Education Standing Committee for three years before becoming President in 1984. In his presidential year he led a GA national working party on the contribution of geography to a multicultural society. His crusading zeal constantly energised the promotion of geography as a vital element in a young person's education. Nevertheless, he always remembered that learning should be fun and, combining this with a fervent belief in the need for strong factual knowledge in geography, he instigated the Worldwide Quiz in 1984. As secretary of its organising committee and indefatigable main question setter, Rex was the driving force behind the Quiz for the next ten years, during which time it is estimated that over 15,000 contestants took part in schools throughout the UK. Restless as ever, he immediately began to plan two ground-breaking new initiatives for the GA: Geography Action Week and Land Use UK. The latter epitomised Rex's love of maps and mapping, harking back to the pioneering land use surveys conducted by Dudley Stamp in the 1930s and Alice Coleman 30 years later. Both Rex's projects came to fruition in 1996, establishing a template for future annual Action Weeks and inspiring a second national survey by schools in the shape of Coastline 2000.

In 1988 Rex's persuasive advocacy of the educational benefits of geography led to his appointment to the National Working Group charged with writing the National Curriculum for Geography in Schools. This controversial task followed a difficult path, but Rex's positive outlook and diplomacy contributed significantly to its successful conclusion. At the same time, Rex had begun serving on the Council of the RGS-IBG, having been a member of its Education Committee since 1981. In 1990 he received the Back Award from the RGS-IBG 'for contributions to geographical education' and went on to be a Vice-President, 1993–96. He believed that all branches of the geography community should be brought together for the future health of the subject and was

instrumental in the formation of the Council of British Geography (COBRIG) in 1987, which he chaired for its first five years.

The 1990s was a decade of intense activity for Rex on numerous fronts. As well as his multitudinous outside commitments, he became Acting Head and later Head of the Department of Education at Cambridge University, helping to guide its transformation into the Faculty of Education. He had been made a Fellow of Wolfson College in 1988 and also acted as Director of Studies at Emanuel and King's Colleges. In 1999 he left the Department of Education, having been awarded a Pilkington Prize by the University for 'excellence in teaching' in 1998. In the same year he was granted Honorary Membership of the GA, after serving as a Trustee since 1992. He became an Emeritus Fellow of Wolfson College in 1999. The apex of his official recognition came in 2000 when he received the Order of the British Empire from HM The Queen 'for distinguished contributions to geographical scholarship'. Each honour was graciously accepted with the modesty that characterised Rex's attitude to his many achievements. He simply felt a responsibility to make the most of his talents.

Any concept of retirement was impatiently brushed aside. As the new millennium dawned Rex was putting the finishing touches to his scholarly opus *Geography in British Schools, 1850–2000* (published in 2001) and was well advanced on research for his PhD at Anglia-Ruskin University. His thesis was a journey back to his north west London origins, combining the geographical spread of the great metropolis with the role of the church in creating a focus for faith and community. Following the completion of his doctorate in 2003, Rex worked long and hard to adapt his thesis for publication – a project that was realised in 2007 with the release of his book *The Growth of 'New London' in Suburban Middlesex (1916–1945) and the Response of the Church of England*. Altogether Rex was responsible for more than 30 publications, spanning geography, education, theatre and religion, as well as contributing over 100 chapters and articles to books, journals, magazines and newspapers. He also produced 50 classroom games and simulations and authored a score of schools' radio and television programmes. His written legacy is rich and encompasses a startlingly broad range of topics, though one would expect no less of such a renaissance man.

There were so many facets to Rex that, no matter how well you knew him, he was always capable of springing a surprise. His exploits in the world of amateur drama – as director, producer, author and adjudicator – deserve a full tribute of their own. He was a gifted pianist, with a deep affection for musical theatre and the swing music of his youth. Rex performed as piano accompanist to soprano Gabrielle Bell in delightful, intimate presentations of classic songs. Rex and Gabrielle recorded two CDs as well as collaborating on some of the many weekend courses that Rex organised for the Cambridge Board of Continuing Education at Madingley Hall. Sport provided another of Rex's consuming interests, as a frequent player in his younger years and avid spectator throughout adulthood. Motorbike enthusiast and owner, Dinky toy collector, Mastermind semi-finalist, public speaker, traveller: there was no end to the ways in which he entertained himself and those around him. What everyone appreciates is the immense generosity with which he gave his time, energy, wisdom and kindness to thousands of others and how grateful we are for an exceptional life lived to the full. We remember him as a champion of geography and it is fitting to close with Rex's personal philosophy of the subject:

I remain convinced of geography's potency to teach both a stewardship of the physical world and an understanding of the need for harmony in the human world and of its great value in a properly humane education.

Mike Morrish

Tributes to Rex can be read on the GA website. Go to www.geography.org.uk/news/rexwalford

Reviews

Edited by Hedley Knibbs



Anyone who would like to review resources for *Geography* should contact Hedley Knibbs at GA Headquarters.

Landscapes and Geomorphology: A very short introduction

Andrew Goudie and Heather Viles

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010

137pp, 11x17cm

Pb: £7.99

ISBN 978-0-19-956557-3

Pocket-sized and pleasingly produced, this is an invigorating introduction to the study of landscapes. It will be a thought-provoking companion on a train journey and should find a place on many reading lists.

Goudie and Viles set a compelling case for geomorphology as a mainstream science, grand in its aims, rich in intellectual history. They are successful in combining large swathes with scatterings of detail. One section explains the global significance of the Tibetan plateau, or leads us through landforms, processes and time ('geomorphology has sometimes prioritized one of these three over the others, but we now know that they are all crucial' they comment donnishly); the next takes us to a termite mound or shows the desert dunes were destroyed to sculpt Palm Islands in Dubai.

The book has two key strengths. One is the clarity of its distillation of key concepts: thresholds and sensitivity, rates and scales, earth system feedbacks, for example. Second, like the landscape, diversity is its great appeal. From atolls to thermokarst, optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) to light detection and ranging (LIDAR), bog snorkelling to the Ten Commandments, it steers us lightly through a thousand themes. There are plenty of stimulating asides (for example, 'there is no geomorphological equivalent of DNA').

The unexpected views include Saturn's largest moon: 'The

images of the surface of Titan ... illustrate a landscape quite similar to that of Earth – except that the surface is made of water ice, not rock, and sculpted by liquid methane, not water' (p. 124).

There are plenty of worlds left to conquer – and this approachable, eye-opening guide is an excellent place to start.

Chris Pyle

The Perse School, Cambridge

Natural Climate Variability and Global Warming

Edited by Richard W. Battarbee and Heather A. Binney

Chichester: Blackwell, 2008

276pp, 19x25cm

Hb: £55.00

ISBN 978-1-4051-5905-0

There is a need for more interaction between modern day climate science, which is heavily modelling based, and the science of paleoclimatology, which for a long time remained dominated by observational approaches. This book is therefore welcome as it aims to put a Holocene perspective at the heart of the current debate concerning climate change, claiming to ask 'how important is natural variability in explaining global warming?' by 'placing the past few decades of warming in the context of longer term climate variability'.

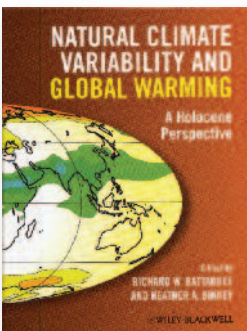
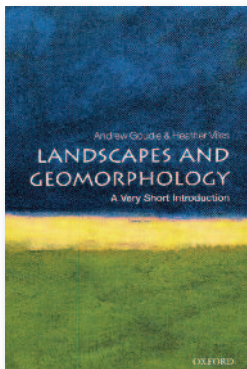
For the most part the book achieves this aim through detailed discussion of observed climate changes over the Holocene; methods used to reconstruct past climate, including field and model approaches; and the physical mechanisms responsible for past climate change. There is a challenge in organising such a wide range of material, especially when the chapters are written by a wide selection of contributors, in this case mostly from Europe, particularly Scandinavia. Students wishing to find a clear survey of either past climate changes, methods or mechanisms will find

it difficult to navigate this volume, as many essays touch upon all three, but in various proportions.

After an editorial describing the content of the volume, the second chapter introduces the history of Holocene climate research from a classic Scandinavian perspective. Other chapters concentrate more on methods, modelling and natural forcing mechanisms, while a fascinating discussion of latitudinal differences in moisture balance reminds us that temperature is not the only variable worth reconstructing. However, there are also chapters examining the role of humans in the Holocene and land-cover changes which do not fit in clearly with the rest of the volume, along with a curiously specific chapter on the thermal maximum in the North Atlantic. A strong concluding chapter is also lacking. Although Bradley makes a good attempt at using paleoclimatology to give perspectives on the future, the editors could have done more to place the findings of the previous chapters in 'the context of global warming' which is the focus of the justification for the volume.

Thus although there are some extremely learned discussions of the issues, the volume reads as a collection of research papers in paleoclimatology rather than a coherent text suitable for A-level or undergraduate teaching or general reference. To be fair, the authors claim specialist researchers and advanced students as their main audience. The volume is well indexed and the number of recent references is impressive. It is nicely presented and there is a good array of diagrams, maps and graphs. It is recommended for those scientists who need to keep up to date with an exciting area of climate science and gain a more integrated appreciation of climate variability over the Holocene.

Nick Pepin
University of Portsmouth



Hong Kong: Becoming a Chinese global city

Stephen Chiu and Tai-Lok Lui

Abingdon : Routledge, 2009

184pp, 15.5 x 23 cm

Pb: £21.99

ISBN 978-0-415-22011-8

This very readable and extremely well researched book contributes greatly to the understanding of Hong Kong's place in China and the world. It also provides an excellent example of the many issues relating to the development of global cities.

There are very helpful chapters on the historical origins of Hong Kong's global links; the structuring and restructuring of the city's economy in the post-Second World War decades; the socio-economic impacts of economic re-structuring; the city's pathway to its status as a commercial and financial centre; and its reintegration, both economic and political, with China before and after 1997, the year when China resumed sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Two very important issues relating to global city development are dealt with admirably: the considerable influence of political processes, and the way in which such globalisation can lead to both occupational polarisation and increased income inequality. Hong Kong's links with China are very skilfully analysed. The authors emphasise that the city faces a dilemma: to what extent should it relate first to the Chinese (national) economy and, second, to the global economy? Clearly, Hong Kong's hope of closer co-operation with the mainland and a future link with the country's overall development depends to a significant extent on its strategic value to the Beijing leadership.

Themes meriting greater emphasis might have been the geographical issues relating to the urbanisation of the Pearl River Delta, and Hong Kong's competition with Shanghai as the leading Chinese global city. However, the book will provide both A-level and undergraduate students with an invaluable basic text and a case study relating to the development of global cities, particularly relevant in this context because it provides further

insights into the influence of China as an emerging world superpower.

Trevor Higginbottom
Xiehe Education Organisation,
Shanghai

The Economic Geography of the UK

Edited by Neil N. Coe and Andrew Jones

London: SAGE, 2010

264pp, 17x24cm

Pb: £24.99

ISBN 978-1-84920-090-5

This book is divided into four parts. The first begins with an overview of the shifting geographies of the UK economy. Other chapters look at the north-south divide and uneven regional growth. The chapters introduce a new north-south divide (from the Severn to the Humber) and bring in some useful data from the recession that began in 2008. The second (Landscapes of power, inequality and finance), deals with the City and finance, financial services, the geography of UK government finance, state and economy, housing and the pension gap. The chapters are relatively short, concise, clearly written and accessible. They are also relatively up to date – as much as the authors could hope to be.

Many students (especially those at A-level) will find the third section the most interesting and useful. Here there are updates on manufacturing, agriculture, retailing, the UK energy dilemma and business services. The final section refers to social change and includes chapters on the UK's changing labour market, immigration, the UK and Central Europe and the UK in the era of globalisation.

This book will help readers to grasp the widespread and far-reaching changes taking place in human geography in the UK. To produce a book that covers so many of these, and that provides data that is (in some cases) from 2009 is a real achievement. This book will prove invaluable for teachers and university students. For A-level students that want to put some distance between themselves and their fellow competitors they could do far

worse than to have a browse through this resource.

Garrett Nagle
St Edward's School, Oxford

The Rise of China and India in Africa

Edited by Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi

London: Zed Books, 2010

276pp, 15.5x23cm

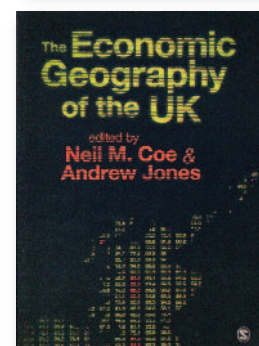
Pb: £21.99

ISBN 978-1-84813-437-9

This is a collection of essays compiled for the Nordic Institute examining the impact of the two new 'giants' of the global economy, China and India, on the African continent. Through a series of critical commentaries we are led to view this impact from the perspective of the African states, particularly with regard to the question of the formation of a 'southern consensus'. This term is used to contrast the way in which the global economy, for Africa at least, has moved from the dominance of Washington and the West to a new series of linkages with these new giants. The essays raise questions about the extent to which this 'southern consensus' is actually capable of meaningful negotiations, so that the outcomes are beneficial to African countries as much as the Indian and Chinese private companies, state-owned enterprises and government agencies.

The material is divided into three sections: a general overview, the role of natural resources, particularly oil, and the impact of investment in manufacturing. Case studies include work from Angola, Zambia, Ghana and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In several cases it is clear that the relationship between the outside powers and the national governments is blurred through the fact that that the local rulers themselves have been more interested in profit taking than in national development. Thus it remains difficult to arrive at a satisfactory evaluation of the impact of the Indian and Chinese investment. Furthermore, a number of writers comment on the dynamic nature of the relationship as these economic giants shift their strategies in line with global

Reviews



Reviews



development and their own requirements.

This book is useful as an adjunct to undergraduate courses dealing with global development and Africa. However, the book does not give a clear overall picture of Chinese and Indian involvement as there is no indication of the relative importance of this process in each country. The case studies are useful but with so much material emerging on reliable websites and the fluidity of the process the printed information is soon out of date.

Don Funnell
University of Sussex

Mapping America

Frank Jacobs and Fritz Kessler

London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010

240pp, 24.5x29.5cm

Hb: £24.95

ISBN 978-1-907317-08-8

This book is a successor to *Mapping England*, reviewed in *Geography* in 2009 (Vol 94, Part 3). Whether or not the two herald a planned series of maps of countries is not stated but, on this evidence, I hope so. Though its objectives are difficult to encapsulate, *Mapping America* is different from other recent books on the cartography of North America. Its distinctiveness is in the selection of the more than 120 maps reproduced – almost half of which were published or created after 1999 – and in the short texts accompanying them. Written by authors who between them have published a book on cartographic curiosities, maintain the ‘Strange Maps’ web-blog and edit the journal *Cartographic Perspectives*, with its focus on current information for map users and map educators, these extended captions are not merely informative: many challenge and some provoke.

The book will fascinate those interested in small-scale thematic maps. Mainly of the USA, they plot such things as churches by denomination, tornado activity, abortion providers and 26 million individual road segments. As geographers continue to abandon their former paramount interest in differences from place to place, this book could help to stem that

drift. Artists and graphic designers with no previous interest in maps will be stimulated by some of the gridless, nameless and boundaryless patterns, e.g. daily flight patterns. For those with personal experience of North America some maps will revive memories. Jack Kerouac’s sketch map of his hitchhikings across the west in 1947 reminded me of mine of less than a decade later.

The absence of an index makes the book difficult to use constructively and the weak spine will reduce its shelf life. Nevertheless, it deserves a place in any library serving geographers, graphic designers and students of recent North American history.

G. Malcolm Lewis
Sheffield

The Framed World: Tourism, tourists and photography

Edited by Mike Robinson and David Picard

Farnham: Ashgate, 2009

263pp, 16x24cm

Hb: £60.00

ISBN 978-0-7546-7368-2

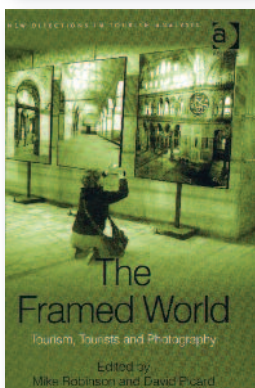
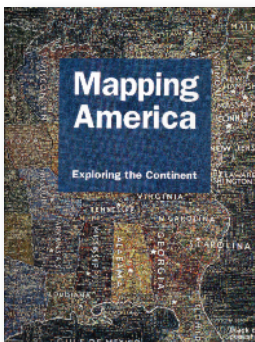
Despite the millions of holiday-snaps and professional tourism-related photographs that are produced and distributed every day, relatively little academic research has been published on the subject of tourism and photography. This book therefore fills a significant gap in the field of tourism studies and will appeal to a wide audience including geography students, historians, anthropologists, sociologists and cultural theorists.

The editors justify the rationale and scope of the text clearly in their introduction. Their desire to bring together a collection of essays that focus on the social and cultural processes of production of both mass tourist ‘holiday-snaps’ and the more professionally produced tourism industry photography is to be applauded. They provide a concise account of the historical development of tourism related photography and an accessible overview of the cultural theories and concepts most commonly used to deconstruct and interpret these visual discourses of travel and tourism.

There are 13 research essays by contributors from a wide range of academic disciplines, including tourism studies, anthropology, archaeology, music and theology. Some essays are far broader in scope and more conceptual than others (for example, chapter 6 presents an excellent critical historical perspective on photographing race, and chapter 14 discusses the application of phenomenological perspectives to tourism and photography). These could have been grouped together at the start to provide a broader historical and theoretical context for the subject area, with the more narrowly focused case-study papers coming later. Despite the obvious ‘intersections and overlaps and overlays’ between chapters, there is no grouping of them into coherent sections. This general complaint aside, the book contains some fascinating research papers, most of which apply post-colonial perspectives and critical theory to reveal the issues of power, identity and representation inherent in tourist photography. Almost without exception the chapters are written in an accessible and engaging style which should appeal to a wide variety of readers.

The geographical coverage is quite broad with case studies on New Mexico, Greece, Indonesia, central Africa, Taiwan, Britain and Australia. However, when we consider the spatial concentration of tourist traffic in north-west Europe, the consumption of more popular tourist sites and experiences is arguably under-represented. A further omission is the phenomenal rise in significance of mobile and online technologies in the production and almost instantaneous dissemination of photographs using internet-based social networking sites. The absence of any significant research on tourism and photography in cyberspace leaves the book looking somewhat dated and out of touch with the tourist gaze of many potential younger readers. Despite these reservations this is still an excellent book containing several high quality snap-shots of a captivating area of study.

Graham Mowl
Northumbria University



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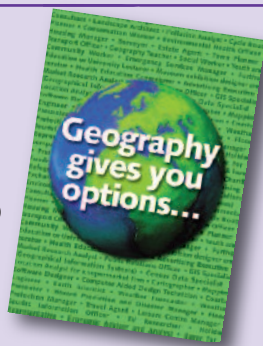
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For further information

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Or Dr John Morgan (j.morgan@ioe.ac.uk)

Enquiries for MA Geography in Education -
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Geography

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