

Spatial Locations

Space is, perhaps, our primary means of orientation in the world – physically, socially, and cosmologically. The need for spatial orientation is universal among humans, but the meanings of space are not. Space is neither empty nor neutral, it is filled with things and with meanings. Why is it, for example, that even when the physical distance is the same, it seems shorter when you go to visit a friend than when you have to run an odious errand? Physical space is rarely only that; it also encodes social meanings and values. In *Return to Laughter* (noted in chapter 1), Elenore Smith Bowen describes this very well:

Some walks overtaxed my own strength. . . . One “not far” excursion put me to bed for a couple of days after a twenty-five-mile round trip without food or water, whereafter I set out on a “far” journey equipped with lunch and water, only to find it less than four miles in all. At first I thought their use of these words was incontrovertible evidence that they had no idea of distance. Then I figured out that “far” referred not only to space, but to time and social distance as well. (1964: 52)

What does it mean if someone says: “Give me space!” What would or should your reaction be? Or, in a relationship, how do you feel if you are on the receiving end of a comment such as “I need some space”? Does it mean that the person needs a bigger room or a few acres to plant vegetables? No! It usually implies that the other person is feeling emotionally caged in, trapped, perhaps a little claustrophobic. Does it mean you are being too possessive? Personal space is also very much a matter of culture.

Americans tend to stand quite far apart when talking. If someone gets too close to us, we tend to take a step backward. We feel they are invading our “bubble” of

private space – that pocket of air surrounding our body. Whereas in other cultures speakers get so close you can feel as well as smell their breath. To many Americans this would be offensive except in intimate situations or with an infant.

In this chapter we will explore a number of different levels of spatial organization and their effects on everyday life. Providing some ground under our conceptual feet, we will first look at spatial coordinates on earth and then briefly move to their wider cosmological moorings before coming back to earth to discuss the spatial divisions of nations and regions, the public spaces of work and leisure, and the more personal spaces of home and the very rooms we occupy. Finally, we will take a look at the new space that is no place, cyberspace, and consider the implications for rearrangements of space in the future.

Maps

When we enter another culture we enter another world – not totally, of course, but to a greater or lesser extent. This is true even if it is another regional culture or the culture of a different ethnic group in one's own country. We need to orient ourselves and get our bearings. We need maps and guidebooks to tell us what is there and the significance of what we are seeing. It is difficult to get your bearings in a new city or new country without a map, even more so if you do not know the language, and especially if you do not know the writing system and, therefore, cannot even read the signs. For example, as an English speaker you could recognize the letters in French or German and could ask someone for a particular street address; but what if the signs were in Arabic or Chinese and you did not know those languages? You couldn't even read the signs to be able to ask someone. In many of the cultures that anthropologists have studied, maps and guidebooks are scanty or non-existent, and no one hands anthropologists an orientation packet. Each of us has to make our own mental map.

Even with a map it can be difficult if the orientation is different from what is familiar. Conventionally, north is at the top of contemporary maps, but on the map of the Stanford University campus, north is at the bottom. No wonder people get lost! But why is north conventionally at the top? Who decided that, and what are the consequences? From the standpoint of outer space there is no north. It depends on perspective, but whose? Ali Mazrui, Kenyan-born professor at both the University of Michigan and the University of Jos in Nigeria, and host of a nine-part television series on Africa, asked: "Is Europe north of Africa? Is Europe up and Africa down in geographical location, as well as in income, power, and global status? Of course, the maps say Europe is north of Africa (and therefore up). But that decision was arbitrary and made primarily by European mapmakers" (quoted in *Dial*, September 1986: 21–2). European mapmakers also distorted the size of continents. The Mercator map, which in various versions has been in common use since the sixteenth century, has had insidious consequences. Mazrui comments: "The visual memories of millions of children across generations have carried distorted ideas about the comparative physical scale of northern continents in relation to southern

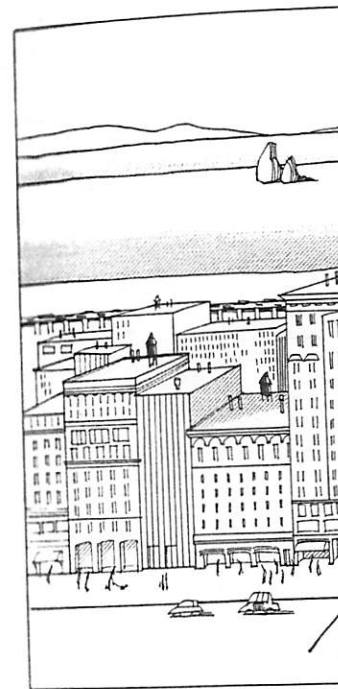


Figure 2.1 Post-9/11 version of S. Fiore. Published in *San Francisco Chronicle*.

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down. Similar things can be said about another. I spent most of my "large body of water" (the Atlantic – the high mountains of Colorado – very disoriented. If someone told me the direction of "large body of water" go west, I headed inland in the direction of the mental map I had never really crossed. The pale, another place altogether, very difficult to dislodge. The Mercator map of the world from the time of the Hudson River we have made their own version.

Now, living in California, I have seen over the Pacific a line was drawn so that in crossing the Pacific Ocean, it is also where we enter

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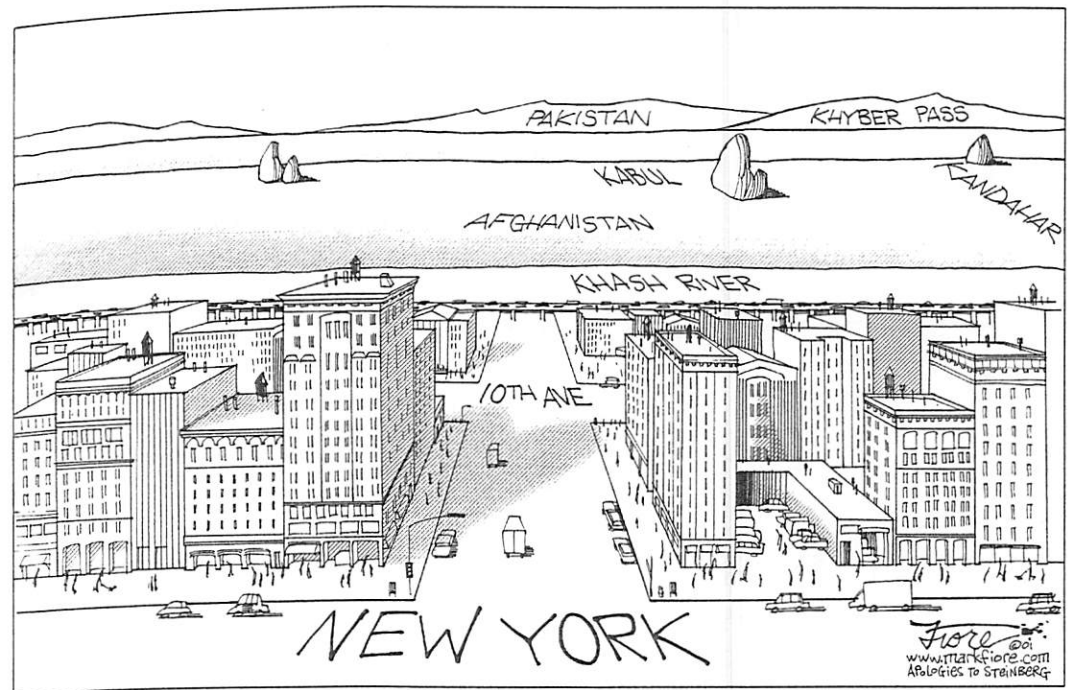


Figure 2.1 Post-9/11 version of Saul Steinberg's *View of the World from 9th Avenue*, by Mark Fiore. Published in *San Francisco Chronicle* (September 30, 2001). © Mark Fiore.

ones" (p. 22). For on that map North America is shown to be one and a half times the size of Africa whereas Africa is three and a half times the size of North America! He suggests that every class ought to experiment with turning the world upside down.

Similar things can be said about east and west, because what is east to one is west to another. I spent most of my life on the East coast of the United States; to me "large body of water" (the Atlantic) was east and west always meant the Wild West – the high mountains of Colorado and Wyoming. When I moved to California I got very disoriented. If someone gave me directions to go east, I naturally headed in the direction of "large body of water," i.e., the Pacific, and when they told me to go west, I headed inland in the direction of Wyoming and Colorado. In my own mental map I had never really considered California part of the west – it was beyond the pale, another place altogether. Once our mental maps are ingrained, they are very difficult to dislodge. The artist Steinberg expressed this visually in his humorous map of the world from the perspective of a New Yorker where known places beyond the Hudson River were few and their locale vague. Others, such as Mark Fiore, have made their own versions (see figure 2.1).

Now, living in California, I have to go west to get to the Far East. Somewhere over the Pacific a line was drawn determining our spatial and temporal coordinates, so that in crossing the Pacific, you not only enter the "East," you also enter a new day; it is also where we entered the new millennium. The placing of that line was/is

arbitrary; it was made not just by human decision but by the decision of a few people. Maps, then, are not just physical guides but also ideological. Think of the meanings we have invested in "East" and "West," "Western culture," "the Orient," the "Middle East." These meanings have become incorporated in our notions of the way the world is. Yet we need to ask why is the area that is now occupied by Israel and a number of Arab nations called the "Middle East," or the "Near East"? For whom is it "near" or "middle"? Whose view of the world is being imposed, and what are the implications? (Cf. Said 1979: 19 for a detailed discussion.)

Cosmology

Such meanings may be more obvious in medieval maps of the world, *mappae mundi* as they are called. On these maps, heavily influenced by a Christian worldview and often made by monks, east, not north, was generally at the top because that is where Paradise (the Garden of Eden) was presumed to be. In that worldview there were only three continents, those that were to be populated by the descendants of the three sons of Noah after the Flood (Genesis 9: 18–19), that is, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, or Asia, Africa, and Europe. It was maps like these that miraculously guided Christopher Columbus to the New World, and it was into that framework that he fitted his discoveries.

Humans everywhere have cosmic concepts. They are oriented not only on the earth but in a universe or cosmos, although maybe even the notion of *uni*-verse is not universal since it implies one world organized by the same principles. We speak of four directions, four cardinal points, four *corners* of the globe. But there can be no corners on a round earth. Unlike any generation before ours, we have seen what our planet looks like from outer space. In the photographs taken by astronauts our planet looks blue and is swathed in clouds and floating in space. This space is imagined as relatively empty, not layered as in ancient and medieval worldviews. Empty also implies devoid of meaning. We think of the planet as physical material that can be explored scientifically, an idea we think came from the Greeks, yet it also derives from the biblical worldview. It was precisely the belief in the separation of the Creator from Creation, the simplification of power to one dynamic principle, and the lawful organization of matter that allowed early modern scientists to think they were investigating God's laws embedded in the material (nature) he supposedly created. The scientific notion of nature is, thus, intimately involved with a biblical worldview. In this worldview, there is a distinction between the divine and the material (supernatural vs. natural); not only do they stand in hierarchical relation, but there is also felt to be no divine in nature and vice versa. This is not the case in other cosmologies, other worldviews. While the cosmos can be explored scientifically, it depends upon a *prior* notion of cosmos that is, itself, derived from a religious worldview. The separation of divine from physical is peculiarly Western and has all kinds of implications for the way we imagine our lives and our place in the world. It has implications for our exploitation of resources and the disdain that we often exhibit toward people with very different cosmologies.

Cosmic concepts are not dependent on physical reality. Instead, by symbolic means, humans create worlds that transcend personal or individual experience about "outer space," even though our knowledge is far. And there are competing theories and these theories are first and foremost by and large have been constructed. The American flag on the moon, were some people think they can colonize and shields that will keep certain things out. Still others have begun to think a new world have destroyed this one, an idea not unlike Star Trek.

In the medieval Christian world were imagined as if they existed in a different space. Regardless, no one except Adam and Eve or experienced the Garden of Eden. The archaeological remains of it, which they have found, has surely fired the imagination. They have been on the straight and narrow path, but they have not fully expressed.

Cosmology, then, is not just the study of the world for worldview in its widest cultural context, but also what kind of world we live in. It is also influence the meaning of theories. It is a two-way exchange.

Nations and Regions

Between "outer space" and "inner space" that order and organize our lives. Parks, buildings, houses, and rooms are not granted that nations are the result of only because we have been born in a place. of a nation as a bounded territory is used to mean a people identified by a common history of land.

Arabs, too, have had a very different view of space that needed to be crossed in order to reach people. So they did not have a fixed territory, literally, by the British, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. The inhabitants' notions of land.

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Cosmic concepts are not dependent on what is personally seen or experienced. Instead, by symbolic means, humans construct and live in spatially coordinated worlds that transcend personal or individual experience. Today people talk with ease about "outer space," even though only a few have ever been there and they not very far. And there are competing theories about how it is shaped and how far it extends, and these theories are first and foremost based on mental images – images that by and large have been constructed in a particular cultural milieu. By planting the American flag on the moon, were the astronauts staking a claim to that territory? Some people think they can colonize "outer space," that they can create boundaries and shields that will keep certain things in and other things out. But by what right? Still others have begun to think about creating other worlds to inhabit once we have destroyed this one, an idea no doubt that influenced and was popularized by *Star Trek*.

In the medieval Christian worldview the Garden of Eden and Heaven and Hell were imagined as if they existed in physical space. Some people still hold this view. Regardless, no one except Adam and Eve (if you believe they existed) has ever seen or experienced the Garden of Eden, yet some people are looking for the archaeological remains of it, which they believe is in modern-day Bahrain. Hell, as a physical place, has surely fired the imaginations of millions of people and helped to keep them on the straight and narrow path – a moral concept that is, nevertheless, spatially expressed.

Cosmology, then, is not just the science of the stars but, as I use it, is also a term for worldview in its widest cultural meaning. It gives us a sense of where we are and what kind of world we live in. Conversely, cultural notions of what kind of world it is also influence the mental images that scientific cosmologists turn into theories. It is a two-way exchange.

Nations and Regions

Between "outer space" and "inner space" there is a whole range of spatial concepts that order and organize our lives – from the nation and region, to public spaces, parks, buildings, houses, and rooms. First, let us think about the nation. We take it for granted that nations are the natural, obvious way to divide up the world – but only because we have been born into a world that is divided into nations. The notion of a nation as a bounded territory is a very Western and relatively modern idea; nation used to mean a people identified by language and religion rather than a specific piece of land.

Arabs, too, have had a very different notion of land. Borders were not important, maybe non-existent. This made perfect sense in an area that was mostly desert, a space that needed to be crossed in order to get someplace – to the oases and to water and people. So they did not have borders around their territories. The lines drawn in the sand, literally, by the British at the end of World War I created the nations of Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. These bounded territories had little to do with the inhabitants' notions of land. Not surprisingly, the lines have been contentious

ever since. The one drawn between Iraq and Kuwait, for example, divided what had been basically one territory under the control of the Ottomans. Not only that, it created tensions over the land bordering the Arabian Gulf – especially when it transected the oil fields and left Iraq a tiny exit to the sea. The Gulf War of 1991 was fought to maintain the line. Another line, drawn after World War II, has been a continuous source of friction that portends to draw not just the Middle East but the whole world into a conflagration – that is, the line that created the state of Israel from Palestinian land.

Other people, too, have very different notions of land and territory. Some think it a very strange idea that individuals can own a piece of the planet and enclose it for their own use and even defend it at gunpoint. They think of land as a resource for all humans. You might have usufruct in it but never own it. Even if you own land, how far down does that ownership go? In the United States, owning property was what entitled you to a vote, in a sense giving you status as a real person. Today, owning property gives tax benefits that homeless people and renters (arguably those who need them most) do not get.

Nomadic peoples also do not accept the notion of bounded territory. They are accustomed to traverse a wide area in search of pasture for their animals. While they often visit the same places in their yearlong cycle, they do not have a permanent residence. When the land they were accustomed to crossing became divided between different nations, the issue of the border became volatile, and measures have been taken to force them to become sedentary. Gypsies also roam far and wide, not so much to pasture animals as to trade and do odd jobs. They, too, make "nations" very nervous since they cross borders and do not give allegiance to any nation in particular. Migrant workers also move across land in search of work. They, too, confound a system that assumes permanent residence and a permanent place of work, making it difficult for them to get health and social security benefits or be able to enroll their children in school. All of these groups are examples of what British anthropologist Mary Douglas calls "matter out of place." In her book *Purity and Danger* (1966), she argues that anything that confounds a particular system of order is "matter out of place." Because the boundaries or lines of the system have been sullied, the offending matter is culturally perceived as polluting, as dirt.

Even more than migrants, nomads, or gypsies, the homeless confound the social order. With no place to call their own, they are forced to live "on the street," most spectacularly exemplifying Mary Douglas's notion of "matter out of place." No wonder they are so often considered polluting. City officials try to move them, to get them out of sight. People walking down the street often turn their heads away, pretending not to see them; do they think they will be contaminated? Or is it that the homeless threaten our complacency, making us uncomfortably aware that we, too, could end up there? The real question is why, in one of the richest countries in the world, are there homeless people living on the streets and in public parks? While the stereotypic image is the drug-addicted man or woman, more than a quarter of a million (300,000) children under 10 are homeless (Leach 1994: 173). They are hardly recognized in life and when they die many of them

are buried in an unmarked grave in New York City's public burial ground, part of a prison colony. The bodies are buried by prison inmates. No one can attend their burial, and the people buried in Potter's Field are the people of the homeless. (Kozol, 1986)

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Spatial Segregation

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are buried in an unmarked grave in a ditch at a place called Potter's Field. Potter's Field is New York City's public burial ground, it's on an island in Long Island Sound, it's part of a prison colony. The children are brought there from hospital morgues and buried by prison inmates. No ceremony memorializes their existence. Their mothers can't attend their burial, and that may be just as well. It wouldn't be consoling. Half the people buried in Potter's Field since 1981 are infants. A lot of them the children of the homeless. (Kozol, 1989: 13)

What has happened to the social contract? Penelope Leach, a British psychologist and pediatrician, has written eloquently about this in her ground-breaking book, *Children First: What Our Society Must Do – And Is Not Doing – For Our Children Today* (1994). She believes that the “principal problems of rich societies . . . are not a shortage of money but of political will” (p. 174).

Spatial Segregation

Australian aborigines, tenants on that continent for 40,000 years, had a very unusual notion of their land. Their land is fairly barren; to our eyes there are few distinguishing markers to take directions from. But for them it was filled with signs and these were related to their cosmological beliefs. This is a complicated issue that is beyond the scope of this chapter, but one of the results was their belief that the Ancestors had traveled across the vast territory *singing* about the sites, thereby naming them. These “songlines,” then, “created ways of communication between the most far-flung groups. . . . A ‘song’ . . . was both map and direction-finder. Providing you knew the song, you could always find your way across the country . . . (for) the distance between two . . . sites can be measured as a stretch of song” (Chatwin 1987: 13). The late Bruce Chatwin was a travel writer, not an anthropologist, yet, after the time he spent with the aborigines, he was able to convey their notion of space and land better than many of the anthropologists. The aborigines, he said, “could not imagine territory as a block of land hemmed in by frontiers: but rather as an interlocking network of ‘lines’ or ‘ways through’” (p. 56), i.e., the songlines. This is not to say they were, therefore, landless or had no system of ownership. He explained:

everyone inherited, as his or her private property, a stretch of the Ancestor's song and the stretch of country over which the song passed. A man's verses were his title deeds to territory. He could lend them to others. He could borrow other verses in return. The one thing he couldn't do was sell or get rid of them. (p. 57)

When the British arrived they took over the aborigines' land, put them on reservations or sent them to work on cattle ranches. The indigenous population was decimated by European diseases, and by the despondency created as their way of life and their identity were destroyed. Recently, however, some groups are attempting to restore their culture and reclaim certain specific sites.

Similar things happened to the aboriginal population of the Americas. Estimates about the island population in the Caribbean before the encounter that began with Columbus number between 1 and 8 million, with more recent estimates at the higher end (cf. Sales 1990: 160–1). Twenty years later, approximately only 28,000 remained, slaughtered when they resisted or dead because of the ravaging diseases brought with the Europeans. In either case, this “is more than decimation, it is a carnage . . . closer to genocide” (p. 161). To my mind, it is genocide. In North America, things were not so different. The settlers (invaders) seemed to assume they had a divine right to the land, it was their “manifest destiny.” They were bringing true religion and civilization to the “naked” savages, often justifying their actions with biblical quotes. “Ask of me, and I shall give thee, the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession” (Psalm 2: 8), or Romans 13: 2: “Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation” (cited in Zinn [1980] 1990: 14). The number of Native Americans who perished has been subject to considerable research but, according to recent scholarship, the “data reveal the actual rate of extermination pertaining to Native North America during the period of conquest as having been between 98 to 99 percent overall. . . . [This] vastly exceed[s] that experienced by the Jews of Europe under the Nazis, it represents a scale and scope of genocide without parallel in recorded human history” (Jaime 1992: 7). Those who survived often had their land taken by broken treaties or by being “relocated” onto reservations that, not surprisingly, had the least arable land. The social problems that have resulted from this devastation have too often been blamed on the victims. The pattern of disinheritance of Native Americans continues to the present day. The most recent example concerns Yucca Mountain in Nevada. This mountain, which is sacred to both Western Shoshone and Paiute groups, is located on Western Shoshone land that is supposedly guaranteed by treaty. Yet in 2002, President Bush pushed through legislation that designated it as the dump site for nuclear waste, thereby abrogating the treaty. Native Americans have been fighting back to regain some of their lands or the benefits from the land, but it is too early to tell whether they will be able to stop this project.

The removal of Native Americans to reservations was one form of racial/spatial segregation. So, too, was *apartheid* in South Africa. Although that system has been dismantled, lines are still drawn that keep blacks separate from whites. Providing them with inferior education, making housing costs formidable, and keeping them from certain jobs contributes to the separation. The same institutionalized segregation was and is practiced in the United States. Until relatively recently, there were separate places for blacks and whites – bathrooms, lunch counters, neighborhoods, churches, schools – the space of the South divided up between different groups of people. The inner-city ghettos in the North are another outcome of that legacy as blacks escaped from the confines of the South.

But spatial divisions do not always divide people who are racially or linguistically different. The “Berlin Wall,” first erected during the night of August 12–13, 1961, eventually extended not only 28 miles through Berlin but also an additional 75 miles around West Berlin, effectively making it an island in the middle of East Germany. The Wall divided people who considered themselves a nation in the sense of a

people of the same “stock” (race), language, and religion from West, but became a barrier for all Berliners, albeit first for the construction of a city on the side constructed and maintained by the West for almost 30 years. People lived with different ideologies that they were really different during the so-called “unification.” The problems continue. The sameness. I find it very difficult to separate ethnic groups from themselves, been ghettoized. from history.

Ghetto used to refer to a specific area, but has been generalized to refer to a variety of areas, including barrios in Brazil and the ghettos at the opposite end of the spectrum in Stanford because it is a place to be a facetious and some of the problems there. Now, because of the development of Silicon Valley, it is about the development of “gated communities” or “ghettos” of the rich; the people like themselves. They are designed expressly to keep people out.

We have seen how space has been also divided by gender, as in the case of the Ground Rules and Social Norms.

any restricted area such as a national boundary, how it shall be defined must meet certain kinds of criteria (e.g., citizenship test) and each country has its own Migration Officer. (Arden)

It is important to become aware of the ways in which space is divided – prisons and mental hospitals, government buildings, etc. – has freedom of movement. People are “chained to a large park alone? A national park in Massachusetts, the mayor proposes an increase in the number of people on the curfew on men since the

ation of the Americas. Estimates of the encounter that began with the more recent estimates at the later, approximately only 28,000 because of the ravaging diseases is more than decimation, it is a mind, it is genocide. In North America (invaders) seemed to assume they had a "destiny." They were bringing a "civilization," often justifying their actions as "the heathen for thine inheritance possession" (Psalm 2: 8), or "power, resisteth the ordinance of damnation" (cited in Zinn [1980] "The American Revolution has been subject to con- ship, the "data reveal the actual situation in America during the period of con- sideration. . . . [This] vastly exceed[s] the Nazi, it represents a scale and a human history" (Jaime 1992: 7). "Broken treaties or by being "relocated" to the least arable land. The social have too often been blamed on Americans continues to the present day in Nevada. This mountain, the groups, is located on Western Nevada. Yet in 2002, President Bush has a dump site for nuclear waste, we have been fighting back to regain it but it is too early to tell whether

was one form of racial/spatial segregation. Although that system has been separate from whites. Providing a formidable, and keeping them in the same institutionalized segregation. Although relatively recently, there were lunch counters, neighborhoods, and a gap between different groups of people. Another outcome of that legacy as

who are racially or linguistically different. On the night of August 12-13, 1961, there was also an additional 75 miles in the middle of East Germany. It was a nation in the sense of a

people of the same "stock" (another term that means something very similar to race), language, and religion. The Wall was a structure that not only separated East from West, but became a major source of orientation both spatially and temporally for all Berliners, albeit from two different perspectives. It provided a physical frame for the construction of different narratives within which the individuals on either side constructed and made sense of their lives. The physical division into two countries for almost 30 years created two different peoples with different histories; they lived with different ideologies that permeated their life experiences. The assumption that they were really the same people (race, ethnic group) created problems during the so-called "unification" after the Wall came down in the fall of 1989, and the problems continue. Sameness of "blood" clearly does not translate as cultural sameness. I find it very disturbing to see a similar kind of wall being erected to separate ethnic groups from each other – this time in Israel, by people who had, themselves, been ghettoized. It makes me wonder whether we really learn any lessons from history.

Ghetto used to refer to sections in European cities set aside for Jews; it has become generalized to refer to an area in cities where poor people or minorities live. The *barrios* in Brazil and the *gecekondus* in Turkey are similar phenomena. But there are ghettos at the opposite extreme. I live in what is called "the faculty ghetto" at Stanford because it is a place on the campus where *only* faculty can live. It used to be a facetious and somewhat derogatory name because of all the gorgeous homes there. Now, because of the enormous increase in housing costs in the surrounding Silicon Valley, it is about the only place most faculty can afford to live. The recent development of "gated communities" is, perhaps, a better example. These are "ghettos" of the rich; they keep out "unwanted elements" and keep in "desirable" people like themselves. Some of these communities make further distinctions when they are designed expressly for singles or for retired people.

We have seen how spaces are divided by race, ethnicity, and income, but they are also divided by gender, age, occupation, and habit. In a book called *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, the editor Shirley Ardener notes that

any restricted area such as a club, theatre or nation-state has rules determining its boundary, how it shall be crossed, who can occupy that space. In order to do so one must meet certain kinds of criteria (become a member, buy a ticket, get a visa, pass a citizenship test) and each has a gate-keeper whether that is a porter, usher, or Immigration Officer. (Ardener, 1981: 11)

It is important to become more aware of how space keeps certain people in and out – prisons and mental hospitals are obvious examples, but so too do courts, churches, offices, government buildings, and even public parks regulate who can enter. Who has freedom of movement? In a classroom, who can walk about? In an office, what people are "chained to their desks"? Who feels safe walking in a city at night or in a large park alone? A number of years ago when I was living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the mayor put a curfew on women after dark because there had been an increase in the number of attacks and rapes. I called and asked why not put the curfew on men since they were the ones creating the problem. Why not let women,

for once, have free use of the streets? (My request was not instituted.) The same idea seems to have inspired the "Take Back the Night" events that began in England in the late 1970s but quickly became international in scope, although organized by local communities. Women, men, and children march to protest violence against women and families and to make it safe to walk at night. Very few men, I think, understand the restricted spaces in which women can move easily and freely and the effects of this on their lives (cf. Massey 1994).

In many places in the world there are spaces divided by gender – the "men's house," for example, in a number of cultures we label "primitive." But the same is true for certain places in the so-called civilized, industrial world; in Turkey, men can sip tea in the *çayhane* but women are excluded, and there have been (and still are) men's clubs in Britain and the United States. Silvia Rodgers (1981) compared the Iatmul men's house in New Guinea with the British House of Commons, with striking results. Throughout most of its history, the House of Commons was a men's house. "The classification of physical space," Rodgers claims, "derives from the cultural map of political power" (1981: 53). The Speaker of the House sits at the front, and members of the party currently in power sit in front of him on his right, the opposition on the left. After his ceremonial entry, the Speaker's prayers both open the session and make a direct link to the sacred power of the church. "A member's entry and exit into the chamber is marked by a bow towards the Chair" (p. 53). Since all of these positions have traditionally been held by men, it is not too surprising that it was very difficult for them to accept women in their midst, they appear to be "matter out of place." Since 1919, women have been able to be elected to Parliament, yet there are still very few female members, in part because of the pervasive atmosphere and veiled hostility. One seemingly trivial way they were "told" they did not belong concerned the bathrooms. The women's bathroom was clearly marked: "Private, Lady Members Only," while the men's room had emblazoned on the door, "Members Only." "Does this demonstrate the implicit assumption that in the symbolic ordering of the British political system the members of the House are men?" (p. 55). No doubt very similar things could be said about the United States Congress, especially the Senate where there are so few women.

Primary, of course, is a source and control of water and a system to provision inhabitants with food; both of these imply political organization, consolidation of power, and thus hierarchy. In addition, there must be certain kinds of building materials and styles of housing that can accommodate large numbers of people in a smaller space.

Spaces in Cities

Cities developed in the ancient Near East around 4000 BC – Erech and Ur in Sumer, now Iraq, are thought to be the oldest cities. Although cities are a very efficient way to consolidate power, they are extremely dependent on those outside it, unlike peasant villages or nomadic encampments, which are much more self-sufficient. Think of what is necessary in order for a city to come into being and to maintain itself. Regardless of the needs of cities, those needs do not dictate the design of a city, that is an artifact of culture.

Edward Hall has noted that in Europe there are two major systems for patterning space. One of these, found primarily in France and Spain, is the

"radiating star," while the other (found in Turkey) with Caesar to England, you compare the Place de la Concorde in Paris, New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. The latter connects all points and functions by radiating them out" (p. 137). It is so that the former is sociopetal and the latter is sociocentric. I suppose, that one brings people together and the other disperses them.

Cities are also generally divided into a central business or financial section, shopping areas, and residential areas by ethnic group and income level. You can go to any city and try to figure out where the center is. In the not too distant past, cities were often located outside the city, you had to go to the center to buy a dress, a coat, or a pair of shoes. In modern areas in cities, and Main Street is a different phenomenon began to appear in the city and even outside the city. There is nothing there! Today, shopping malls are the center of the country since they are in the "downtown." They are also a different type stores, but numerous shopping centers, toys, children's clothes, sports shops and grocery stores as well as movie theaters, video-game stores, and so on. It is in particular, although there are many communities around them, the communities around them are popular as a "meeting place" has sprung up. Involving insights not just about adolescence and self and consumer vs. citizen.

It is also interesting to compare shopping areas in Middle East and Europe. In the Middle East, numerous shops selling the same kind of items in one place. That means that in Europe, another kitchenware, or carpentry, the very same kind of items are sold in many different places. There may be a slight variation in the shop. This arrangement may keepers relatively honest, because he could lose customers to his neighbor. In Europe, one rather than another is not as because of social connectivity, it is recommended by one. General

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“radiating star,” while the other is the grid that traveled from Asia Minor (ancient Turkey) with Caesar to England (Hall 1966: 137). The contrast becomes obvious if you compare the Place de la Concorde in Paris with the numbered streets in New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. Hall claims that the “French-Spanish system connects all points and functions . . . [while] the grid system separates activities by stringing them out” (p. 137). It is something worth pondering, especially his further claim that the former is sociopetal while the other is sociofugal; these neologisms mean, I suppose, that one brings people together while the other tends to disperse them.

Cities are also generally divided up into a variety of sections by activity – business or financial section, shopping section, and theater district, for example, and also by ethnic group and income category.¹ Look around your city or the one closest to you and try to figure out who does what where and when and who lives where. In the not too distant past, cities were the major places to shop. Even if you lived outside the city, you had to go to the city, indeed “downtown,” to shop for a new dress, a coat, or a pair of shoes. It was an outing, a special occasion. Downtown areas in cities, and Main Streets in towns, began to decline in the 1960s as a very different phenomenon began to appear – the shopping mall. A mall is set outside the city and even outside the town. At first, people wondered who would go there. There is nothing there! Today, that is probably where most people do their shopping. Shopping malls are thought to provide the variety of the city with the convenience of the country since it is much easier to park the car at a mall than “downtown.” They are also self-contained worlds – not only are there department-type stores, but numerous specialty shops featuring items such as shoes, jewelry, toys, children’s clothes, sporting goods, and evening wear. Many also have flower shops and grocery stores as well as coffee shops, restaurants, beauty parlors, spas, movie theaters, video-game halls, and even places to leave the children for a couple of hours while you shop. It is a totally artificial environment, not rooted to any place in particular, although there are variations and differences related to the wealth of the communities around them. But it is this environment that has become especially popular as a “meeting place” with young people among whom a whole “mall culture” has sprung up. Investigations of this phenomenon have begun to yield insights not just about adolescents but also about the effect of space on notions of self and consumer vs. citizen.

It is also interesting to consider the difference between an American mall and the shopping areas in Middle Eastern cities. In the Middle East, each shopping area has numerous shops selling the same kind of things rather than a variety of things in one place. That means that in one area or street you will find only leather goods, in another kitchenware, or carpets, or wedding clothes, or goldsellers. Each shop has the very same kind of items, for example, gold bracelets, earrings, and necklaces; there may be a slight variation in styles but basically the same items are sold in each shop. This arrangement may have the unintended consequence of keeping the shopkeepers relatively honest, because if one of them began to charge exorbitant prices, he could lose customers to his neighbors who are not. The reasons you patronize one rather than another is not so much because of the difference in the items sold as because of social connections, because it is run by a relative or a friend, or it was recommended by one. Generally, each shopping excursion has a specific purpose in

mind. There are exceptions, of course. For example, in some Middle Eastern cities there are "passages" – spaces between buildings or underground where a variety of small shops coexist. This is also true in the Grand Bazaar (*Kapılı Çarşı* – Covered Bazaar) in Istanbul, perhaps the world's first shopping mall, established soon after the Muslim conquest of the city in 1453. Today, there are about 4,000 tiny shops selling a variety of goods under its roof. Nevertheless, they are still arranged in different "streets" according to the type of item sold, for example, "the goldsellers street."

Public Places

All cities, towns, and even villages have public places where numbers of people can gather, not only for ceremonial displays or protests but also where more informal meetings can take place. There are public squares such as Red Square in Moscow, Trafalgar Square in London, or Times Square in New York, as well as parks and green spaces – the Mall in Washington, DC, Hyde Park in London, and Central Park in New York. While parks such as these also serve as major public gathering places, they are used more informally as well – for reading the newspaper, for picnics, for pushing the baby carriage, or for jogging. Not only do they break up the monotony and oppressiveness of buildings, they also provide a breathing space for the city's inhabitants. Nevertheless, different cultures have very different ideas about what a park is and what it should look like. In Paris, for instance, the parks are very well manicured and are often filled with formal gardens, fountains, statuary, and artificial pools of water. People keep to the graveled paths and sit on park benches. The whole thing is extremely decorous. In contrast, in Berlin, there are many parks scattered all over the city and some of them are quite wild – lots of woods and bushes and natural ponds. People ride their bikes and even horses on the paths and sit or lie down on the grass or ground. It gives Berliners a feeling they have been able to get into the countryside even in the heart of the city. I taught in Berlin for a semester, and at first I was quite wary of going into these parks alone because of my enculturation in the United States, where entering such a place can be extremely risky for women. But this does not seem to be the case in Berlin; I never heard of any assaults against women in parks. This is not to say they did not or never happen, but it would be an unusual event, and I saw many women walking alone, sitting and reading alone, and even sunbathing topless alone. They seemed to have the feeling that they had as much right to the use of the parks as men – at any time. More importantly, the men did not seem to feel this as an infringement on *their* space. What do you think accounts for this difference (cf. Massey 1994)? More important, what do you think is necessary to make it safe for women to walk in parks day or night? What other ways do you think the space of the city is felt and used differently according to gender?

In the United States, at the other end of the spectrum from city or town parks are State Parks and National Parks. These are away from cities and towns and demand a more extended excursion. They are not just a place to stroll at lunchtime

or after the evening meal. They require an entrance or use fee for their citizens; they are designed for some camping. State Parks were designed to protect "the preservation of the world," in addition to a vigorous but sustainable use (Albanese 1990), but also, unlike America's wilderness areas

Yet, despite the image of wilderness, some are designated places for tourism. In the sense of the natural beauty and amenities in National Parks, they require permission and enter at the entrance and dwindling numbers of people to escape, for a brief respite from modern life, the park often functions. National Parks are also often the site of "returning to nature," often as described in *Into the Wild*, by Jon

Other Public Spaces

Sporting arenas and museums are places where anyone who can afford a ticket can go. They are public because they are often open to all, but along this continuum are some privately owned, sometimes pay the price of admission

Restaurants, too, are often open to a prohibitive cost, others are more tended to feel "out of place" in a way; whereas the lone male diner has "family sections" mainly the babies and children by themselves. What cultural differences in some towns, it is felt to be seen in restaurants, so "with or without their child"

Almost every restaurant has a cell phone habit, and recently, some restaurants are a good place to examine which spaces. Who is work

e, in some Middle Eastern cities underground where a variety of Bazaar (*Kapılı Çarşı* – Covered shopping mall, established soon after here are about 4,000 tiny shops. Regardless, they are still arranged in a grid, for example, “the goldsellers

or after the evening meal. Although they are public, they are usually not free but require an entrance or use fee. State Parks are meant primarily as recreational spaces for their citizens; they are designed for family activities – swimming, boating, games, and some camping. State Parks tend to be more domesticated while National Parks were designed to protect “wilderness” areas from human traffic. “In wilderness is the preservation of the world,” said Henry David Thoreau,² who not only gave expression to a vigorous but suppressed religious belief in the effects of nature (cf. Albanese 1990), but also, unknowingly, gave inspiration for a movement to preserve America’s wilderness areas for posterity.

Yet, despite the image of wilderness, National Parks are well controlled. There are designated places for tourists, normally on the periphery, so they might get some sense of the natural beauty; but except for these places there are few domestic amenities in National Parks. Those who wish to enter the “wild” must usually get permission and enter at their own risk. These parks provide a space for wild animals and dwindling numbers of endangered species. While it is also a place for some people to escape, for a brief period of time, the intrusions, especially the noise, of modern life, the park often displaced the people who had been living there. National Parks are also often the site where certain people play out the cultural myths of “returning to nature,” often with dire consequences. An especially poignant story is told in *Into the Wild*, by Jon Krakauer (1996).

Other Public Spaces

Sporting arenas and museums can also be considered public spaces since generally anyone who can afford a ticket can enter that space. And they are also considered public because they are often, but not always, supported by public taxes. Further along this continuum are such places as movie theaters, cafés, and pubs. These are privately owned, sometimes by corporations, but public insofar as anyone who can pay the price of admission or is of the appropriate age can enter.

Restaurants, too, are other semi-public spaces. Some are extremely exclusive due to prohibitive cost, others attract only a young boisterous crowd; women have tended to feel “out of place” if they go alone, and sometimes are made to feel that way; whereas the lone male diner rarely encounters the same stigma. Some restaurants have “family sections.” In the United States it generally means that families, mainly the babies and children, should be kept away from adults who wish to dine by themselves. What cultural messages are being communicated? In Turkey, at least in some towns, it is felt to be inappropriate for women unaccompanied by men to be seen in restaurants, so “family restaurant” means a place where women can eat, with or without their children.

Almost every restaurant now has a smoking section, segregating people by their habit, and recently, some restaurants have, thankfully, set aside separate sections for cell phone users. What other kinds of sections or divisions do you find? A restaurant is a good place to examine social divisions. Look closely at who is occupying which spaces. Who is working behind the scene? Who is in the dining area? While

as where numbers of people can sit but also where more informal activities such as Red Square in Moscow, New York, as well as parks and squares in London, and Central Park in New York are major public gathering places, for the newspaper, for picnics, for do they break up the monotony of a breathing space for the city’s every different ideas about what a space, the parks are very well used, fountains, statuary, and artificial hills and sit on park benches. The Berlin, there are many parks scattered wild – lots of woods and bushes, even horses on the paths and sit on a feeling they have been able to enjoy. I taught in Berlin for a semester, parks alone because of my encouragement place can be extremely risky for Berlin; I never heard of any assaults, but it would not or never happen, but it would be walking alone, sitting and reading, needed to have the feeling that they are at any time. More importantly, not on their space. What do you think? More important, what do you think about in parks day or night? What is it used and used differently according

spectrum from city or town parks away from cities and towns and just a place to stroll at lunchtime

it is true that these very same people might change places in another location, or at another restaurant, the social divisions still remain.

Let us return, briefly, to the subject of bathrooms. In the United States, bathrooms in public places are generally segregated by sex. If there is just one bathroom, each sex would use it separately. That is not what I found in what I considered staid Belgium. There the toilets are often unisex, which means that both men and women use the same bathroom at the same time. I found it a bit disconcerting. In American public bathrooms there are now often tiny places for changing baby diapers – but they are generally only in the women's bathrooms, a subtle indication that American culture views diaper-changing a woman's job. In Scandinavian countries, in contrast, there are such areas in both men's and women's bathrooms. What different notions of gender are being expressed?

Work Space

When you enter a large office, aren't you immediately aware of the status of the person sitting at the desk? Or at least make assumptions about it. The status is not just communicated by the plush carpets, the view, the furnishings, but from the sheer size of the office. The size of an office, even if the difference is only a few square feet, can create all kinds of personnel issues and conflicts. In academia, which is the place I know best, there is a pecking order for who gets what office and it would be an insult if you were more senior but got a smaller office than a new assistant professor. In Turkey, professors generally have to share offices. Meanwhile, in France, professors generally do not have offices at all! They work at home and meet students in cafés. How do you think status would be communicated there? In American business, a president, vice president, or chief executive officer will normally have a large office with a view, often on a different, usually higher, floor altogether. But even the head of a particular department will have a private office – often in a corner or place somewhat away from the other workers. By contrast, "the man in charge of a French office can often be found in the middle – with his minions placed like satellites on strings radiating outward from him" (Hall 1966: 138). In Britain, the members of Parliament have no offices but apparently "conduct their business on the terrace overlooking the Thames" (p. 130)! How do you think American Congress(wo)men would react to that?

We spend a great deal of our time working, therefore work space is important for how we feel about ourselves. Different occupations demand different kinds of spaces: scientists need laboratories; architects need large tables, chefs need kitchens, etc. But if the space is designed only for efficiency without taking into consideration workers' needs, they will probably not be very efficient. In factories, priority is given over to machines; how do you think that affects how workers view themselves and their work, especially when a foreman is watching from a platform above the workfloor? When you visit a business, observe how the space is arranged. Where do the clerical staff sit, and what kind of space are they allotted? Who has an office?

Are there separate spaces
tell about the business ju

Houses and Rooms

Forms of shelter, or what enormously varied – not a huge and interesting subject we are, both as individual but in square footage, in an extraordinary book, *The task of making portrait world*. He was interested in resented the statistical average (mudbrick) house cement block house of 40 in a yurt (a one-room round size in Kuwait has 4,850 sq was a family of four living a wide variation in wealth less, tell a great deal about

I thought a lot about Leuven, Belgium. Established who devoted themselves Universiteit te Leuven in Begijnhof was a beautiful by a surrounding wall. The ent parts of it; the houses ing on each woman's circle What really struck me, however enclosed space, even though you could not see into your

Turkish example

Turkish living space varies now in towns, very few apartment buildings of four to ing luxury, especially size each apartment has three each floor – each command even newly married people buy their own flat. The first

Are there separate spaces for eating, for recreation, and for child care? What can you tell about the business just by the spatial arrangements?

Houses and Rooms

Forms of shelter, or what I shall call "houses" for purposes of simplification, are enormously varied – not just across the world, but across time and region. This is a huge and interesting subject that we can only touch upon. Houses express who we are, both as individuals and as peoples. They vary not just in the materials used but in square footage, in layout and design – in other words, their use of space. In an extraordinary book, *The Material World* (Menzel 1994), a photographer set about the task of making portraits of people and their possessions in different parts of the world. He was interested to get a "representative" family, that is, a family that represented the statistical average. In Mali, for instance, a family of seven live in an adobe (mudbrick) house that is 540 sq. ft.; the same number of people live in a cement block house of 400 sq. ft. in South Africa. In Mongolia, a family of six live in a *yurt* (a one-room round tent) that is only 200 sq. ft., while a family of the same size in Kuwait has 4,850 sq. ft. to move around in. The average in the United States was a family of four living in 1,600 sq. ft. In all of these countries, there is obviously a wide variation in wealth, family size, and house size, but the averages, nevertheless, tell a great deal about the "normal" lifestyle and spatial values in that culture.

I thought a lot about this when I spent a year in the Groot Begijnhof in Leuven, Belgium. Established in AD 1230 for a group of *béguines* (pious lay women) who devoted themselves to charitable work, it was taken over by the Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven in 1962 as a residence for faculty and visiting scholars. The Begijnhof was a beautiful, quiet place cut off from the traffic and noise of the city by a surrounding wall. There were streams and tiny footbridges connecting different parts of it; the houses were of brick and half-timber – the size and scale depending on each woman's circumstance – and each one had a tiny garden and a view. What really struck me, however, was the exquisite and careful design. In that tiny enclosed space, even though houses were right next to or across from each other, you could not see into your neighbor's house.

Turkish example

Turkish living space varies considerably from city to village. In the cities, and even now in towns, very few people live in houses anymore. Most people live in apartment buildings of four to eight stories. While there are significant differences regarding luxury, especially size and materials, most are fairly similar in design: generally, each apartment has three to four bedrooms, and there are only four apartments on each floor – each commanding a corner. It is assumed that people have children and even newly married people generally live with their parents until they can afford to buy their own flat. The few people who live in separate houses are either the very

rich who, for example, live in villas along the Bosphorus in Istanbul, or the very poor who live in makeshift houses in the *gecekond* (literally, built in a night) areas on the outskirts of the city, or in villages.

In the village where I conducted my fieldwork, most of the people lived with their extended family in traditional houses made of mudbrick. Today, many villagers are constructing houses of cement block, which are considered "modern." However, cement blocks do not provide as good insulation as mudbrick, which stays warm in the winter and cool in the summer. There was also a fairly standard design for the living space, called *karniyarik*, which means "split womb." Such a house is meant to accommodate several families: ideally of brothers, but often including their parents. The house I lived in was only half a *karniyarik*; but the other example shows two typical *karniyarik* designs and also a half (see figures 2.2 and 2.3). In the middle house there is a central hallway, called *hayat*, which means life. Each room is, in theory, considered to be an entire house (perhaps evoking memories of the Turks' nomadic past when they lived in tents), though today some rooms are distinguished by function, i.e., bedroom, kitchen, sitting room. Often, however, the sitting room is multi-functional: people sleep there, cook there, eat there, bathe there, sew and knit and card wool there. I once even saw the carcass of a whole cow being cut up for various forms of meat. Divans are placed against the walls all around the room and possessions are stored underneath. Rarely is there a table or chairs. The major large piece of furniture is a cupboard in which the television is placed and other important mementos such as photographs or postcards. A relatively small room in a Turkish village house can easily accommodate 20–50 people for dancing during wedding activities, for example. In the same size room, most Americans would begin to feel uncomfortable if there were more than five people occupying that space – so filled are our rooms with large pieces of furniture. Today, however, when young Turkish villagers get married, they are requesting living room, dining room, and bedroom "sets" that represent to them a more "modern" lifestyle.

In the village, people generally live on the second story of their houses; the ground floor is for animals, machinery, storage space for food, and often the place where bread and cheese are made. Animals are typically sheltered beneath the living quarters so that their warmth also warms the house. The house complex is surrounded by a wall, part of which actually is a house wall. A gate, however flimsy, marks a very important boundary – it signifies that the house area is private. Anyone who enters must call out. Women are freer to enter houses because the house is the woman's place. An unrelated man must wait at the gate or just inside the entrance to the courtyard. Not surprisingly, *thresholds* carry symbolic importance – the entrance not only to the complex, but also to the house proper. Before entering a house, people must remove their shoes.

Inside the house the space is not neutral but is meaningfully (culturally) coded. Every child knows implicitly what the *seating arrangements* are. Old men sit on the divan near the window and farthest from the door. Other men sit next to them; women on the floor or on other divans. A person's rank and relative value are expressed in these arrangements. When a group gathered, I formed a boundary between male and female. I was in a "liminal" space, "betwixt and between" the categories of honored guest and woman (an honorary man in some instances).



Figure 2.2 Plan of "my" ho

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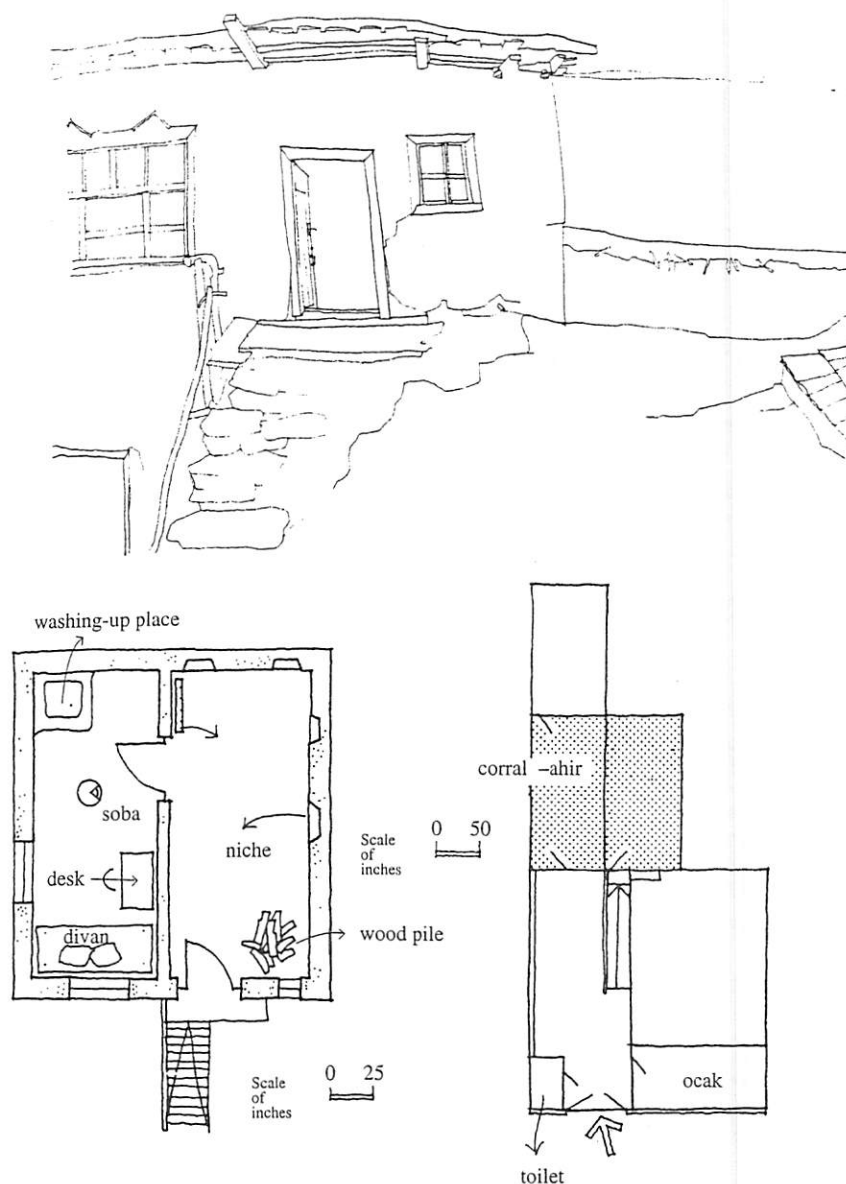


Figure 2.2 Plan of "my" house – half a *kamıyank*. Drawn by Oya Aksoy.

Once outside the house, the space is also coded. Because the lanes and paths between houses are considered public, and therefore dirty, people throw their garbage there. It is expected that the dogs, goats, and other animals that pass by will eat it. As the house is the primary preserve of women, the streets are men's space, and women are not as free to move around there. In the village a woman needed permission from her father or husband to visit another woman in the village, even if she lived just across the street, and normally she had to be accompanied. Although

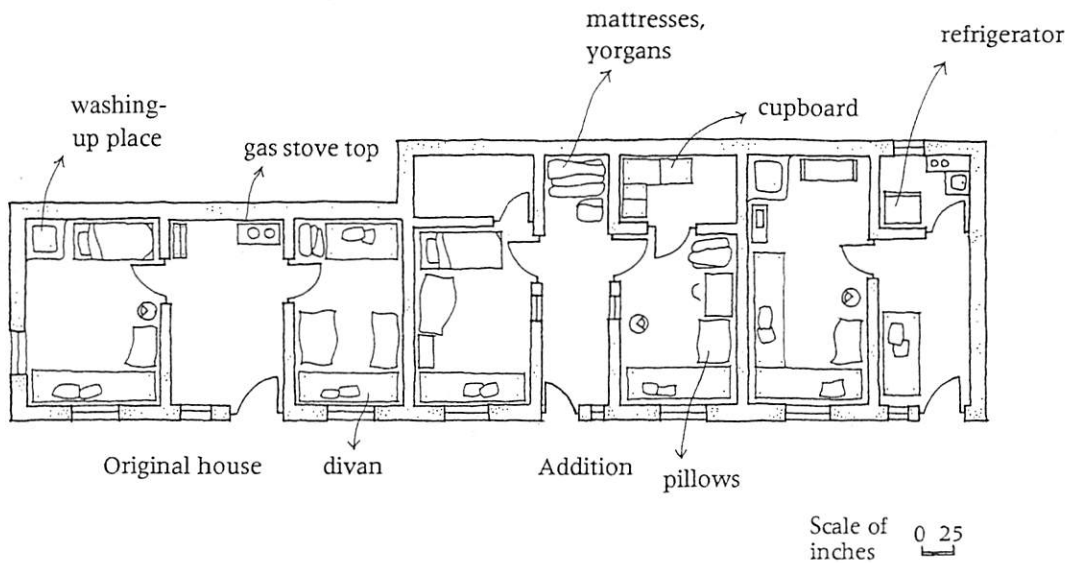


Figure 2.3 Typical *karmyank* layout. Drawn by Oya Aksoy.

it took less than 10 minutes to walk from one end of the village to the other, women did not walk around alone. To leave the village was impossible without permission and, besides, everyone would see you. Moreover, there were miles of "wild" space between the village and the nearest town (40 kilometers away), and that space was for shepherds, their flocks, and the vicious dogs who are trained to attack intruders. Young men did not need permission to walk around the village – that was their domain – but they did need it to leave the village in order to go to town.

You can understand how my relatively free movements were unsettling for the villagers. They often asked me: "Who gave you permission to come to our village?" "Was it your father, your university, or your government?" It became an issue every time I left the village – to get supplies or to visit friends in the city and pick up my mail. Since the teachers and the midwife (who were outsiders) needed to have government permission to leave, didn't I? I solved this problem by informing the *muhtar* (headman) every time I was planning to leave and when I was planning to return so that he could answer their inquiries and not have his honor called into question.

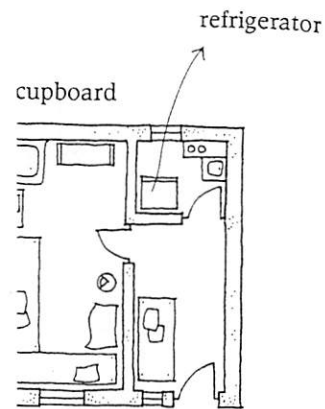
The inside–outside dichotomy was replicated at other levels of structure. Inside and outside the village had many of the same meanings as the inside and outside of the house. Villagers thought of their village as *kapalı* (closed), which is the same word used to refer to women who cover their hair. The headscarf symbolizes that the women are *kapalı*, closed, off limits.³ They are enclosed by the honor and protection of their menfolk. Although there was no wall around the village, there might just as well have been. Outsiders could be seen approaching the village and would

Figure 2.4 The structure of tri-gendered (Delaney 1991). The cultural entities – the house, the village, and the nation – represent, and form the gender with the divine.

be scrutinized. For insiders, it was felt as if you were entering a

Inside and outside the nation. In the Ottoman Empire, Atatürk was called upon to establish the boundaries for citizens in. For Muslim Turkey, God; they think of non-Muslims while they themselves live in who submit to God).

What is not often noticed is that the female; men are go-betweens records and gatherings; the represented it to the government one female prime minister, T to the rest of the world. And



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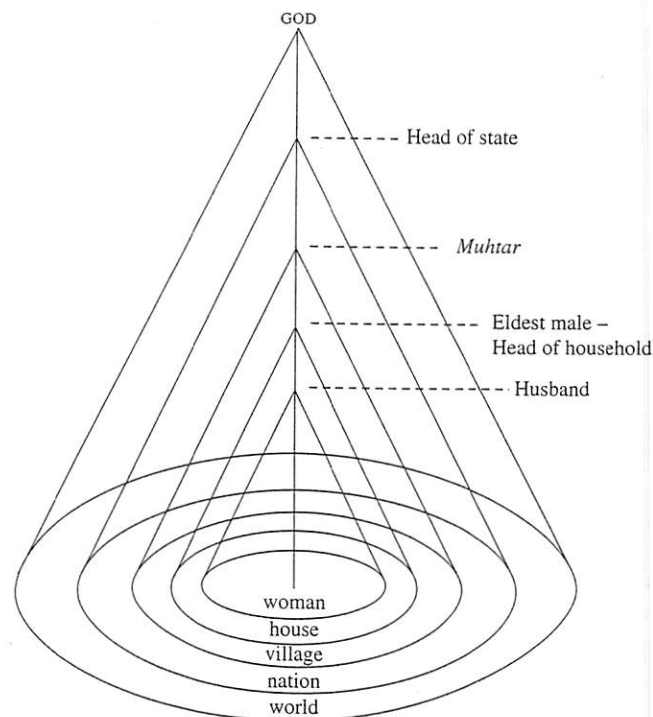


Figure 2.4 The structure of traditional Turkish authority relations as they are symbolically gendered (Delaney 1991). The female symbolizes the physical, unregenerate aspects of cultural entities – the house, the village, the nation, and the world. The male encloses, represents, and forms the generative relations between them. In this role he stands in line with the divine.

be scrutinized. For insiders, entering the village felt similar to entering a home, you felt as if you were entering a place of refuge and protection.

Inside and outside the nation carries similar connotations. At the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Atatürk was able to rally the people to the nation's honor that had been defiled by the capitulations the Ottomans made to outside powers. He felt called upon to establish the borders of the nation, to keep outsiders out and fellow citizens in. For Muslim Turks, the whole world should be under the protection of God; they think of non-Muslims as living in *Dar el Harb* (The Place/Space of War), while they themselves live in *Dar es Islam* (The Abode of the Muslims, i.e., those who *submit* to God).

What is not often noticed is that these physical places are symbolically coded as female; men are go-betweens – men rule over and represent the household in public records and gatherings; the elected headman of the village ruled the village and represented it to the government; a man has always been president (there has been one female prime minister, Tansu Çiller) who rules over and represents the nation to the rest of the world. And ultimately, God rules over all (see figure 2.4).

"The American home"

Because the United States has always been multi-ethnic or multicultural, and because it is such a huge country with a number of very different regions, there is no such thing as the typical American house (cf. Foley 1980). The differences tell us a lot about the concepts and values of the different regions and ethnic groups. At the same time, there are overlaps by means of which they draw upon and express wider American values or different sides of them. There are certain styles of house that one associates with New England, "Saltbox colonial," for example. When you see such a house in California, you would say "there's a New England-style house." However, it is unlikely you would find an adobe-style New Mexico house in Vermont. The different styles do not derive merely from the materials available or even the weather, but express different cultural meanings.

Unlike the Turkish village where all the houses are together and the fields and land surround the village, the American dream has been for each family to have its own house set in the middle of its own land – at least since the days of the pioneers. This is as true in the farming country of the midwest, where houses are few and far between, as it is in suburbia, where each house is set on a tiny plot of land. We are said to value our individualism and our privacy; we don't want neighbors peering in our windows or overhearing our arguments. In a Turkish village, however, that very proximity creates a brake on domestic violence. In the past, especially on the East coast, houses normally had several stories and there were separate rooms for separate functions, each with a door. And that was the case not just for the rich but also for the working class.

In the 1950s a new trend toward more open space swept across the nation – rooms without boundaries, rooms that were multifunctional or at least blended one into another. Dining room and kitchen or dining room and living room, or kitchen and living room; bathroom and bedroom or sleeping loft; study and guest room or television room or "family room"; even hallways became more open as they often were combined with stairs on split levels. "Ranch houses" became popular. Not modeled on any real ranch house, the term referred to a house built all on one sprawling level.

In the past a "house was thought of as the repository of a family's history"; it was a place where family heirlooms and other memories were displayed (Carol Vogel, *New York Times Magazine*, June 28, 1987). Research conducted by the Joint Center for Housing Studies (at MIT and Harvard) indicates that that image of a house is long gone and instead it is viewed more as an investment. And what people are "interested in purchasing [is] a life style, with all the modern conveniences of affluent urban life – such as security and maintenance services – minus the crime and dirt" (ibid.).

Although house size has increased with middle-class affluence, the two-income couples who live there hardly have any time left to spend in them since they are generally working (more than) full-time. No wonder they desire "bringing some semblance of resort living into [their] everyday lives" (ibid.), referring to the desire for swimming pools, hot tubs, tennis or squash courts and even golf courses in

their planned communities. but on luxury and comfort kind of lifestyle.

"Good fences make good neighbors"

So said Robert Frost in a poem about New Hampshire. A neighbor insists on a fence as an ostensible need. Frost quips:

Before
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And I

Yet Americans seem to love the fence. Iron, or stockade; fences are a part of the American possession. They announce: keep off until or unless invited. The fence is a zone between the privacy of the house and the sidewalk. The distance between ourselves and the public.

Porches used to perform a similar function. Beckham in "The American Porch" (1940) author associates the porch with the rise of the industrial classes when men went off to work and increasingly confined to the house as a sanctuary and identified with the women's resourcefulness in the home – it was "betwixt and between" dominated by men.

For women, kept at home by a household going, the porch was yet not inside – a space similar to the street where they kept track of neighborhood and they watched their children (p. 74)

My mother, who as an adult described how she and her mother spent the evening meal and the time to visit with the neighbors as well. This was a place young men

their planned communities. The emphasis is no longer on unique individual houses but on luxury and comfort in the upscale housing developments that cater to this kind of lifestyle.

"Good fences make good neighbors"

So said Robert Frost in a poem about neighborliness (or lack thereof) in rural New Hampshire. A neighbor insisted on rebuilding a wall even though there was no ostensible need. Frost quips:

Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offense.

Yet Americans seem to love fences – picket or ranch, chain link, tall filigreed iron, or stockade; fences are another expression of the desire for privacy and possession. They announce: this is my property, my castle, however humble; keep off until or unless invited in. Fences like these create a kind of buffer zone between the privacy of the house and the public area of the street or sidewalk. The distance seems similar to the distance we like to keep between ourselves and the person we are speaking to.

Porches used to perform the function of "buffer zone," according to Sue Beckham in "The American Front Porch: Women's Liminal Space" (1988). The author associates the porch mania that flourished in the century between 1840 and 1940 with the rise of the industrial revolution and the era (at least among the middle classes) when men went off to work in a factory or business and women were increasingly confined to the home. During this time, the home came to be regarded as a sanctuary and identified as women's space. But the porch became a symbol of women's resourcefulness in overcoming the isolation they were experiencing (p. 88) – it was "betwixt and between" the private inside of the house and the public arena dominated by men.

For women, kept at home by children in need of care and the labor necessary to keep a household going, the porch functioned as a social place – their own space – at home yet not inside – a space simultaneously work place and salon – where they could visit, keep track of neighborhood activities and exchange news flashes from passers by while they watched their children and performed the more portable and sedentary chores. (p. 74)

My mother, who as an adolescent lived in Brooklyn, New York, during the 1920s, described how she and her mother would "freshen up" to sit out on the porch after the evening meal and the dishes were done. It was a place not just to cool off but to visit with the neighbors as they walked by or came up to sit with them for a while. This was a place young men could court the girls, for the rules were more relaxed

It is true that some people build a fence to keep in the dog or the children, or to keep out deer from a vegetable garden; these fences are functional and are not what I am talking about.

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Figure 2.5 An American porch, 1945. Photo Irene Jordan/Detroit News.

on the porch than in the parlor. Porches were often equipped with swings and hammocks and rocking chairs – adding to the languid atmosphere of the place. The custom has not vanished completely. My daughter and her husband recently bought an old house in the Boston area with a small open front porch. When they and the children are out there, the neighbors do drop by to chat.

I also recall spending many happy hours on the wraparound porch of a farm in New York state where we spent several summers. Not only was it the place where the grownups sat and smoked or did their mending, it was also the place where we children shelled peas, shucked corn, and snapped beans in preparation for canning. Today instead, people tend to prefer patios and decks, generally situated at the back, and more private side, of the house. But what is lost when we shift to the back or when we enclose porches with screens or glass or move inside where it is air-conditioned?

Perhaps dogs perform so porches did half a century : borhood allows you to talk to having to invite them into yo and, like children, they perr They, too, provide that “lim homes and the public place o in *Belonging in America: Read* sense of community in a n sidewalks, continually barkin to create barriers – “Keep O

Rooms and Spatial Ar

The size of rooms, like hous rooms with ceilings so high tion there must be an unob Arabs, Edward Hall said that enclosed space. . . . [They] c hemmed in by walls” (p. 162, the center of the room empty rooms, accustomed as we ar

Victorian houses had parl did not go wandering aroun to the dining room. Wealthy stairways so that they would guests – two almost entirely Social differences once agair

From the 1950s on, the “f so much that many people h sions. The family room wa: “togetherness.” In the new way of gathering for the fa member watches his or her : counters with stools or “br where people eat rather tha are doing much cooking, ki large and equipped with all t American family but are mc way we really live, often they *New York Times Magazine*, Ju

Spatial arrangement does erator, etc. but also to wh noticed, when you are tryir

Perhaps dogs perform some of the same functions in neighborhoods today as porches did half a century and more ago. Walking your dog around your neighborhood allows you to talk to the neighbors and exchange news and gossip without having to invite them into your house. We think of dogs as members of the family and, like children, they permit us to talk to people, even strangers, on the street. They, too, provide that "liminal" space "betwixt and between" the privacy of our homes and the public place of work. At the same time, according to Constance Perin in *Belonging in America: Reading Between the Lines* (1988), dogs can also destroy the sense of community in a neighborhood by their digging up gardens, despoiling sidewalks, continually barking, and occasionally biting. And they can also be used to create barriers – "Keep Out: Guard Dog."

Rooms and Spatial Arrangements

The size of rooms, like house size, varies tremendously. Arabs, apparently, like huge rooms with ceilings so high they do not "impinge on the visual field; and in addition there must be an unobstructed view" (Hall 1966: 162). In conversations with Arabs, Edward Hall said that the "term 'tomb' kept cropping up in conjunction with enclosed space. . . . [They] don't mind being crowded by people but hate to be hemmed in by walls" (p. 162). Furniture is generally placed on the periphery, leaving the center of the room empty. Americans, he noted, felt very uncomfortable in such rooms, accustomed as we are to filling them with furniture.

Victorian houses had parlors or sitting rooms where guests were received. Guests did not go wandering around the house and only on occasion would they be invited to the dining room. Wealthy people who had servants also had hidden corridors and stairways so that they would not be found in the same spaces with the family or the guests – two almost entirely separate groups of people occupied the same house.⁴ Social differences once again are marked by spatial arrangements.

From the 1950s on, the "family room" took over the functions of the living room so much that many people hardly ever use their living rooms except on formal occasions. The family room was the place to watch television and to promote family "togetherness." In the new millennium this may be a thing of the past, gone the way of gathering for the family meal, since it is far more likely that each family member watches his or her favorite programs on his or her own television. Kitchen counters with stools or "breakfast nooks" are, today, more likely to be the places where people eat rather than dining rooms. Even though fewer and fewer people are doing much cooking, kitchens among the affluent have, nevertheless, become large and equipped with all the latest appliances. They give a semblance of the ideal American family but are more symbolic than real. "Houses don't always reflect the way we really live, often they represent fantasies of the way we'd like to live" (Vogel, *New York Times Magazine*, June 28, 1987, quoting New York architect Robert Stern).

Spatial arrangement does not just refer to the size and layout of stove, sink, refrigerator, etc. but also to where each person decides to put things. Have you ever noticed, when you are trying to use another person's kitchen, how difficult it can



/Detroit News.

on equipped with swings and atmosphere of the place. The mother and her husband recently open front porch. When they go by to chat.

around porch of a farm in not only was it the place where it was also the place where we were in preparation for canning, generally situated at the back, when we shift to the back or move inside where it is air-

be to find anything? Everything is in its place but clearly that place is different from the one that you would assign. Each of us has our own sense of order. Nevertheless, this sense has been influenced by our culture and by the region we grew up in, the ethnic, educational, and economic background of our parents, and by the times we live in.

No doubt everyone of you has had some experience in moving furniture around. Many of you have moved from one house or apartment to another, some many times. No doubt you have become aware of how different spaces demand different arrangements, even different types of furniture. But even if you have lived in the same place all your life, you have probably changed your room as you moved out of childhood into adolescence. Not only different furniture or colors are desired but also a different arrangement of your space. Even if your own room is a mess with piles of clothes and books scattered about, can't you tell if someone has been in it? Something will be out of place; even the slightest movement of an object will signal trespass.

Americans are brought up to think that each child ideally needs his or her own room right from birth, but other people think it is cruel to put an infant in a room by itself. In most cultures, babies sleep with their parents, not only in the same room, but in the same bed. While a "room of one's own" is the American ideal, many of us share rooms with siblings. However, some ethnic groups in the United States are used to having the whole family sleeping in the same room, and this has created a controversy among housing authorities and rental agents (Pader 1994). In other words, the cultural ideal has social consequences.

If you are boarding at college you have been assigned a room and probably a roommate. Was one of your first conversations about the use of space? Who would have which bed, which side? Or did you think of making bunk beds to create extra space? A number of my students have confided to me that when they first arrive as freshmen, they wanted to duplicate as closely as possible their room at home. They filled it with the same things; but when they returned as sophomores they wanted their rooms to be entirely different. Why do you think that is? I also heard of a very creative and unusual arrangement that would probably not be allowed in some places. A group of six students, male and female, who had a three-room suite decided to use one room for communal sleeping, another for study, and the third for a living room! In many colleges and universities today, dormitories are co-ed, something that was simply unimaginable when I went to college. Men could visit in the parlor only on certain days and times; never were they permitted on our floors, let alone in our rooms.

Each of us has an idea about our spatial arrangements, but rarely do we try to analyze our underlying assumptions. In some cultures, however, spatial arrangements are a matter of explicit and extended discourse. "In the West, we are taught to perceive and to react to the arrangements of objects and to think of space as 'empty' [whereas] . . . the Japanese are trained to perceive the shape and arrangements of spaces" (Hall 1966: 153). They even have a word for this, *ma*, which means interval, and "it is a basic building block in all Japanese spatial experience. It is functional not only in flower arrangements but apparently is a hidden consideration in the layout of all other spaces" (p. 153). One need only think of Japanese rock

gardens, which are merely the effect can be stunning. The design is also reflected in the space." The background space brush strokes.

Ancient Chinese philosophy in the *Tao Te Ching*:

Thirty s
but it is
that the
Clay is
but it is
that the
Cut out
but it is
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Therefore,

Benefit
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Invisible Spaces

So far we have discussed spaces we often do not think of as spaces that are somewhat hidden. Mental institutions, prisons, dying and the dead, the hospitals are the most conspicuous places we do not like to be at a premium," there is very much room, and in the way of talking about other medical schools restrict the managed care companies and staff, but also ensures that

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gardens, which are merely the arrangement of a few rocks on sand or gravel, but the effect can be stunning. Space as a meaningful and integral part of the overall design is also reflected in their paintings in the term *yohaku*, which means "white space." The background space was as important a part of the overall effect as the brush strokes.

Ancient Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu also captured this idea in chapter eleven in the *Tao Te Ching*:

Thirty spokes converge on a single hub,
but it is in the space where there is nothing
that the usefulness of the cart lies.
Clay is molded to make a pot,
but it is in the space where there is nothing
that the usefulness of the clay pot lies.
Cut out doors and windows to make a room,
but it is in the space where there is nothing
that the usefulness of the room lies.

Therefore,

Benefit may be derived from something,
but it is in nothing that we find usefulness.
(Lao Tzu 1990: 70)

Lao Tzu is thought to have
lived ca. sixth century BC;
his wise sayings may have
been transmitted orally and
written down sometime in
the third century BC.

Invisible Spaces

So far we have discussed spaces for living – macro and micro. Yet there are other spaces we often do not think about unless, or until, we have to go there. These are spaces that are somewhat hidden from normal daily life – hospitals, nursing homes, mental institutions, prisons, and cemeteries – places for the ill, the criminal, the dying and the dead, the things we do not like to think about or be reminded of. Hospitals are the most conspicuous and located not too far from living areas. Still, they are places we do not like to go unless we have to. Perhaps that is why "hospital space is at a premium," there never seem to be enough "beds." But beds don't take up very much room, and in the grand scheme of things they are not expensive! It is a way of talking about other things, about social values and priorities – the fact that medical schools restrict the number of MDs they produce, that the greed of managed care companies not only reduces the number of nurses and other support staff, but also ensures that they are not paid enough.

Most of us are generally not familiar with nursing homes, mental institutions, and prisons unless we work there or know someone who is in one. Not only are they often hidden from the spaces and places of routine daily life, but also the people in them become invisible, hidden from the view of the general public. What values about the old and the infirm are being expressed by their spatial location? Why are they as invisible as criminals? What message is conveyed? Even here, because of the

Feng Shui

Feng Shui is the Chinese art of "auspicious placement" of houses, rooms, furniture, and other objects in order to create a balance between the lived environment and the natural world. The goal is to let the *chi*, the life energy that animates all things, flow without obstruction. According to this art, the house is like a second body and so it is very important to get both in "sync." Feng Shui has become very popular in the United States in recent years, as witnessed by the numerous books available, consultants and workshops, but it is often detached from the wider philosophy/cosmology/worldview to which it is deeply connected. Nevertheless, it has created more awareness of the use and meaning of space.

limitations on space (!), they will not get the attention they deserve, but it is important to include them so that they will not be left out of our account of space.

In stark contrast to all the living places, including even prisons and nursing homes, is the space for the dead. Cemeteries are places-spaces that house the dead. They can be huge, fairly impersonal places, or small, intimate, very local places; they can be places of national mourning and ritual, such as Arlington National Cemetery, or they can be sites of pilgrimage for family members and for devotees. For example, rock music lovers visit the Cimetière du Père Lachaise in Paris where Jim Morrison, the lead singer of the Doors, is buried, and thousands have gone to view the burial place of Princess Diana. Interestingly, Princess Margaret chose to be cremated. In India, Hindus are cremated while Muslims must be buried: how might each group view the practices of the other? Cremation was anathema for the Turkish villagers I knew, and they told me they would not fly in an airplane in case it crashed and their bodies burned. Turkish workers who die abroad have their bodies returned to their native soil, normally to the town or village where they were born.

Space that is No Place: Cyberspace

We cannot leave this discussion of space without talking about *cyberspace*.⁵ According to science writer Margaret Wertheim, we are witnessing a new creation, and just like the "Big Bang" that scientific cosmologists talk about, cyberspace is expanding exponentially. "In the early eighties few people outside the military and the academic field of computer science . . . were even aware that 'cyberspace' existed" (Wertheim 1999: 225). By the end of the twentieth century, however, "the World Wide Web (the most public component of the Internet) has over 300 million pages . . . and is currently growing by a million pages a day" (pp. 226, 228). It is "the fastest-growing 'territory' in history" (p. 228). More surprising and mind-bending is that it

is not like any space that people are looking for; it came "out of nowhere," as physics describes . . . it is not limited by the limitations of those who create it as it may depend on a material medium of social significance" that has been created by both of society and of culture.

Already cyberspace is a place where people are spending many hours of their time chatting with friends, meeting others, and other aspects of oneself, playing games, buying airline tickets and vacation packages. Of Architecture at MIT and the virtual community?

Where will we get together? Will we emerge in the electronical equivalents of the gathering places of the village green, the town square, the

His view, while enthusiastic, is a way that the Web can reinforce the social fabric . . . [for it] typically provides a way than for confronting differences and communities. And there are already people who keep some people out or provide a time, he is aware that it is a mobilization, as became of the Zapatista rebellion.

Nevertheless, we should not forget the millions who do not. Although the Third World, given the gap affected by cultural mores. . . find an "Internet café" but the gap is likely to remain critical. Similarly, old people yet the Web could ease the isolation if they were brought "on-line."

Because Mitchell feels that cyberspace is co-dependent, he is more pessimistic. As the digital revolution pushes forward, that is, joins work and home life, concerned about their local communities, bedroom communities becoming more involved, sumably become more involved, historic cities that were

is not like any space that physicists and cosmologists have been thinking about or looking for; it came "out of the blue," "out of left field," it is "beyond the space that physics describes . . . it is not subject to the laws of physics, and hence it is not bound by the limitations of those laws" (p. 228). It is, in effect, a non-material space even as it may depend on a material base, and this phenomenon "is of profound psychosocial significance" that has the possibility of changing notions not just of the world, but also of society and of ourselves.

Already cyberspace is a place that more and more people are inhabiting – some spending many hours of their lives there not just in search of information, but also chatting with friends, meeting new ones, creating new personas and experiencing other aspects of oneself, playing games, and buying everything from food and clothing to airline tickets and vacations. But, asks William J. Mitchell, Dean of the School of Architecture at MIT and author of *e-topia*, how will this affect social life and community?

Where will we get together? What sorts of meeting places, forums, and markets will emerge in the electronically mediated world? What will be the twenty-first-century equivalents of the gathering at the well, the water cooler, the Greek agora, the Roman forum, the village green, the town square, Main Street and the mall? (1999: 85)

His view, while enthusiastic, is more cautious. He worries, for instance, about the way that the Web can reinforce "sociocultural boundaries and categorical identities . . . [for it] typically provides efficient means for linking up like-minded people rather than for confronting differences" – in this way creating new types of gated communities. And there are already guards at the gates of "cyberturf" (p. 94), trying to keep some people out or preventing them from contacting those inside. At the same time, he is aware that it opens up new avenues for political organization and mobilization, as became obvious during the Tiananmen Square struggle and the Zapatista rebellion.

Nevertheless, we should not forget the gap between those who have access and the millions who do not. Although there are now "Internet cafés" scattered throughout the Third World, giving the impression that it is available to all, access is still affected by cultural mores. For example, in dirt-road small towns in Turkey, one can find an "Internet café" but the only people in them are adolescent boys. The gender gap is likely to remain critical as long as there is gender segregation and discrimination. Similarly, old people have mostly been left out of the "digital revolution," yet the Web could ease their loneliness and provide an interesting use of their time if they were brought "on-line."

Because Mitchell feels that the virtual and physical communities are somewhat co-dependent, he is more positive about the Internet's effect on local communities. As the digital revolution puts back together what the industrial revolution sundered, that is, joins work and home, he thinks people will become more, not less, concerned about their local environment. Unlike the commuters who leave their bedroom communities behind when they go to work, the cybercommuters will presumably become more involved in the communities they live and work in. Beautiful, historic cities that were economically sidelined, like Venice, Bath, and Savannah,

ent" of houses, rooms, furniture between the lived environment the *chi*, the life energy that according to this art, the house at both in "sync." Feng Shui cent years, as witnessed by workshops, but it is often worldview to which it is the awareness of the use and

n they deserve, but it is important of our account of space. ing even prisons and nursing res-spaces that house the dead. ntimate, very local places; they as Arlington National Cemetery members and for devotees. For re Lachaise in Paris where Jim l thousands have gone to view cess Margaret chose to be cre-s must be buried: how might nation was anathema for the d not fly in an airplane in case s who die abroad have their wn or village where they were

ing about cyberspace.⁵ Accounting a new creation, and about, cyberspace is expanding outside the military and the academic that 'cyberspace' existed" century, however, "the World et) has over 300 million pages (pp. 226, 228). It is "the fastest-ig and mind-bending is that it

can again become vital because work will no longer require one to live near the centers of industry and finance (p. 77). As an architect, Mitchell is aware that this new kind of space that is no place will have an enormous impact on the design of living spaces, both domestic and public; however, at this point in time, it is too early to tell just how.

Returning to where we began this chapter, it is clear that cyberspace will also have an enormous impact on cosmology and perceptions of the world. Wertheim is perhaps an avatar, for she claims that "with each shift in our conception of space also comes a commensurate shift in our conception of our universe – and hence of our own place and role within that universe. . . . In a very real sense, we are the products of our spatial schemes" (1999: 308). What will be the personal, social, and cosmological consequences of cyberspace? What notion of the self, of society, and of the universe will emerge? She thinks that we are

in a similar position to Europeans of the sixteenth century who were just becoming aware of the physical space of the stars, a space quite outside their prior conception of reality. Like Copernicus, we are privileged to witness the dawning of a new kind of space. What history will make of this space, appropriately enough, only time will tell. (p. 308)

What better place to turn to an investigation of time and the way it informs and is informed by culture.

Notes

- 1 See the work being done by Saskia Sassen and Manuel Castells about the way the global economy is affecting different groups living in the city.
- 2 It is also the title of a Sierra Club book with photographs by Eliot Porter, 1962.
- 3 That is, spatial boundaries are projected onto bodies. See Douglas (1966) and Boddy (1982, 1989).
- 4 The British television series *Upstairs, Downstairs*, as well as the film *Gosford Park*, give good portrayals of this.
- 5 The term was coined in 1984 by William Gibson in his novel *Neuromancer*.

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