**Chapter 19**

**The Body**

*Michael Landzelius*

**The Body Reembraced**

ln concluding his *The Production of Space,* Lefebvre asserted that "Western philosophy

has *betrayed* the body; it has actively participated in the great process of

metaphorization that has abandoned the body; and it has denied the body" (1991:

407). Despite roughly 2,000 years of betrayal, Lefebvre, writing in 1974, displayed

optimism: "Today the body is establishing itself firmly, as base and foundation,

beyond philosophy, beyond discourse, and beyond the theory of discourse. Theoretical

thought, carrying reflection on the subject and the object beyond the old concepts,

has reembraced the body along with space, in space, and as the generator (or

producer) of space" (1991: 407). Lefebvre's account of the unfolding of the

body-space nexus is situated in Marxism, yet also critically builds upon authors

important in poststructuralism and deconstruction, such as Freud, Lacan, and

Kristeva (see Blum & Nast 1996; Gregory 1997; Pile 1996), as well as Nietzsche

and Heidegger (see Elden 2001; Merrifield 1995). Geographers such as Gregory

(1994, 1997), Merrifield (1993), Pile (1996), Shields (1989, 1991, 1999), and

Stewart (1995a), incorporate aspects of Lefebvre's theorization of the body. Yet his

work continues to be controversial and has been variously characterized as romantic

(Thrift 1997a), melancholie (Gregory 1997), teleological (Keith & Pile 1993), and

masculinist (Blum & Nast 1996; Pile 1996).

The French edition of *The Production of Space* was published roughly 30 years

ago, and the three decades since have seen the emergence of second and third wave

feminism, poststructuralism, deconstruction, a renewed interest in psychoanalysis,

the development of cultural studies, postcolonialism, queer, nonrepresentational,

and actor-nerwork theories - to name but a few important strands of thought which

have dismantled Western metaphysics. Differences apart, a shared critique in this

literature concerns the Cartesian subjecťs view from nowhere: the masculinist and

simultaneously epistemological, moral, and political 'god-trick' (Haraway 1991:

189) through which "[tjhe standpoint of the privileged, their particular experience

and standard s, is constructed as normal and neutral" (Young 1990b: 116). In

emphasizing the production of knowledge, identity, ethics and politics as positioned

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practices embedded in particular social and cultural conditions, these strands of

thought have turned to the body as a key site for understanding the workings and

differentiation of society and thus also for the reworking of social theory as well as

politics (for brief accounts, see Shilling 2001; Turner 2000).

The response in geography to this growing discourse on the body was slow.

Through a number of theoretical avenues, geographers already engaged with issues

that invoked the body. Behavioral research based upon environmental psychology

as well as symbolic interactionism clearly implicated embodiment (see, for example,

Cox & Golledge 1981; Moore & Golledge 1976). Yet, the constraints of behaviorism

and mind/body dualism disallowed the articulation of the body as a partieular

site of inquiry. In critique of then fashionable spatial science approaches,

humanistic geographers addressed the body-space nexus particularly from phenomenological

perspectives (Buttimer 1976; Ley & Samuels 1978; Pickles 1985;

Porteous 1990; Relph 1976; Seamon 1979; Tuan 1974, 1977). However, the influence

of phenomenology decreased in a period when poststructuralist antihumanism

highlighted diversity and questioned commonality and universalism. In addition,

Hagerstranďs (1967, 1970) time-geography briefly surfaced among critical and

feminist geographers in arguments that challenged universalist assumptions and

anchored human behavior in the embodied time-spaces of everyday life (Dyck 1990;

Miller 1983; Palm & Pred 1978; Pred 1981, 1984; Thrift 1983). Yet, it was soon

claimed that "[tjhe notation of the body in time-geography as a path which does

not merge depends on this particular masculine repression of the bodily" (Rose

1993: 33; for other criticisms, see Gregory 1994; Harvey 1989).

The 1990s witnessed a radical increase in geographical research sensitive to positionality,

particularity, and specificity. In this research, the body loses its definite

article and becomes a plurality of differentiated bodies. Given this plurality, empirical

work covers diverse social categories such as gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity,

disability, illness, and age. Spatial contexts correspondingly vary from merchant

banks of the present to colonies of the past. In terms of theory, geographers build

upon approaches developed in other fields such as philosophy, psychoanalysis,

general social theory and cultural studies. Foucaulťs theorizing of disciplined and

different bodies as emerging out of different constellations of power and knowledge

is immensely important. A vast number of citations in geographies of the body are

also from works by Judith Butler, Moira Gatens, and Elisabeth Grosz. Frequently

mentioned are also Susan Bordo, Rosi Braidotti, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari,

Donna Haraway, Sandra Harding, Julia Kristeva, and Iris Marion Young. In addition,

many 'second hanď references to Jacques Lacan appear, whereas the psychoanalyst

Paul Schilder and body theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Norbert Elias, and

Maurice Merleau-Ponty are rarely cited. Without normative intent, one can make

the observation that a geographical text on the body has yet to appear that could

be called a 'paradigm' in terms of being not only cited but also applied by fellow

geographers.

Geographical work on the body can to a large extent be characterized as a

response and contribution to the discourse on identity politics, in which class politics

as conventionally understood in terms of [male] labor versus [male] capital are

displaced by interrogations of the nature and construction of subjectivity and selfhood.

In this discourse, embodiment refers to how individuals literally incorporate

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social relations, psychological traits and cultural meanings, as well as to how bodily

engagement in practices not only reiterates but potentially also transforms the

world. This invocation of the body as a key site of personal experience, social distinction

and political struggle results in a political edge different from class-based

politics, as is clear in the employment of terms such as 'racism,' 'sexism,' 'heterosexism,'

'ableism,' 'ageism,' and so forth. A key issue in recent geographies of the

body concerns how masculinist universalism in heteropatriarchal society produces

normative spaces based upon the desires and characteristics of able-bodied and heterosexual

men - distinctions understood to dominate over differentiation within this

category in terms of, for example, class, education, race, and ethnicity. The resulting

spaces are understood to exclude from recognition, in a both corporeal and discursive

sense, 'devianť groups and individuals and thus to both inhibit and devalue

their particular embodied identities. In this fashion, much recent literature on body

politics replaces analyses of class and structural economic conditions with analyses

of subjectivation, oppression, and domination. While skeptical towards conventional

modernist accounts of agency and intentionality, contemporary work explores

spatial gaps in the conjunctions of power and conceives of the body as a potential

force of political repositioning able to disrupt performative reiteration. In this

context, Harvey approvingly observes that "a wide range of bodily practices and

choices can be embedded in the circulation of capital" (1998: 412), yet further

argues that to neglect the particular social relations of capitalism amounts to a foundational

"body reductionism" that fails to identify "the direction as opposed to the

locus of political action" (1998: 415). Such criticisms alongside Knopp's reasonable

claim that "we construct sexuality and gender along with class, not independently

of it" (1992: 652) show the importance of taking seriously the political as well as

epistemological differences between positions.

**The Body-Space Nexus**

Different approaches to the body are indeed represented in geography, yet the majority

of work is quite univocal in its reiterated references to the set of influential

authors mentioned above. There is thus no clear articulation of a specifically geographical

take on the body. In sociology, Turner critiques a "decorative sociology,"

which is "merely a description of the cultural representation of the body (2000:

481). Williams and Bendelow similarly argue that "sociology should itself be

fundamentally embodied; theorising not so much about bodies ... but from bodies

as lived entities" (1998: 209). In geography, Thrift critiques a view, "pervasive ...

in current cultural geography" (1999: 318), "that human beings are engaged in

building discursive worlds by actively constructing webs of significance which are

laid out over a physical substrate" (1999: 300). Longhurst stresses that "[o]ne of

the downsides of social constructionism ... is that it can render the body incorporeal,

fleshless, fluidless, little more than a linguistic territory" (2001: 23). In

geography, such approaches are exemplified by analyses in which bodies are present

only as particularized signifiers, and spaces are taken-for-granted as in themselves

neutral, and as gendered, racialized or in other ways particularized and politicized

only through the presence and discursive dominance of a certain individual or

group.

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lmportantly, a number of themes in recent geographical research point towards

a more clearly articulated geographical take on the body-space nexus that highlights

ways in which physical substrates and bodies are interdependently constituted

as well as constitutive of social relations and cultural meanings. Before turning to

these themes, it should be stressed that the body, as this companion clearly shows,

is implicated in much recent work in cultural geography. Hence, as already noted,

the body has been discussed in feminist, poststructuralist, and psychoanalytic

approaches as well as cast in terms of the gendered and sexed body, the racialized

body, the young body, and the performative body. These areas are all addressed in

separate chapters in this volume.

*Epistemology and the body*

Feminist geographers in particular have identified masculinist, heterosexist, and

universalist disciplinary foundations in geography. Grounded in asymmetrical

active/passive binaries, the model researcher has been a disembodied male researching

an object subjected to the male gaze and molded by incarnations of passive,

woman, body, and nature. Such binaries are implicated not only in a general disavowal

of the body and in the dominance of the conceptual over the corporeal, of

culture over nature, but also in notions of core versus peripheral areas of the discipline,

of active [male] exploration and mapping of a passive [female] landscape, and

so forth (see Bondi 1997; Callard 1998; Chouinard & Grant 1995; Johnson 1994;

Longhurst 1995, 1997, 2001; McDowelll999; Nash 1996; Rose 1992, 1993, 1995;

Stewart 1995a). Issues of disability, impairment, and illness have also encouraged

reflection on established disciplinary assumptions. Chouinard (1997, 1999a) and

Chouinard and Grant (1995) articulate academic responsibilities in face of the hegemony

of "ableist geographies," and Dorn and Laws critique bio-medical models of

disease in arguing that geography needs a "politicized emancipatory phenomenology"

(1994: 106) that incorporates social theory's rediscovery of the body. Similarly,

Parr challenges medicalized notions of 'mental illness' in geography and

suggests that the *"mind/bodies* of psychiatrie patients are contested sites of control,"

and thereby part of "geographies of resistance" (1999: 197; see also Moss 1999).

Asymmetries between researcher and researched, and encounters with 'others' in

fieldwork turn the question of how embodiment and positionality affects knowledge

production into a particularly important issue. Thorny issues of relativism

versus essentialism and objectivism thus unavoidably emerge out of the epistemological

incorporation of the body. Bondi identifies the risk that "geographical terms

of reference do the work done by essences in other formulations" (1993: 98), and

contends that "geographical metaphors of contemporary politics must be informed

by conceptions of space that recognize place, position, location and so on as *created,*

as *produced"* (1993: 99; see also Smith & Katz 1993). The body is indeed one such

geographical term of reference, and a key site in discussions of essentialism. Rose

explores how certain feminist alternatives to disembodied masculinism themselves

serve to reproduce visualism and notions of control through "tactics [that] work by

turning extraordinarily complex power relations into a visible and clearly ordered

space that can be surveyed by the researcher" (1997: 310). In contrast to such 'transparent

reflexivity,' Rose refers to the anti-essentialist concept of performativity in

order to suggest that "research [is] a process of constitutive negotiation" (1997:

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316) of positions, knowledges, and embodied identities. The quotations from Bondi

and Rose illustrate how feminist reflection on positionality deeply implicates the

embodiment of identities. Yet, opinions differ with regard to epistemological and

methodological responses to this researcher's conundrum of being "captured and

enmeshed" (Nast 1998: 110; see also Kobayashi 1994; McDowell 1992; Nelson

1999; Sparke 1998).

Essential here is whether geographers make a specifically spatial argument on

embodiment and situatedness, and, accordingly, whether terms such as 'location'

and 'position' mean something beyond discursive considerations of difference.

lmportant is also whether the critique of the disembodied mind only concerns the

limits of discursive knowledge and the biased constitution of the research object, or

if it also invokes another conception of what should be counted as knowledge.

Longhurst critiques binary thinking (1995, 1997) and builds an argument around

how the fleshy and fluid messiness of bodies challenges established social and spatial

boundaries concerning, for example, pregnancy, gender assumptions, workplace

behavior, privacy, and exposure (1999,2000,2001). Her objective is to make space

for politicized microlevel 'corpogeographies' that show how "specificity seeps into

generality ... lived messy materiality seeps into cerebral knowledge" (2001: 135).

Yet, messiness in Longhursťs argument suggests specificity *o]* discourse more than

possibilities *beyond* discourse. Such possibilities, however, are suggested in

Lefebvre's antihumanist claim that "long before the analysing, separating intellect,

long before formal knowledge, there was an intelligence of the body" (1991: 174),

as well as in present nonrepresentational theory and actor-network theory. Hence,

Thrift proposes nonrepresentational forms of knowledge beyond discourse and

stresses that "a practical or situated way of knowing is contextual, and rooted especially

in embodiment" (1996: 33; see also Nash 2000). Similarly, Whatmore (1999)

explores agency as a hybridized collective network-capacity and then suggests a

form of "sensible and relational knowledge of these hybrid worlds" which is dependent

upon the human body as a corporeal organism and "the animal sensibilities

of our diverse human being" (1999: 35). In terms of disciplin ary consequences, questions

here concern institutional academic constraints as well as what an epistemology

of nondiscursive knowledge would entail in practice, with regard to methods,

descriptive protocols, criteria, sharing of results, and so forth.

*The body politic and the body*

Explorations into relations between the body politic and the body of the individual

from a geographical perspective have sought to move away from structural analyses

of power towards an understanding of power as embedded in concrete spaces

and bodily articulated. In this context, however, the body has been used "for contradictory

theoretical agenda" (Longhurst 2001: 19) supporting accounts of disciplinary

inscriptions of power as well as theories of empowerment and resistance.

This state of affairs i11ustratesLefebvre's remark on the body as a contested site that

"cannot be destroyed without destroying the social body itself: the carnal, earthly

Body is there, every day" (1976: 89). Lefebvre understands the body to be "the

point of return, the redress - not the Logos, nor 'the human'" (1976: 89). His antihumanism

turns the body into a differential space of hope in the midst of a growing

diversity and dysfunctionality of abstract space: "Can the body in its quest for

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vindication use the resulting interstices as its way back?" (1991: 388). Similarly,

much recent geographical work revolves around the body as simultaneously political

battleground and site of resistance.

Cresswell (1997; 1999) as well as Sibley (1995; 1999) study how spatial processes

of normalization and exclusion in the body politic are interdependent with the identification

of individual bodies in terms of deviance through which denigrating meanings

are mapped onto real or imagined embodied differences of, for example, female

tramps and hobos, travelers, or immigrant communities. Addressing the politicospatial

effects of bodily metaphors of displacement, Cresswell suggests a focus on

"geographical interpretation of metaphors as they are thought and acted out in the

realms of politics and ideology" (1997: 343), while Sibley relies on object relations

theory in his argument for the creation of "progressive, weakly bounded and

heterogeneous places" (1999: 127) that are inclusive of difference. In an article on

nineteenth-century San Francisco, Craddock studies "ways in which medical theory

produced Chinese bodies" (1999: 352) and how this medical framing was underpinned

by segregation, racialization, and pathologization of both spaces and bodies.

Craddock and Dorn focus on the geography of "nationbuilding through the lens of

medical discourse" (2001: 314) in a journal issue that explores how medical interpellations

of bodies support exclusionary constructions of national values and identity

through processes of othering in reference to health, hygiene, race, illness, and

disability.

Addressing the public/private dichotomy, Duncan (1996) focuses on the

public/private boundary as immediately related to a politics of the body, yet complexly

articulated and spatialized in relation to contested terrains of gender and state

intervention. Sharp (1996) explicates how the articulation of dichotomies such as

public/private, male/female, and worklhome in Eastern Europe under communism

continues to have an impact on social struggles concerning symbolic as well as productive

and reproductive linkages between women's bodies, the body politic, and

nationalist politics. On racialized and heteronormative politics related to issues of

public/private and state intervention, Elden argues that "sexual encoding of bodies

was part of the larger racial landscape in South Africa during apartheid" (1998:

162), while Kesby, likewise, in a study of postindependence developments in

Zimbabwe, shows that "the social construction of space and of gendered bodies is

interlinked" (1999: 27). Sensitive to issues of scale, Yeoh (1999) studies ritual practices

for dead bodies in Singapore, and how local communities' shifting perceptions

of such practices affect how the living situate themselves in the body politic in relation

to increasing secularization and nation-state policies and interventions.

The notion that resistance emerges out of embodied experiences just as much as

from conscious considerations has been invoked particularly in studies of colonial

and postcolonial contexts. In studying the gendering of bodies in rural Zimbabwe

as entangled with knowledge and power as well as with spatial scales, Kesby seeks

to "circumvent the material!textual binary" (1999: 31) in order to suggest new ways

of destabilizing patriarchy. In a study on colonial India, Mills discusses how "architectural

space affects social space" (1996: 126) with regard to how the spatial

microarticulation of the public/private dichotomy allowed indigenous and colonizing

women forms of spatial resistance through the body beyond "notions of

confinement" (1996: 142). In her work on Latin America, Radcliffe asserts that

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"embodied subjectivities lie at a threshold of power, material resistance and representation"

(1999a: 221) and concludes that the "constant ordering work of nation,

race and gender nevertheless leaves interstices from which other orders, other geographies

can be imagined and spoken" (1999b: 226). Similarly close to Lefebvre's

notions, Pile, in his analysis of the spatialities of social struggle in colonial Algeria,

suggests that resistance is a form of embodied creativity which employs and invents

"discontinuous spaces ... that lie beyond 'power'" (1997: 14,5).

*The economy and the body*

The body is indeed a complex phenomenon, not least in relation to the capitalist

space economy, which stakes out the body in a number of ways. First, the body is

a commodity in its bare existence, as body parts and transplants on the organ

market. Secondly, the body is a labor market commodity, as differentiated labor

power in terms of manual, white collar, gendered, racialized, and so forth. Thirdly,

the body is a site of survival needs and thus a site of consumption: of foods, clothes,

housing, medical care, physical aids, and so forth. Fourthly, the body is a site of

emotions, of desire and pleasure, with the effect of giving any kind of consumption

symbolic signifying values while simultaneously enabling the emergence of a bodyrelated

economy of signs more or less disconnected from survival needs. In different

ways, geographers have recently suggested that these four aspects are complexly

entangled in one another. Harvey stresses that the body can never be free of capitalism's

effects, which, however, will look "very different from the standpoints of

production, exchange, and consumption" (1998: 414). Seager, in addressing sexuality

and exploitation, points out that "[tjhe world is lashed by networks of space,

place, and economy that depend on the display, exchange, control, and use of

women's bodies" (1997: 1522), and Knopp remarks that "the sociospatial construction

of otherness, which has as much to do with representational and symbolic

space as with physical space, has become key to the survival of capitalism" (1992:

664).

Some Marxist geographers have engaged with the notion of spatial scales

(Brenner 1998; Smith 1993; Harvey 2000) in order to come to terms with the place

of the body in the shifting landscape of capitalism. Hence, Smith outlines an incornplete

and open-ended hierarchical typology that "stretches from the body to the

global" (1993: 102), while Harvey sets out to elaborate a "foundational connexion"

between the two based upon the fact that "globalization is about the sociospatial

relations between billions of individuals" (2000: 16). Other geographical

research exemplifies Lefebvre's general position that the body is "the generator (or

producer) of space" (1991: 407), and suggests that the body, rather than being a

discrete spatial scale, is nested with and constitutive of all spatial scales. Pred has

posed the question: "Where are those social and economic practices, those routine

and nonroutine daily practices, which do not involve embodied-corpo-real subjects?"

(1995: 1066). In line with such reasoning, the economic deployment of

bodies and interdependent construction of spatial scales are addressed in case studies

such as Stewarťs (1995b) study of slave codes as legal geographies that constituted

the slave body, sovereign power and the plantation as a racialized spatial unit of

exploitation, and in Pratťs work (1998) on how disciplinary subjectivation constrained

domestic workers required to live in the middle-class Canadian homes of

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their employers. Yet, the issue of how spatial scales of capitalism are constructed

through embodied practices concerns not only bodies enslaved. Bell and Valentine

(1997) study how differentiated practices of shopping, preparing, and consuming

food contribute to the shaping of distinct kinds of bodies, as well as to the structuring

of "interconnections and disjunctions between scales" (1997: 207). Studying

merchant banks, McDowell and Court (1994) and McDowell (1995) demonstrate

how banking practices in the City of London are embodied gendered performances

based upon power asymmetries and scripts firmly rooted in heteronormativity (see

also Pile & Thrift 1995), while Hinchcliffe (2000) and Thrift (2000) engage in discussions

of how business management has turned to issues of embodiment and nonrepresentationallearning

processes in order to produce managers able to speed-up

an already fast-moving global economy.

These examples illustrate that economic processes unavoidably pass through and

make use of bodies that are concretely situated and complexly enmeshed in networks

of social and cultural practices (see also Binnie 1995; Gibson-Graham 1998;

Longhurst 2001; Massey 1994; Pratt 1998; Thrift 1996; Valentine 1999a, 1999b).

In this vein, geographers convincingly argue that what some would call "the prevailing

structures of political-economic power" (Harvey 1998: 420) cannot be

reified as something global in contradistinction to a separate scale of the body, but

that they are in themselves local embodied practices of decision-making particularly

concentrated in white, upper-class males embedded in particular ways of being in

a few select locations of power and privilege.

*Impairment, i/lness, and the body*

Some of the most integrative work on body and space has been written by scholars

engaged in geographies of health and healthcare especially concerned with

impairment and disability issues. Dorn's contention that "sorne poststructural feminists

ignore institutional sedimentations in the built environrnent" (1998: 183)

points to the fact that disability cannot be framed as a purely social relation in terms

of how 'norma\' bodies and 'disableď bodies are discursively constructed due to

prejudices and so forth. Disability issues unavoidably invoke spatiality and questions

concerning physical constraints that contribute to the construction of impaired

bodies *as* disabled and disempowered (see, for overviews, Gleeson 1999a; Imrie

1996a; Park, Radford, and Vickers 1998; Parr 2002a; Parr & Butler 1999).

However, Dorn, in focusing up on how medical theory has been applied to give

spaces and "anomalous bodies meaning" (1999: 46), makes the point that geographers

themselves too easily have adopted disabling positions and need to "acknowledge

the spatio-temporal structuring of the definition(s) of disability that they work

with" (1999: 63). Considering such issues, Moss and Dyck argue that "the social

model of disability, that emphasizes the social construction of disability through

physical and social barriers, ... did not take into account the nuances of bodily

being that feminism has been able to provide" (2002: 12-13). In a study on possible

effects of the Internet on experiences of health and bodily being, Parr discusses

the tensions between a spatiotechnological expansion of the medical gaze through

self-diagnosed inscription, and "the potential for an emancipatory disruption of the

traditional canons" (2002b: 86) facilitated by internet users' access to alternative

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accounts, networks of support, and other sources for increased control of their own

bodies.

lmrie and Hall (2001) focus upon the needs of people with impairments in a critical

discussion of the professions particularly involved in shaping built space. ln this

research, the exclusionary character of ableist spaces is discussed in terms of careless

planning and design, which contribute to the "estrangement of disabled bodies

in the built environment" (lmrie 1999: 38). While sensitive collaborative design

practices (Gathorne-Hardy 1999) and technological innovations (Golledge 1993,

1997) are suggested as remedies, the exclusionary landscapes of ableism are also

seen as integrated parts of a capitalist space-economy that has "progressively devalued

the labour-power of physically impaired people" (Gleeson 1999b: 109; see also

Gleeson 1996; Golledge 1996; lmrie 1996b). Critical of technological utopianism,

Gleeson rather asks for "a lasting transformation of the political-economic, institutional

and cultural forces that shape our cities and societies" (1999b: 115). In general

agreement with such a position, Dyck (1999), Moss and Dyck (1996, 2002), and

Dyck and Moss (1999) address how women with chronic illness and disability forge

their identities as corporeal sites of inscription and resistance at both home and work

in relation to the multiple forces and social scripts that structure embodiment, while

Butler and Bowlby discuss how estrangement and resistance in public spaces are

related to both negotiation of constraints in physical space and oppressive "social

discourses concerning disability and public behaviour" (1997: 428; see also Parr

1997). Touching upon aspects of such discourses in their interpretation of attitude

surveys, Dear et al. suggest that the spatial repercussions of public opinions about

disabled bodies can be understood in terms of a "landscape of (in)tolerance" (1997:

471; see also Gleeson 1997). In relation to encounters with intolerance, Dorn

discusses embodied ways of knowing and being of a self-designated 'cripple' as

"part of a counter-hegemonic field" (1998: 198), while Chouinard (1999a, 1999b)

approaches experiences of disabled women's political activism as a form of resistance

to the ranking of "bodies marked by difference" in a "corporeal class system"

governed by "powerful groups such as capitalists" (1999b: 292).

Yet, capitalists come in different shapes, colors, and sizes, and the notion of a

ranking system implies that othering concerns processes of hierarchization beyond

both capitalist relations, and relations between an able-bodied heterosexual majority

and different minorities. Hence, Valentine touches upon relations of power cutting

across diverse social categories in a study of an impaired ex-miner's contradictory

experiences and "the complex relationships which exist between hegemonic masculinities

and disabled masculinities" (1999c: 168). Pain, Mowl, and Talbot (2000)

point to overlapping effects of ableism and ageism in a study of older people and

leisure spaces. Butler explicitly reflects upon "how and at what cost disabled people

remain marginalised in the gay 'community,'" in which "obsessions with the perfect

body ... run deep" (1999: 203). She thereby raises questions concerning the

omnipresence of power-relations and how they are embodied by individuals belonging

to groups normally thought of as oppressed rather than oppressors.

*Senses, practices, and nonrepresentationa/ bodies*

The body is deeply implicated in geographers' rethinking of vision and visualism,

as well as in nonrepresentational theory and research on practices and the senses.

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ln a humanistic quest to "explore the possibilities of otherscapes" (1990: 17), Porteous

stresses that "[w]e live in a multisensory world, an allscape" (1990: 196), and

Sui (2000) explores visualism in relation to epistemological and political implications

of a recent shift towards aural metaphors, which in his view "represents a significant

- if stili nascent - reconfiguration of geographical discourse during the late

twentieth century" (2000: 334). In essence, this reconfiguration concerns more than

metaphors, and within the broad field of work under discussion here, approaches

can be differentiated with regard to focus as well as theories employed.

Recent work on body-space formation through sound accompany the shift

towards aural metaphors. The aural sensing of space is a key aspect of a study on

warehouse parties, in which Ingham et a!. (1999) discuss how a specific place is

defined through practices centered on the particular music played and the properties

of sound. Explicitly suggesting an analysis "beyond geography's visible worlds,"

Smith (1997) turns to the role of music in delimiting and spatializing identities of

places as well as people. Continuing this path, Smith (2000) explores practices of

performance and listening in terms of sonic knowledges and as embodied mediation

of power relations and particular social and spatial protocols. Addressing the

politics of auditory space, Revill points out that music is "almost uniquely polysemic"

(2000: 605), yet gains authority and contributes to the construction of

national identity through the time and place specific embodiment of musical

meaning. In an edited volume on the role of music in the construction of place and

scale, Leyshon, Matless, and Revill (1998) collect essays that include analyses of

multisensuous and particularly sonoric landscapes of politics and place identity.

ln a synthetic account of geographies of subjectivity and spatial behavior, Pile

builds upon Freud, Lacan, and Lefebvre in suggesting "a psychoanalysis of space

which correlates sexuality, geographic space and power with the body, meaning and

(real, imaginary, symbolic) spatialities" (1996: 217). Yet, his treatise ends where a

case-based and grounded psychoanalysis involving real spaces and real bodies would

have begun. Suggesting a feminist revision of Lacan, Rose invokes "the existence of

other visualised spaces of self/knowledge" (1995: 761) than those of phallocentric

masculinism, while Nast and Kobayashi (1996) argue that "recorporealizing vision"

makes it possible to distinguish between different modalities of masculinities and

thereby to refine forms of resistance against heteropatriarchy (see also Pile 1996:

217). Nash (1994, 1996) turns to feminist art in searching for nonpassive depictions

of the female body, identity, and landscape, and "reclaims" vision for a geography

of landscape seen from subject positions that are not inherently oppressive.

Related concerns inform Latham's exploration of "tactile, bodily, [and] habitually

grounded practices" (1999: 452) in a reading of Walter Benjamin that suggests a

non-authoritarian auratic experience "that undermines any dominance of the self

over the object" (1999: 467).

ln his critique of phallocentric abstract visualist space, Gregory calls on

Lefebvre's unfinished project "to connect the history of the body with the history

of space" (1994: 416). Lefebvre asserts such a connection in stating that capitalist

development includes a process "whereby the visual gains the upper hand over the

other senses" that ultimately reaches a point where "space has no social existence

independently of an intense, aggressive and repressive visualization" (1991: 286).

ln addressing multisensuous and nonlinguistic signifying practices, Landzelius

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(2001) discusses the segmentation of the body as a historico-spatial phenomenon

of reciprocal interdependence with specific features of the built environment. Law

(2001) argues that the senses *are* a situated practice, which Filipino migrants creatively

engage to reconstruct multisensuous embodied experiences of home as well

as to position themselves in new spaces of power. Relating similar concerns to epistemology,

Harrison (2000) argues that mindJbody dualism and notions of the body

as a social effect have to do with how practices and "the *configuring* roles of the

body" (2000: 504) are neglected in established discourse.

Geographical work in nonrepresentational theory and actor-network theory conceives

of the mind-body-space nexus in terms of heterogeneous hybrid associations

of networked 'actants' that include humans and animals as well as material constructs.

This entails fundameritally rethinking agency and suggests that there are

fuzzy boundaries between aspects and parts of 'humans' and 'things' normally

understood to be discrete ontological entities (see Murdoch 1997a, 1997b; Nash

2000; Thrift 1996, 1997b, 1999; Whatmore 1999). Although sympathetic, Pred

(2004) claims that actor-network theory "inadequately deals with power relations"

in its primary concern with how networks form and develop, when power relations

actually come in "myriad forms." Based on the position that "because of our

corpo-reality ... there is always a thereness, a somewhereness, a here-and-nowness

to practice" (2004), Pred himself has in a long series of theoretically informed

case studies focused on "embodied engagement in situated practices and the power

relations and meanings with which they are unboundedly interfused" (1995:

1068).

**Body-Space Reciprocity**

Geography is concerned with the triad of economy, society and culture as spatialized,

and the themes discussed above suggest that this spatialized triad must be

understood through the body. The question of the geographical specificity of the

body thus concerns the ways in which spaces emerge and are shaped interdependently

with bodies. Geographical work in epistemology suggests that a shift towards

the body and notions of positionality mu st be accompanied by an exploration of

other forms of embodied, multisensuous, knowledge of spaces. Research on the

body in relation to politics and economics suggests that matters of domina ti on and

exploitation, and questions of 'overarching' 'global' scales and processes, must be

understood in terms of situated practices, and thus in reach of various forms of

embodied attempts to resist and rescale present relations of power. Inquiries into

issues of impairment and disability produce knowledge of how physical as well as

discursive social constructs constrain bodies that is of relevance not only for emancipating

'devianť bodies, but also for imagining possibilities beyond the everyday

confines of 'normality.' Research into senses other than vision and the related stress

on nonrepresentational, embodied ways of knowing in and through practices ma ke

the insufficiency of discursive approaches to the body-space nexus particularly clear.

Yet, I suggest that an embodied geography needs mediating concepts in theorizing

the interdependent formation of bodies and spaces. The shaping of a body takes

place through the senses, it is through the faculties of sight, hearing, smell, taste and

touch including motility, that 'performative interpellations' (see Butler 1990; Nash

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2000; elson 1999; Rose 1997, 1999) of bodies take place, and without the senses,

an individual can take part in neither space nor discourse. Rodaway (1994) maps

sensuous geographies across the world with regard to how different spaces enable

and constrain practices in distinct kinds of ways, and thus result in different sensuous

orderings of the body. In consideration of social interaction and psychological

factors, such sensuous orderings can be articulated as the formation through

reiterative practices of an individual's specific 'postural model of the body' (Schilder

1935; Merleau-Ponty 1962), 'habitual body' (Merleau-Ponty 1962), 'bodily hexis'

(Bourdieu 1990), or 'body idiom' (Goffman 1963). Feminists such as Butler (1990),

Grosz (1994), and Young (1990a) critique these authors to the extent that women's

experiences are subordinated to a male norm, yet tend to agree that their ideas

represent "enormously useful rethinking of mind/body relations" and contribute

"crucial insights about the forms and structure of human embodiment" (Grosz

1994: 82, 108, on Schilder and Merleau-Ponty).

However, such body-concepts need to be articulated in conjunction with the spatially

embedded process of incorporation, including the actual sensuous interpellations

and practices by which the malleability of bodies is turned into the relative

firmness of posture and flesh. Lefebvre's account of social space as power-laden

and historico-geographically specific revolves around a usually overlooked notion

of "formants" (1991: 285-91) that deeply implicate the body and the senses (see

also Landzelius 2001: 170-3). In recursive fashion, formants differ between soci0-

historical constellations, are enacted in spatial practice, affect social relations, and

are materialized as sensuous hierarchies in the postural models of bodies as well as

in built space. In further elaborating the geographical specificity of the body, concepts

such as 'postural models' and 'formants' are useful. Not only do they direct

attention to how malleable bodies are worked upon by situated interaction with

other bodies differentiated in terms of particular postural model s of class, gender,

sexuality, race, ethnicity, disability, age, illness, and so forth. They also offer ways

to understand how malleable bodies both work upon *and* are worked upon by a

bui1t space of sensuous hierarchies which in itself is continually reconfigured in terms

of how, which, and where functions are enabled and constrained through situated

practices of architectural-material sedimentation.

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