

The British Sociological Association is publishing a series of books to review the state of the discipline at the beginning of the millennium. New Horizons in Sociology also seeks to locate the contribution of British scholarship to the wider development of sociology. Sociology is taught in all the major institutions of higher education in the United Kingdom as well as throughout North America and the Europe of the former western bloc. Sociology is now establishing itself in the former eastern bloc. But it was only in the second half of the twentieth century that sociology moved from the fringes of UK academic life into the mainstream. British sociology has also provided a home for movements that have renewed and challenged the discipline; the revival of academic Marxism, the renaissance in feminist theory, the rise of cultural studies, for example. Some of these developments have become sub-disciplines whilst yet others have challenged the very basis of the sociological enterprise. Each has left their mark. Now therefore is a good time both to take stock and to scan the horizon, looking back and looking forward.

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legacies and prospects: spatialising contemporary modernity

The book aims to demonstrate the importance of understanding space for the analysis of the development of modern (particularly urban) social formations, practices and experience. A detailed exegesis of a number of social theories of space has been presented to demonstrate that space needs to be taken seriously as a fundamental element for understanding social reality. That is, to consider how space is perceived, conceived, represented and ultimately used and experienced is of necessity a crucial concern for sociology as well as other social sciences. Space is a determining factor in the framing of social relations and is also reciprocally interconnected in the making of space by those very social interactions that occur in space. There is then a necessity to consider the spatial dimension in the investigation of social relations, of institutions, of how power operates in and through space and how it is challenged through conflict and contestation in and over how space is or should be used, and how differences and divisions are expressed and experienced in and through space.

The implicit spatiality of Marx's critique of capitalism provided the initial foundations (in this as it could be said of all social theory) for the later development of other more explicit attempts at theorising space. Marx's influence on social theory in general and on the development of spatial analysis is I hope obvious and continues to be an inspiration to those social theorists concerned with spatialising capital in an era of global (uneven) development. Whilst it has been argued that Marx did not explicitly theorise space in his voluminous critique of capitalism, there contains within it a recognition of the importance of space for understanding social relations under capitalism in general but also specific aspects of the experience and structuring of labour, of production and reproduction, of circulation and of the expansion of capitalism on a global scale. In this, Marx's influence can clearly be seen in the seminal theory of space produced by Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey's emphasis on creating a historico-geographical materialism. Both emphasise in

different ways the need to take space seriously as a factor and condition in the development, perpetuation and survival of capitalism.

Georg Simmel's inclusion as a significant and early sociological analysis of space and indeed much of Simmel's work contains within it a keen awareness of the inter-relationship between forms of sociation and the spatiality that is expressed within and through those 'webs of interaction' that constitute, for Simmel, society. Simmel provides a number of considered distinctions and categorisation of key 'aspects of space' that are to be found within later social theories and analyses. In this we can point to that of mobility (global flows and migrations), boundedness (nation states, new urban formations such as walled enclaves), fixity, proximity and distance (integration, segregation, access to services, employment, etc.) as areas in which Simmel was a sociological pioneer of space, despite his contribution being until recently relatively ignored.

Lefebvre's influence on spatial theory cannot be underestimated. It has galvanised not only human and cultural geographers in applying a spatial dialectical materialism to the analysis of the relationships between human beings and each other in socially constructed space but also a re-evaluation of our relationship with nature. Lefebvre's contribution to a number of key areas includes not only that of the urban where he may be said to have broadened Marx's concept of production to include spatial production and the role of the state in the production and perpetuation of the historical development and relations of capitalist space. His analysis of the rhythms, times and places of everyday life, of the routines and alienation inherent in the socially produced spaces of leisure and recreation, domestic life as well as those of work and the urban have also been influential for developing research on gendered space and on the spatialising of sexual and ethnic identities. Lefebvre's contribution to spatial analysis is significant not only because it provides a basis for the reinvigoration and reprioritisation of space but also because of his insistence that perceptions, conceptions, representations and uses of space are fundamental for understanding how each society in each epoch is organised, structured and depicted. For Lefebvre, the urban was *the* spatial form of modern capitalism. His analysis and prioritisation of modern capitalism and of space continues to provide inspiration for the development of empirical, substantive and theoretical work on the experience as well as the constitution of an increasingly globalising urban world.

Both Lefebvre and Harvey have in themselves become seminal influences in the reprioritisation of space as fundamental for the analysis of the perpetuation or survival of capitalism. Whilst it might be said that Harvey owes a certain debt to Lefebvre's original analysis of space, he

has in his own right publicised and popularised spatial analysis to a wider interdisciplinary audience. Harvey has consistently and critically sought to develop an analysis of the development of capitalism as an intrinsically spatial phenomenon in which there is a need to explicitly address key aspects of its organisation and perpetuation. In this, his socio-spatial analysis emphasises why it is crucial to develop an understanding of the development of an economy of space in the context of urban infrastructures, social justice and of the increasing colonisation of the space of global (post-modern) capital. In this, Harvey's concerted analysis continues to conclude that the spatial arrangements and forms of the urban are not haphazard but are organised according to the dictates of the needs of capital. As such, there are spatial divisions and segregations as well as those of the social. In this we are reminded that space, like time, is money. Harvey's later work still reflects this concern with developing his project of historico-geographical materialism but applying it to the new conditions of post-modernity and globalisation.

Michel Foucault's somewhat diverse treatments of space provided an alternative perspective both to the Marxist-influenced theories of Lefebvre and Harvey as well as to Simmel's approach. It deals explicitly with questions concerning the interlinking of knowledge of space and its control by power through various disciplinary discourses. Whilst its emphasis is somewhat of a correction to overtly class-oriented analyses of space, Foucault's analysis of space is ultimately located and concerned with how space is designed, represented, policed and controlled as a factor of 'bio-power', that is to influence and mould individuals and populations according to the meanings, values, priorities, morals and ideologies of those with power. In this, Foucault's concept of governmentality is applied to space through the application of disciplinary technologies for the inculcation of good order. It is an analysis that recognises and accepts that the creation of representations of space as well as the explicit policing of space must be considered within the context of the historical development as well as experience of the institutional structures and disciplinary frameworks of capitalism. Whilst his emphasis and perspective is perhaps focused on micro-terrains of the operation of power it still provides a valuable analysis of how, why and by whom space has been used in mechanisms of control and policing. The 'eye of power', the disciplinary gaze is one that has been very influential in developing analyses of crime and policing, of urban design and architecture, of the constitution of the principles of an all encompassing surveillance society.

What can be said concerning all of these theorists is that they have taken space seriously and have attempted to produce analyses that

provide some explanation for the role of space in and on social reality. Those that have been given detailed consideration represent a foundation from which a reprioritisation of space and social theory may be said to have emerged and who have had considerable influence in the development of later analyses of space both theoretically and substantively. The emphasis given to this selection of an admittedly limited number of theorists will no doubt raise questions as to who or what has been omitted. It was not the intention to provide a comprehensive overview and analysis of *all* the available perspectives that have been or are now operating in the numerous inter-disciplinary fields of social science. It was, merely, to demonstrate the vital contributions made by such foundational thinkers on space.

However this final chapter will seek to address some new developments and directions in space and social theory in which the legacy of these social theories of space can be said to be influential. Again this chapter cannot aim to be completely comprehensive but will attempt to illuminate how space and social theories of space have come to be applied in a variety of contexts to the analysis of contemporary social relations and structures, patterns of movement and flows, inequalities and experience, as well as how new approaches have been developed. This chapter then will address some new developments in spatial theory as well as indicate where the influence of those theorists addressed earlier can be discerned. In this way it is possible to emphasise how social theories of space are being used to investigate and interrogate 'new horizons' in the development of sociology. That is, the spatiality of social relations in contemporary societies are increasingly being considered as essential to the analysis of the structures, forms and experiences of a number of key and crucial areas. Space is increasingly acknowledged as an essential element or factor in the analysis of contemporary social relations, both in the form and content of their structure as well as in their expression and experience. Therefore, what will be considered below are developments in the analysis of the spatiality of the urban, of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, crime and globalisation. Whilst these are presented in somewhat discrete sections it needs to be emphasised that this is not an attempt at constructing or perpetuating exclusive boundaries or of creating and perpetuating distinctions and divisions. The overlapping and interlinking of difference and division is mapped out in the creation and experience of those spaces and places that we inhabit and which are more or less open or accessible to us. There is therefore a necessary fluidity and permeability between those sections outlined below. In this there is also no priority or status intended in the order in which they are presented.

NEW DIRECTIONS AND HORIZONS ON SPACE

urban space (again)

Much has already been said about spatial theory and the urban in those theories and perspectives addressed in previous chapters. However, there is a need to take account of new developments and perspectives as well as the need to recognise that the urban remains as the "prime (though not the only) sites of modernity... a crucial site of contemporary social life" (Savage et al., 2003: iii, viii). Indeed it can be argued that urbanisation either as a process or as a reflection of more universal spatial processes continues unabated now that the majority of world's population are urban residents. It is envisaged that at continuing growth rates by 2020 the urban population will be approximately seventy-five per cent of the global population (Blowers and Pain, 1999: 249). The urban therefore remains significant not only for the analysis and investigation of contemporary social life, but for policy-makers, and for those who live or are affected by consequences of the expanding 'ecological footprint' that the urban generates. Concern with the negative impacts of urbanisation (pollution, under resourced social and physical infrastructures, ecological impact, population density, crime, inequalities, etc.) is increasingly leading to the development and expression of new urban spatial forms that reflect and express the consequences of continuing urbanisation. The expansion of capitalism in its 'new' global form has led to the expansion of urban processes and forms of development which have been extant in Western societies but are now at the forefront of processes that impact on developing and underdeveloped nations and regions. In this what is increasingly recognised is the spatial as well as social segregation and exclusion of groups and populations from social activities and opportunities.

The concern with understanding the distribution of various inequalities and opportunities has resulted in the application of spatial analysis to what has been called 'the post-code lottery' of social and health services provision. The development of an awareness of the increasing geographical divide in British society for example has been investigated by a number of researchers (see Byrne, 1999, Pacione, 1997, Philo, 1995) who have analysed how the widening geographical or spatial divide can be interpreted as indicating growing social and economic inequalities. There is evidence for an increasing social polarisation that is reflected in a spatial divide. The recognition of a North-South divide in Britain (see Mohan, 2000) which reflects divisions and differences in political affiliations and economic opportunities as well as in numerous

indicators of life chances, expectancy, poverty, unemployment, etc. As David Harvey reflects:

Evaluative schemata of places... become grist for all sorts of policy-makers mills. Places in the city get red-lined for mortgage finance, the people who live in them get written off as worthless... The material activities of place construction may then fulfil the prophecies of degradation and dereliction. Similarly, places in the city are dubbed as 'dubious' or 'dangerous' again leading to patterns of behaviour both public and private, that turn fantasy into reality. (Harvey, 1996: 321-2)

Sean Damer has pointed out (see Damer, 1989, 1990, 1992) that this 'labelling' has had serious consequences for some estates, housing schemes, cities and regions as well as countries deemed or categorised as 'black-spots', 'no-go areas' or 'danger zones'. How particular places reflect widening social and geographical inequalities impacts upon social policy-makers and political debate on identifying and designating problem areas on the basis of various social indicators such as crime, health, housing tenure, income, benefit receipts, family composition, etc. (see Atkinson and Moon, 1994). Thus an analysis of socio-spatial segregation or inclusion/exclusion is increasingly recognised and applied not only to the diverse groups, populations and communities within towns and cities but also within regions and nations.

An increasingly common feature of cities identified in various studies across the globe has been the development of what has been called walled enclaves or gated communities. Concerns about safety and security as well as issues surrounding identity have led to the sense of 'purified communities' (a phrase coined by Richard Sennett, 1971) in which increasingly those with the means have sought to isolate or segregate themselves from those they identify as posing some form of threat to their person, family, way of life, identity and in some cases racial purity (in apartheid South Africa the structured system of residential zoning by race was an established segregationist government policy). What has developed is the establishment of physical boundaries in which segregation takes on a spatial form so that cultural, social and economic difference is created and maintained in space. It is an attempt to establish 'walls' that differentiate and segregate those within from those without, whether this difference is based on social, economic or ethnic lines. This socio-spatial and cultural separation has obvious links to both Simmel's aspect of space as well as Marx and is an issue concerning the ability to impose and maintain such boundaries that limit those who may come and go into specific areas. Thus whilst it is clear that some impoverished communities may exclude the more well-off by

virtue of perceived activities and behaviours, 'no-go' areas are increasingly found in the 'defensible space' of the gated, walled or fortified communities of the affluent. These residential areas may be in close proximity to poor areas but are literally physically walled off from them and in which only appropriate people are admitted. This is achieved through the use of surveillance cameras, uniformed (and potentially armed) private security guards. These communities are particularly associated with American cities (see Blakely and Snyder, 1997) but are also found in Europe, Canada, as well as in South America (see Caldeira's descriptions of Sao Paolo, 1996a and b), Asia (Mehrotra, 1997) and South Africa (Robinson, 1999). A further development of this idea of separate communities is the attempt to build 'ideal' new towns in which the perception of the problems of cities has led to the design and construction of exclusive and segregated urban communities (see Franz and Collins, 1999, Ross, 1999, for an analysis and critique of Disney's 'ideal' town of Celebration).

Another aspect of the application of a spatial analysis of cities is the recognition of the diversity of composition, functions and attractions to be found in different areas of every city. This applies not only to the zoning of cities in respect of residential, production, consumption function, etc that has been an integral part of the redevelopment of many cities from the mid-twentieth century. The sense of the identification of socially as well as spatially segregated distinctive neighbourhoods has led to their depiction as 'quartered cities' (see Marcuse 1989, 1995, Bell and Jayne, 2004) in which there is an emphasis on their role in structural, economic and cultural change that is suggestive of a new spatial dynamic. However, whilst the spatial inequalities that presently exist in cities can be identified as the product of past social, economic and political practices there are new spatial divisions that reflect changes in the way cities are being restructured as a regenerative response to transformations in the global economy. The marketing and image construction of cities as attractive for tourism and as venues for business, corporate and entertainment events and locations is paralleled by a recognition of the distinctiveness of particular areas or quarters as unique or important selling points. Therefore the development of urban 'gay villages' (see below), of Red Light Zones, of cultural and artistic quarters complete with museums and galleries, and of the identification of specific architectural features and cultural forms associated with specific areas of cities are all used to promote and sell the consumption of cities (see Bell and Jayne, 2004, for detailed case studies). This emphasis on specific features and areas within cities as attractions is part of the means by which the consumption of cities is increasingly tied to their commodification as spatial forms.

The consumption of urban culture, of place, of architecture, etc. is specifically associated and intrinsically linked to processes of urban regeneration and the development of urban economies based on tourism and visitors (see Miles and Miles, 2004). In part, this is related to municipal and national state responses to changes in the global economy in which some cities and regions with an industrial and manufacturing history have had to come to terms with new economic conditions there are increasingly area-based as well as city-wide initiatives aimed at regeneration. Whilst some of these are well known, for example the gentrified city in which former industrial and commercial buildings are transformed into high-value residential properties, other schemes are aimed at investing in the social and environmental landscape of less affluent neighbourhoods but also includes issues related to the environmental and social sustainability of cities. As part of urban renewal programmes there is recognition that the physical environment needs not only economic investment but the active participation of residents and community groups. Thus, one aspect of area or neighbourhood regeneration is to provide opportunities for community participation in the construction, maintenance and 'ownership' of local, 'natural' and/or social space. For example, the (re)development of communal green spaces, the provision of community gardening schemes, play parks, recycling and 'clean-up' projects are aimed at emphasising local knowledge, commitment and participation in the civic realm as it is 'known and owned by the people who live there. Such schemes reflect and attempt to maximise local identities, histories, communal associations and solidarities, etc. as part of strategies aimed at socially inclusive activities and projects that recognise the importance of place and the everyday spaces that are used and valued by local communities.

Whilst it would be disingenuous to propose that socio-spatial segregation is a new phenomenon these examples show how spatial analysis is increasingly being employed and applied to the perceived 'problems' of (contemporary) cities. The continuing salience of the urban as a key site for contemporary social life necessarily employs socio-spatial analyses for understanding the urban and for policy initiatives and infrastructural investment. Whether as recognition of cities as nodes in global networks of finance, production, consumption, information, etc. or in the regeneration of the urban environment and infrastructure as a response to issues relating to urban sustainability (economic, social, political, environmental, etc.) space and spatial theories are informing and shaping the analysis of the urban and the formation of social policy strategies. Spatial processes and analyses therefore are being employed for understanding, maintaining and managing the quality of life of cities

and their populations and for developing a more sustainable future for them. The 'problem of cities' and 'the urban question' now increasingly involves more explicit questions of space.

LANDSCAPE AND SPATIAL THEORY

As an alternative to the environmental determinism of some approaches the development of landscape as a concept (both natural and cultural) emphasises the reciprocity of influences between the environment and humans. It specifically addresses not only the impact of humans on the environment but also the aesthetic influences and impacts that the landscape has on human subjectivity. Thus the meanings that come to be invested in particular landscapes can become idealised and created through particular ways of seeing and interpreting particular forms of landscape, whether as beautiful, useful, ugly, romantic, etc.

Dennis Cosgrove is perhaps the most influential theorist who has had a profound influence in developing landscape as a central concern in interdisciplinary considerations of space and place. Influenced by John Berger's (1972) analysis of 'ways of seeing' and reading art and Raymond Williams's (1973) embedding of literary criticism in a social context in which images, representations, values and meanings are reflected in and by particular landscapes (specifically, Williams analysis of representations of the country and the city).

Cosgrove explores the cultural processes that shape landscape but also the constitutive role that landscape plays in shaping human relations, meanings and values associated with landscape. This reciprocal interrelationship reflects Cosgrove's thesis that "landscape represents an historically specific way of experiencing the world developed by, and meaningful to, certain social groups. It is...an ideological concept" (Cosgrove, 1998: 15). In a number of publications (Cosgrove, 1997, 1998, Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988) he develops this perspective of landscape as a "way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it, and through which they commented on social relations" (Cosgrove, 1984: 1). The analysis of landscape as socially constructed and structured to reflect a dominant ideology has resonances with Marx, Lefebvre and Foucault. Thus 'landscape' not only creates and represents illusions and visions of landscapes at home (whether through gardening, estate management, design and architecture, etc. or through maps, pictures and literary descriptions) but also 'other' landscapes colonised by imperial conquest. Thus Cosgrove's

analysis of landscapes as reflecting dominant representations of the world illuminates how particular meanings became associated with those landscapes and the peoples who inhabited them. There is therefore a connection here between the ideology of landscape and the relationship between culture and imperialism as explored in detail by Edward Said (see Said, 1978, 1993, 2000) in which a view of the Orient was and still is to some extent imposed on the peoples and their lands by a Western imperialist tradition and gaze. Said's concept of 'imaginative geographies' refers to the invention and construction of geographical space which delimits, structures and organises our consciousness and ways of thinking with the ultimate aim of controlling people and places. This conception of landscape as a social and cultural space is therefore a valuable extension of spatial thinking and analysis and is being applied in contemporary investigations of the neo-liberal capitalist agenda of globalisation in which representations of landscape, space, culture, people and places are increasingly associated with resources for exploitations and use in the global market.

A similar socio-spatial understanding of landscape as a 'way of seeing' has been developed by John Urry in his analysis of the development of *The Tourist Gaze* (1990). Urry's thesis is that tourism has developed as historically specific 'ways of seeing' and consuming landscapes and townscapes towards which the gaze is directed, structured and formed through signs, symbols, arrangements of features, etc. in ways that impart socially constructed experiences that reflect and reinforce particular and 'expected' understandings and meanings. This perspective of the social construction of tourist spaces for consumption and for pleasure informs our understanding of an increasingly important social and economic activity which has consequences not only for those participating in tourism as a business or as a consumer but also for those indigenous people whose cultures, landscapes, places of meaning, values and importance are being presented and represented for consumption. The 'selling' of places as commodities to be packaged and consumed requires not only an understanding and awareness of the material needs and requirements of visitors but also an appreciation of the need to satisfy aesthetic and emotional desires that are themselves promoted and advertised as attractive. Thus, in this context spaces are designed, produced and represented as something to be consumed that meets the socially constructed expectations of tourists who employ conditioned understandings of and expectations for particular experiences. In this context the application of spatial analyses to the understanding of tourism can provide insights into the potential success or failure of particular tourist economies, increasingly essential for the sustainability of many cities, regions and national economies.

The socio-spatial analyses propounded by Cosgrove and Urry are valuable tools in the analysis of debates concerning the conservation and protection of the 'natural' landscape in the face of 'threats' from development, pollution and urban expansion. Whether the 'value' of landscapes resides in an appreciation of their supposedly unspoiled state or as habitats of bio-diversity or as potentially productive sites for development, an understanding of the social construction of 'ways of seeing' landscapes informs those debates concerned with their protection as historically, naturally, culturally important, etc. If all landscapes are ideological then political debate, rhetoric and struggle will eventually decide their fate but one in which understanding of their socio-spatial and cultural construction is a much needed part of the process.

space and gender

It is worthwhile to recognise that much of the analyses of space detailed in the preceding chapters expressed at best as an abstract universalising tendency that ignored or left unacknowledged many social differences and divisions (except in the relationship between class, space and capitalism). However, there is much work that has recently been done to spatialise sexism and gender. Feminist analysis makes clear that women and men occupy or are positioned differently in space. Space thus has a gendered dimension that concomitantly ensures gender is spatially organised. That is, if gender is socially constructed whereby differences are maintained through a complex of social, economic and political conditions these are spatially organised and delimited to create, promote and accentuate gender roles and opportunities. Thus there is need for an explicit acknowledgement of the differences that women experience and perceive in their lives as well as the structural circumscribing of opportunities that can be illuminated via a spatial analysis of the space that women have been predominantly forced to inhabit. The 'modern gender order' (Connell, 1995) of a public/private male/female division assumes a gendering of space. This dichotomisation has a spatial dimension in that women are assumed to be or associated with particular spaces and places that confirm and maintain their subjugation and subordination. For example, the role of women as predominantly supportive or care-giving (wife, mother, carer, etc.) suggests a structured environment of spatial constraint that may be associated with the public/private sphere analysis of the emergence in industrial and urban society of the home as a predominantly gendered domain.

The domestic sphere as a privatised arena in which gender relations are constructed, structured and promulgated is an example which has

increasingly drawn upon spatial analysis to investigate how architecture is used to frame space and the gender roles within it. Without engaging in the debate over the universalism or of the exclusivity of the private/public gender divide it is clear that the home and the domestic sphere has been represented as a gendered space in which the role or carer has been predominantly associated with women. Thus in the design of many modern domestic homes there is a clear delineation of function and gender role (see Fiske et al., 1987) in which not only the division of public/private, paid work/domestic labour is encapsulated in the whole of the home as a gendered realm but within the home there are recognisable divisions of space that reflect not only different functions but also areas that are concerned with activities associated with gender (e.g. the kitchen, the laundry or utility area as 'female space', the games room or study, garage and shed as 'male space'.) The house therefore can be said to be a designed gendered space. However, as Felski puts it the home is a complex space that:

like any other space, is shaped by conflicts and power struggles. It is often the site of intergenerational conflicts, such as an adolescent sense of identity that can be predicated upon a burning desire to leave home. It can be a place of female subordination as well as an arena where women can show competence in the exercise of domestic skills. Home is often a place for displaying commodities and hence saturated by class distinctions. (Felski, 1999: 22)

What is clear is that the domestic sphere as represented and produced as the designed space of home is one that has a gendered association. Not only is the individual home a complex space where traditional and dominant female roles and identities have been fashioned but residential areas themselves have been portrayed and analysed as gendered spaces. The most obvious and studied example is the suburb. The suburbs whether as working-class peripheral housing estates or middle-class ideal homes were essentially planned residential areas separated from places of work. They were designed as a different kind of urban space principally for women and children's need first. With the separation of paid employment and domestic labour there is a sense of spatial separation and segregation implied in the development of suburbs that both insulates and isolates women in the domestic sphere. This aspect of the spatialising of gender roles and relations in the suburb has been the subject of analysis and contestation over how negative were the effects and consequences for women of living in such developments. Thus there has been debate over the suburb as a paradise where women are empowered to take control over their lives and to organise the gendered space of the suburban home according to their own wishes,

tastes and needs. Indeed Chambers (1997) argues that women were active in creating networks of support and activities that were fundamental to the construction of community life in such residential areas. However, the dominant vision of suburbia as less positive for women experience is, as Silverstone (1997) puts it, reflective of the utopian idealisation of the space and time of domestic, suburban life.

Suburban culture is a gendered culture...The suburban home has been built around an ideology and a reality of women's domestication, oppressed by the insistent demands of the household, denied access to the varied spaces and times, the iteration of public and private that marks the male suburban experience and which creates for them, the crucial distinctions between work and leisure, weekday and weekend. In particular, post-war suburbanisation was buttressed by a concerted effort by public policy and media images to resocialise women into the home, and into the bosom of the nuclear family. (Silverstone, 1997: 7)

Whilst the role of women in the new spaces of the city such as suburbs has been considered as an extension of the public/private, work/domestic gendering of space what also needs to be considered is the possibility or not of women's roles as well as movement in the public sphere. Thus studies of the freedom or constraint of women in the space of the city needs a consideration not only of those areas traditionally viewed as 'women's spaces' (shopping centres, department stores, etc.), but also the increasing potential for leisure and recreation opened up by the developing urbanisation of society. Elizabeth Wilson (1991) for example has argued that the anonymity and excitement of late nineteenth and early twentieth century city living was a crucial element on the rise of feminist politics. This was due to urban living giving a certain freedom from the control of the patriarchal family home and which brought new opportunities for association and interaction to women who took advantage of new urban spaces and forms to develop new associations, identities and activities. Thus, the streets, theatres, cinemas, dance halls, parks, etc. all provided opportunities for women outwith the functionalised or economically determined gendered space of the private and the home. Public space becomes inhabited and colonised by women taking advantage of new social and spatial opportunities. Thus the strict dichotomy implied in much of the analyses of gendered space has been contested in that throughout the period when women were supposed to be ensconced in private domestic spaces they were also involved in a variety of public and political campaigns outside the home. These included the abolition of the slave trade, the temperance movement, social hygiene campaigns, religious and charitable organisations such as the Salvation Army as well as the suffrage movement itself. In addition,

whilst the domestic ideology of the home was applied to middle-class women, for many working-class women the outside world of paid employment, in factories, mills, shops, as paid servants, etc. was an obvious and necessary public role. In more recent times the occupation of public space by women in pursuit of political aims whether as peace protestors at Greenham Common or in the numerous Reclaim the Streets/Night marches from the 1970's onwards that have periodically occurred in many cities in the US, UK, Europe and South America.

In respect of women inhabiting and occupying public spaces whether the streets, the department stores, arcades and railway stations increasingly women have come to challenge those spaces most associated with male pursuits and activities. The public house is one such example of a traditionally gendered everyday space of consumption, 'a home from home' for men (see Hey, 1986). Whilst women may have served traditionally as barmaids it is not until relatively recently that the public house has increasingly if perhaps somewhat grudgingly not only allowed and accepted women as clientele but actively encouraged them as consumers in their own right. The 'snug' or lounge where women were traditionally 'kept' away from the eyes of male drinkers and where women would not view the mysterious habits of 'the male at drink' is now almost gone from most public drinking establishment in the United Kingdom, Europe and America. What has occurred is a gradual opening up and acceptance of women as consumers in their own right and this has led to more female-friendly drinking establishments. Whilst it would be too much to say that pubs are safe places for women to drink on their own, liberation of pubs and other licensed premises as more visible spaces through the replacement of opaque glass with clear, better lighting and security staff, has ensured that the pub is both more anonymous and more welcoming, easier to assess visually and socially and therefore less excluding to women. The design and regulation of the pub as a social space is now more gender balanced if not exactly neutral. So much so that there is now concern expressed at the anti-social behaviour and alcohol consumption of young women as they take advantage of the more 'open' public spaces of drinking establishments.

Whilst some analyses focus on the separation (spatial, social, economic, etc.) of women from work into a domestic spatial sphere (including the design, organisation and decoration of 'the home') there is also a sense of the structured spatialisation of women's experience and opportunity in general. The development of socialist and Marxist feminist analyses of capitalism view the interdependence of economic development, gender relations and space as fundamental. This serves to produce an analysis of the urban and the region as key spatial units for

the survival and perpetuation of patriarchy under capitalism. The urban provides a scale for analysis that identifies the (private) spatial separation of suburban homes from the (public) world of paid employment as a crucial and key element in the perpetuation of divisions in gender roles through the reproduction of labour power.

Doreen Massey has been a crucial figure in the assertion of the construction of gender relations as key to the spatial organisation of social relations. In *Space, Place and Gender* Massey (1994) investigated how the different working-class gender models of masculinity and femininity were characterised and promulgated by a rigid sexual division of labour so that muscular masculinity was matched by a housebound femininity. However she is also concerned to expand the spatial analysis of gender roles to investigate how regional difference in gender relations have been strategically used in industry (see Massey, 1984, 1991, 1994). Similarly, she has analysed the masculine gender associations attributed to high technology, scientific and technical work versus feminised domestic, caring and supportive labour. Thus the location of industries that seek to take advantage of suburban 'housewives' as relatively low paid part-time workers is one key element in the analyses of the many new service sector and call centre employers. In this she has investigated what she terms temporal and spatial flexibility that perpetuates gender inequalities in employment and asserts the need for a spatial analysis that does not relegate feminism to a 'little local difficulty' amidst the broader and by implication more important dimensions of post-modernity (see Massey, 1991).

Conceptualising gender relations as intrinsic to the spatial organisation of modern capitalism opens the door to the inclusion and investigation of women in and of space. If space is a determining as well as a determined fundamental condition or aspect of experience, as all the theorists considered previously argue, then there exists the potential for the analysis of a variety of contexts, situations, experiences, etc. where the confluence of gender and space are essential elements. Whilst women at home, at work and in the varieties of recreational opportunities that now exists in the developed world are increasingly publicly acknowledged and debated at the level of media speculation and scrutiny as well as in political debate and social policy dictums (young women's sexuality, public inebriation, behaviour, safety, etc.) there also is a need for studies of the spatiality of non-Western women both in the West and also in comparative studies of other socio-spatial and cultural formations. Therefore, social construction of gender relations across ethnicities, religions, sexualities, nationalities, etc. is an increasingly fruitful and important aspect of post-colonial feminist research on space and gender.

As debates concerning the visibility or otherwise, the participation or exclusion, of the role and representation of non-Western women in Western societies are likely to continue the need for the comparative analysis of gender and space is ever more imperative.

spatialising sexuality

The spatialising of sexuality can be conceptualised as the analysis of the ways in which space can be seen to both reflect as well as structure the performativity of sexual identities. This is particularly influenced by Foucault's theories on disciplinary discourses and power/knowledge informs the study of the spatiality of the construction of sexuality and identity. That is, to investigate the ways in which the organisation of space informs the construction and organisation of sexualities. For example, the feminist critique of how the gendered sexuality of women's bodies are shaped and disciplined by (self) surveillance and by external domination reflects an awareness and acknowledgement of not only how women are expected to look and act in public but also which spaces are more or less open to women at particular times of the day and night. Thus public space, as argued previously has been very much a gendered space.

However, public space assumes, prioritises and provides for the performance of and acceptance of heterosexuality. The expression of heterosexuality is not only allowed or permissible it is in certain places actively encouraged. One thinks of not only the explicit heterosexuality of strip bars and lap-dancing clubs but also what one might call the 'banal heterosexuality' of everyday life in romantic candle-lit dinners-for-two, in the hand-holding, kissing, cuddling, etc. of mixed sex couples that is accepted and condoned in most public spaces. Similarly, the commodification of (hetero)sexual imagery (albeit with the potential for consumption and appropriation by the homosexual gaze) is used to advertise and sell all sorts of products. How space is used therefore in managing sexual identities is a topic that has received recent analysis. In particular, the experience of gay men and lesbians and other sexual minority groups takes place within the general assumption of heterosexuality as the norm. This has implications for the management of minority sexual identities in both time and space. As Bell and Valentine write

To avoid a rupture of their 'identity' many lesbians use time-space strategies to segregate their audiences. This includes establishing geographical boundaries between past and present identities, separating different activity spheres and

hence identities in space, expressing a lesbian identity only in formal 'gay spaces', confining their 'gay' socialising to homes or informal 'gay spaces', expressing their lesbian identity only in public places at specific times, and altering the layout and decoration of private spaces to conceal clues about their sexual identity from specific people. (Bell and Valentine, 1995a: 147)

One can appreciate why this concealment of sexual identity is a necessary safety and security measure when one considers how homophobia has regularly led to the persecution of homosexuals by the police and courts as well as the violence experienced by homosexuals caught 'in the open' spaces of public parks and toilets.

Whilst everyday space may be said to be heterosexual space there have been significant changes in the expression as well as acceptance of gay identities. For example, the campaign for 'gay rights' has led to the colonisation and inhabitation of the streets and public spaces of many cities during gay festivals and marches that has seen an increasing public profile given to gay identities. Most major European and American cities have annual events, marches and festivals but perhaps the best known are the Gay Mardi Gras held in San Francisco and in Sydney and Berlin's Love Parade. Gay men and lesbians may be said to have taken advantage of the anonymity of the city to escape the conventionalism that bound morality to a narrow definition of acceptable sexuality and identity. It offered a place to escape and to eventually forge new spaces where identities and lifestyles could be developed and perpetuated in feelings of security and solidarity through the concentration of like-minded individuals. There is thus a growing literature on the importance of gay bars, clubs and what has become known as 'gay villages' in many cities for the establishment and performance of gay sexual identities (see Adler and Brenner, 1992, Bell and Valentine, 1995b, Castells, 1983, Chauncey, 1995, Fitzgerald, 1986, Knopp, 1992, Lauria and Knopp, 1985). In contrast to gated communities or walled enclaves that are physically and socially separated and segregated residential areas gay villages such as that in the Castro area of San Francisco and surrounding Canal Street in Manchester are primarily areas of the city that are social centres for gay people, primarily men to meet and spend leisure time. The creation and economic success of such gay social spaces in the form of clubs, pubs, cafes, etc. has not only created 'safe spaces' for gay identities to be publicly expressed but has also led to the rejuvenation of many previously run-down inner city areas. So much so that the economic impact of 'Gay Villages' whether in Amsterdam (Europe's self styled gay capital) Manchester, San Francisco or Brighton is recognised and actively encouraged by local state authorities to maximise the economic benefits from the 'Pink Pound/Dollar/Euro' (see Bruce, 1997).

This specifically gay space has challenged prejudice as well as providing opportunities for the expression, the public performativity, of gay identities. Most major cities now contain such areas and spaces that are visible, vibrant and commercial.

It is therefore connected to the social division of sexuality and the spatial division of public sexual identity in that the *Gay Village* appears as a defined and represented area where through concentration of numbers a minority sexuality can or are allowed to freely associate without the over-arching fear of discrimination, conflict and violence that has been directed to other openly 'different' groups in society both in the past and present. There is then a concentration of venues, facilities, businesses, activities and social life in which there is 'safety in numbers' and a freedom in space to express and perform ones sexual identity in public.

There is then a developing research profile that focuses on the spatialisation of sexuality and how space informs and determines the expression and performance of sexuality. However, questions arise as to how and in what ways particular spaces and places associated and represented as 'gay' or straight are organised and structured to permit or deny access on grounds other than sexual identity. For example, many gay clubs and bars are found in areas of towns and cities in which gentrification has occurred and consequently may be prohibitive for those homosexuals without the income or who reside in close proximity to be able to access or use. Similarly, issues concerning the potential conflict between 'straight' and 'gay' communities and neighbourhoods as well as cultural, ethnic and gender differences need to be considered when analysing the experience and reality of such examples of the socio-spatial integration, segregation or concentration of the space of sexuality. However, some argue that these gay spaces are 'colossal closets' (Hindle, 1994) where gay identity can be publicly expressed but within very strict and limited spatial parameters.

'race' and space

One contemporary aspect of race and space concerns debates and analyses of immigration. Whilst it may be a truism to state that immigration is by definition the movement of people in space, from one country, region, etc. to another there is a more critical aspect that needs to be considered. Whilst claims are made to the permeability of nation state boundaries in this era of global capitalism and it is true that for some mobility is increasingly easy and convenient, for others it reflects not only the spatial division of the planet into a 'rich North/poor South' hemispheric dichotomy but also one increasingly underscored by policies

of exclusion based on ethnicity or race. The development, for example of the supranational geography of the European Union (EU) exemplifies problems associated with the 'legitimacy' of some immigrants versus others. Thus the notion of economic migrants carries racial overtones when applied to poor, non-white/European workers/families seeking employment in the EU as opposed to those who travel the globe as part of an international army of labour to meet the needs of multi-national corporations for skilled technicians, administrators and managers. The development of concerted and coordinated measures to keep out the 'hordes' of illegal immigrants is one that is regularly used in political and media campaigns in both Europe and America. The depictions of 'Fortress America' and 'Fortress Europe' are not only about creating physical barriers or impediments to movement but are also portrayed against a backdrop of racial and ethnic stereotyping in which international legal obligations to 'asylum seekers' are increasingly obfuscated within the parameters of an enclosed, bounded and defended national or supranational territory.

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In the same ways that cities have been discussed previously as divided or segregated by gender, sexuality and class so too can a spatial analysis be applied to racial/ethnic segregation/integration. Whilst the ecological model of cities in the analysis of the Chicago School (see Zorbaugh, Park, Burgess et al.) provided some explanation for the spatial distribution and mobility of successive waves of urban immigrants it lacked the sophistication and critical acuity applied by later political economy approaches to the competition for urban space, services, employment, etc. (see Harvey, 1978a,b, 1982, 1985a,b, Castells, 1977). However, it did acknowledge how different neighbourhoods and areas reflected not only a socio-economic spatial segregation but also the development of the ethnic or racial spatialisation of urban populations. The physical organisation of cities can be said to be structured by underlying processes of differentiation and segregation in which different areas reflect inequalities and are manifest in the spatial structuring and organisation of the city. Thus most cities in the Western world have identifiable areas in which some form of racial/ethnic segregation has become representative or reflective of structured inequalities. Whilst this may have deleterious effects in creating negative associations of identifiable areas there is also the sense in which such concentrations of ethnic minorities in geographical space allows for both a sense of safety and security and also the development of communities and networks of neighbourhood support that have positive benefits. The development of businesses, community groups and centres, art and cultural events and projects, as well as the provision of formal and informal social service

provision is accommodated by the inhabitation of geographically distinct areas.

The long-term effects of cycles of economic restructuring which has affected those traditional manufacturing industries that attracted immigrants to their former colonial 'mother countries' has left many communities in a state of economic stagnation or permanent depression. The associated processes of economic decline, lack of investment in certain aspects of the urban infrastructure as well as the effects of institutional racism in many sectors of the local and national state has created concentrations of urban deprivation are represented in the development of 'racialised' ghettos. In most American cities for example, it is not difficult to identify the socio-spatial segregation of the poor black and Latino inhabitants from their wealthier white counterparts. The representation of those areas/communities/neighbourhoods as afflicted by poverty, family breakdown, health and educational inequalities, as well as crime, drugs and violence more often than not takes on racial overtones.

The periodic urban revolts that erupt in many European and American cities are most often associated with and correspond to some form of racial and spatial segregation. In Britain the Broadwater Farm riot of 1985 and those in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in 2001, as well as more recently in cities and towns across France in 2005 took place predominantly in those suburban and peripheral estates that have become or racially and socio-economically segregated. This spatial segregation reinforces the alienation and exclusion of those who are left isolated and ill-served on such estates. The intervention of the state at local and national level as well as the changing priorities of international capital has led not only to the restructuring of economies but also to the marginalisation of whole regions as well as estates and towns within countries. In much of this those who are most likely to suffer from other forms of inequality besides economic occupy the worst housing. There is then a need to understand and analyse such urban problems as racial and class inequalities as they are expressed and experienced in space. A further aspect of the analysis of race and space that informs this consideration of the spatial segregation of the urban environment is reflected in the legacy of colonialism that has become inscribed on the landscape of many cities. There are any number of streets and buildings that are named after places colonised in previous eras, as well as monuments and statues, buildings and architecture that represent this colonial past. How such streets and cities are negotiated amid such symbolic representations of domination and subservience reflects the sense that in many ways the processes and forms of exploitation and stratification is writ large on the landscape of urban modernity.

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crime and space

Issues concerning crime and deviance from social, moral or legal norms have been of paramount concern within all societies in all epochs. The organisation, regulation and control of space have necessarily been central aspects of the effective policing and administration of activities and behaviours. The structuring of the activities of detection, of surveillance and of the administration of punishment to transgressors has been organised within geographically distinct areas such as the nation state, the region, city, division and district. Such spatialisation of crime and punishment has therefore been an intrinsic aspect of the maintenance of law as well as the good moral order of societies.

Contemporary concerns with law and order and maintaining peace and security both within national boundaries and societies (socio-spatial cultural, political and economic formations) as well as in this climate of concern with global security in the era of the 'War on Terrorism' raises issues concerning the expansion of the control and surveillance of space at both micro and macro levels. As global economic concerns require and allow more mobility on the part of an international labour force as well as more commonly expressed and accepted mobility of international capital there are paradoxical elements to the restriction and permission of the movement of people both within national boundaries and internationally across regions and continents. There is a thus both a permeability of national, regional and international boundaries that allows as well as prevents or impedes movement and mobility.

At the global level we are increasingly faced with more and more surveillance and the control of movement through space. Certainly since 9/11 there have been obvious concerns with increased security that has expanded the sense of the need to make nations 'fortresses' as well as the constitution of coordinated intelligence and security measures, one such example being the establishment in the United States and elsewhere of measures concerned with 'homeland security'. This has led to more stringent security measures being applied to individuals as they attempt to move from one nation, country, region, etc. to another as increasing conditions and controls are placed on those who wish or need to travel whether for business, pleasure or for other reasons. Thus it may be said the most secure and 'safe' spaces are those that are associated with movement and mobility, such as air travel, given the levels of surveillance, identity checks, baggage searches, monitoring, etc. Whilst concerns with terrorism are the leitmotif for the implementation of new and enhanced security measures that are more or less universal the implications are clearly evident for a more patrolled, monitored and policed space of travel.

Debates concerning the demise of the political and social integrity of the nation state as a bounded geographically distinct territory through the increasing fluidity and mobility of globalisation may have some salience (see Urry, 2000) but there is also the sense that the nation state or regional trading and economic zone is becoming more an operative and integrated defensible space. Certain groups, nationalities and ethnicities thus become subjected to more scrutiny and restriction than others as 'threats', potential or otherwise, are analysed and responses formulated to mitigate them. Whether these threats are from the incursions of unwanted economic migrants or asylum seekers or whether they are from those deemed to be military or ideological adversaries and combatants, the defensible geographical and spatial realm is an ongoing political and social reality.

The control of internal national space by security and policing institutions and personnel has led to the development both of a political will as well as technological developments. The debate concerning the introduction of 'smart' bio-metric identity cards and passports in the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States that contain not only fingerprints, iris scans, DNA details, medical history, National Insurance and Health Service Numbers but also personal information, financial status, etc. implies a more subjected, controlled and policed space in the future. Access or egress, movement or mobility in certain areas and times of day, night, season, etc. may increasingly be subjected to electronic confirmation of status, suitability, credentials or even perhaps wealth, nationality, ethnicity or religious persuasion. The opportunity of accessing retail outlets such as shopping centres and malls for example, may become dependent on card-scans that confirm economic or judicial status; access to entertainment or public spaces may at times be permissible only to certain defined groups; residential or business premises may allow or deny access only to 'authorised' or acceptable individuals; travel restrictions may be denied to certain groups or individuals on the basis of information contained on identity cards.

The issue of crime inevitably raises questions as to control of desirable and undesirable activities, groups and individuals, etc. and is of prime importance for any society that seeks to describe itself as democratic. The organisation, ordering and control of movement and association in space implies a political and moral ordering of societies, of 'good' and 'bad', of allowed, permitted, sanctioned activities and people versus those deemed illicit, inappropriate, deviant or dangerous, etc. Thus the monitoring and control of space is a concern not only for the future as debates concerning the introduction of such new technologies continue. How they are applied and how they may or may not be used to create

or maintain inequalities are key issues in the analysis of how open and inclusive/exclusive our democratic societies are and can be allowed to be. The stigmatisation and subsequent monitoring of groups, activities, areas, etc. reflects a potentially negative consequence of fear of crime that may negate the more positive aspects of the surveillance of public spaces. The sense of safety and security implied or promised by knowing that we are being continuously watched over may be undermined by the fear of how such information may be used against you. The baby may indeed be thrown out with the bathwater if one's freedom of movement and association is limited by the fear of constant surveillance by an anonymous and potentially politically malicious 'Big Brother' technology.

However, in terms of crime at local or national levels the development of new monitoring and surveillance technologies has led to the application of sophisticated electronic measures to the policing of an increasing number of public and social spaces. It is now exceedingly common for not only state security services to employ wide-ranging CCTV equipment at marches, demonstrations, sensitive defence facilities, etc. but increasingly whole town and city centres are subjected to the 'electronic eye' of private and public authorities monitoring of the activities and behaviours of the public. This is an electronic extension of Foucault's concept of the 'Eye of Power' and the development of Panopticism more extensive and far reaching than originally described. There are a number of studies of the extent of the spread of such surveillance (Lyon, 1988, 1994, 2001, Staples 1997) and their potential consequence for civil and political liberties as well as those that question its effectiveness in curtailing criminal activities (Armitage, 2002, Crang, 1996, Ditton et al., 1999, Helms, 2003, McCahill, 2002). The expansion of cameras and surveillance equipment into many more spheres and spaces of everyday life are areas in which the control and organisation of space through technological measures is being investigated. However, not only are streets, shopping centres, car parks, airports, motorways, shops, etc. now commonly 'covered' by cameras but they are also finding their way into schools, cloakrooms and toilet facilities, pubs and clubs, etc. We are increasingly invited to install monitoring and security devices not only outside our homes but also inside to ensure that those we entrust to look after our children can be observed in the performance of their childcare duties. Our children are now the most monitored, surveilled, scrutinised and observed generation that have existed. There are fewer and fewer places where they can explore themselves and their surroundings, make and break friendships, etc. out-with the prying eyes of the adult world. Whilst this may provide a façade of security, increasingly there are concerns about privacy and human rights from a constant monitoring

of individuals who have not given permission to be filmed and who have no control over how such footage may subsequently be used. Similarly, what kind of people and society are being created who are expected to live their lives almost entirely under observation is a fundamental concern for the development and perpetuation of so-called 'open-societies'.

The planned design and control of spaces as an attempt to mould, shape or determine the behaviour and activities that occur within it has implications for how public space is used, by who and for what purposes. Recently expressed concerns with public space have focussed explicitly on the supposed anti-social behaviour of youth and with issues especially centred on young people's use of space (the gathering in numbers on street corners, outside shops, in bus shelters, railway stations, parks, pedestrian walkways and underpasses, etc.) This aspect of the crime and the policing of space have involved the police and local authorities supported by new legislation that effectively implements curfews and exclusion zones on certain groups in certain spaces. The increasing use of such measures and of the electronic tagging of convicted offenders reflects new policing strategies that involve the delimiting of space and of the restriction of individuals movement in it.

An extension of these measures to restrict movement and access to public space is the regulation and curtailment of legitimate protest. The construction of what are effectively exclusion zones around events and institutions such as the Houses of Parliament in the United Kingdom as well as the recent G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland that sought to impose spatial limits on the rights of public association and for alternative political views and agendas to be seen and heard. Dissent from the political mainstream is now subjected to the surveillance and regulation of the space to protest where and when it may be most effectively and appropriately expressed. Whilst more research is needed to assess the effectiveness of the surveillance and marginalisation of predominantly young people it seems clear that such strategies will increasingly be used to make some social spaces no-go areas for some groups. Such issues relate specifically to the segregation and characterisation of spaces by disciplinary discourses that apply moral and political judgments to acceptable and appropriate behaviours and the 'correct' use of public space.

globalisation and space

The current interest in and analysis of globalisation in its multifarious forms is one that takes place with an overt recognition and acknowledgment of its spatiality. There are a number of seminal analyses

of globalisation that reflect this awareness of the spatial context of globalisation. There is not the time or space here to provide a detailed critique of this inherent spatiality but what can be provided is a very brief illumination of how spatial analysis is fundamental to the understanding of globalisation. In some respects this spatiality has a foundation or may be said to be influenced by Marx's understanding of the expansion of capitalism to a global mode of production that began this book and that continues to inform much of the critique of neo-liberal capitalism today. Indeed there is an increasing awareness of the prescience and salience of Marx's analysis for the globalisation of capital (see Renton, 2001) and yet unforeseen features have come to the fore and been analysed and considered as fundamental or characteristic of its new phase. It is the spatiality of globalisation that will be briefly addressed below.

beck and global risk society

174 Ulrich Beck in his numerous writings on Risk Society (see Adam et al., 2000, Beck, 1992, 1995, 1999, Beck and Willms, 2004, Beck et al., 1994) expounds the thesis that amongst other things the 'new' risks created by the inherent processes of modern industrial capitalism have produced a 'manufactured uncertainty' as a state of being in late (reflexive) modernity. These risks that Beck associates particularly with radiation, environmental pollution, food and water toxicity, etc. are manifestly different from previous risks in that not only are they the cumulative products of industrial processes and technological developments (the appliance of science) they have the potential for catastrophic harm to be done to all life on the planet. As Beck puts it:

The gain in power from techno-economic 'progress' is being increasingly overshadowed by the production of risks. In an early stage, these can be legitimated as 'latent side effects'. As they become globalised, and subject to public criticism and scientific investigation, they come so to speak, out of the closet and achieve a central importance in social and political debates... At the centre lies the risks and consequences of modernisation, which are revealed as irreversible threats to the life of plants, animals, and human beings. Unlike the factory-related or occupational hazards of the nineteenth and the first half of the 20th centuries, these can no longer be limited to certain localities or groups, but rather exhibit a tendency to globalisation which spans production and reproduction as much as national borders, and in this sense brings into being supra-national and non-class specific global hazards with a new type of social and political dynamism. (Beck, 1992: 13)

Beck's analysis of these new global risks emphasises that they are no longer limited by geography, that is, affect only those places where they

initially are produced. Global risks recognise no national or regional borders. For Beck these generated risks and their potential consequences are of global importance because of the potential catastrophic dangers produced by such risks as radiation, environmental degradation, global warming, etc. They are not only unlimited in space but also in time. Future generations will suffer the consequences as well as those that produce them. Whilst Beck's analysis has its critics, not least for his triumphing of an incipient non-class based sub-politics to challenge the dominant discourses of global risk society, his identification of qualitatively and quantitatively new risks that require global solutions provides some insight into the new geographies of power that are developing around such perceived risks. Those global organisations such as the United Nations, The International Monetary Fund, the Group of Eight of the most powerful economies, etc. are increasingly being called upon to agree on global treaties and protocols for not only monitoring and regulating trade but also to attempt to deal collectively with such issues as the prevention of biological pandemics (Avian Flu, AIDS, etc.), nuclear non-proliferation, climate change, etc. There is, as Beck has been keen to popularise a resistance to the dominant discourses of economic globalisation that has resulted in a rise of a plethora of movements, groups and organisations that are increasingly operating on a global scale and utilising technologies and new modes of operation to counteract the ideologies as well as the policies of global institutions and transnational corporations. It is no surprise then that the first section of Naomi Klein's popular anti globalisation manifesto *No Logo* is entitled *No Space*. Recognition of the assault on personal, political and community space by corporate capitalism as well as an awareness of the need to organise and resist on a global (spatial) level. Such slogans as '*Think Global: Act Local*' reflect an awareness of and acceptance of political allegiances not circumscribed by traditional spatial, national and class boundaries as well as the potential power inherent in individuals personal and everyday life.

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John Urry – flows and migration

For John Urry the New World Order is one in which global 'mobilities' and flows have undermined the valency of traditional societal boundaries and bonds. The central concept of sociology has been the way in which society has been defined, understood and applied in analyses within an over-arching context of nation states and systems of nation states. Therefore sociology must come to terms with the demise of its central concept and discover a future that is not limited by such socio-spatial

concepts and objects of analysis. Urry writes in *Sociology Beyond Societies* (2000) that:

Each 'society' is a sovereign social entity with a nation-state that organises the rights and duties of each societal member or citizen. Most major sets of social relationships are seen as flowing within the territorial boundaries of the society. The state is thought to possess a monopoly of jurisdiction or governmentality over members living within the territory or region of the society. Economy, politics, culture, classes, gender and so on, are societally structured. In combination they constitute a clustering, or what is normally conceptualised as a 'social structure'. Such a structure organises and regulates the life chances of each member of the society in question. (Urry, 2000: 8)

Urry postulates that the world we now live in has fundamentally changed through aspects of technological, economic, political and cultural, etc., developments. He sites Mann's description of the contemporary world as evidence of such change:

Today, we live in a global society. It is not a unitary society, nor is it an ideological community or a state, but it is a single power network. Shock waves reverberate around it, casting down empires, transporting massive quantities of people, materials and messages and finally, threatening the ecosystem and atmosphere of the planet. (Mann, 1993: 11)

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For Urry, the consequences of a non-unified global society lies in the exceptional levels of global interdependence that have come to exist across all spheres and levels of social relations. However the unpredictable shock waves that spill out 'chaotically' from one part to the system as a whole can have an effect on all, not least in that they create a mass mobility of peoples, things and dangerous human wastes. For Urry then there are not just 'societies' but now massively powerful 'empires' roaming the globe.

This has serious implications for Urry's thesis that sociology needs to reconstitute itself without society as its object of analysis. In particular, if there is not a bounded society then how is it possible to establish the functional requirements that have to be met, in order that each 'society' continues? At what level or scale must these be constituted and organised if the societal level of the state no-longer provides the functional as well as socio-spatial basis or framework for provision. This is also true in terms of societal regulation: at what level and across what areas jurisprudence, policing, regulation and justice being organised and administered and perhaps of equal importance by whom. Within the post 9/11 context of the war against (global) terror new political and military arrangements and justifications are being put in place alongside portable and flexible jurisdictions for incarcerating and holding to

account those suspected of terrorist offences or affiliations. Urry asks pertinent questions concerning what entity is being regulated and how can its function be specified if there are no longer discrete boundaries to what we call society? Such a perspective entails an awareness of the importance of a spatial analysis to the development and perpetuation of the processes and experiences of globalisation as new global flows and networks have generated a new functional requirement for states to regulate. Thus Urry argues that

shifts towards global networks and flows transforms the space of each state. It is this space which states have to striate and they are therefore involved in increasing efforts at 'social regulation'. Such regulation is both necessitated, and is only made possible, by new computer-based forms of information gathering, retrieval and dissemination. What states increasingly possess are exceptional information flows, especially databases, which enable performance indicators to be implemented and monitored across extensive geographical areas, within and beyond the boundaries of the nation state. (Urry, 2000: 198)

Castells – timeless time and the space of flows

Urry's conceptions of the new global world order of flows, mobilities and networks of power shares familiarities with Manuel Castells' analysis of globalisation as constituting a new type of society, that of the Global Network society. In his three volumes on *The Information Age* and elsewhere Castells makes the claim that new information technologies combined with the economic crisis of capitalism, the demise of the communist states and the emergence of new social movements such as feminism and environmentalism have led to the development of a new type of society, that of the network society. The impact of these processes is to rapidly transform societies, economies and cultures across the globe. Without going into the details of Castells' thesis he employs spatial concepts and metaphors to explain how this has happened and occurs. For example, Castells refers to flows of capital, information, organisational interaction, images, sounds, symbols, technology which have come to gradually replace a space of localities "in whose form, function and meaning are self contained within the boundaries of physical space" (Castells, 1996: 423). For Castells, space becomes inseparable from time in that what occurs is a 'space of flows' which produces 'timeless time'. Time is compressed and broken so that things happen instantaneously and the progressive linearity of past events and practices is broken by the discontinuity of the processes by which we use the internet and other Information and Communication Technologies.

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For Castells then, "We have entered a new technological paradigm centred around micro-electronics based, information/communication technologies and genetic engineering" (Castells, 1998: 5). He further argues that we now live in a new economy characterised by three fundamental features: it is informational, global and networked. A key aspect of Castells argument concerning this new networked and global economy is the concept of the 'space of flows' where

the meaning and function of the space of flows depend on the flows processed within the networks, by contrast with the space of places, in which meaning, function and locality are closely interrelated. (Castells, 1998: 17)

The 'space of flows' for Castells operates as networks of electronic communication and is related to the development of a hierarchy of cities ('world cities') and places that become strategic hubs or nodes in the world markets of information. These world cities also become the location for the elites that comprise the power holders who are more able not only to access essential knowledge networks but to be more mobile themselves to take advantage of opportunities as they occur in other areas, spheres, regions, cities, etc. For Castells then space is crucial to his conceptualisation of a paradigm shift to the Network Society.

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Giddens – time space distantiation

Anthony Giddens also considers what he recognises as the transformation of social interaction through the reordering or 'uncoupling' of space and time. Giddens use of the term 'time-space distantiation' to refer to the lifting of social interactions out of their immediate settings and stretching them over potentially vast spans of time-space (Giddens, 1990). Giddens like Castells is concerned with the implications for social change of new conceptions and constructions of time and space in that time-space transformations are crucial to modern societies as time and space become extended beyond the confines of place. Giddens argues that the standardisation of time combined with place being removed from particular locales result in social life becoming 'disembedded'. This is particularly important in that as Giddens states:

Place is best conceptualised by the means of the idea of locale, which refers to the physical settings of social activity as situated geographically. In pre-modern societies, space and place largely coincide, whence the spatial dimension of social life are, for most of the population, and in most respects, dominated by 'presence' – by localised activities. The advent of modernity increasingly tears space away from place by fostering relations between 'absent' others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction. (Giddens, 1990: 18)

Giddens uses the term 'time-space distancing' to describe how social relations are lifted out of their immediate interactional settings and stretched over what are often vast spans of global time-space. This disembedding is accompanied by re-embedding in new forms of local, face-to-face interaction. According to this analysis, our senses of not only community but also identity are shaped profoundly by the reconfiguration of space and time associated with new electronic media technologies, as well as the structural and institutional settings that impact on our identities, opportunities and life chances as 'global citizens'.

POST-MODERNISED SPACE

It would be remiss in a discourse such as this on new directions in social theory and space not to mention Ed Soja's contribution to the reprioritisation of space, namely his attempt to locate spatiality at the centre of social theoretical thought. Soja's contribution to what he asserts is a spatially focused post-modern social theory can be found detailed consistently in his three major works (Soja, 1989, 1996, 2000). It has three main propositions. The first is that the (global) capitalist mode of production is being restructured in ways that prioritise space over time rather than what had previously been the case. The second is that space is fundamental to the constitution (that is the establishment, structure and organisation) of social life. Third, space need to be taken seriously if we are to make sense of society, in whatever form. There is then in Soja's work a concern to expose the critical role of space in social life. Whilst Soja shares this with many theorists he argues that space *must* be central to each and every element of social theory. In *Postmodern Geographies* (1986) he argues that space has been subsumed and ultimately denied by the overarching focus on times so much so that

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historicism as an overdeveloped historical contextualisation of social life and social theory that actually submerges and peripheralises the geographical or spatial imagination... [Soja]... identifies historicism with the creation of a critical silence, an implicit subordination of space to time that obscures geographical interpretations of the changeability of the social world and intrudes upon every level of theoretical discourse, from the most abstract ontological concepts of being to the most detailed explanations of empirical events. (Soja, 1989: 15)

What Soja argues is acknowledgement of the necessity for a spatial mode of theorising that undermines this dominance of historicism. That is he wants to apply "a triple dialectic of space, time and social being: a transformative re-theorisation of the relations between history, geography

and modernity" (Soja, 1986: 12). Whilst Soja syncretically includes in his analysis a number of theorists it is Lefebvre that has had the most influence. It is Soja's application of the *trialectic* of Lefebvre's theory of the production of space that leads him to assert that the contemporary era or post-modern epoch is one in which a fundamentally restructured capitalism can only be understood by an astute awareness of the critical role of space. As he states:

We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology. (Soja, 1986: 6)

This has an obvious resonance with Lefebvre's analysis, after Marx, of spatial fetishism. He goes on to apply and explore the emerging post-Fordist social space of Los Angeles as an empirical example of "flexible systems of production, consumption, exploitation, spatialisation and social control" (Soja, 1986: 221). Whilst his analysis of Los Angeles has been influential in promoting a post-modern geographical imagination it is less developed and critical than that provided by Mike Davis (see Davis, 1990, 1998, 2000). Soja appears to rest on an economic base that as Gregory states gives "a morphology of landscape that...is rarely disturbed by human forms" (1994: 301). Nonetheless Soja has been highly influential in attempting to present human geography and space within the mainstream of social theory and offers an account of space that has been widely read and achieved success in publicising a variety of spatial theorists.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to highlight the way in which those theories of space considered previously have been developed and applied in a variety of different contexts. There is little doubt that space and spatial theories are beginning to have a more fundamental role in the analysis of contemporary social life. As the boundaries between disciplines become more blurred this will become more apparent and accepted. The analysis of globalisation and the continuing relevance of the urban as a/the crucial 'space' of contemporary social relations and activity of the majority of the world's population in (post/late/reflexive) modernity ensures that the need to understand and theorise space will be increasingly applied. To ignore space is to deny the inherent spatiality of the construction, experience, organisation and perpetuation of all the

spheres and activities that constitute social life. We live in spaces, not necessarily always of our own choosing, but nonetheless ones that resonate and reflect our status and opportunity. We live and work, move and settle, play and reproduce in space and how we think and understand space is important to how and who we are. New directions and horizons in sociology are intrinsically spatial terms, of movement and direction, of location and perception. To move forward and increase the scope and sphere of perspective requires an appreciation of the meanings and understandings of, in and for space.

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