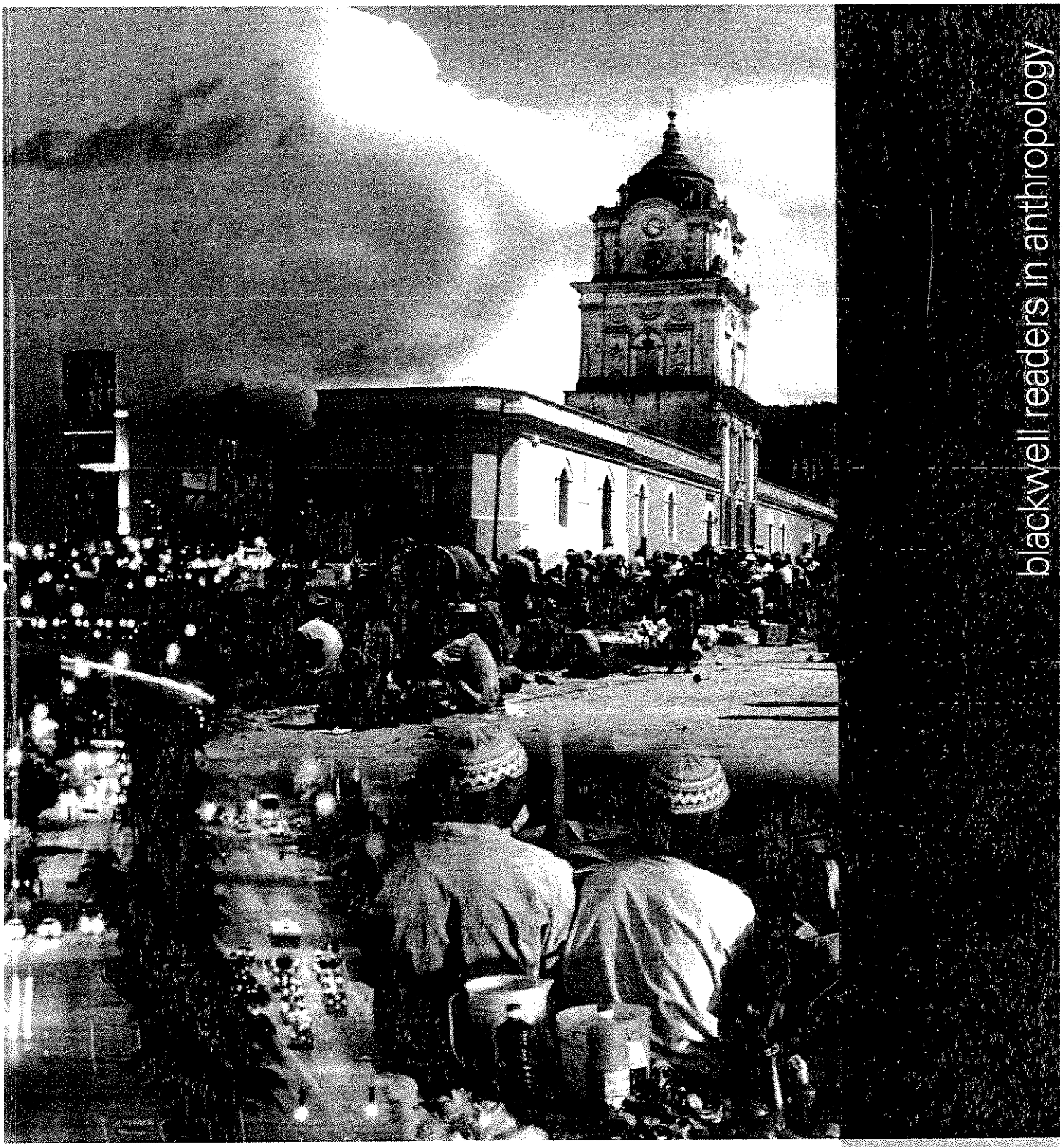

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locating culture

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The Anthropology of Space and Place

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Setha M. Low
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BLACKWELL PUBLISHING
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK
550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

First published 2003 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

7 2007

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The anthropology of space and place: locating culture/edited by Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga.
p. cm. – (Blackwell readers in anthropology; 4)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-631-22877-6 (alk. paper) – ISBN 978-0-631-22878-3 (pbk.: alk. paper)
1. Human geography. 2. Human territoriality. 3. Spatial behavior. 4. Personal space. 5. Open spaces. 6. Public spaces. I. Low, Setha M. II. Lawrence-Zúñiga, Denise. III. Series.

GF50 .A55 2003
304.2–dc21

2002071219

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/12 pt Sabon
by Kolam Information Services Pvt. Ltd, Pondicherry, India
Printed and bound in Singapore
by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

Contents

Acknowledgments

Any book, especially a reader, depends on the contributions and cooperation of others. We are particularly indebted to those authors whose stimulating work is included in this volume. We owe a special thanks to our colleagues of the Anthropology of Space and Place Network who have sustained us through the past sixteen years. We especially would like to thank Deborah Pellow, Gary McDonogh, Cindy Wong, Robert Rotenberg, Theodore Bestor, Alan Smart, Josie Smart, Margaret Rodman, and Matthew Cooper. A special thanks also goes to Juris Milestone who has been running the Anthropology of Space and Place list serve helping all of us to stay in touch. And even though we cannot thank each by name, all of the participants in the many symposia and sessions organized through the Anthropology of Space and Place Network have added to our collective store of knowledge and case material. We appreciate all these contributions and hope this book will be an additional resource for those of us who teach, research, and theorize in this emerging subfield of anthropology.

As for our families, they have supported this endeavor from the beginning. Setha wishes to thank her husband, Joel Lefkowitz, who was always there, as companion in travel, photographer, editor, ideal reader and friend *par excellence*. Denise would like to express her appreciation to husband Richard Zúñiga for his unflagging support and encouragement.

We could not have completed this work without the contributions of our graduate students – Elena Danaila, Mike Lamb, Andrew Kirby, Suzanne Scheld, and Dana Taplin were graduate students at the time in the Ph.D. Program in Environmental Psychology or Anthropology at The Graduate Center of the City University of New York who helped find materials and articles. Cindi Katz, and the members of the Social Theory seminar at The Graduate Center also contributed insightful comments on the ideas presented in the introductory chapter. At Cal Poly Pomona, special thanks go to Landscape Architecture graduate students, especially Todd Jennings, for stimulating critical discussions of the literature on place.

Intellectually we would also like to thank Miles Richardson and James Fernandez for their groundbreaking work, and their support of our endeavor to create a more established field of the Anthropology of Space and Place.

The final book could not have been finished without the dedication of a great editor. Jane Huber provided just the right amount of support and editing, asking the right questions, at the right time.

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Appadurai, Arjun, "Sovereignty without territoriality: Notes for a postnational geography" (1996). From *The Geography of Identity*, Patricia Yeager, ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, pp. 40–58.

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McDonogh, Gary Wray, "Bars, genders, and virtue: myth and practice in Barcelona's *Barrio Chino*" (1992). From *Anthropological Quarterly,* January, pp. 19–33.

Munn, Nancy D., "Excluded spaces: The figure in the Australian aboriginal landscape" (1996). From *Critical Inquiry* 22, pp. 446–65. Reproduced by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

Rabinow, Paul, "*Ordonnance*, discipline, regulation: some reflections on urbanism" (1982). From *Humanities in Society* 5(3–4), pp. 267–78. Used with permission of the author.

Richardson, Miles, "Being-in-the-plaza: Material culture and the construction of social reality in Spanish America" (1982). Reproduced by permission of the American Anthropological Association from *American Ethnologist* 2, pp. 421–36. Not for sale or further reproduction.

Rodman, Margaret C., "Empowering place: Multilocality and Multivocality" (1992). Reproduced by permission of the American Anthropological Association from *American Ethnologist* 94(3), pp. 640–56. Not for sale or further reproduction.

The publishers apologize for any errors or omissions in the above list and would be grateful to be notified of any corrections that should be incorporated in the next edition or reprint of this book.

To our colleagues and friends
who have helped to make possible
the anthropology of space and place.

Locating Culture

Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga

The 1990s demonstrated renewed interest in issues of space and place across the social sciences (Soja 1989), not least of which has been in our own discipline – anthropology. As we described in our review of "The Built Environment and Spatial Form" (1990), spatial dimensions of cultural beliefs and practices have always held an interest for anthropologists. Studies of tribal and village societies customarily included descriptions of the natural landscape and material conditions of everyday life, and quite often contained analyses of these in support of other theoretical arguments. Increasingly, however, anthropologists have begun to shift their perspective to foregrounding spatial dimensions of culture rather than treating them as background, so that the notion that all behavior is located in and constructed of space has taken on new meaning.

This shift is consistent with and draws on an abundance of research and theory generated in disciplines outside anthropology, including geography, history, philosophy, and sociology. The most significant change for anthropology is found not in the attention researchers increasingly pay to the material and spatial aspects of culture, but in the acknowledgment that space is an essential component of sociocultural theory. That is, anthropologists are rethinking and reconceptualizing their understandings of culture in spatialized ways.

In putting together this volume, we have focused on anthropological studies of space and place and major changes in theory and method in the subfield. We have brought together classics in cultural anthropology with new theoretical approaches under six thematic categories: Embodied Spaces, Gendered Spaces, Inscribed Spaces, Contested Spaces, Transnational Spaces, and Spatial Tactics. These categories are not definitive or mutually exclusive, as there is considerable overlap in the ways that sociospatial problems are defined and theorized. Familiar spatial themes such as house form and sacred space have receded or been reconceptualized while new ideas about transnational spaces and spatial tactics have increased in importance. This classification then represents our sense of what are the most exciting and promising directions currently being explored. We provide context for each of these thematic groups by introducing each section with a theoretical and conceptual overview included in this introduction.

The direction of this research transforms the notion of a conventional anthropology. In many ways, the focus on spatial issues has liberated and challenged anthropologists to examine cultural phenomena that are not fixed in a faraway, isolated location, but surround us in the cities and countries in which we live. Studies of border issues and migration, nation and identity, multisited and global phenomena, tourism and authenticity, and race/class/gender segregation through architecture, planning, and design are drawing the attention of anthropologists equipped with new conceptual frameworks that account for spatial dimensions. This interest in space and place is not accidental; it is necessary for understanding the world we are producing and inserting our discipline into the heat of social and political debate.

Embodied Spaces

Spatial analyses often neglect the body because of difficulties in resolving the dualism of the subjective and objective body, and distinctions between the material and representational aspects of body space. The concept of "embodied space," however, draws these disparate notions together, underscoring the importance of the body as a physical and biological entity, as lived experience, and as a center of agency, a location for speaking and acting on the world.

We use the term "body" to refer to its biological and social characteristics, and "embodiment" as an "indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world" (Csordas 1994:12). Embodied space is the location where human experience and consciousness take on material and spatial form. After identifying the inherent difficulties in defining the body, body space, and cultural explanations of body experience, we trace the evolution of approaches to embodied space including proxemics (Hall 1968, this volume), phenomenological understandings (Richardson 1984, this volume), spatial orientation (Munn 1996, this volume) and linguistic dimensions (Duranti 1997, this volume). Embodied space is presented as a model for understanding the creation of place through spatial orientation, movement, and language. This idea is developed further in the sections on Gendered Spaces and Inscribed Spaces that follow.

The body

The space occupied by the body, and the perception and experience of that space, contracts and expands in relationship to a person's emotions and state of mind, sense of self, social relations, and cultural predispositions. In Western culture we perceive the self as "naturally" placed in the body, as a kind of precultural given (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987). We imagine ourselves experiencing the world through our "social skin," the surface of the body representing "a kind of common frontier of society which becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization is enacted" (T. Turner 1980:112).

Bryan Turner (1984) points out that it is an obvious fact that human beings "have bodies," and "are bodies." Human beings are embodied and everyday life dominated by the details of corporeal existence. But he cautions that biological reductionism keeps us from focusing on the ways in which the body is also inherently social and

cultural. Terence Turner (1995) argues that while the body is an individual organism that biologically depends for its reproduction, nurturance, and existence on other individuals and the environment, even this biological individuality is relative and dependent on other social beings. Thus the body is best conceived as a multiplicity: the "two bodies" of the social and physical (Douglas 1970), the "three bodies" of the individual body, social body, and body politic (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987), or the "five bodies," which adds the consumer body and the medical body to the other three (O'Neil 1985).

Body space

An early theory of the psychological relationship of the body to space is Eric Erikson's (1950) attribution of genital modes with spatial modalities. In his research on child development, young boys build tall block structures to heights that topple over, while young girls create places with static interiors and enclosed spaces. He concludes that in young children representational space is structured by an interpenetration of the biological, cultural, and psychological aspects of gender, expressed externally in architectural form.

Erikson's spatial analyses have been criticized by anthropologists who offer other psychoanalytic interpretations of bodily spaces (Pandolfo 1989). For instance, Robert Paul (1976) agrees with Erikson's contention that there is a relationship between the psyche and built spaces revealed in the Sherpa temple as an objectification of the subjective, internal experience of the Sherpa experiencing his religion. He modifies this understanding, however, to read temple architecture as a guide to the Sherpa's secret psychic life. Mariella Pandolfi (1990), however, suggests that while there is a "minimal" identity that finds in the experience of the body a way of describing and expressing the self, that identity is defined by historical social structures that inscribe the body, and naturalize a person's existence in the world. It is the inscription of sociopolitical and cultural relations on the body, not biology/psychology, that produces gendered body spaces and their representations.

Feminists take this critique even further by exploring the epistemological implications of knowledge as embodied, engendered, and embedded in place (Duncan 1996). By disrupting the binary mind/body by positionality (Boys 1998), and focusing on the situated and colonized body (Scott 1996), states of mind become loosened from the location of social and spatial relationships (Munt 1998). Donna Haraway (1991) argues that personal and social bodies cannot be seen as natural, but only as part of a self-creating process of human labor. Her emphasis on *location*, a position in a web of social connections, eliminates passivity of the female (and human) body and replaces it with a site of action and of agency (Haraway 1991).

The majority of anthropologists emphasize the intrinsically social and cultural character of the human body. Marcel Mauss (1950) argues that acquired habits and somatic tactics, what he calls the "techniques of the body," incorporate all the "cultural arts" of using and being in the body and the world. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) explains how body habits generate cultural features and social structure by employing the term *habitus* to characterize the way body, mind, and emotions are simultaneously trained. He uses this concept to understand how social status, moral values, and class position become embodied in everyday life (Bourdieu 1984;

Mahmood 2001) (also see the section on Gendered Spaces). Mary Douglas (1971, 1978) theorizes the body as a medium of communication positing a direct relationship of spatial arrangements and social structure with the symbolism of the body and body boundaries. In later work, Mauss (1979) analyzes the importance of the human body as a metaphor, noting that architecture draws its imagery from human experience.

Cultural groups often draw upon the human body as a template for spatial and social relations. The Dogon describe village spatial structure in anthropomorphic terms spiraling down in scale to the plan of the house representing a man lying on his side, procreating (Griaule 1954); and the Batammalibans endow their social structure and architecture with body symbolism (Blier 1987). Many anthropologists use metaphor analysis to interpret the ways the human body is linked to myths and cosmology and describe how spatial and temporal processes are encoded with body symbolism (Hugh-Jones 1979; Johnson 1988). Other studies explore the body as isomorphic with the landscape, where the landscape provides a metaphor that is an expressive, evocative device transmitting memory, morality, and emotion (Bastien 1985, Fernandez 1988). A recent study of "closet space" uncovers how the "performativity" of space, through its metaphorical properties, constrain and define the body and personal identity (Brown 2000).

Proxemics

As early as 1955, Irving Hallowell identified cultural factors in spatial orientation, affirming that spatial schema are basic to human orientation, a position from which to view the world, and a symbolic means of becoming oriented in a spatial world that transcends personal experience. It would take a number of intervening years, research projects, and a shift in epistemological perspective, though, before anthropologists would bring this idea to fruition.

Edward Hall (1966, 1973) is best known for studying the influence of culture on spatial perception and behavior, establishing the field of proxemics, the study of people's use of space as an aspect of culture (1966). He postulates that humans have an innate distancing mechanism, modified by culture, that helps to regulate contact in social situations. Conceptualized as a bubble surrounding each individual, personal space varies in size according to the type of social relationships and situation. Hall proposes four general kinds of personal space ranging from intimate to public. Because these spatial aspects of behavior are tacit, actors usually become aware of the boundaries only when they are violated, often in culture contact situations. Appropriate spatial variations in social relations are learned as a feature of culture, and patterns vary by culture.

In his article, "Proxemics," Hall lays out the linguistic underpinnings of his work arguing that "the principles laid down by Whorf and his followers in relation to language apply to all culturally patterned behavior, but particularly to those aspects of culture which are most often taken for granted..." (Hall 1968:84; this volume, p. 52). His research casts doubt on the assumption of universally shared phenomenological experience: according to Hall, people not only structure spaces differently, but experience them differently and inhabit distinct sensory worlds. Individuals selectively screen out some types of data by "tuning out" one or more

of the senses or by architecture. Thus, in proxemics, the body is a site of spatial orientation with multiple screens for interacting with others and the environment.

Embodied space

Miles Richardson (1982, 1984) addresses how body experience and perception become material by considering how we transform experience to symbol and then remake experience into an object, such as an artifact, a gesture, or a word. We use objects to evoke experience thus, molding experience into symbols and then melding symbols back into experience. In his work, embodied space is being-in-the-world – that is, the existential and phenomenological reality of place: its smell, feel, color, and other sensory dimensions.

In "Being-in-the-Market Versus Being-in-the-Plaza: Material Culture and the Construction of Social Reality in Spanish America" (Richardson 1982, this volume), Richardson uses ethnographic descriptions of Cartago, Costa Rica to conclude that the experience of being-in-the-plaza is about the concept of *cultura* – appropriate and socially correct behavior – which contrasts with *listo* – smart, ready, and clever behavior encoded in the experience of being-in-the-market. For him, the way these spatial realities are experienced communicates the basic dynamics of culture. Although he does not specifically discuss embodied space, he lays the methodological groundwork for this concept by focusing on how "being there" becomes cultural. He concludes by asserting that it is through actions that Spanish American culture forms, or better, *becomes*. This "becoming" takes place, literally and socially, in the construction of the two realities and through the dialectical tension between the two.

This phenomenological approach to embodied space is modified and elaborated by other scholars interested in how individuals make place as well as social structure (also see the sections on Inscribed Spaces and Gendered Spaces.) Geographer Allan Pred (1986) traces the history of microgeographies of daily life in Southern Sweden to determine how everyday behavior and movements generate spatial transformations in land tenure and local social structure. He concludes that place always involves "appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space" (Pred 1986:6).

Anthropologists also have noted the importance of body movement in the creation of place, conceptualizing space as movement rather than as a container (Pandya 1990). Melanesian ethnographers work in a cultural context that accentuates the importance of spatial orientation: in greetings, the passage of time, the definition of events, and the identification of people with land and/or the landscape (Rodman 1985; Kahn 1990).

Nancy Munn (1996, this volume) brings this work together by considering space-time "as a symbolic nexus of relations produced out of interactions between bodily actors and terrestrial spaces" (Munn 1996:449; this volume, p. 93). Drawing in part upon Lefebvre's concepts of "field of action" and "basis of action," she constructs the notion of a "mobile spatial field" that can be understood as a culturally defined, corporeal-sensual field stretching out from the body at a given locale or moving through locales.

In "Excluded Spaces: The Figure in the Australian Aboriginal Landscape" Munn's ethnographic illustrations are spatial interdictions. She is interested in the specific kind of spatial form being produced, "a space of deletions or of delimitations constraining one's presence at particular locales" (Munn 1996:448; this volume, p. 93). For instance, in following their moral-religious law, Aborigines make detours to keep far enough away to avoid seeing an ancient place or hearing ritual singing. She argues that by detouring, actors carve out a "negative space" which extends beyond their spatial field of vision. "This act projects a signifier of limitation upon the land or place by forming *transient but repeatable boundaries out of the moving body*" (Munn 1996:452; this volume, p. 95). Munn applies this idea to contemporary Aborigines' encounters with powerful topographic centers and "dangerous" ancestral places.

Munn demonstrates how the Ancestral Law's power of spatial limitation becomes "embodied" in an actor-centered, mobile body, separate from any fixed center or place. "Excluded spaces" become spatiotemporal formations produced out of the interaction of actors' moving spatial fields and the terrestrial spaces of body action. Her theory goes beyond Hall's concept of proxemics with culturally constituted spatial orientations and interpersonal distances and Richardson's phenomenological understanding of being-in-the-world by constructing the person (actor) as a truly embodied space, in which the body, conceived as a moving spatial field makes its own place in the world.

Stuart Rockefeller (2002) radicalizes this notion of actors' mobile spatial fields into a theory of public places formed by individual movements, trips, and digressions of migrants crossing national boundaries. Starting with Munn's idea that the person makes space by moving through it, he traces how movement patterns collectively make up locality and reproduce locality. Places, he argues, are not in the landscape, but simultaneously in the land, people's minds, customs, and bodily practices.

Language and embodied space

In a letter that accompanied the publication of "Proxemics" (Hall 1968, this volume) Dell Hymes (1968) criticizes the use of linguistic theory to understand body space. He comments that if current linguistic theory was taken as model, it would not place primary emphasis on phonological units, but on grammatical relationships, and chides linguists for not undertaking transcultural proxemic ethnography as well as transcultural descriptive linguistics. More recent critiques of the use of language models dispute whether experience can be studied at all, because experience is mediated by language, and language itself is a representation. This tension between "language" and "experience" and the subsequent dominance of semiotics over phenomenology is resolved by Paul Ricoeur (1991) in his argument that language is a modality of being-in-the-world, such that language not only represents or refers, but "discloses" our being-in-the-world (Csordas 1994:11).

Alessandro Duranti (1992) corrects these omissions through his empirical investigation of the interpenetration of words, body movements, and lived space in Western Samoa. He examines the sequence of acts used in ceremonial greeting, explicating that the words used cannot be fully understood without reference to

bodily movements. The performance of ceremonial greetings and the interpretation of words are understood as located in and at the same time constitutive of the sociocultural organization of space inside the house. His theory of "sighting" embodies language and space through "an interactional step whereby participants not only gather information about each other and about the setting but also engage in a negotiated process at the end of which they find themselves physically located in the relevant social hierarchies and ready to assume particular institutional roles" (Duranti 1992:657). Duranti reinterprets proxemics within a linguistic model that includes language, spatial orientation, and body movement.

In "Indexical Speech across Samoan Communities," Duranti focuses his analysis on transnational communities where "speaking about space can be a way of bridging physically distant but emotionally and ethically close worlds" (1997:342; this volume, p. 110). He asks whether a relationship can be contained, represented, and enacted in the act of sitting and whether there is a particular mode of coexistence between one's body and an inhabited surface – between embodied space and inhabited space across translocalities (see the section on Transnational Spaces.) Duranti answers this question through a detailed examination of the Samoan expression *nofo i lalo*, sit down, comparing its use in a Western Samoan village and a suburban neighborhood in southern California. In the Californian setting, this indexical expression is used to establish a resting-place for children's bodies, but also as an attempt to recreate a distant kind of space, one without furniture and walls, and with different rules of cultural behavior. This establishment of a social and cultural space through language and body movement "binds the participants by constituting an emotional and a moral commitment to a culturally specific way of being and moving in a house inhabited by other human beings (parents and visitors) who deserve respect" (Duranti 1997:352; this volume, p. 122).

Duranti's integration of language, body movement, spatial orientation, inhabited space, and distant homelands as expressions of cultural connectedness and socialization, synthesizes many aspects of embodied space. His ideas when combined with the spatial orientation insights of Munn (1996, this volume) provide a productive and fleshed-out theory of embodied space for anthropologists to build upon.

Gendered Spaces

Gender is defined as the cultural interpretation of perceived physical, anatomical, or developmental differences between males and females; although gender elaborates on biological attributes, it is culturally constructed. The anthropological study of gender focuses on how behavior patterns and symbolic representations distinguish the sexes, and considers how differences in power, authority, and value are attributed to these sexual asymmetries. We define gendered spaces to include particular locales that cultures invest with gendered meanings, sites in which sex-differentiated practices occur, or settings that are used strategically to inform identity and produce and reproduce asymmetrical gender relations of power and authority.

The examination of gendered spaces as a subset of gender and feminist studies has received uneven attention in anthropology. While a number of initial gender studies emphasized, or at least attended to, spatial issues, anthropological interest in

gendered space has not been focused and is fragmented. We have chosen to identify gendered spaces in this collection as a way to include some classic work in which gender and space intersect, to discuss theorizing gender, and to encourage further research.

The house is the most frequently recognized gendered space because of its pervasiveness, its centrality as a cultural object, and its role in the productive and reproductive activities of society. Concern with the house has generally implied greater interest in the spatial articulation of women's roles because they are portrayed as more frequent occupants, or confined by its boundaries, while men are "free" to move beyond (see Massey 1994:10). We include two articles in this section that describe gender issues as key aspects in the analysis of the sociospatial organization of home. Pierre Bourdieu's well-known study of the Kabyle house (1973; this volume) is a structuralist account of gender relations expressed in the metaphor of house form and an exposition of his theory of practice. Orvar Löfgren's (1984, this volume) study of 19th and 20th century Swedish bourgeois and working-class domesticity reveals not only the historic differences in gender conceptions between classes, but also identifies some western European characteristics that continue to underlie concepts of gender used by many anthropologists. Finally, Deborah Pellow (this volume) describes the historical and social construction of space and gender relations in Hausa compounds in Accra, Ghana.

Gender and space

Ethnographic description of the association of males and females with different spatial domains has been a staple of anthropological research. Much of it is characterized as symbolic and behavioral dualities linked to cosmology and everyday life. Anthropologists have found houses physically or conceptually divided into two parts, male and female (Bourdieu 1973, this volume; Humphrey 1974); arranged to combine male and female features (Hugh-Jones 1979); or associated with females while males are relegated to a separate "men's house" or public structure (Lea 1995). Although gender is often portrayed as a part of larger dualistic symbolic structures, differences do not always imply gender hierarchies. In considering asymmetries in power and authority relations, gender researchers have used spatial dimensions to theorize about the differences between males and females, and the asymmetries associated with men's greater power, authority, prestige, and status in society.

Michelle Rosaldo (1974) argues that women's subordination to men can be found in their primary association with the "domestic" sphere, a function of their reproductive roles, that contrasts with the social and political relationships formed by men in the "public" sphere. Rosaldo defines the domestic sphere in terms of "minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children" (1974:23). The public sphere includes extradomestic relationships linking mother – child groups in which males are "free" to develop. According to her model, the *firmer the differentiation* between the two spheres in any society, the lower women's status will be, largely because women are isolated or cut off from participating in larger social networks (Rosaldo 1974:36).

The clear separation of gender-differentiated spheres occurs most often in state-level societies and in colonial and postcolonial settings. In the application of the

domestic/public sphere as an analytical framework, the domestic sphere has been used to denote physical settings, as well as domestic work activities, relationships, and production and exchange (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:480). Although Rosaldo's theory did not explicitly state a spatial dimension, the organization, meaning, and use of space could be inferred, and is often employed to demonstrate women's subordination (Lugo and Maurer 2000).

In *Women and Space* (1993), Shirley Ardener and others argue that the organization, meanings, and uses of space express the hierarchy of social structural relationships and ideologies encoded in it. Although gender may be one of several characteristics, including class and ethnicity, expressed in space, it is most often revealed in relations of power where men dominate and women are a "muted" group. Ardener notes that spaces may be exclusively identified with males or females, and be separated or bounded, but they operate as part of larger ideological schemes used to confine or restrict women's behavior. While women may not directly control physical or social space, Ardener argues they are far from powerless and often occupy roles which allow them to influence male exercise of power and authority (1993:9). For instance, Wright (1993) indicates that Iranian women who are relegated to the domestic sphere and barred from "officially" participating in politics, gather information and slyly advise their husbands at home, while also maintaining the fiction of being structurally "muted" (see also Friedl 1967).

Structuralist and poststructuralist interpretations of gendered space

Some of the most productive approaches to understanding gendered spaces have employed a structuralist approach that discloses the underlying organization of a culture's distinctive features. These features include, among others, sexual asymmetries, organized in a system of interrelated homologous binary oppositions. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963) postulates that unconscious mental structures are capable of generating cultural patterns; these structures account for consistencies that social and symbolic forms exhibit in relation to spatial organization. Structuralist interpretations of gender relations link women with categories of symbolic meaning such as "nature" in opposition to linkages between men, "culture," and other symbolic categories (Ortner 1974). To explain a gendered spatial order, structuralist accounts argue that the opposition of sexually associated features expresses an unconscious dualistic mental structure (Callaway 1993; Cunningham 1964; Hirschon 1989, 1993; Hugh-Jones 1979; Humphrey 1974; Sciama 1993; Tambiah 1985).

For Pierre Bourdieu, the Algerian Berber house is a metaphor for the organization of the universe structured on gender and other social-symbolic principles (1973, this volume). Bourdieu's analysis of architecture and cosmological principles symbolically link women to the lower, dark, and hidden parts of the house, associated with childbirth and death, where animals are kept, in opposition to the upper, light, warm spaces, associated with men, where cooking and weaving are done and family life occurs. Although women are associated with the domestic sphere and men with the public sphere outside the house, the interior of the house is a microcosm of all symbolic relations. Bourdieu argues the oppositions between female and male, nature and culture, lower and upper spaces conceptually divide the Kabyle house into two parts, but that these symbolic oppositions are resolved in the

transformations of metaphoric and metonymic relations in which any part of the conceptual scheme implies the whole. In this fashion Berber social and spatial organizations derive from the same conceptual foundation.

Bourdieu, however, moves beyond the constraints of structuralist analysis by focusing on how meaning and action, or "practice," interact in interdependent ways to inculcate and reinforce cultural knowledge and behavior. He argues that postulating unconscious structures or identifying rules that actors follow does little to explain how people use these conceptual schemes practically and discursively to produce and reproduce their culture. Space can have no meaning apart from practice; the system of generative and structuring dispositions, or *habitus*, constitutes and is constituted by actors' movement through space (1977:214). Space is gendered in Bourdieu's scheme as it is invested with conceptual and symbolic notions of sexual asymmetry that are themselves tied to social and cosmological structures. Because social practice activates spatial meanings, they are not fixed in space, but are invoked by actors, men and women, who bring their own discursive knowledge and strategic intentions to the interpretation of spatial meanings.

Bourdieu's theory of practice provides the point of departure for Henrietta Moore (1986) in understanding how space takes on gendered meanings among the Endo of Marakwet in Kenya. Moore concurs that space only acquires meaning when actors invoke it in practice, but she asks why meanings that are advantageous to men dominate these interpretations. For instance, Endo women are identified with the house, but the meanings invoked in using the domestic sphere privilege men's economic and social position. Moore adopts Fernandez's notion of metaphor's capacity for creativity (see the section on Inscribed Spaces) and, from Geertz and Ricoeur, reading behavior and space as a text to inform her understanding of how spaces are subject to multiple interpretations. She rejects the idea that dominant and muted groups, men and women respectively, have different cultural models which produce distinct interpretations of space. Rather, men and women share the same conceptual structure but enter into it in different positions and therefore subject it to different interpretations (Moore 1986:163). The notion that spatial symbols are polysemic enables these creative interpretations. While women counter the dominant view by deception, asserting rights to resources, and overcoming isolation by joining with other women in ritual and practical activities centered on reproductive roles, men construct a "discourse of power" that subsumes and diminishes women and regulates social relations within the group, among men, and with the natural world.

Victorian spaces

The application of domestic/public spheres to explain gender relations in non-Western cultures raises questions about whether these schemes are bound to western European categories of thought and culture. Questioning her own gender theorizing, Michelle Rosaldo (1980) began tracing her ideas of gender asymmetries to ethnological legacies that informed early anthropological theories. She argued that in detailing the "origins" of women's subordination, many anthropologists' accounts seem to be little more than projections of Victorian assumptions about

women's reproductive roles and attendant elaborations (Rosaldo 1980:392). Rosaldo saw the Victorian focus on women's roles that separated public and domestic spheres as their way to compensate for the insecurity of capitalist investment and employment in underwriting male authority, and the need to fully separate the self-interested world of work from the selfless love of home (Collier 2000).

Orvar Löfgren (1984, this volume) considers how Victorian gender relations were conceived in the 19th and 20th century Swedish family and home. His account demonstrates the power of physical surroundings in the production and reproduction of culture, and reveals how middle- and working-class women read home environments in contrasting and conflicting ways. His historical account traces the emergence of bourgeois domesticity as a dominant ideology and value system that found expression in the practice of homemaking, the materiality of which served to naturalize its worldview. For the Oscarians (Sweden's Victorians), home was a moral project that combined material, social, and spiritual ideals of home and family, and men's and women's places. The construction of the 19th century bourgeois family, was based on the fragile bond of love between husband and wife, parents and children, requiring intimacy for its nourishment and growth, but the house itself also served as a showcase with separate spaces for public display and private seclusion (Löfgren 1984:45; this volume, p. 142). The construction of the ideal housewife, *femina domestica*, exempt from heavy work but responsible for creating an emotionally supportive and spiritually uplifting domestic atmosphere, contrasted with *homo economicus*, the rational, efficient husband who worked in public settings (Löfgren 1984:49; this volume, p. 145). Löfgren argues that these values invested in the organization of space and materiality of the bourgeois home acted to "silently socialize" family members to its ideals.

Löfgren contrasts the Swedish bourgeois family with the rapidly growing urban working classes where a different kind of home and family life predominated (see Young and Willmott 1957; Bott 1957). Unlike bourgeois families, working-class families were far less home-centered, anchoring identity in the neighborhood, exhibiting sex-segregated roles, and, in spite of material limitations, setting aside parlor space to assert their own respectability. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, European and North American middle classes sought to transform working-class families by strategically promoting the reform of domestic spaces to make them into their own image (Lawrence-Zúñiga, in press). The middle class redefined family, gender, and home around progressive modern concepts of scientific rationality, elevating housework to an occupation and promoting egalitarian gender relations. Löfgren observes that the Swedish home became a cultural battlefield in which middle-class progressives sought to reform the working-class family, but they were met by working-class women who resented and resisted embourgeoisement.

Gendering houses

The focus on houses as gendered spaces continues to occupy the attentions of many anthropologists working in European cultures where the material changes to housing and other documentation yield insights into historical transformations of gender

and family relations (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999; Bestard-Camps 1991; Zonabend 1984). Increasingly, however, the migration and relocation of peoples creates new relationships. Drawing on Halbwachs (1980) and Bachelard (1969), Joelle Bahloul (1996) describes how Jewish women living in Paris use the house in pre-independence Algeria as a mnemonic for recalling their experiences where their families and Muslim families lived together. "Memory's discourse feminizes the house," in name associated with men, by reminding its female residents that it was designed to enclose and contain them (1996:30). Men's memories were of the street and their identities were of the town. Domestic life centered on the courtyard, a central space shared by the families, but Jewish women constructed their own identities around their ability to leave the house to work or go to school unlike the Muslim women they knew.

Using the physicality of the house to understand how gender plays a significant role is found in "house societies" in Southeast Asia and South America (Atkinson and Errington 1990; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones take as their point of departure Lévi-Strauss's notion of house societies, by which he defined a hybrid or transitional society between egalitarian, kin-based and hierarchical, class-based, to describe societies in which neither kinship, property, nor residence alone plays a clear role in defining social groups (1995:10). Roxanna Waterson (1990, 1995) and Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones (1995) extend Lévi-Strauss's notion of the house to include its material dimensions as well as its domestic, economic, political, and religious functions. The house operates through its physicality as a complex idiom for defining social groupings, naturalizing social positions, and as a source of symbolic power (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:21). In much of Southeast Asia gendered uses and meanings of space may be derived from and combined with or muted by other principles of social organization such as descent and marriage or social rank (Waterson 1990:170). Carsten and Hugh-Jones use the idea of "spatial text" to suggest that residents' practices reveal the variable polysemic qualities of domestic space, that can be associated with women, with men and women, or with men at different times and occasions, depending on who is involved (1995:41). Gendered meanings can also be subsumed or obliterated by other considerations of kinship and rank, and they can change in relation to cyclical and historical conditions.

Constructing gender identity and space

The construction of gender and space are mutually constituting processes that find expression over time. Deborah Pellow (this volume) describes the evolution of the compound in Sabon Zongo, a Hausa-based community, in Accra, Ghana, over the last 80 years. Based on a model of traditional housing derived from the northern Nigerian countryside, Pellow traces out the ideals of social relations realized in spatial forms. Central to the Zongo's original spatial order is the accommodation of *auren kulle* (marriage of seclusion) sanctioned by Hausa custom and Muslim law, that employs seclusion to separate men and women in everyday life. Pellow describes the organization of living spaces around central courtyards that provide a gradation of public spaces for men to increasingly private ones reserved for women and their children. In adapting to the rapidly changing postcolonial economy of Accra, Pellow

describes how the Zongo has also changed over time to incorporate non-Hausa and a weakening of seclusion observances.

Although less fully explored, extra domestic spaces are also constructed as gendered, tacitly and explicitly. A number of researchers have drawn inspiration from feminist geographers (Massey 1994; Blunt and Rose 1994), and anthropological theories employing multivocal, or translocal and transnational approaches, much of it investigating the intersection of gender, class, ethnicity, and race in complex and often subtle ways. Research on factory settings that employ large numbers of women but are managed and operated by companies dominated by men has produced fruitful insights into how non-domestic space is gendered and gendered identities are produced and reproduced (Kondo 1990; Ong 1990). Begoña Aretxaga (1997) describes how the quiet intimacy of home has been shaken and shattered by violence for Catholic women in West Belfast, while their involvement in "the troubles" forces them into dangerous public spaces. Their relationships with one another produce and reproduce an emotional space in which to shelter wanted men and differentiate the men from themselves (Aretxaga 1997:53). Low (2000) also describes the gendering of plazas in San Jose, Costa Rica, noting that the traditional Parque Central is not only dominated by men, but women who use the space come with children or male escorts at culturally acceptable times. However, the new Plaza de la Cultura attracts young people, tourists, and single women who can realize modern concepts of gender in a public setting.

The study of gendered space has moved away from earlier conceptions of fixed symbolic and territorial associations to consider more complex understandings. Historical studies of gender constructions over space and time reveal variability within cultures and the complex interlinkages of gender with social, economic, and political influences. An examination of the physical dimensions of the house and kinship relations in "house societies" suggests promising future directions for further gender study. In rapidly changing postcolonial societies the spatial dimensions of gender construction appear the most challenging to understand as traditional and new sociospatial forms interact with shifting dimensions of class, ethnicity, and race. All of these provide ample room for further explorations of gendered spaces.

Inscribed Spaces

"Inscribed spaces" focus on how various scholars define the fundamental relationship between humans and the environments they occupy. Inscribed space implies that humans "write" in an enduring way their presence on their surroundings, yet we do not wish to imply that this is solely a metaphor for describing the relationship. Rather, we acknowledge the role anthropologists play in making written records of these relationships and that, in creating texts, anthropologists not only document the narratives of those with whom they work, but increasingly consider their own positions in that work. In this section we are interested in how people form meaningful relationships with the locales they occupy, how they attach meaning to space, and transform "space" into "place." We are interested in how experience is embedded in place and how space holds memories that implicate people and events.

Furthermore, the relationship between people and their surroundings encompasses more than attaching meaning to space. It involves the recognition and cultural elaboration of perceived properties of environments in mutually constituting ways through narratives and praxis.

Architectonic space

James Fernandez (1974, 1977, 1984, this volume) conceives of the relationship between people and their environment as reciprocal and mutually constituting, one in which identity is negotiated through interactions with the environment and especially in the ritual enactment of metaphor. In his work among the Fang, Fernandez is interested in what makes spaces sacred and how they become places. People are influenced by the environment that surrounds them, and take qualities of that environment into themselves, "predicating upon themselves objects from other (non literal) domains of experience" (1984:32; this volume, p. 187), they create metaphors in constituting their identity (1974:120). In taking in these qualities, people also project them into space, creating buildings and settlement plans as part of larger "architectonic" space.

The architectonics of Fang culture, however, are not limited to physical settings but also include personal, social, domestic, cosmological, and mythical spaces produced by their mythology and cosmology, migration, forest and village relations, and social relations (Fernandez 1977:38). Instead, the architectonics create "quality space" that holds within it emergent qualities of experience activated during ritual events. Quality space is metaphoric space that includes architectural settings, but also contains "an extension of personal body images and an intension of mythical and cosmic images" (1977:39; see also the section on Embodied Spaces). During ritual performances, the metaphors of quality space are activated and participants experience complex feeling states, and a sense of revitalization.

Using this theoretical framework to explore the evocative power of sacred spaces, Fernandez compares the different architectonics of the Fang, Zulu, and Mina peoples (1984, this volume). He characterizes Fang culture as having centrifugal tendencies, Zulu culture as centripetal, while the Mina appear to be more centered. Fernandez points to the contrasting natural and human-made environments in which these groups live – the Fang in the forest made claustrophobic with its limited vistas, the Zulu in their ingathering spaces in the big open savannah, and the Mina with the constant motion brought by winds at the shore. Sentiments evoked by these environments comprise the material for the architectonic development of quality space that differentiates each culture. In contrasting the Fang and Zulu, Fernandez points to differences in settlement plan and architectural forms – the Fang rectilinear and the Zulu circular – and different social experiences with their natural and built surroundings. Woven into Fang architectonics, for instance, are the social oppositions between the men's council house and women's combined sleeping-cooking spaces, and the village relation to the forest, but also extensions of microcosmic body imagery with macrocosmic features of mythology. Fernandez also argues that while both cultures aim to experience vitality in ritual performances, Fang rituals tend toward the centrifugal, emphasizing oppositions, while the Zulu concentrate and centralize their ritual practices (1984:40; this volume, p. 198).

Place and voice

Although Fernandez casts much of his discussion of Fang architectonics in terms of conventional notions about environmental forms, sacred space, and the creation of place, he is also one of the first anthropologists to question the assumptions underlying key spatial categories used in ethnological analysis. In a 1988 special issue of *Cultural Anthropology*, Appadurai, Fernandez, and others argue that anthropologists have often used specific locales to identify the particular groups that inhabit them, and associated these with specific research topics that profoundly limit and narrow our understandings. "Ethnography thus reflects the circumstantial encounter of the voluntarily displaced anthropologist and the involuntarily localized 'other'" (Appadurai 1988:16). Equally problematic is the issue of voice by which Appadurai suggests that it is often unclear who is speaking in ethnography. In organizing fieldwork conversations into ethnography, does the ethnographer speak for the native, the native for the ethnographer, or does only the selected native speak? This reflexive concern with representations of anthropological knowledge, then, focuses attention on assumptions underlying core concepts and methods.

Arguing that far more attention has been given to the problem of voice in anthropology, Margaret Rodman (1992, this volume) focuses attention on the definition and use of place as an analytical construct. She criticizes anthropological conceptions of place that provide taken-for-granted settings to situate ethnographic descriptions, are used analytically as metaphors, or are reduced to a locale that imprisons natives. Rather, places are socially constructed by the people who live in them and know them; they are "politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (1992:641; this volume, p. 203) . Place can have a unique reality for each inhabitant, and while the meanings may be shared with others, the views of place are often likely to be competing, and contested in practice. Rodman suggests that anthropologists "empower" place by returning control over meanings of place to the rightful producers, and empower their own analysis of place by attending to the multiplicity of inhabitants' voices found in places about place (1992:644; this volume, p. 207).

Rodman outlines how understanding place as social construction can inform an anthropology that cannot be practiced in a "traditional" world where the natives stay put. Rodman proposes the concept of "multilocality" to describe considerations of place(s) affected by influences of modernity, imperial history, and contemporary contexts. In addition to accommodating polysemic meanings of place, "multilocality" seeks to understand multiple, non-Western, and Eurocentric viewpoints in the construction of place, effecting a more decentered anthropological analysis that acknowledges that there are no "others." Multilocality is also useful for understanding the network of connections among places that link micro and macro levels, as well as the reflexive qualities of identity formation and the construction of place as people increasingly move around the globe (Rodman 1992:646–647; this volume, p. 210). Rodman's multivocal approach urges us to listen to the voices infrequently heard such as native people who claim power by employing the autochthonous imagery of "rootedness" to suggest they are inseparable from place, or by asserting primordial connections of oneness with the land. She proposes the concept of social

landscape as a broad perspective that rests on the notion of lived space of an individual's experience in the world and attention to "How different actors construct, contest and ground experience in place" (1992:652; this volume, p. 216).

Landscape as place

The concept of landscape, like place, is frequently used by anthropologists to casually describe settings pertinent to ethnography, but it is rarely defined or problematized. Eric Hirsch (1995) corrects this problem by identifying two meanings of landscape in anthropology, one as a framing device used "objectively" to bring a people into view, the other, similar to Rodman's socially constructed place, to refer to the meaning people impute to their surroundings (1995:1). Drawing on its etymological roots in Western art history, Hirsch defines landscape as developing from and involving a tension between idealized or imagined settings which he calls "background" against which the "foreground" of everyday, real, ordinary life is cast. In Hirsch's scheme, landscape's foreground actuality is to background potentiality, as place is to space, inside is to outside, and image is to representation (1995:4). In western European culture these notions can be traced to Renaissance rationality that separated people from nature, abstracted both, and created a separate ideal, a background, of objective reality. Using this framework he explores comparable foreground-background elements of landscape in other cultures and finds, in some, attempts to activate a relationship with background potentiality to overcome everyday struggles.

The concept of landscape is productive in accounting for the social construction of place by imbuing the physical environment with social meaning. Suggesting that landscape meaning is formed from densely mediated relationships with places through kinship, Gow (1995) argues that the Piro know the landscape through action in it with others and narrative; landscape implicates kin relations by acting as a mnemonic for recalling prior social events. The concept of landscape is also productive in examining notions of foreground-inside in relation to background-outside. Tom Selwyn (1995) describes how Israeli conceptions of national identity based on defending and conserving the natural landscape invert the original insider position of Arab inhabitants to outsider. Caroline Humphrey (1995) defines the Mongolian landscape by the different ways in which chiefly and shamanist energies are envisaged and, as social agencies, constitute the material world in complementary and dynamic ways.

Narrating place

The use of narrative to inform the anthropological understanding of place focuses on details of how local populations construct perceptions and experience place. Much of this ethnography attempts to describe "local theories of dwelling" (Feld and Basso 1996) and draws implicitly or explicitly on phenomenological approaches, a direction already much in use among cultural geographers who study place. Narrative and its interpretation is at the center of methods because, as Keith Basso indicates, cultural constructions of the environment can only be understood by talking to natives about landscapes (1996:68). But there are important assumptions and

understandings derived from phenomenological approaches that find their way into and orient the use of narrative and the dependence on ethnographic description and its interpretation to serve as explanation.

An ethnographic exemplar employing narrative in describing place is found in Keith Basso's writings about his long-term work among the western Apache. Basso considers "what humans take their environments to mean," by focusing on the reciprocal influence of conceptions of the land and the self through which people produce a moral relationship with the land. His research on stories about places and place names, the vehicles of ancestral authority, reveals their roles as "symbolic reference points for the moral imagination and its practical bearings on the actualities of lives" (1988:102). The figurative language found in the stories that describe how the crossing got named "Coyote Pisses in the Water" or the place became known as "Grasshoppers Piled Up Across" suggests the western Apache use the landscape as a mnemonic for self-reflexive activity, a necessary action for acquiring wisdom. Wisdom, or the capacity for prescient thinking, can be learned, but only conscientiously, from Apache elders whose knowledge is enacted by visiting places, naming their names, and recounting traditional stories that demonstrate how insightfully "smooth" minds triumph over selfish, stupid, or foolish ones (Basso 1996:76). Basso tells us that by thinking of narratives set in place and the ancestors who originated them, Apaches inhabit their landscape and are inhabited by it in an enduring reciprocal relationship (1988:102).

Although Australian Aboriginal cultures also tell stories about their ancestors situated in place like the Apache, their narratives have a different character and function (Myers 1991; Morphy 1995). Fred Myers argues that among the Pintupi the relationship between place and family is linked to the concept of "The Dreaming", narratives about the mythological past in which "totemic ancestors" traveled from place to place and finally became part of the land (1991:48). The Dreaming is the means by which Pintupi selves are formed and identity is known, by which an individual "owns" a place, and the rights to live in an area and sacra associated with it. The Dreaming contrasts with the immediate and visible world, constituting an invisible but primary reality that is as unchanging and timeless as the cosmos. Myers says the Pintupi transform the landscape into narrative by invoking The Dreaming in their interactions with it and using each place as a mnemonic for telling and reenacting the story of their whole "country" (1991:66).

The inscription of place with meaning is not limited, however, to telling stories, but can include poetry, music, and songs (Feld 1990, 1996; Roseman 1998; Weiner 1991). Marina Roseman describes the Temiar use of songs to map their historical relationship with rain forest, claim rights to its resources, and translate the forest into culture by releasing forest spirits in song to sing in dreams and rituals (1998:111). A significant contribution to the literature on narrating place can be found in *Senses of Place* (Feld and Basso 1996). There, philosopher Edward Casey examines anthropological suggestions that the people we study transform a pre-existing, empty, and absolute space into meaningful place. Casey suggests the contrary – that place is general, and includes space, and that space is particular and derived from it (1996:15). He identifies the emergence of the idea of "space" as a modern concept preceded by the premodern notion of place, or perhaps followed by one that is postmodern – place, then, is primary, universal, and general (1996:20).

While not eschewing the narrative approach to understanding the social construction of place, Gray (1999, this volume) argues that praxis be included. Gray's description of the political economy of sheep farming emphasizes how UK and EU economic development policies favoring rational use of flat, open land for commodity production tend to ignore and marginalize hill areas which become fertile sites for the production of cultural identities steeped in sheep herding and border history. The *hirsel*, a unified place that includes both a shepherd's sheep and their grazing area, is constituted by the shepherd's walking and biking in the hills to care for his sheep (Gray 1999:449; this volume, p. 229). The act of shepherding, or "going around the hill," is place-making requiring a shepherd's detailed knowledge of the terrain, but also how his sheep bond to parts of the terrain, and how these parts are linked together by paths to form his hirsel. Shepherds feel a deep connection to the land by caring for their sheep, by understanding their grazing habits, and by being able to see them to keep them out of trouble. The emphasis on walking the hills demonstrates the critical ways in which places that may be separately named and recalled are connected to one another and form a unified whole. Gray's reliance on narrative as well as documented practices, gleaned largely by walking the terrain with the shepherds, suggests a promising avenue to capture a deeper understanding of place as lived space.

Anthropological study of inscribed spaces increasingly acknowledges the depth and complexity with which people construct meaningful relationships with their surroundings. In describing and recording these relationships, however, anthropologists have also struggled to incorporate reflexive considerations of place, voice, and authority in their own work. Many scholars continue to describe the intricacies of mutually constituting social relations with place through ritual and metaphor, but the concern for discovering and representing the multiple views of places and their meanings within a culture is yielding an increasingly rich understanding of the role of place in constructing identity and holding memory. These avenues of research promise a rich avenue for further explorations of the knowledge and meanings of particular local places which are threatened by pressures from an increasingly globally interconnected world.

Contested Spaces

Our consideration of "contested spaces" addresses social conflicts that are focused on particular sites. We define "contested spaces" as geographic locations where conflicts in the form of opposition, confrontation, subversion, and/or resistance engage actors whose social positions are defined by differential control of resources and access to power. While these conflicts principally center on the meanings invested in sites, or derive from their interpretation, they reveal broader social struggles over deeply held collective myths (McDonogh, 1992, this volume) In this way, contested spaces give material expression to and act as loci for creating and promulgating, countering, and negotiating dominant cultural themes that find expression in myriad aspects of social life. Spaces are contested precisely because they concretize the fundamental and recurring, but otherwise unexamined, ideological, and social frameworks that structure practice.

Theoretical approaches to understanding contested spaces vary by the type of site, and/or the social context in which the site is contested. Many studies of contested spaces could be considered equally under our other categories of embodied, gendered, inscribed, transnational, or tactical spaces because many sociospatial relations often include contestation. To create a foundation for considering contested spaces, we have included an article by Hilda Kuper (1972, this volume) on Swazi sites that have political importance in their struggles with colonial administrators. Gary McDonogh (1992, this volume) describes the history of how bourgeois elites and residents diverge in their characterization of the *barrio chino* in Barcelona as part of his larger work on the urban development of that city. We have also included an excerpt from Steven Gregory's *Black Corona: Race and the Politics of Place in an Urban Community* (1998) to highlight how an urban American discourse conflating race, poverty and place is countered and subverted through activism in an urban community.

The language of sites

In a seminal article on the Swazi, Hilda Kuper (1972, this volume) sets out the main parameters for the study of contested sites. Drawing on the classificatory and ideational characteristics of space rather than its physical or "empirical" aspects, Kuper defines "social space" experientially, whereby individuals attach values to space through social and personal experiences, and culturally as a conceptual model. Kuper suggests that the power of sites lies in their capacity as symbols to communicate through condensed meanings, especially as they are activated during the drama of political events. The symbolic meanings of sites are articulated through a complex system of social and ideational associations, which have manifest and latent qualities. Swazi narratives of political events reveal a "verbal imagery" of sites that express issues of identity in their struggles for power with colonial administrators. Kuper argues that some sites have more power and significance than others; "these qualities need have no *fixed* relationship to a physical, empirical dimension," although "political influence may manifest itself in bestowing these qualities through the manipulating of forms" (1972:421; this volume, p. 257). Thus, for Kuper, sites are social spaces that function in politicized dramas as condensed symbols operating within complex social and ideational structures. Kuper notes that the maximum effect of the politics of space is probably evident in colonial countries where white settlers have assumed control over strategic resources. The contestation of space among the Swazi is not unique in the way it opposes parties of unequal power and resources, and serves to articulate identities that attach to social space.

Producing urban sites of contestation

Urban environments provide frequent opportunities for spatial contests because of their complex structures and differentiated social entities that collude and compete for control over material and symbolic resources. Macro-level analyses of contested spaces have focused on struggles to control the outcomes of urban redevelopment schemes related to housing and neighborhood (Castells 1983) and urban sacred space (Harvey 1985) where local inhabitants organize to oppose the dominant

classes and political elite (see also the section on Transnational Spaces). These analyses of class-based struggles in response to state-imposed spatial regimes emphasize how space is constitutive of power, and how resistance takes the form of social movements and local activism. While absolute command over physical space is the focus of these contests, because it ensures "invisible" control over the social reproduction of power relations, that control cannot be understood apart from conceptualizations of space which legitimize and naturalize sociospatial relations and which are manipulated in conflict situations (Lefebvre 1991).

Setha Low distinguishes between the physical and symbolic aspects of urban space by defining *social production* as the processes responsible for the material creation of space as they combine social, economic, ideological, and technological factors, while the *social construction* of space defines the experience of space through which "peoples' social exchanges, memories, images and daily use of the material setting" transform it and give it meaning (2000:128). The planning, design, and construction of the city are processes of social production responsible for shaping the urban environment, encoding it with intentions and aspirations, uses and meanings that are often themselves contentiously produced. For instance, professional designers and political elites together negotiate competing future images of the city, but these are rarely consistent with the daily spatial experiences of urban residents and workers. Interventions that physically shape the urban landscape attract opposition because they reproduce key symbolic forms that reference deep and still unresolved or unresolvable conflicts among social actors and collectivities.

Robert Rotenberg (1995) addresses this issue of design by tracing the historical production of successive urban gardens in Vienna as they represented changing relations of power and ideology. He shows how each new garden design contested social truths and power relations embedded in the previous one. During the 19th century, the Viennese city government created several major public parks as part of the Ringstrasse urban redevelopment scheme. "The city council built these parks, like the public buildings on the Ringstrasse, to represent the battle between the ideologies of absolutism and liberalism" (Rotenberg 1995:135). The English style of garden design that allowed plants to grow freely as in a picturesque landscape was favored by liberals who sought to portray their commitment to unfettered economic and political freedoms. Absolutists found the formal, manicured French style garden to be a more faithful representation of the imperial capital. While ordinary citizens had been banned from absolutist parks, their use of the new parks was encouraged; some French design elements were incorporated to control their potentially destructive behavior, however. Despite the inclusive gestures towards the public, Rotenberg suggests the Ringstrasse redevelopment was more important as camouflage that hid benefits given to private capitalist investors who acquired land to develop for middle-class housing (1995:140). Rotenberg argues that the effectiveness of these and subsequent gardens, even today, is found in their capacity to teach residents of Vienna about their own history as successive and competing forms of metropolitan knowledge.

Urban planning proposals and development schemes for transforming urban landscapes typically serve the interests of political elites and monied interests – indeed, the city is often envisioned as a site for the production of value – symbolic and monetary (see also the section on Tactical Spaces). Parts of the city long ignored and neglected often become attractive targets of these projects; their depressed land

values make them ripe for exploitation and development in the realization of the urban vision. Gary McDonogh (1991) argues that as hegemonic discourse these visions of the future often ignore the values of urban life in marginal areas of the city. In describing the *barrio chino* of Barcelona, McDonogh (1992, this volume) focuses on the role of bars in the characterization of the neighborhood by their association with prostitution, drugs, and criminal activity. McDonogh argues bars not only act as signifiers linking notions of vice, gender, and doubtful morality to an entire lower-class neighborhood and the people who live there, but are made to "appear to be the causes rather than attributes of marginality" (1992:29). Much of this imagery is constructed from outside the barrio by the urban bourgeoisie who generalize from the reputations of certain specialty bars rather than common neighborhood bars which serve as social centers for local residents. While barrio residents contest this negative image by portraying themselves as virtuous and orderly, they still recognize the stereotype of the neighborhood. Indeed, McDonogh reports that residents used to tolerate illegal activities in the past as part of a culture of resistance. The imagery of bars and the barrio operate in a mutually constitutive and repressive system that serves the elite classes of Barcelona who claim the right to condemn an entire segment of the city, thus making it subject without recourse to planning schemes that ostensibly seek to ameliorate conditions.

Setha Low (2000) describes the conflict surrounding the renovation of the Parque Central, one of the oldest and most emblematic of public spaces in San Jose, Costa Rica. Professional and middle-class Josefinos, reacting to the apparent decline of the Parque due to an increased presence of lower-class users, promoted the idea of returning the site to their image of an elite, turn-of-the-century public space. City planners and officials, incorporating citizen input, adopted a compromise design that aimed to improve safety and cleanliness, reducing the amount of seating, eliminating roving venders and adding police – design strategies meant to displace the previous users and reclaim the Parque as a symbol for those who rarely used it. The newly designed Plaza de la Cultura, by contrast, was intended to express the aspirations of the dominant political party to represent Costa Rica as a modern country with European sensibilities while also recognizing its indigenous pre-Columbian heritage. Its big empty open spaces and North American businesses attract teenagers, tourists, speakers and performers, and gay cruisers, but it is viewed ambivalently by Josefinos who think of it as unattractive and unsafe. Successful in representing the interests of the politicians and the professional elite, Low concludes that these public spaces do little to serve the needs of everyday Costa Ricans (2000:202).

When the appropriation of land for urban redevelopment threatens to limit access to or exclude certain groups from using public spaces, these plans may be contested by local segments of the population whose identity is variously bound to the site. Matthew Cooper (1993) describes how the city of Toronto initially planned to create an urban "meeting place" on its waterfront where the culturally diverse vitality of the city could be realized, but was threatened by occupants of the development's office buildings, luxury condominiums, and upscale shopping who quickly organized to exclude access to others. Timothy Sieber (1993) also argues that as working waterfronts have waned in the United States, bourgeois and professional classes have sought these spaces by the water as a recreational or leisure resource, to be consumed by viewing. Using design guidelines that promote visual consumption, the

Boston waterfront can be experienced by taking walks, bicycling, and dining with a view of the water, but excludes facilities favored by the working classes.

Although liberal democracies ideally guarantee their citizens access to and unimpeded use of public spaces, elites may challenge and limit use through permits and police activity if it threatens their interests. Street vending from New York City (Stoller 1996) to Dar es Salaam (Lewinson 1998) is heavily regulated making streets contested spaces that disadvantage the poor. City streets and squares may be temporarily appropriated by social groups who compete to express social and political positions in the form of ritualized protests and demonstrations (Davis 1986). Public festivities, parades, performances, and spontaneous demonstrations are often used to temporarily invert dominant power relations to contest political and social issues (Lawrence 1992), or they may be used to give public voice to "invisible" or lesser known segments of the urban social order (Kugelmass 1994; Kasinitz 1992).

State hegemony and the memory of sites

The specific location in which local conflicts play out is increasingly seen as the stage upon which social memory is constructed (Sawalha 1998). The production and reproduction of hegemonic schemes require the monopolization of public spaces in order to dominate memories. "History is a central focus of social contest because the meanings of the past define the stakes of the present" (Alonso 1988:49). Popular and official memories codefine each other, often in shifting relations, but the state controls public spaces critical to the reproduction of a dominant memory while marginalizing the counter-histories of peasants, women, working classes, and others.

Some of these processes are seen most dramatically in cities located in the former Soviet Union which are just now reconstructing their urban landscapes and collective memories. In Poland and Germany attempts by citizens and governments to rename streets in honor of local heroes or to eliminate references to socialists may encounter resistance (E. Tucker 1998; DeSoto 1996). In Krakow, redevelopment plans for the Jewish Kazimierz district which sought to "restore" the past by erasing the Nazi occupation and 40 years of communism were contested (Kugelmass and Orla-Bukowska 1998). In Moscow, the construction of great public works projects and monuments has been historically linked to the production of mythologies to legitimize political visions of particular leaders (Khazanov 1998). The patronage of Moscow's mayor for the creation of "infantile" public sculptures by the artist Tseretseli has made these contested sites. Bruce Grant (2001) suggests that monuments are vehicles by which politicians project their own images as a mythical practice onto the empty receptacle of the state (also see McDonogh 1993). The fanciful imagery of the sculptures draws on children's fairytales, but according to Grant, the monuments and their mythical properties form a political practice which anesthetizes and tranquilizes the public and diverts Moscovites from asking serious questions about political and economic accountability.

Tourist sites

The quality of the physical setting is critical to tourism – it must provide some attractive, often "visual" features (Urry 1990) to motivate visits – but tourist sites are

likely to be contested spaces because, like urban spaces, they lie at the intersection of diverse and competing social, economic, and political influences. Tourist landscapes are often developed and marketed under the aegis of national and international economic and political institutions which lie outside the control of local residents who work in and inhabit these spaces. A major threat to local cultures is the commercial success of mass tourism, much of it increasingly organized through networks of international cooperation (Greenwood 1989, Boissevain 1996). Development is aimed at creating landscapes for consumption by a leisured class of tourists rather than accommodating the needs and desires of local residents (Odermatt 1996). The recent growth of "cultural tourism" which seeks to bring hosts and guests into direct contact (Boissevain 1996), and the "heritage industry" which ostensibly markets traditional culture are intended to satisfy the tourist's growing desire to consume "authentic" landscapes as a means to experience imagined communities full of appealing, heroic, or colorful people (Selwyn 1996; H. Tucker 1997).

Even when the local population is actively involved in the tourism economy, however, changes to the physical environment and way of life, or the actual presence of tourists, can provoke opposition and sometimes overt conflict (Black 1996; Pedregal 1996). Local residents may develop strategies of resistance to mitigate the effects of the tourist presence, even as they participate in the tourist enterprise, by creating physical or temporal boundaries to protect a "backstage" area for private use (MacCannell 1976; Boissevain 1996; Black 1996; Crain 1996).

The meaning of the physical settings transformed to promote tourism may become the focus of conflict between tourists and residents. Edward Bruner (1996) describes the vastly different significance a coastal slave fort in Ghana has for visiting African Americans searching for identity and diasporic meaning in contrast with local Ghanaian's perceptions of the site as a source of economic development and a representation of a long history of colonial contacts. The effects of global mass tourism on particular sites and relations between tourists and the host country can have dangerous implications. Policing the pyramids in Giza, Egypt, has become necessary as they have been targeted by militant Islamic groups who identify the monument with the unacceptable penetration of Western control and conspicuous consumption (Kuppinger 1998).

Some tourist sites play critical roles in the ideological hegemony of states which use them to construct and legitimize the nation, and in the construction of national identity (Selwyn 1995). In England, the prehistoric site of Stonehenge has long attracted Druids and other alternative-culture groups whose interpretations and uses are contested by the official vision of the national icon owned and managed by the National Trust and English Heritage. Between 1985 and 1999 these groups, who use the site in unconventional ways, had been prohibited by force from using the site because they did not constitute "bona fide tourists" who paid fees (Bender 1993: 271). Archaeologist Barbara Bender contemplates archaeologists' participation in the production of the official, scientific interpretation of the monument at the behest of the state, one that strategically silences and excludes the voices and uses of others (1998:121).

Place identities and the politics of representation

The strategic construction of social identities articulated in terms of place or a specific site may play an important role in disputes over territory or development of the land (Forbes 1999; Whittaker 1994). Michele Dominy (1995) describes white settler (Pakeha) claims to Crown pastoral lease properties in New Zealand contested by Maori by describing their spiritual attachment through intimate knowledge and stewardship of the landscape. Pakeha discourse resists their inclusion with other white settlers and struggles for authenticity and legitimacy in a "dynamic discursive field of contested meanings" (Dominy 1995:369). Donald Moore (1998) argues that individual agency operates in constructing place identity and entitlement claims in a Zimbabwe land resettlement scheme where memories of struggle and resistance to colonial evictions carry more weight than birthright. Governments, however, may find ways to reject or ignore the legitimacy of land claims by asserting the superiority of the state's notion of a legal space that trumps local residents' claim to a lived-in moral, spiritual, community place (Gaffin 1997).

Because the arena in which the discourse of spatial identities and the politics of representation can be quite broad, stigmatized and marginalized groups can and do contest the legitimacy of these stereotypes. Steven Gregory (1998, this volume) describes how the dominant discourse about black identity in the United States links an ideology of welfare dependency, family pathology, and criminal activity to place in ways that disadvantage local residents. The residents of Lefrak City housing development in New York City were particularly targeted by this discourse in the 1970s as the racial composition of the complex began a court-ordered change. The rhetoric conflating race, pathology, and space encoded in media coverage of the community seemed to express a kind of "enclave consciousness" among whites who felt squeezed between the power of corporate and political elites on the one side and the poor and undesirables on the other.

Gregory argues that the rhetoric especially targets teenagers and young adult males with disorderly images of drug use and criminal activity which makes them objects of police surveillance. The social construction of a negative identity among Lefrak residents inhibits their participation in neighborhood planning processes. Rather than giving in to repressive hegemonic practices of the state, Lefrak City residents organized youth to participate in a clean-up campaign as a means to counter negative stereotypes, and formed networks and alliances to promote a collective identity and construct an alternative political space in which to find avenues for participation. The construction of new identities and social relations in Lefrak City aimed to rework the American cultural myth of race and poverty through place-based practices.

These studies of contested spaces make clear the inextricable and reinforcing connection between the meaning of place and identity. Revelations that the "power of sites" rests on their capacity to make manifest tacit understandings and unquestioned frameworks – the mythologies – that structure everyday practices represents a long-established anthropological tradition. Our understandings, however, have been expanded to include a wide array of contexts, from urban develop-

ment schemes to sites of global tourism, as well as the often-contested social conditions under which spaces are produced and constructed.

Transnational Spaces

We use the term "transnational spaces" to encompass global, transnational, and translocal spatial transformations produced by the economy of late capitalism, focusing on people on the move. We identify three approaches to defining how space has been transformed:

1. Global spaces – The global economy and flows of capital transform local places, creating homogenized, deterritorialized spaces. These analyses of how capital and political economy produce space and place focus on the importance of the global and informational city, uneven development, and flexibility of capital and labor in the social production of space (Sassen 1991, 1996a; Castells 1996; Harvey 1990).
2. Transnational spaces – With the globalizing economy, people move across borders creating new transnational spaces and territorial relationships (Schiller et al. 1992; Ong 1999).
3. Translocal spaces – Globalization also radically changes social relations and local places due to interventions of electronic media and migration, and the consequent breakdown in the isomorphism of space, place, and culture. This process of cultural globalization creates new translocal spaces and forms of public culture embedded in the imaginings of people that dissolves notions of state-based territoriality (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Appadurai 1996a).

In discussing each of these perspectives, and their usefulness in formulating an anthropological approach to transnational space, we emphasize the movement of peoples rather than the flow of capital and commodities.

Global space and deterritorialization

The critical spatial issue in global debates is the deterritorialization of places of work and community as a byproduct of post-Fordist forces and economic restructuring (Sassen 1991, 1996b; Low 1996a; Susser 2002). Manuel Castells (1989) captures this transformation in his analysis of a dual city, one in which the "space of flows" supersedes the local meaning of places. Ulf Hannerz (1992) also imagines a society based on cultural flows organized by nations, markets, and movements and criticizes world-systems analyses as being too simplified to reflect the complexity and fluidity of the "creolisation" of postcolonial culture (Hannerz 1987, 1996). Thus, global space is conceived of as the flow of goods, people, and services – as well as capital, technology, and ideas – across national borders and geographic regions – resulting in the deterritorialization of space, that is, space detached from local places.

The notion of global deterritorialization, however, has come under considerable criticism in that the "role of capital in changing place notions of a borderless world misses much of the reality of capitalism" (Smart 1999:380). Although capital has

become more mobile and thus placeless to some extent, it has become more territorial in other places as a result of uneven development. Global flows bypass some poor residents without access to capital, entrapping them in disintegrating communities while entangling others.

Anthropologists have challenged a view of globalization as all-encompassing and pervading every sector of society, by studying "the local" and examining the articulations of the global and the local (Low 1999; Ong 1999). For instance, Fran Rothstein and Michael Blim (1991) and others explore how global industrialization restructures the everyday lives and localities of factory workers, and how new workers recreate meaning and community in the context of their transformed lives. Other examples of localizing or indigenizing the global include Theodore Bestor's (1999) ethnography of the Tsukiji wholesale fish market in Tokyo and Alan Smart's (2000) study of local capitalisms created by foreign investment in China. Ethnographic studies of the displacing effects of global forces also reveal the power of individuals to reterritorialize the landscapes; studies of "queer" pilgrimage to San Francisco as a homeland and sanctuary from oppression (Howe 2001) and *moreno* Mexicans' territorial claims based on memory (Lewis 2001) provide evidence of the richness of this approach.

Global flows of commodities and people also can create places and spatial networks while at the same time deterritorializing them. Theodore Bestor (2001, this volume) discusses multisited ethnography's potential for linking globalization to the establishment of new spaces, institutions, and structures in "Markets and Places: Tokyo and the Global Tuna Trade." In a seemingly "dis-placed" world of the global circulation of capital, commerce, and culture, he examines the reconfigurations of spatially and temporally dispersed relationships within the international seafood trade. By focusing on sushi-quality tuna, Bestor is able to trace the commodity chains, trade centers, and markets that make up this global space. He argues that market and place are not disconnected through the globalization of economic activity, but reconnected generating spatially discontinuous urban hierarchies.

The various dimensions of the tuna commodity chain, the social relationships of fishermen, traders, and buyers as well as the economic relationships of markets, marketplaces, and distribution circuits create global space. Responding to critiques of the (fieldwork) "sites" of anthropology (Olwig and Hastrup 1997; Metcalf 2001), Bestor crafts an ethnography that captures the complexities of capital flows and globalization in material spaces and real time.

Transnational spaces, territory, and identity

The globalization/deterritorialization model, however, does not focus on the *horizontal* and *relational* nature of contemporary processes that stream across spaces and does not express their "*embeddedness* in differently configured regimes of power" (Ong 1999:4). Aihwa Ong (1999) prefers "transnational" to "global" to denote movement across spaces and formations of new relationships between nation-states and capital. She defines transnational spatial processes as situated cultural practices of mobility that produce new modes of constructing identity and result in zones of graduated sovereignty based on the accelerated flows of capital, people, cultures, and knowledge.

Within anthropology, the term *transnational* was first used to describe the way that immigrants "live their lives across borders and maintain their ties to home, even when their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant" (Schiller et al. 1992: ix). Part of this effort was to understand the implications of a multiplicity of social relations and involvements that span borders. Eric Wolf (1982) laid the theoretical groundwork in his landmark history of how the movement of capital and labor has transformed global relations since the 1400s, dispelling the myth that globalization is a recent phenomenon. However, while Wolf's approach to the issue of global connections is seminal, it deals primarily with issues of power and its allocation, and only indirectly with the spaces of daily life. It is much later, through the detailed ethnographies of the rhythms of daily life in transnational migrant communities, that a sense of transnational **spaces** emerges (Mountz and Wright 1996; McHugh 2000).

There is a tendency to conceive of transnational spaces as sites of resistance, and to depict cultural hybridity, multipositional identities, border crossings and transnational business practices by migrant entrepreneurs as conscious efforts to escape control by capital and the state (Guarnizo and Smith 1998). Some migrant studies describe new forms of resistance, so-called "counter-narratives of the nation" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998:5), which disrupt the ideological strategy of the nation-state by challenging its "imagined community" (Anderson 1983). For instance, Michael Kearney (1991) traces the counter-hegemonic creation of autonomous political spaces by Mixtec migrant farm workers in California and Oregon. Roger Rouse (1991) describes a new kind of social space created by the experiences of working-class groups affected by capitalist exploitation. By breaking down "community" to encompass more than a single, bounded space, he imagines a social terrain that reflects the cultural bifocality of migrants and describes a fragmented reality made up of circuits and border zones (Rouse 1991). And while some people regard borders as increasingly permeable sites of crossing, others encounter them as militarized sites of immobility and surveillance, controlling and restricting movements of individuals identified by race, gender, and class (Elder 1998).

These migration studies dissolve conventional notions of borders, boundaries, nations, and community redefining the relationship of the global, transnational, and the local. In doing so they reformulate social and political space, supplanting static concepts of center and periphery, as well as cultural core and difference at the margins, to create fluid, transnational space produced by "ordinary" people (Marston 1990; Rouse 1991). Cultural differences found at the margins (and across borders), initially interpreted solely as signs of exclusion from the center, now also refer to limitations of the nation-state to represent the whole (Tsing 1993).

This reformulation of transnational space as fluid and fragmented, produced by people on the move, complements studies of the sovereignty and citizenship and the reconsideration of the nation-state as a spatial entity or territory (Sassen 1996a). Diaspora and refugee studies of the "displaced," "uprooted," and "homeless" have brought attention to the analytical consequences of territorializing concepts of identity (Malkki 1992; Lovell 1997). The territorialization expressed in maps and ordinary language such as "the land," "the country," or "the soil," connects territory with producing national identities in the form of roots, trees, ancestries, and racial

lines as essentializing images, spatially incarcerating the native (Appadurai 1988; Malkki 1992).

Akhil Gupta (1992, this volume) in his article "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism" problematizes the limitations of this territorialized notion of nationalism by juxtaposing it with other forms of spatial commitment and identity. He begins by exploring the "structures of feeling" (Williams 1961) that produce the nation, and argues that First and Third World nationalisms are inherently dissimilar in their relationship to late capitalism and postcolonialism.

His analysis of the comparative success of the Third World Nonaligned Movement (NAM) and the European Community (EC) illustrates the problems that arise when trying to create identities based on transnational imagined communities. The NAM has no binding structures of feeling attached to a distinct geographical unit, thus attempts to create a new kind of transnational, or "Third World," identity, failed. In contrast, the EC, also a transnational imagined community, but one with contiguous national borders and a common history, evokes feelings embedded in its territoriality, and thus is able to muster greater member support and political identification. Based on this analysis Gupta concludes that citizenship "ought to be theorized as one of the multiple subject positions occupied by people as members of diversely spatialized, partially overlapping or non-overlapping collectivities" (1992:73; this volume, p. 309).

Translocal spaces and mobile sovereignty

Arjun Appadurai's (1988) critique of the lack of multivocality and multilocality in ethnography also questions the way anthropologists write about their subjects as located in one "place" and speaking with one "voice." For a discipline based on fieldwork, "there has been surprising little self-consciousness about the issue of space in anthropological theory" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:6). An often assumed isomorphism of space, place, and culture results in a number of problems: an inability to deal with peoples who inhabit the borderlands and account for cultural difference within a locality; an assumption that countries embody their own distinctive culture and society; and a lack of understanding of hybridity and disjuncture in postcoloniality (Appadurai 1988; Gupta and Ferguson 1992).

In response, Appadurai (1992) proposes the study of "ethnoscapes," landscapes of group identity, focusing on how deterritorialization affects loyalties of groups in diaspora, manipulation of currencies and other forms of wealth, and strategies that alter the basis of cultural reproduction. He theorizes a rupture in modern subjectivity produced by electronic mediation and mass migration in cultural processes, since it is only "in the past two decades or so that media and migration have become so massively globalized" (Appadurai 1996a:9). Cultural globalization and "public culture" cut across conventional political and social boundaries, while cultural reproduction is occurring outside of the nation-state and stable cultural landscapes (Appadurai 1996a; Ong 1999).

Appadurai (1996b, this volume) in his article "Soveignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography" describes a world where minorities and migrants are flowing into nation-states, threatening the stability of ethnic coherence

and traditional rights. There is increasing pressure to maintain the nation-state in territorial terms, while at the same time it is increasingly apparent that territory, in the sense of states, nations, territories, and ideas of ethnic singularity, are disintegrating into translocality. This mix of translocalities, migrant citizenries, and diasporic communities challenges the dominance of the nation-state, resulting in "mobile sovereignties." Appadurai (1996b, this volume) resolves the split between territoriality and governance through the emergence of what he calls a "postnational geography," proposing a reformulation of citizenship based on a concept of sovereignty that is limited and translocal (Appadurai 1996a).

Translocal spaces are also produced by other forms of cultural deterritorialization such as travel, tourism, and religious diaspora. Marc Augé (1995) considers the airport a non-place, a space of supermodernity, where customers, passengers, and other users are identified by names, occupation, place of birth, and address, but only upon entering and leaving. Airports along with superstores and railway stations are non-places that "do not contain any organic society" (1995:112); social relations are suspended and this non-place becomes a site of coming and going.

Travelers as well as anthropologists are creating new forms of spatiality. For instance, James Clifford (1992) employs the metaphor of the traveler to propose a more mobile theorization of anthropology based on routes and itineraries. The anthropologist, traveler, and the tourist generate their own kind of translocality as they move from one setting to another in search of authenticity and place (MacCannell 1992; Cresswell 1997; Löfgren 1999) (see also sections on Contested Spaces and Spatial Tactics).

Tourism also unhinges the stability of people and place through the rapid circulation of mass media, tourists, money, and commodities, detaching the locale from the rise of global interdependency. Based on an ethnography of Kathmandu, Mark Liechty (1996) identifies how shared histories of translocalities differentiate groups as much as they connect them. Reterritorialization occurs only when tourists and locals imagine places and long for meaning, creating place as a destination and a site of collective imagination.

Religious diasporic centers, linked by ties of personal loyalty and marked by religious rituals, are also expanding spaces of Islamic knowledge and spiritual power (Werbner 1996). Centers of Sufiism, whether in Africa, Asia, or England, create new translocal spaces, recentering the sacred topography of global Islam. This case of reverse colonization and spatial appropriation, Werbner argues, decenters Western dominance and reinscribes space in alternative – moral, cognitive, aesthetic, and spatial – ways.

Each of these perspectives – the global, the transnational, and the translocal – offers a critical approach to spatiality and the production of space. Anthropologists who focus primarily on the circulation of people and ideas, however, take the position that what global capital means in different parts of the world is less clear and still remains exploratory. However, there are a number of anthropologists who are attempting to wed the insights of Marxist geographers concerned with the circulation of goods and capital with the anthropological position of framing this discussion in its cultural and intercultural context. The anthropological contribution to an understanding of these new forms of spatiality will continue to center on the individual and his/her movement throughout the world, focusing on how

vernacularization resists global forces while at the same time acknowledging the underlying importance of political economy and global capital in social production and reproduction. The challenge is to look at space outside, across, and beyond the nation-state, while at the same time retaining an ethnographic perspective that situates these transnational spaces in the bodies of people with feelings and desires.

Spatial Tactics

By "spatial tactics" we mean the use of space as a strategy and/or technique of power and social control. Power relations have been considered in other sections, but here we want to highlight the way space is used to obscure these relationships. The assumed neutrality of space conceals its role in maintaining the social system, inculcating particular ideologies and scripted narratives (Yeager 1996).

Henri Lefebvre (1991) views space as a social product that masks the contradictions of its production. This "illusion of transparency" is such that "within the spatial realm the known and the transparent are one and the same thing" (Lefebvre 1991:28). For instance, in the Latin American plaza, colonial space disguises underlying indigenous place-making and religious meanings. This obfuscation is remedied by historical, ethnographic, and archaeological research on underlying spatial relations that encode indigenous peoples' political resistance and cultural continuity in the face of Spanish hegemonic practices (Low 2000).

We draw heavily on the work of Michel Foucault and Jean Baudrillard as well as Michel de Certeau and Gilles Deleuze for our departure point, exploring some of the spaces of late capitalism and mass communication – heterotopias and hyperspaces – where the relationship of material space to representational space becomes ephemeral and in some cases completely detached. A number of ethnographies have been able to tease out this divergence of sign and object – often embedded in the architecture and spatial arrangement of the place – located in a particular setting. We consider planned new towns (Rabinow 1982, this volume), historically preserved sites (Herzfeld 1993, this volume), tourist villages (Gable and Handler, this volume), and residential gated communities (Low 2001, this volume) as relevant exemplars.

Space, power, and knowledge

Michel Foucault (1975, 1984) approaches the spatial tactics of social control through analysis of the human body, spatial arrangements, and architecture. He examines the relationship of power and space by positing architecture as a political "technology" for working out the concerns of government – that is, control and power over individuals – through the spatial "canalization" of everyday life. The aim of such a technology is to create a "docile body" (Foucault 1975:198) through enclosure and the organization of individuals in space.

Foucault (1975) uses Jeremy Bentham's 1787 plan for the Panopticon to represent an architectural mechanism of control in its ideal form. The Panopticon was designed as an arrangement of cell-like spaces, each of which could be seen only by the supervisor and without the knowledge of the individual being observed. The inmate

must behave as if under surveillance at all times, thus becoming his/her own guardian. In his synthesis of space, power, and knowledge, Foucault gives other examples of what he calls a "structural" organization of space serving disciplinary ends, such as the military hospital at Rochefort, and factories, hospitals, and planned new towns.

Paul Rabinow (1989) links the growth of spatial forms of political power with the evolution of aesthetic theories, concentrating on the ordering of space as a way to understand "the historically variable links between spatial relations, aesthetics, social science, economics, and politics" (Rabinow 1982:267; this volume, p. 352). His larger concern, however, is with the "emergence of modern urbanism" (Rabinow 1989:267) as a turning point in the development of modern forms of political power and techniques for governance. Rabinow's (1989) analysis of colonial planning in Morocco uncovers how French colonists sought to use architecture and city planning to demonstrate their cultural superiority through the building of *villes nouvelles*, modern French settlements, next to but separate from Morocco's existing cities.

His article, "*Ordonnance*, Discipline, Regulations: Some Reflections on Urbanism" (Rabinow 1982, this volume), reiterates the importance of space as a tool to locate and identify relations of knowledge and power, and the centrality of space, both analytically and politically. He depicts Foucault's three regimes of space and power: the *sovereign* in which the basic unit is territory, the *disciplinary* where the problem is the control of bodies by spatial ordering, and *bio-power* in which power is exercised on a population existing in a particular milieu, and the "relative simultaneity of these different spatial-political concerns" (Rabinow 1982:271–272; this volume, p. 355).

For example, Rabinow describes Richelieu, a planned city built in France during the Classic Age, as an example of the disciplinary ordering of space. Urban planning in Nantes, however, is an example of the role of space within the framework of bio-power in which there is no longer a direct relationship between the operation of political power and its spatial representation. In fact, in Nantes individual capitalists are responsible for planning spaces based on commercial flow, rather than the state setting guidelines based on governmental power and spatial practices. Rabinow (1982; this volume) draws upon these examples to argue that it is only towards the end of the 19th century that a new discipline, urbanism, which combines the planning of space with political control based on a scientific understanding, comes into being.

Rabinow and Foucault address how architecture and planning function as spatial tactics contributing to the maintenance of power of one group over another at a level that includes the control of the movement and the surveillance of the body in space as well as the transformation of spatial ideologies. They do not focus, however, on individuals' everyday resistance to spatial forms of social control.

Spatial tactics

Michel de Certeau (1984) takes this omission as his starting point, setting out to show how people's "ways of operating" constitute the means by which users reappropriate space (1984:xiv). These practices are articulated in the details of everyday life and bring to light the clandestine "tactics" used by groups or individuals "already caught in the nets of 'discipline'" (de Certeau 1984:xiv–xv). By tracing

out the operations of walking, naming, narrating, and remembering the city, he develops a theory of lived space in which spatial practices elude the discipline of urban planning. The pedestrian's walking is the spatial acting-out of place, creating and representing public space rather than subject to it.

For de Certeau, power is about territory and boundaries in which the weapons of the strong are classification, delineation, and division – what he calls *strategies* – while the weak use furtive movement, short cuts and routes – so-called *tactics* – to contest this spatial domination (Cresswell 1997). Tactics never rely on the existence of a place for power or identity; instead they are a form of consumption, "never producing 'proper places' but always using and manipulating these places" (Cresswell 1997:363). Thus, the spatial tactics of the weak are mobility and detachment from the rationalized spaces of power. In this sense, the spatial tactics of the weak and the pedestrian are not the same as those of the migrant or traveler who, upon arrival at his/her destination, takes on its identity and comes under the state's control.

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1986) are also concerned with how people resist the spatial discipline of the state. They distinguish between the ordered and hierarchical machinations of the state, and the "war machine" of the nomad, who moves by "lines of flight" or by "points and nodes" instead of by place to place (Deleuze and Guattari 1986; Cresswell 1997). The nomad escapes the state by never becoming reterritorialized, slipping through the "striated spaces" of power, and remains undisciplined, a metaphor for all the forces that resist state control.

This spatial mobility based on "a horizontal vista of mobile meanings, shifting connections, temporary encounters" (Chambers 1986:213) is characteristic of the propinquity of encounters in the city (Copjec and Sorkin 1999). It is also found in the world of the international airport with its "shopping malls, restaurants, banks, post-offices, phones, bars, video games, television chairs and security guards" (Chambers 1990:57–58), a simulated metropolis inhabited by a community of modern nomads. Within the miniaturized world of the airport, the metaphor of the nomad becomes emblematic of postmodern life.

Hyperreality and hyperspace: The postmodern crisis of representation

The production of a simulated metropolis is only one aspect of late capitalism's crisis of representation referred to as "postmodernity." Jean Baudrillard argues that the moment signs become separated from their referents and the distinction between object and representation is no longer valid, a new world emerges constructed out of models or "simulacra" which have no referent or reality except their own (Poster in Baudrillard 1988:6). "Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation of models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (Baudrillard 1988:166). Baudrillard suggests culture is dominated by simulations that have no relationship to reality, and that this "hyperreality" is spread by the media. He traces the steps by which this "radical negation" occurs: (1) the representation is a reflection of basic reality; (2) it masks and perverts a basic reality (as in the case of the Latin American plaza); (3) it masks the absence of a basic reality (as in the case of the airport); and finally, (4) "it bears no relation to any reality whatever; it is its own pure simulacrum" (Baudrillard 1988:170).

Edward Soja (1989, 1997) applies the notion of simulacra and hyperreality to describe the landscape of downtown Los Angeles where the space of Westin Bonaventure Hotel is totally disconnected from the streetscape – a perfect example of "depthlessness and spectacle" – becoming a new kind of "hyperspace" altogether. Frederic Jameson (1991) also contends that late capitalism has a distinctive cultural logic which is reshaping the form and functioning of the city – creating "postmodern" urban space. Christine Boyer (1994) calls it the "city of illusion," Sharon Zukin (1995) the "city of cultural consumption," and Charles Ruthesier (1996) a "nonplace urban realm" where the packaging of cities as commodities produces a city as a set of scenographic sites.

Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida and Disneyland in Anaheim, California are perfect models of simulation and the city of illusion. They have become a major middle-class pilgrimage center in the United States, "partly because of the brilliance of its cross-referential marketing and partly because its utopian aspects appeal strongly to real people's real needs in late capitalist society" (Fjellman 1992:10). Cinema and the scenographic presentations structure one's experience there, with activities organized as movie scenes. According to Baudrillard, Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Orange County and the America surrounding it is no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. "It is no longer a question of a false representation of reality (ideology), but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, and thus of saving the reality principle" (1988:172).

John Dorst's (1989) analysis of the preservation of Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania as a representative display of a place that exists only in Andrew Wyeth's paintings, demonstrates the theoretical power of ethnography when applied to such a postmodern site. Dorst uses the concept of hyperspace and its depthless surfaces to explain the visual impact of the mirror-glass surface of the Brandywine Museum and its enframed scenes (1989:108). More recently he has focused on the hegemonic discourse of "visuality" in his excursions into preserved landscapes of the American West (Dorst 1999).

Michael Herzfeld (1993, this volume), in "Histories in Their Places," also employs ethnography to understand conflicting visions of the past and their realization through historic preservation practice and regulation in Rethemnos, Greece. He is concerned with who decides what constitutes the history of the place, and how the materiality of this history is negotiated. Residents are distressed about the dirt which "crumbling, damp-ridden walls impose on them," and the historic designation of their homes, while at the same time agreeing with the preservation of monumental architecture (Herzfeld 1993:227; this volume, p. 362). He explains how the poor deploy official ideology in support of their own goals, by analyzing how "each new disposition of space embodies the consequences of a particular negotiation of relevant facts" (1993:228; this volume, p. 363) using rhetoric and violence as well as spatial tactics to pursue their interests against the law.

Herzfeld's (1993) discussion of the contestation of surfaces combines the arbitrariness of historic preservation designation and practice with the everyday tactics of poor people defending their homes and town against the power of the state. Architectural facades become detached from their original meanings, taking on new roles in the ongoing conflict. In this ethnographic example, the spatial tactics and

subversions of de Certeau (1986) are used by town residents, and the hyperreality of Baudrillard (1988), in which architectural facades reconstitute and reinscribe history, is integrated into the practice of everyday life.

Heterotopias: Authenticity and tourism

Museums, historic villages, cemeteries, gardens as well as theme parks are identified by Michel Foucault as "heterotopias," places where "all the other real sites that can be found within the culture are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (1986:24). He argues that the museum and the library are both heterotopias of time, characteristics of 19th century Western culture's passion for accumulations.

Tony Bennett (1995) elaborates how, in fashioning this new space of representation for the modern public, the museum was constructed and defended as rational by differentiating it from competing institutions such as fairs and circuses where scientific practices of collecting and ordering were not used. The same nexus of science, aesthetics, politics, and economics identified by Rabinow (1989) as constituting modern urbanism, are at work in the social production of the museum.

This refashioning of space combined with the reordering of reality is also the objective of historic preservation projects where the political ideology of these practices is hidden in the details of material culture and the organization and flow of space (Boyer 1994). Gable and Handler (1996, this volume) argue that heritage museums are perfect places for working out modern anxieties about what has been "lost" and what must be preserved, and as such become arbiters of authenticity. Yet all historic preservation strategies as well as museum exhibitions entail some amount of "artful fakery." They explore what happens to a heritage site "after authenticity," "where the pursuit of an elusive authenticity remains a goal even as it generates public statements intended to call into the question the epistemology of authenticity" (Gable and Handler 1996:568; this volume, p. 369). They point out the many ways staff and management attempt to make the Williamsburg experience authentic, describing "impression management" aimed at upholding the universal ideals and values Williamsburg is thought to represent (Gable and Handler 1996:573; this volume, p. 376). In this sense, the heritage site is similar to other spatial tactics, in that it creates illusion in order to further ideological goals and defend a particular reality, in this case of the nation and its colonial past.

The fortress city and the gated community

The fortress city is a spatial tactic described by Mike Davis (1990) in his history of Los Angeles, in which he traces the control of media, seizure of land, busting of unions, rigging of water rights, and exclusion of minorities from political participation. Davis (1992) explains that the resulting "militarization" of the landscape into enclaves and citadels took a long time to develop, with many periods of working-class and minority resistance producing minor successes. But ultimately Bunker Hill and the surrounding downtown area became emblematic of the fortress city with the physical separation of:

> the new [financial] core and its land values behind a rampart of regraded palisades, concrete pillars, and freeway walls. Traditional pedestrian connections between Bunker Hill and the old core were removed, and foot traffic was elevated above the street on "pedways"... access to which was controlled by the security systems of individual skyscrapers. (Davis 1998:365)

The social production of the fortress city is found in the underlying logic of large urban redevelopment projects where the built environment forms contours which structure social relations, causing commonalities of gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, and class to assume spatial identities. At the same time people "imprint themselves physically on the urban structure through the formation of communities, competition for territory, and segregation – in other words, through clustering, the erection of boundaries, and establishing distance" (Fainstein 1994:1). Large mixed commercial and residential development projects reinforce social segregation, further cutting off communities by visual boundaries, growing distances, and ultimately walls.

In the fortress city, youth gangs and homeless youth are part of the new social imaginaries (Ruddick 1996). Space takes on the ability to confirm identity as institutional and private forces increasingly constrain and structure the lives of street addicts and other marginalized groups within the public arena (Waterson 1993). Within this context, acts of violence and crime are increasingly feared. Eli Anderson (1990) describes the "streetwise" behavior of Philadelphians in which residents cross the street when faced with oncoming young black males. Löic Wacquant (1994) portrays the isolation of families in Chicago's Black Belt, where the streets are deserted and no longer patrolled by police. Philippe Bourgois (1995) portrays the fear and sense of vulnerability experienced by El Barrio residents with the violence of those who sell crack in East Harlem, New York City.

Sally Merry (1990) suggests that in middle-class and upper-middle-class urban neighborhoods, residents seek privacy and segregation simply because they desire peace and can afford it. Such neighborhoods are marked by patterns of avoidance of social contact: building fences, cutting off relationships, and moving out in response to problems and conflicts. This "moral minimalism" is characterized by spatial separation, privacy, and insulation from strangers (Baumgartner 1988). At the same time the government expands its regulatory role: "Zoning laws, local police departments, ordinances about dogs, quiet laws, laws against domestic and interpersonal violence, all provide new forms of regulation of family and neighborhood life" (Merry 1993:87).

Most studies of the fortress city have focused on Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, even though the United States does not have a monopoly on this type of social and physical development. Teresa Caldeira (2001) describes the increasing fear of street crime and building of fortified enclaves in Sao Paulo justified by residents' fear of violence. She sees the walls as both a response to fear and part of the modernist planning scheme, the coalescing of two spatial tactics. Emanuela Guano (2002) critiques the increased segregation by fortified enclaves characteristic of "modern" Buenos Aires, and Ivelisse Rivera-Bonilla (1999) examines class and community in a gated community in Puerto Rico.

Moral minimalism, governmental regulations, and modes of enforcement in the United States translate into gated communities when the spatiality of social control

becomes concrete (Flusty 2001; Blakely and Synder 1997). Neighborhood watch schemes, closed-circuit television and surveillance technology are not perceived as sufficient and architecture is reclaimed as the material system of representation (Ainley 1998). It would seem that Foucault's panopticism found in the patterns of our visible life-paths would be adequate for "reasonably successful enforcement of normality in today's society" (Hannah 1997:353), but for some families, walls and gates are used to separate themselves to create a sense of security.

In "The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear," Setha Low (2001, this volume) explores how the search for security by middle-class families is changing the design of suburban residential development. As part of the fortress city scenario, New York residents are fleeing deteriorating urban neighborhoods with increased ethnic diversity, while in San Antonio, Texas they are concerned about "Mexicans" who might kidnap their children. Residents say that they are moving to gated communities to protect their family and property from dangers perceived as overwhelming, yet even the spatial tactic of gating – the so-called "forting up" of the suburbs – offers only incomplete boundedness from feared groups who enter to work for residents.

In her study, Low addresses how this discourse of fear of violence and crime legitimates residents' residential segregation. Similar to the residents of Rethemnos, gated-community residents are using spatial and rhetorical tactics to disguise their class-based strategies of exclusion, while "workers," "Mexicans," and "others," practice subversive spatial tactics through movement, escaping these controls by their presence within these guarded, gated, and walled communities. In the gated community all of the spatial tactics discussed are practiced alternatively: by the residents – through the discourse of fear, spatial control, and legitimating ideology, by the workers – through their daily, erratic movement and place of work, by the architects – through their plans and enclave designs that create gated environments, and by the developers who produce this landscape for popular consumption.

Conclusion

When we first reviewed the literature on the built environment and spatial form, the theorizing of transnational spaces and spatial tactics was just appearing on the anthropological horizon. Glimmerings of these ideas were evident in the discussion of the political economy of space: the ways race, class, and gender relations are spatially reproduced, the emergence of a global system of production, and the impact of capital accumulation on built form (Lawrence and Low 1990:486). We identified the role of design and planning in capitalist transformations of the landscape (Harvey 1985), and local resistance through social movements to spatial changes produced by uneven development (Castells 1983; Smith 1984).

Yet the changes in the representational aspects of space that we trace to the cultural disjuncture produced by late capitalism – the separation of material reality and symbol, of mass communication and local knowledge, and of migrants and stable populations – are equally important to understand. It was in writing about the global city (King 1995; Low 1996a), connecting the social construction and produc-

tion of space (Low 1996b, 2000), and rereading the work of Arjun Appadurai (1988, 1991, 1996) and Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1992), as well as David Harvey (1990) and Manuel Castells (1989, 1996) that the significance of reconceptualizing cultural spaces based on flows of people, locales, and capital became apparent. This volume is the result of this rethinking of the global and local, body and space, of territory and deterritorialization.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 irrevocably altered the spaces and consciousness of New York City and Washington, D.C., disrupting the everyday lives, place attachment, and place identity for thousands. In the ensuing analysis of the impact of the disaster and decisions about rebuilding or other alternatives, our anthropological perspectives can prove insightful. The anthropology of space and place offers diverse theories and methods for spatializing and locating culture as well as identifying the contradictions of territory, cultural and economic globalization, and modernity that lie at heart of this contemporary tragedy. We hope that this volume will help address the problems that we currently face in our shattered world.

October 2001
New York City
Los Angeles

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