

not only do the editors often fail to do so in their introduction, many of the authors of the other essays in this collection also fail to do so.

In saying this I do not want to be understood as saying that there is nothing good either in the editors introduction or in the rest of the essays in this volume. There are many good things. For example the editors draw attention to the fact that much talk about space is metaphysical, e.g. talk of 'maps of the mind' or 'trying to find something in the mind' and so on. Not only this, but metaphorical talk of space appears everywhere in our language like for example in this sentence ('*every where*'). Hence it is not really surprising to quote Messers Crang and Thrift again that "Space is everywhere in modern thought."

The most interesting and enlightening essays in this volume for this reader were Derek Gregory's 'Edward Said's Imaginative Geographies', Chris Philo's 'Foucault's Geography', Alastair Bonnett's "Alternative" film or "other"? In and against the West with Thrin Minh-ha', and Andy Merrifield's 'Henri Lefebvre: A Socialist in Space'.

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REFUGEES, ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT by Richard Black, London: Longman Development Studies, 1998.

The focus of the book is the meeting-point between 'population geography' or more particularly, migration and natural resources. Based on a broad field-research Black examines the environmental impacts and management of forced-migration on refugee movements in the African continent.

The first chapter of the book provides the conceptual link between forced migration, environmental change and sustainable development. The popular nickname for mass-population displacements which result from environmental problems such as droughts, floods and hunger is 'environmental refugees' and in the African setting it is often connected to the more traditional causes of population displacement namely wars, civil strife, rebellions. Two-thirds of the worlds' refugee population is living in countries of the 'Third World' in which resources are not sufficient to cope with large influxes of refugees.

Black's major research perspective is policy-oriented looking at the various policies evolving in the host countries and among donors in relation to forced migrants in the particular context of limited resources.

Chapter 2 of the book reviews the evidence on environmental causes of forced migration and of the environmental impact of refugees. Black found out that despite the breadth of examples provided in the literature, detailed argument about why particular situations justify the title 'environmental refugees' is scarce and precise statistics are often of questionable accuracy or are simply non-existent. Black

cites many different studies to point to the weakness of evidence to support desertification-induced-displacement in varied areas such as the African Sahel, Haiti and Mexico. A causal link between drought and migration is seldom established according to Black. Similarly, there is very little evidence that environmental degradation is increasingly at the root of conflicts that feed back into refugee movements. In the rest of Chapter 2, Black portrays the different environmental impacts of the presence of refugees which are reflected in changes in flora and fauna, soil degradation and pressure on water resources. Changes in vegetative cover in the host-sites of refugees is an outcome of refugees demand for fuel and construction materials, livestock grazing and clearing land for farming.

In Chapter 3 Black provides methods to measure environmental impacts such as remote sensing and GIS, and environmental impact assessments. He also provided guidelines for environmental management as depicted by UNHCR. Though the chapter is very different in its methodological nature, it is very useful as it shows that environmental impacts could be scientifically studied. As most of the research in these areas is very far from this approach, Black's contribution in this respect is important.

Chapter 4 of the book deals with the various supply sides of refugee emergency situations such as provision of energy to refugee camps. One, well debated issue is the 'wood fuel gap' namely that refugees influxes tend to be harmful to the forests and other forms of vegetation in the host sites because of lack of fuel. Efforts of donor hosts and aid agency focus on provision of fuel and in managing the existing forests.

On the other hand, reforestation activities remain the most popular type of activity undertaken by refugee assistance agencies to address environmental concerns. The success of these efforts was partial mainly due to failures in the selection of the appropriate free species, limited community involvement and poor training. Some forestry projects were not sustainable because of climate, land tenure and social factors. Black also found reforestation schemes in refugee situations that failed largely due to a failure to involve refugees and especially local communities in projects.

Chapter 5 is a detailed account of the Rwandan refugee crisis. By the end of 1994 nearly three million Rwandans were living either as refugees in Tanzania, Congo-Zaire and small communities of refugees found rescue in Burundi and Uganda, or as internally displaced persons within Rwanda. In this chapter Black surveys the various aspects of environmental impacts of this enormous wave of refugees. Site selection for refugee camps was found to be very significant in the success or failure of resettlement of refugees in camps sites. Sites which had sufficient resources (water, wood, proximity to roads, available land for refugee settlement) were more successful in absorbing the refugees. The environmental impacts of refugee camps and settlements were: deforestation, soil erosion, degradation of water resources. Black, though, casts a shadow on the accuracy of the various reports on the environmental impacts of refugee settlements.

In Chapter 6 Black examines the impact of refugees and natural resource management in West Africa, in Guinea who hosted refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone, and in Senegal who hosted refugees from Mauritania. The refugee influx into the Senegal valley is put in the context of long-term environmental change and population movement which had to be taken for a long time in this region. Thus it is clearly difficult to isolate the impact of refugees on their host environment. However, Black's field survey did not find any evidence of refugees using natural resources—whether wood fuel or agricultural land in a different way to that of local populations. Similarly to the Senegal valley, the forest region of Guinea also had a history of population movements from neighboring countries.

There have been some environmental impacts caused by refugees in some parts of the forest but most of the refugees earned their living from activities which were much less reliant on natural resource than those conducted by locals. The most significant impact of the refugees in the forest region of Guinea was their cultivation of agricultural land which has certainly placed pressure on remaining forest resources.

In Chapter 7, Black discusses issues concerning environmental rehabilitation in repatriation situations namely, what happens in the areas to which refugees return in their countries of origin. As for the sites which were left by refugees, it was found that there was no real need in rehabilitation activities—only a clean-up operation. The environment recovered naturally in some parts. One of the main problems encountered by 'returnees' is the depletion of other resources caused by many years of war and exile.

Chapter 8 links research and practice. The main claim put by Black is that refugee situations are not that exceptional and that the range of policy options available for natural resource management in general can be brought to bear on refugee situations. Black calls for a more 'developmental' approach to environmental change in refugee-affected areas, but shows that many of the policies adopted lack in that respect. Black argues also for dispersal of refugees across wider areas. Promoting participation of refugees and host populations in decisions concerning their local environments, and seeing the stock of natural resources in refugee-affected areas as the 'livelihood environment' of these two groups, is the favored policy in the book as an antidote to the belief in rational planning and control from the top down.

Though some will criticize this approach as an 'ideal' or even 'ideological' one, the strength of Black's book is in its empirical and methodological work in Africa and the detailed case-studies which provide a full picture to the complex refugee situations and their environment. It is regrettable that very few geographers choose to study aspects of refugee movements, settlements, plight and rehabilitation with geographical tools (GIS, remote sensing) and with geographical analysis which combines spatial variables.

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