

This feeling was supported from the 1980s onward by national-scale property rights activism and rapid immigration to the state that brought citizens unfamiliar with the origins and unique legacy of Oregon's land-use regulations. Furthermore, partisan politics have discouraged legislative collaboration and sincere efforts to engage the public have waned. However, Walker and Hurley also note that the year Measure 37 was passed over half of Oregonians polled still believed that stringent planning made their state a better place. Interviews revealed that many voters were not aware of the ramifications of approving Measure 37 and have since acknowledged the importance of land-use planning. Furthermore, 62% of voters approved of Measure 49's efforts to limit Measure 37. Although no clear solution is defined, their conclusion seems to be straightforward: there is continued support for a statewide planning mandate, but for Oregon to remain a model system the process must involve the public to accommodate changing perspectives.

Planning Paradise would benefit from a brief comparison of Oregon's planning woes to at least one similar phenomenon to explore how other groups have dealt with comparable issues. For example, challenges to 1970s-era conservation easements have increased in recent years as new landowners—many of whom are heirs of the original easement donors—acquire protected land and realize its perpetually diminished economic and/or development value. The social and legal responses to this phenomenon may present some parallels to Oregon's current situation in that clear solutions are few, but amendments to easement law should account for changing public opinion.

Overall, Walker and Hurley provide an in-depth regional and historical analysis that can serve as a multi-scalar examination of landscape useful not only to planners but also geographers, historians, and political ecologists. This is especially true when viewed in light of the authors' introductory chapter that acknowledges inspiration from foundational concepts in these fields, which makes *Planning Paradise* a useful practical text for undergraduate and graduate courses.

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***Humboldt: Life on America's Marijuana Frontier.* By Emily Brady.** 2013. New York, NY: Grand Central Publishing, Hachette Book Group. 272 pp. Hardcover \$27.00. ISBN 978-1-4555-06767

In the summer of 2010, veteran journalist Emily Brady (*New York Times*, *Time*, *Village Voice*, etc.) moved to Humboldt County to write a book about how California legalized marijuana. As it turned out, California did not legalize marijuana that year, but the book that emerged is much richer for it. In search of what she viewed as a soon-to-be-vanishing way of life, Brady crossed the Redwood Curtain and entered another world—an underground world of marijuana growers, sellers, transporters, and law enforcement. *Humboldt: Life on America's Marijuana Frontier* is a chronicle of the world she entered and the people she met; it is both a snapshot and a history of the marijuana culture and industry in what, according to Brady, is widely considered the premier pot-growing region in the country.

The story is told primarily through the lives of four Humboldt County residents. The first is Mare, a 70-year-old woman and a longtime back-to-the-lander. She first came to Humboldt in the 1970s and, like many arriving in the area then, first started growing pot only for personal consumption. This was long before a marijuana industry existed in Humboldt. A committed outdoor grower, like so many early Humboldt residents, over time Mare began to sell to others. Second is Crockett, a 35-year-old man who was raised on a commune in Marin County, north of San Francisco. He remembers pressing marijuana seeds into the ground as a boy and his mother selling to fisherman. Attending school, he was admonished by his mother to keep their way of life secret and had always, as he tells it, been involved in the marijuana industry. Crockett, who moved to Humboldt County to manage a large grow, is emblematic of the “green rush” that brought, and still brings, young (mostly) men from all over the country to the region. Third is Emma, a 23-year-old woman and a daughter of growers. She grew up living “off the grid” in a small town near the coast in Humboldt. All aspects of her life, her childhood memories and those of her friends as well, were affected by the culture of growers and dealers in which she was raised. It was only after moving away from Humboldt, taking a conventional job in the city, that she began to realize how unusual her formative years were. The fourth main character is Bob, a man approaching 50 years old who worked as a deputy with the Humboldt County Sheriff’s department. Bob had been with the department for four years. He patrolled the southern Humboldt area near Garberville and was on a first-name basis with many of the locals. Being tasked with enforcing the law in an area where most people’s primary source of income (growing cannabis) is illegal was clearly a Sisyphean task. As Brady puts it, “It wasn’t easy being a deputy sheriff in a town of outlaws” (p. 51).

Brady gives an intimate, firsthand view of the area and the culture as told by those who lived it, however, the book is valuable in other ways. It provides fascinating background and historical references that help the reader understand the pot culture as it used to and currently does exist. For example, the reader learns about the Campaign Against Marijuana Planting (CAMP). Each year for eight weeks during the 1980s and 1990s, hundreds of law-enforcement personnel from various agencies would descend on Humboldt County in an attempt to eradicate marijuana. Using planes and helicopters to spot marijuana grows, agents would play a high-stakes game of cat and mouse with the growers. If a grow was spotted, on-the-ground personnel would move in to make arrests and eliminate the crop.

The result of these multimillion-dollar operations had an effect contrary to the one law enforcement intended—it raised the price (and thus the desirability of growing) cannabis. As Brady notes, “In the early 1990’s, some master growers in Humboldt earned as much as \$6,000 a pound for their outdoor crop” (p. 25). Given that a single outdoor plant, if properly tended, can yield a pound of dried bud (the highly potent dried flower cluster part of the plant), the result of CAMP was to make the financial lure of growing almost irresistible.

CAMP notwithstanding, Humboldt in many ways has been at the forefront of some of the recent changes in marijuana attitudes and policy. We learn that in 1996 Proposition 215, which legalized the medical use of marijuana in California, became law. Under Humboldt County District Attorney Paul Gallegos (who, Brady notes, attended a fundraiser by the Humboldt Growers Association) prosecution of marijuana crimes was deemphasized in the county. In 2003 Gallegos allowed 215 cardholders (cards were and remain easily available to virtually anyone) to grow up to 99 plants and possess up to three pounds of marijuana (Gold & Nguyen, 2009). In the space of a few years established Humboldt growers went from black helicopters and armed soldiers descending on their crops to competing with anyone who had a

215 card and a grow light. These changes and their effects were, and continue to be, immense. From a secretive outlaw culture and way of life to a (almost) respected enterprise, the residents of Humboldt have been there, and Brady has chronicled it.

Humboldt: Life on America's Marijuana Frontier created quite a stir in the area when news of it was released. Many people in the county were anxious to read the book, recommending or passing it on to friends and family after they had read it. Both from my own observations and my conversations with residents who have read the book, it appears that Brady's representation of Humboldt is accurate. The book is many things: it is a history of Humboldt, the marijuana outlaws and pioneers, the hippies who moved here to get back to the land, those drawn only by the money, and local law enforcement tasked with arresting their friends and neighbors for a drug on the verge of legalization. Brady is fine journalist, but, much to her credit, the volume appears to be collaboration between an oral historian and an anthropologist. The book does not in any way come across as dry; it is a rich, intensely human story of the lives of the people working in and affected by the marijuana industry in Humboldt. There is a vast amount of detail and much to be learned from this book.

Not only is the book both interesting and informative, it is also a fun read. It is a terrific story and difficult to put down. It is not polemic and does not take a particular point of view on the legality of cannabis. In that way *Humboldt: Life on America's Marijuana Frontier* may disappoint those who hold a particular bias toward the subject. It does, however, allow the reader to experience what Brady herself experienced, learn what Brady learned, and feel what Brady (and those she spoke with) felt. In this way the book allows readers to come to their own conclusions regarding many of the controversial issues surrounding marijuana. Though a story of Humboldt County, it is much more than simply a portrait of a single place; it is also the story of various individuals' hopes and dreams and how those hopes and dreams played out within the outlaw culture of marijuana cultivation. It is a unique and fascinating story that I would recommend it to anyone.

Reference

Gold, G. J., & Nguyen, A. T. (2009). Comparing entering freshmen's perceptions of campus marijuana and alcohol use to reported use. *Journal of Drug Education*, 39, 133-148.

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