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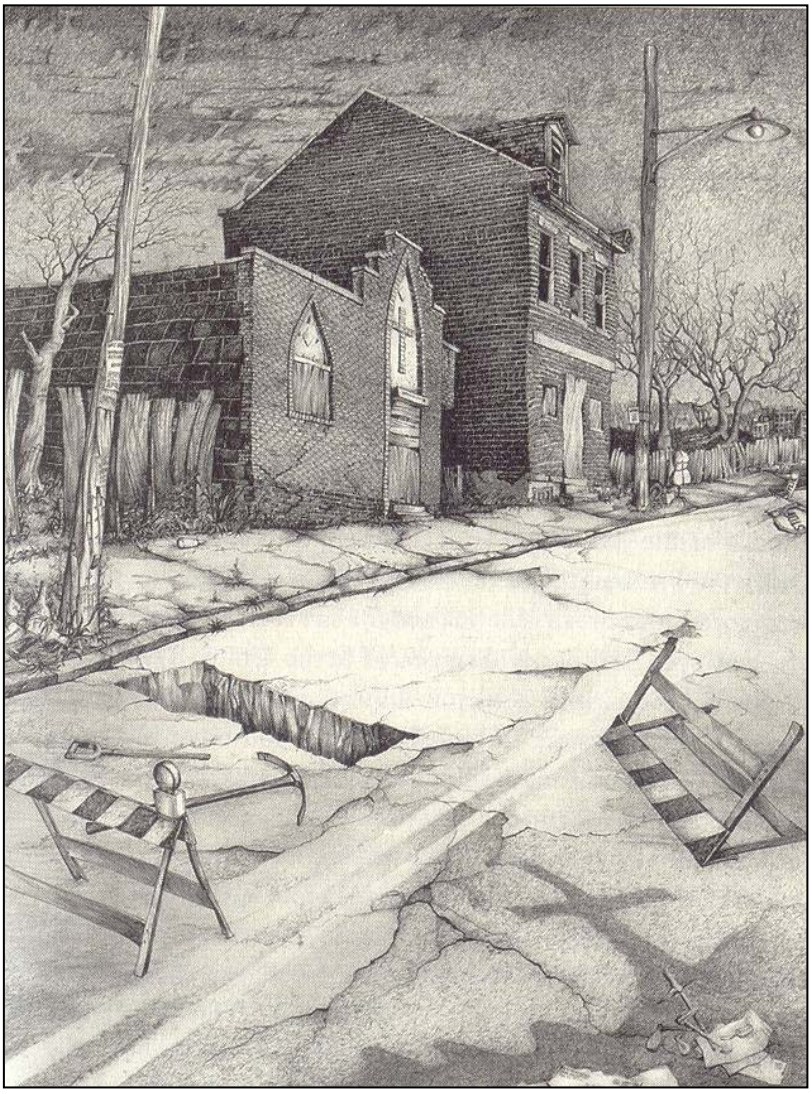
This issue of *EAP* begins our 16th year. We thank the 66 readers who have renewed their subscriptions and include reminders for delinquent readers.

We are pleased with the contributions to this issue for a number of reasons. As readers know, we regularly request student work, and the two featured essays this issue are by **Rodney Teague** and **Curtis Thorpe**, both graduate students in the Department of Psychology at Pittsburgh's Duquesne University.



Since the 1960s, Duquesne has been a center of "empirical" phenomenological research, and we are happy to showcase some of the most recent Duquesne work here. Teague's essay draws upon the ideas of French phenomenologist Gaston Bachelard's *Poetics of Space* to interpret young children's experience of their classroom, while Thorpe uses a qualitative approach to explore residents' recollections of growing up in the "Hill District"—a largely African-American neighborhood in Pittsburgh.

Both Teague and Thorpe's essays were originally research papers written for **Eva-Maria Simms**, an Associate Professor of Psychology at Duquesne, who has recently been conducting research on childhood urban neighborhoods. We are pleased to include Simms' review of psychiatrist **Mindy Thompson Fullilove's** *Root Shock*—a study of the traumatic impact that urban renewal has had on African-American neighborhoods in America. One of the neighborhoods that Fullilove examines in her book is Pittsburgh's Hill District—the same neighborhood that Thorpe discusses in his essay.

Left: "Stream of Consciousness," a drawing from Mindy Thompson Fullilove's Root Shock *(see review on p. 3) by artist Carlos Peterson, a resident of Pittsburgh's Hill District. Deeply upset by the destruction of his neighborhood because of urban renewal, Peterson worked to record the emotional impact the environmental devastation had on him. Note Peterson's profile in prone position near the horizon just beyond the fence, upper right. Drawings © 2005 Carlos F. Peterson. We thank him for permission to reproduce his work in this issue of* EAP.

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We are grateful to the following readers who have contributed more than the base subscription for 2005. Our membership is fragile, and we could not continue without your support. Thank you all.

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Items of Interest

Renew the Face of the Earth: Phenomenology and Ecology is a conference to be held 11-12 March 2005, as the The Simon Silverman Phenomenology Center of Duquesne University in Pittsburgh celebrates its 25th anniversary. Keynote speakers are **David Abram**, Alliance for Wild Ethics, New Mexico; **Andy Fisher**, Private Practice, Ontario; **Don Ihde**, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, NY; and **David Seamon**, Kansas State University. The symposium will take place on the Duquesne University campus. Contact: Daniel J. Martino, 412 396-6038; martino@duq.edu.

The 24th annual **International Human Research Science Conference** will be held at the University of Bournemouth, UK, 10-13 August 2005. The conference theme will be values and human science research. Paper abstracts will be due in March. For further information, go to: www.ihsrc05.com. The on-line newsletter of IHRSC is available at: http://www.seattleu.edu/artsci/psychology/ihsr.asp.

The **Society for Phenomenology and Media** invites submission of abstracts for the 7th Annual international Phenomenology and Media Conference, 12-14 May 2005, in Cannon Beach, Oregon. The theme of this year's conference is Media and Education. Topics may include, but are not limited to, phenomenological analysis or discussion relating to curriculum, pedagogy, environment, body, and world. www.wou.edu/spm/.

Research News & Opportunities in Science and Theology is a monthly newspaper-formatted periodical that provides articles, interviews, reviews, and news relating to the interface between science and religion. Subscriptions are $10/yr. 1-866-363-2306; www.researchnews.org.

Membership News

Paul Memmott is Director of the Aboriginal Environments Research Centre (AERC), a largely, self-supporting resource and research centre based in the School of Geography, Planning and Architecture at the University of Queensland (Australia). AERC focuses on the cultures and environments of Indigenous peoples. Contact: www.aboriginalenvironments.com

Miriam Steiner Davis is a doctoral student in the human dimensions of natural resource management. Her research examines the meaning of land for private forest landowners as a means of informing the practice of natural resource professionals. Her other interests include sense of place, place attachment, and the language of place especially as it relates to the interaction between private forest landowners and natural resource professionals: “I have found that the languages of land and place are rich with hidden meanings and different definitions and concepts, adding a further layer to understanding the experience of landowners.” Department of Forestry, Wildlife, and Resource Management, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996.

Urban Renewal and the Destruction of African-American Neighborhoods

Eva-Maria Simms

Mindy Thompson Fullilove, 2004. *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: Ballantine Books.

I first heard of Mindy Thompson Fullilove during a research project on childhood spaces that I conducted with my students in Pittsburgh's Hill District, an ailing inner-city neighborhood. During our tour of the neighborhood and in discussions with activists and residents, Fullilove's name came up frequently, always spoken with great fondness and awe.

In the Hill House Community Center, I saw the map of the 12 blocks of the Hill marked with colored tape: Fullilove's Neighborhood Burn Index, a neighborhood map she created with the residents to examine and diagnose the amount of damage to each lot and block.

Like a medical burn index (which shows the amount of skin-damage caused by fire and indicates the patient's chances for survival), the Neighborhood Burn Index map showed firsthand the destruction the Hill had undergone during urban renewal projects since the 1950s: abandoned buildings, empty storefronts, struggling churches, and many trashed and needle-infested empty lots.

But the map also revealed the hidden strength of the neighborhood: surprising business entrepreneurship in some blocks, some lovely historical structures, and flourishing well-cared-for homes and gardens of residents who refused to give up a neighborhood they had loved for decades.

Fullilove's work helped to inspire the Hill District community to come together and articulate what they needed and wanted from their neighborhood, and gave them a tool for thinking about the development of their neighborhood as a whole so that they could work with Pittsburgh city planners more coherently and confidently.

In turn, the Hill District neighbors helped to inspire Fullilove to write her book *Root Shock,* which is a critical analysis of the historical process and emotional impact of African-American displacement in the wake of the Urban Renewal movement. Besides Pittsburgh's Hill District, Fullilove also examines the history of black displacement in Newark, New Jersey, and Roanoke, Virginia.

An Archipelago Nation

During two great waves of immigration (1910—1930 and 1940—1970), millions of black rural people left the South and settled in major cities in the Northeast and Midwest. While early in the 20th century 90 percent of African-Americans were rural, one century later 90 percent were urban.

Forced to settle in the dilapidated immigrant neighborhoods of the inner city, African-American families, unlike other immigrants, could not "move up" and leave the neighborhood. Segregation created "islands of black life"—black "archipelagoes" as Fullilove calls it:

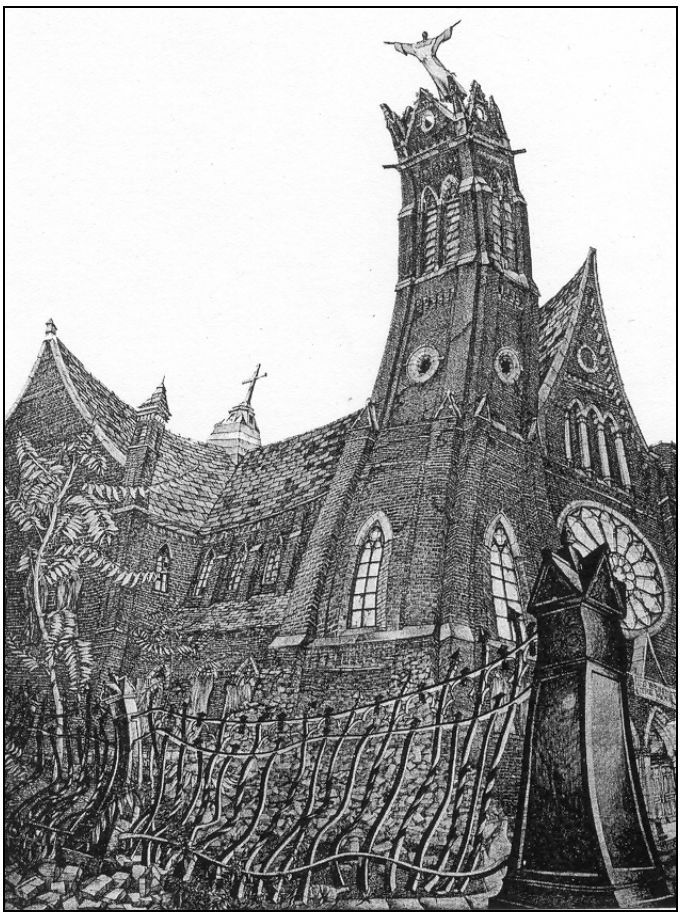
> The creation of the archipelago nation had two consequences for African-Americans. The first is that the ghettos became the center of black life; the second is that the walls of the ghetto, like other symbols of segregation, became objects of hatred. In this ambivalent love/hate relationship, it was impossible to choose to dwell. Yet people did choose to make life as vibrant and happy as they possibly could (p. 27).

And vibrant it was. Fullilove pays the greatest compliment to Pittsburgh's Hill District when she says that "among the truly magic places on earth is the Hill District in Pittsburgh. I believe that pound

for pound the Hill District was the most generative black community in the United States" (p. 29).

Next to New York and Chicago, Pittsburgh's Wylie Avenue was *the* center for Jazz; civic organizations flourished and organized life in the ghetto; children were cherished, educated, and supported by the community; and neighbors engaged in the daily "sidewalk ballet" between home, shops, work places, and the entertainment venues of bars, clubs, sandlot ball fields, and picnic places.

The street was the stage for public life, and adults and children were outside all the time, sitting on stoops, playing in the alleys, walking to see and be seen, talking with neighbors and friends. The closeness of the houses created a strong sense of community and shared public life, and the inhabitants of a particular block knew each other well and watched out for each other's children.



"At Freedom Corner," another drawing by Carlos F. Peterson depicting the gradual collapse of Pittsburgh's Hill District in the aftermath of urban renewal. Pittsburgh civil rights marches began at this corner, hence the drawing's title.

Stages of Devastation

According to Fullilove's estimates, between 1950 and 1980, 1600 black neighborhoods like the Hill District were demolished by urban renewal. The process of destruction followed a similar pattern:

1. The inner city neighborhood, usually close to the desirable downtown business district, was declared "blighted" because of its old and cramped housing stock. Fullilove quotes the chilling statement of George Evans, a city councilman who laid the groundwork for Pittsburgh's urban renewal plan in 1943:

> Approximately 90 per cent of the buildings in the area are substandard and have long outlived their usefulness, and so there would be no social loss if they were all destroyed. The area is crisscrossed with streets running every which way, which absorb at least one-third of the area. These streets should all be vacated and a new street pattern overlaid. This would effect a saving of probably 100 acres now used for unnecessary streets" (p. 61).

African-American ghettos, social scientists concluded, were disorganized, which is another word for "no social loss."

2. The city appropriated large chunks of the neighborhood by claiming "eminent domain," which forced home owners to sell their properties to the city for minimal compensation. There are estimates that urban renewal in Pittsburgh caused the displacement of 15—20,000 people. In Detroit, Fullilove says, 8,000 housing units were demolished; in Newark, 12,000 families were displaced; and in New Haven, 6,500 homes were destroyed.

3. The cities promised new housing stock, but they set out to build the typical high-rise housing projects, often with years of delay between demolition and rebuilding, which forced the residents to leave their neighborhood:

> The American planners… cleared broad swaths of land for Corbusian parks; had little control over rebuilding, which was sometimes separated by decades from the demolition phase of a project; and placed… unreasonable burdens on the poor and the people of color…. Indeed, in looking at American urban renewal projects I am reminded more of wide area bombing… than of elegant city design (p. 70).

The Undoing of Kindness

The kindness [in urban ghettos] had multiple sources. One source was the church, and particularly the churches imported from the South, which had a history of being the kindly bulwark against oppression….

But there were other sources of kindness. The gardeners who planted crops in small backyards, had produce to share. The men of many professions who managed the streets minded the wild children, to limit as much as possible their descent into harm. The musicians and dancers and athletes gave content to consciousness: ideas to think about and access to the tools of creation….

Kindness worked through the collective as both buffer and glue. It was a force for tolerance and respect: it was not a guard-all shield. Kindness did not stop child molesting, it did not stop wife beating, it did not prevent children from torturing each other, it did not prevent unemployment. It did ooze into the interstices to ease the pain of all these things….

Kindness declined after the rupture of community. Arleen Ollie of Roanoke noted that, when she graduated from college in 1995, no one was glad for her. In the old days her Roanoke neighborhood would have celebrated what she'd accomplished.

What happened to the kindness? Why wasn't it re-created?

Certainly, after urban renewal, individuals remained kind, and organizations continued to nurture rituals of concern. The field of dispersion, however, appears to have altered substantially. In the compact space of the ghetto, a tight field of activity was created, through which acts and words might pass quickly. It was possible to know of someone's pain or glory, and to respond as needed. Actions toward others were permitted and expected. They were extended with the consent of the community, and received in that same vein. This passage through the field of the community, with the consent of the community, meant that the sense of kindness was everywhere, at least within the community.

The shattering of the field, which is a principal outcome of urban renewal, had an enormous effect on kindness because kindness was passed through the field. In the aftermath of urban renewal, individuals were preoccupied with making a new life, and perhaps they could not be as kind as they had been previously. At the same time, given the loss of the field, the kindness did not extend as far as it had before. The buffering effect of the kindness was lost, and the negative behaviors and attitudes that had always been present were given greater scope. Given the other difficulties that were to come, the decline in kindness, however small, triggered a downward trend in kindness over the ensuing decades (pp. 121-23).

A Staggering Social Cost

The social cost of urban renewal to the African-American community was staggering. In Pittsburgh the whole Lower Hill, which was the business and entertainment district for the residents, was bulldozed, an action that displaced thousands of people into the already crowded Upper Hill or into the few outlying suburbs where black people were allowed to live.

Urban renewal destroyed the economic and social structure of a vibrant, functioning neighborhood and left the inhabitants displaced and dispersed. Fullilove calls the psychological effect of this displacement *root shock*—the "traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem" (p. 11).

Places, as Fullilove argues eloquently, are not just bricks and mortar for providing shelter:

> Buildings and neighborhoods and nations are insinuated into us by life. We are not, as we like to think, independent of them. We are more like Siamese twins, conjoined to the locations of our daily life, such that our emotions flow through places, just as blood flows through two interdependent people (p. 10).

The place we call home is inscribed into our bodies, the street we call ours is the setting for our communal longing and belonging, our neighborhood is the first world we know as a child. The bulldozing of the urban renewal projects did not merely destroy bricks and mortar but devastated the emotional landscape of African-American communities.

Root shock destroys the working individual's model of the world and undermines trust; destabilizes relationships; creates anxiety; destroys social, emotional and financial resources; and makes people chronically cranky and sick by increasing stress-related illnesses

like depression and heart attack. It disperses the community and destroys the web of familiarity and connection which are part of a healthy society.

Respecting Human Rights

Fullilove tallies the cost of Urban Renewal not only in the traumatic displacement of the African-American community, but also the effects it has had on American cities in general: rioting ghettos in the 1960s; burned-out inner cities, drug and crime problems in the 1970s; poverty and the destruction of many African American families in the 1980s; and, in the 1990s, failing inner city schools that have to cope with the social and emotional problems of children who grow up surrounded by poverty, drugs, and violence without the protection of a caring community.

Deeply influenced by the work of the French urbanist Michel Cantal-Dupart, Fullilove has helped organize African-American neighborhoods into think-tanks of urban communal design. She brought together community residents and activists, architects, academics, and urban planners to empower the Hill residents to work for change in their neighborhood. Together they have formulated a call for respecting human rights in the city:

- **Respect the common life the way you would an individual life.** The net of human relationships is precious and helps each person survive and thrive.
- **Treasure the buildings history has given us.** New development has to connect and complement historical living structures.
- **Break the cycle of disinvestment.** Identify the weakest parts of a neighborhood and work to heal them so that more reinvestment will follow.
- **Insure freedom of movement.** All places must be connected to each other to ensure free movement; in short, break down the walls of the ghetto.

Making Grief Beautiful

Fullilove's book powerfully shows the intersection between urban design and community life. As a psychiatrist, she is sensitive to the emotional dimension of individual and community life that urban places make possible. As an African-American woman, she can speak with authority about the plight of our inner cities. As an activist, she has earned the respect and love of at least one great city neighborhood, Pittsburgh's Hill District.

Last spring I walked with some neighbors through the Hill District. Every empty lot seemed filled with memories of the structures and activities that had once been there: "Remember the store that was here… Remember the movies we watched here every Sunday afternoon… I wonder what happened to so and so who lived here…"

The loss of the old buildings meant the loss of one's neighbors, the loss of the communal sidewalk ballet, and the loss of a co-living urban community. Fullilove has worked with neighborhoods like the Hill District to find ways of telling the story of displacement and grieving for the visible loss as a first step in healing inner city neighborhoods. "You can make something beautiful of your grief," a former Hill district resident said to her.

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Pittsburgh's "Hill District" as Recollected by Adults when They Were Ten Years Old

Curtis E. Thorpe

Thorpe recently completed his master's degree in Psychology at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. Thorpe's work was part of a larger research project on childhood neighborhoods directed by Dr. Eva-Maria Simms at Duquesne University. An earlier version of this essay was presented as a paper in a special session, "The Lived-Space of Childhood," held at the International Human Research Science Conference, 5-8 August 2004, Brock University, St. Catherine's, Ontario. curtisthorpe@excite.com © 2005 Curtis E. Thorpe.

The Hill District, known to Pittsburghers as "The Hill," is a large, mostly African-American neighborhood located on a hillside overlooking the Pittsburgh cityscape.

In the qualitative research presented here, I interviewed African-Americans who at some point in their lives had lived or live in the Hill District. These current and former residents were asked to recall what The Hill neighborhood was like when they were around the age of ten. They were also asked to draw a sketch of their neighborhood at that time.

One aim of this research was to explore the rich history of the Hill District. Famous jazz musicians such as Miles Davis, Billy Eckstine and Billy Strayhorn frequently performed on the Hill, while television programs—most famously, *Hill Street Blues*—have been based on the neighborhood.

The collecting of qualitative descriptions in the vernacular of the present culture allows a collective story to emerge and paints a striking verbal picture of the Hill District as a vital place in residents' lives.

Learning about the Hill

Participants for this study were contacted through neighborhood organizations, and no one interested was turned down. In the interview, participants were asked to think back to the year when they were around ten and living on The Hill.

In most cases, the interview took the shape of old friends reminiscing. There was laughter and smiles and sometimes tears because the memories were so good and powerful or because the neighborhood has been lost to drugs or crime. Overall, people seemed generally happy with doing the interview.

The mapping portion of the interview proved a challenge for most participants, who said they were not artists and thus felt their drawings would not be good. Participants were asked to begin their map by locating the house where he or she lived. From there, participants were asked to provide a tour of their ten-year-old world. Participants were told to mark their school (and church, if applicable) on the map. Other detailed locales and places were selected by the participants.

After completing the map, participants were asked how the Hill had changed since their childhood. This question often led to a change in mood. The laughs were gone and so were the smiles. The change for most of the people in this study meant a change for the worse. Crime, drugs, and poverty were all mentioned as representative of the change that happened on the Hill.

A Street & Some Houses

Most of the participants in this study saw the Hill at the age of ten as a small world consisting mostly of one main street with several key homes around it.

These micro-communities had both positive and negative impact on the community.

Florence, a woman who lived on the Hill for over seventy years, drew her community as a circle outside a circle. The outer, larger circle was Addison Terrace, a curved street along which were identical red-brick buildings three stories high and originally military barracks. Pointing to the smaller inner circle and labeling it "white," she explained that "The white people" [a Jewish community] lived there."

For Florence, Addison Terrace seemed to be the only dividing place. The children from both races played with each other and attended school together. Florence went on to say that the black children capitalized on the piety of the Jewish people by turning off their lights for a nickel when religious practices prevented them from doing it themselves.

On a map drawn by another participant named Juan, the community was identified as one street and the barrack projects described by Florence. Juan's play area was confined—just the space between these buildings. He remembered the playground as dangerous because of broken equipment and explained that it was eventually placed "off limits." Juan talked about times before this happened as moments of joy and adventure. He recollected how the borders of his community moved in closer when the playground was closed.

A participant named LaTonya drew a circular space to explain her world at ten, which, similar to Florence's and Juan's, was the playground surrounded by the barrack housing. LaTonya saw her community as having boundaries all around her. Another participant, Priscilla, drew a map with one street and two boxes off the street toward the top of the paper. The street included her house, while the boxes represented her school and church. With the exception of those two places, her entire world existed on the one street.

A Small World

It is imperative to emphasize that all my participants saw their ten-year-old world as very small. Participant descriptions suggest that parents raised not only their own children but felt responsible for raising all the children in their immediate community. Having a child made you responsible for all the children in your neighborhood.

Each participant talked about being raised by people who cared. In some cases, a grandma lived nearby and was an integral part of family activities. Sometimes she was the main attraction and intimately included because she had successfully raised her children. Grandma, for most of the people interviewed, was a nice elderly woman who could turn into a strict disciplinarian if need be. Anyone who had children could correct any of the children, thus it was hard not to know your neighbor. At the very least, you had to know whether or not they had children.

A Solid Sense of Place

A positive feature of smallness indicated by the interviews is a solid sense of place. People in a small world are memorable. They become familiar and from there they become part of the oneness of the community. A small neighborhood offered a space where children felt safe and could readily figure out what the neighborhood expected from them.

A participant named Claudia said that "we had to stay around the house on our street." Claudia told stories about going to her grandmother's house and how over the telephone her mother and grandmother would pass sight of the children as they walked from one house to the other. Claudia knew that this was going on, and on one level she expected it.

Within the neighborhood, children found safe places to explore—for example, Claudia could investigate her grandmother's house and a third-floor apartment where her cousin lived: "I used to like to go into his apartment and be nosy." Claudia could be "nosy" there because she felt safe.

A participant named Stephen explored the wooded areas around his neighborhood. Stephen described times where his group of friends would start a pit fire in the woods and cook potatoes. Because these kids were all known in the neighborhood, it was possible to start a fire without raising questions because the adults knew that the children were exploring their world. Being safe meant being

close. The fires were no threat because the children were always close to watchful adults.

Invisibility & Misunderstanding

Even though the Hill is geographically a large area that stretches over a series of hills and valleys, the participants experienced it as small and insular. Downtown Pittsburgh rarely took much notice, and participants' descriptions suggest that staying "beneath the radar" was important for staying stable in Pittsburgh. "The squeaky wheel gets the grease," the old saying goes, and "grease" that the city applied to the neighborhoods was not received well.

For an African-American community, it was better to be "invisible" than to endure the pressures of the city's political machine. On the other hand, blacks attached to their one-street neighborhoods appeared insignificant and non-threatening to the white city fathers. White Pittsburgh could live comfortably, knowing that blacks were in "their" place and "all was well." Since the inhabitants experienced the Hill as such a small, segregated place, they felt as if they were invisible, a perception that, for example, allowed blacks to travel easily back and forth to white Pittsburgh.

The sense of smallness may also have harmed the Hill. Smallness and isolation can lead to actions from within the community that are misunderstood by the larger community beyond. For example, Stephen talked about rolling old tires down the hillside "not thinking of the outcome" as the tires intersected a major highway downtown filled with fast-moving vehicles.

He interpreted this dangerous action as an attempt by him and the other children to *become visible to the world outside the Hill*. Being small is feeling insignificant. Stephen explained that "we used to do devious stuff" because it was a way to be seen and appear significant to the mainstream world.

The Significance of Race

Most participants over fifty, if they mentioned race issues, talked about them positively or said they had no experience with race, while younger participants were much more aware. When the mass media broadcast a message of entitlement for youth, it is heard by black children who rightly feel entitled. If they cannot achieve this entitlement because of their race, then race begins to matter very much.

For example, Larry talked about attending a boarding school that was mostly white. Larry described his returning to the Hill on weekends and his peers teasing and calling him a "white boy" because of his white-sounding English. He remembered being at the school during the Pittsburgh riots in the 1960s: "I was looking at the white kids and they were looking at me, and I was thinking we are supposed to be fighting each other right now. Boy, was I confused!"

Larry left the boarding school after his second year. He remembered one other black student who remained through the riots and eventually graduated: "He pretty much got a free ride once he graduated, and I blew that opportunity."

Making Positive Change

Participants' descriptions in this study indicate that, over time, the spirit of the Hill community has changed, in many ways for the worse. The descriptions also indicate that invisibility can lead to marginalization and a sense of disconnectedness, which has had a profound effect on the black community living on the Hill.

This study is one small step toward becoming aware of this marginalization. The hope is that such awareness can eventually contribute to positive change, not only for the Hill but for other African-American urban communities.

Intimate Immensity in the Preschool Playroom: A Topo-analysis of Children's Play

Rodney Teague

Teague is a doctoral student in Psychology at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He originally wrote this essay for a seminar in the phenomenology of human development taught by Duquesne Psychology professor Eva-Maria Simms. The essay was presented as a paper in a special session, "The Lived-Space of Childhood," held at the International Human Research Science Conference, 5-8 August 2004, Brock University, St. Catherine's, Ontario. teaguer@duq.edu © 2005 Rodney Teague.

This essay describes a project in which I observed and interpreted children's experiences of their classroom through the lens of *The Poetics of Space*, the 1958 work of French scientist, philosopher, phenomenologist and poet Gaston Bachelard (1964).

Bachelard's conception of space is very different from the way people typically think of space. He interrogates space not as mathematical, geometric, scientific, infinite or empty, but rather as imaginal and poetic. He describes his method as a "recourse to the phenomenology of the imagination... understood as a study of the phenomenon of the poetic image when it emerges into the consciousness as a direct product of the heart, soul and being of [the person]" (p. xiv).

Applied to space, this method yields space "seized upon by the imagination [that] cannot remain indifferent space subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor." He continues, "It has been lived in, not in its positivity, but with all the particularity of the imagination. Particularly, it nearly always exercises an *attraction*. For it *concentrates being within limits that protect*" (p. xxxii).

This notion of lived space reverses our typical notions of space as an empty medium *in which* we act and live our lives. In this typical view, space is a kind of three-dimensional canvas on which our actions are inscribed. Space, in itself, isn't really anything at all—only an abstraction. In Bachelard's view, on the other hand, space constituted by the imagination is bounded and *real*.

To the extent I conceive of and am aware of my being at all, I constitute its boundaries. These are fluid, mutable, and permeable, but they are necessary exigents of being. Bachelard argues that in the absence of such limits, the person "would be a dispersed being" (p. 7). Such a condition is opposed by the attraction and concentration of imagined space within "limits that protect" (p. xxxii). He speaks of the poetic image and of being, within its imaginal boundaries, as reverberative and resonant (pp. xii-xx). Bounded imaginal space provides feedback that intensifies and continually reconstitutes being itself.

Imaginal space is real and bounded; not simply a container for our actions and our lives but created by and constitutive of them. We may analyze or explore imaginal space, not through psychoanalysis, but through what Bachelard terms "topo-analysis" (xxxii), a process Ed Casey (1997) describes as the "systematic psychological study of the localities of our intimate lives" (p. 288).

As a "direct product" of heart mind and soul, imaginal space eludes causality. It is not symbolic space, referring to some psychic antecedent. Its discovery is thus projective rather than deterministic. It is the investigation of a realm of "pure sublimation" (Bachelard, p. xxv). We must take the lived poetry of imagined space "in its being."

Falling back to the Geometrical

I must confess that, even given Bachelard's framework for imaginal space, my initial response on as-

cending to the observation booth above the classroom was—to draw a map. Partaking fully in the typical conception of the space as geometrical or "indifferent," I took the role of surveyor, carefully sketching a scaled representation of the classroom. I imagined I might want to "locate" certain activities or behaviors within the parameters of the room as they were laid out before me in my perch: table here, bookcase there, and a squat row of cubbyholes in between.

It was some time before I realized that this flat representation had nothing to do with the imaginal space I wished to observe. Martinus Langeveld (1983a) comments on the tendency of adults to "insist on the priority… for systematization, formulation, explicitness, and order" (p. 13).

Adult rationalization of the world makes everything "more available to the adult" through determination of space. In contrast, space that is poetically lived and imagined will be open to possibilities, still available, but able to be "worked out" according to its possibilities (p. 13).

My initial reaction highlights this unreflective adult tendency as well as providing appropriate juxtaposition for the intended method of study. I never did return to that map.

An Ecstatic Outburst

A four-year-old child walked into his preschool classroom and stood looking about the room, watching other children play. When his teacher suggested that he sit at a nearby table to work on an art project, he hesitated a moment and then indicated to her that he would be back to take her suggestion, but that he needed to do something first.

The child then proceeded to go running, jumping, spinning, skipping and dancing throughout the room, following its contours, in an extended and ecstatic outburst. He shook his head, kicked out his legs and feet, shaking them wildly. He thrust out his arms and hands in what looked like punches to the air but also flailed them over his head as he skipped and spun and twirled. He laughed as he went, but there was purpose, seriousness, to his actions. After a few minutes he had been all throughout the room. He quietly returned to the suggested table and began his art project.

Several ways to conceptualize his actions appear. One is to say that he simply had a lot of energy and was "burning it off." Another is to think of him as "measuring" the room in some way—perhaps testing its limits. I could have traced his course through the room on a two dimensional map.

Or, using digital imaging technology, I could have recorded his locomotions as data points and then plotted them in a three-dimensional, digital representation. But these methods partake of a notion of the classroom as empty, indifferent space: a simple canvas. As such they violate the spirit of an imaginal rendering of the child's activity.

Langeveld (1983a) emphasizes the importance of the child's body, his corporeal self, as the absolute center of his spatiality. It is through intentional movements of his body that the child shapes the space of his world. The lived experience of space is thus dynamic, and space is "created" personally (pp. 188-9).

Any imagination of the child's classroom experience must not be from my perspective as the unwatched watcher but, rather, from *inside* the child's own corporeal viewpoint. Only the projective power of imagination affords us such a vantage.

A Geometry of Inside & Outside

So that's the perspective, but *what* exactly is the child doing? That he had a project was indicated by his asking the teacher to wait while he performed his movements. He seemed to respond to some kind of call. Langeveld (ibid.) goes on to indicate that the child "perpetually escapes its body and thus creates *its* space" (p. 188).

Here is implied a relationship of inner and outer realms to which Bachelard's poetics speak. Ed Casey (1997) uses the concept of "place" or "emplacement" in opposition to our typical notion of space as empty, as "the void." Our sense of emplacement corresponds to an internal and corporeal sense of self. Casey then employs Bachelard's notion of "intimate immensity" to illuminate the relationship of the inner and the outer and of place to space (pp. 293-5).

In two related chapters, "Intimate Immensity" and "The Dialectics of Outside and Inside," Bachelard (1964) discusses the dynamic and intricate rela-

tionship of internal and external. We cannot escape the implicit geometry of inside and outside—expressed here as the difference between a child's sense of his corporeal self (inside) and the external sense of the classroom space (outside). This geometry confers spatiality on thought and, with it, aggression and opposition (p. 212).

The child's movements through the classroom had an aggressive quality that highlights Bachelard's point. This aggression is a way of placing opposites in tension, of calling their boundaries into question. For Bachelard, inside is associated with intimacy and outside with immensity, but their dichotomy is characterized by dynamism. Bachelard describes the threshold which separates them as "painful on both sides." The two are, he says, "always ready to be reversed, to exchange their hostility" (p. 218).

According to Casey (1997), there exists an "osmotic, two-way flow" between intimate and immense space (p. 293). For Bachelard (1964), the union of intimacy and immensity yields *intensity*, or concentration, of being. Through "correspondences" of these antinomies, he claims that we "receive the immensity of the world" which is then transformed "into intensity of our intimate being" (p. 193). Casey then offers a concise explication of the activity of the child: "Thanks to intimate immensity, I…connect place with space. The beguiling and bedeviling dichotomy... is overcome.... *I enter space from place itself*" (p. 294).

The child is sensitive to the tension between place and space as he enters the room. He hears antagonistic inner and outer spaces calling across a painful threshold for Bachelard's reversal. They cannot be kept apart. He will accomplish their union by physically and ecstatically thrusting the intimacy of his personal presence into every corner of the immensity of the classroom.

Through the dialectic of inner and outer, two preexisting spaces—the child's internal space and the vastness of the room—give birth to a new place, the one in which he will spend his day, a space now characterized by his own intimacy and intensity; a space that has conferred on him the immensity of its possibilities.

Martin Heidegger (1975) writes in his essay "Building Dwelling Thinking" that the nature of space as individuals relate to it is "not strictly mathematical" but such that "I am shot through" space. "When I go toward the door," he writes, "I am already there... I am never here only, as this encapsulated body; rather I am there, that is I already pervade the room, and only thus can I go through it" (pp. 56-7).

The child's physical movement through the room is the *accomplishment* of this pervading the room. As Langeveld (1983a) writes, "In the schoolyard, place and movement call each other forth" (p. 190). The same holds for the playroom as well.

Hidden, Inner Spaces

The other observation I'd like to relay involves creation of hidden, inner spaces. One child spent the better part of a morning's free time playing with a few blocks and a few small figures. I believe they were pigs. In an out-of-the-way spot on the floor she built a small enclosure using four blocks and one more single block as a cover or lid.

When construction was complete, the child squatted next to the structure, looking at it for a few minutes. Then she lifted the roof, peering into and then placing a pig inside the enclosure and carefully replacing the top. After looking for another moment, she walked away toward one of her teachers.

After trying unsuccessfully to gain the full attention of that teacher, she sought out one of the other adults in the room and, taking him by the hand, led him to her building. Both now on the floor, they appeared to talk about the structure. She showed him how it worked—removing and replacing the top. Eventually, all four adults in the classroom were summoned. She showed off her handiwork and appeared to talk at some length with each about what she had been doing.

After her involvement with the adults, this child continued to play with and around her enclosure, occasionally walking away and becoming momentarily involved with some other activity. She never went more than five minutes or so, however, without returning to replay the same scenario with her block building—opening carefully, looking inside, emptying or filling, carefully closing. Once free time was over, she dismantled her buildings

and put the blocks away but carried the pigs with her the rest of the day.

I do not know what this child might tell us about her play. Her buildings might have been houses, beds, stables or they could have been indeterminate. Much of what happened, however, involved the *inner spaces* created by her enclosures.

Intimate Immensity

This child's studied involvement with these spaces addresses two related themes of Bachelard's poetics of space: miniaturization and the importance of hiding places. The *reality* of miniatures, of toys, for children is vital to miniaturization for Bachelard (p. 149). The experience of "what is large in what is small" means that whatever is reduced to diminutive size retains its qualities in imagination. The result returns us to condensation and intensification.

Bachelard's notion of "intimate immensity" is recapitulated here: "values become condensed and enriched in miniature" (p. 150). Miniatures bring adults back to childhood because they recall our ability to defy logic and recognize the intense being of the tiny thing. How much more intensity there must be in the experience of the child!

Beyond intensity, Bachelard notes a "metaphysics of miniature" that draws us imaginally into itself. The miniscule is a narrow gate opening up an entire world (p.155). Another reversal takes place in the imagination as large issues from small, thanks, says Bachelard, to "liberation from all obligations of dimensions, a liberation that is a special characteristic of the activity of the imagination" (p. 154).

In play with miniatures, *we become small*, ourselves intensified and enriched. Elizabeth Goodenough (2003) illustrates this activity of imagination in her "Peering into Childhood's Secret Spaces." She tells of creating, on a beach with her six-year-old son, a tiny world of palm fronds, moss and bark.

Later on, she writes, "something strange occurred. Suddenly my sense of large and small, inner and outer merged. I felt myself recessed on the porch and yet magically encircled by the shaded interior of our tiny fern palace at the lake." She became miniaturized and concentrated within limits that protect.

The child I observed entered into her miniature-block world but maintained her usual stature. She established a correspondence between worlds that abolished neither. It also must be said that the miniature world is not, for Bachelard, representative of the child or any aspect of her psyche. Child psychologists have done important work with symbolic play, but it is not relevant here. In Bachelard's realm of pure sublimation, the miniature is an "absolute image that is self-accomplishing" (p. 153).

Hiding Places

Beyond intensification of being and the "correspondence" of miniaturization, the child's play with the enclosed space of her blocks relates to the imaginal importance of hiding places. Drawers, wardrobes, chests, and the like are organs of the secret psychological life and models of our intimacy (p. 78) that speak to what Bachelard terms "an intuitive sense of hiding places" (p. 81).

He uses the metaphor of an "*absolute casket*" with which we surround recollections of our inner selves, and he suggests that there are secrets to be found in every person (p. 85). The gift of a decorative casket or box implies permission to conceal one's secrets. For the child, such an object holds a correspondence with her own sense of inner secrecy. The child I observed created such an item, giving herself such permission and then seeking approval from nearby adults.

A defining characteristic of Bachelard's hiding place is that it is an enclosure that opens. A closed box participates in the dialectics of open and closed, but once it is opened, "an atmosphere of novelty and surprise reigns.... a new dimension—the dimension of intimacy—has just opened up" (p. 85).

Then again, Bachelard refers to a passage in which the poet Rilke describes the way a box top has no other desire than to be on its box (p. 83). Closing calls for opening and vice versa.

Opening & Closing

This characteristic of boxes was demonstrated during one of my fellow graduate student's presentation on toys. One of the items she brought in for us to play with was a small, cardboard box that seemed to have a lid placed on its underside.

On inspection, however, the "lid" proved to be glued to the box bottom—not a lid at all—and a discovery that met with universal disapproval from all of us present. The thing plummeted in value. Why? The possibilities that exist in the contemplation and imagination of a closed box were suddenly stripped from the object.

The dialectics of intimate immensity call for the box to be (able to be) closed. Any one of us, had we been able, would have closed that box. And any one of us (every one of us) would have opened it right back up again. The tension is unbearable—the threshold painful on both sides.

The boxes and intimate spaces of which Bachelard writes are pre-existent. That the child I observed *created* her intimate enclosure deepens the intensification and the tensions embodied within. It was called, built, into existence by a child responding to a call for its creation. The space was already there in a scientific sense. The molecules and particles that occupy the area bounded by the child's enclosure remain largely the same after its creation. But something more happens with the creation of enclosed space.

In "Building Dwelling Thinking," Heidegger (1975) explains the Greek understanding of "space" as something that has been made room for or "that which has been let into its bounds." Its boundaries are that from which something "begins its presencing" (p. 154). In "The Thing," he describes the creation of a jug (another bounded empty space) as its standing forth "into the unconcealedness of what is already present" (p. 168).

The jug and the enclosure's boundaries do not merely contain the air that was already there. Rather, the boundaries of space are called to be by the already existent space that is brought forth, unconcealed, with the thing's creation. The child was called by sensitivity to the tension of dialectical forces to concentrate being by bounding the space within her enclosures.

The Intensity of Emptiness

We have created the space by bounding it, and we have ensured its capacity for opening and closing. We now must confront one final tension—*we must fill the box*. Langeveld (1984) writes that a box given to a child is much more than "a cleverly folded piece of cardboard." It is in fact "a request, a problem to solve: what belongs in that box? The emptiness silently stares at us. It just can't remain that way" (p. 219).

The intensity of that emptiness is, again, unbearable. It calls for filling, for dissipation. Bachelard focuses on the box as an imaginal object. He notes that "there will always be more things in a closed, than in an open box" (p. 88), for verification destroys imagination. Interestingly, however, he claims that "an empty drawer is *unimaginable*. It can only be *thought of*" (xxiii). Intimate, imaginal spaces, even if they are factually empty, are always filled by possibility and by hope.

Anxious Space

In concluding this essay, I must depart slightly from Bachelard's direction (if not from his method). His treatment of the poetics of space is predicated on what he calls "eulogized" or "felicitous space" (p. xxxi). He is concerned with idealized space and not with anxious space.

True, he spends a chapter on shells—those living stones inhabited by fantastic and frightening creatures—actual and imagined alike. He acknowledges the concordance of shells with tombs and, therefore, with the child's block enclosure. True to his felicitous project, however, Bachelard's focus remains the (inevitable) outburst from one's shell or enclosure into which one has withdrawn for the sole purpose of preparing a "way out" (p. 111).

But I am confronted with a child who is compelled to dissipate the real presence of emptiness within her enclosure. She has bounded space that demanded un-concealment. She has concentrated the being of space by engaging the dialectic of inner and outer. Now she is faced with the distilled nothing-ness of the space within her creation. The situation cannot remain—what belongs in that box?

The thing that does the filling hardly seems to matter. We often find treasures in caskets or boxes, true. But do the things we find there take on their treasured status *because* they act to dissipate the emptiness? Does the secret thing that resides in Bachelard's imagined box conceal a deeper secret—

the reality and inevitability of nothingness that is preliminary to the something in the box?

Existentialist thinkers like Heidegger and Sartre tell us that the unknown or "empty" future and the inevitability of our own death places "nothingness" at the forefront of human concerns. These elements of human life can offer us great possibilities for fulfillment but, more often than not, our anxiety in the face of nothingness sends us running, desperate to fill the emptiness we cannot help but feel and fear. Filling the box seems to be a response to this kind of anxiety.

Bachelard's metaphysics of miniature tells us that there is a correspondence between the child's created space and her sense of her own inner, secret space. Perhaps her concentrated alternation between emptying and filling the space of her enclosures was in some sense an early encounter with the real possibility and positive being of non-being, of nothingness.

Of course, I'm not saying that this anxiety is a thematic aspect of her play. However, "caskets" aren't just for hiding pretty things away, and the block enclosures created by the child resembled tombs more than they did houses or beds.

Reimagining

Even with this last slight departure, I find Bachelard's imaginal poetics an excellent means for explicating the experienced world of the child. The observation of children actively *living* the modes and images that Bachelard finds in poetic language validates for me his asserted connection between adult and childlike ways of being.

Bachelard and the other writers to whom I have referred do not write (exclusively) about children. A poetic imagination of one's lived world is not just for kids either. Casey's project, for example, is to encourage adults to recover a sense of and reverence for lived space that has been mis-placed in our world (Casey 1997).

For Bachelard, poetry, dreams, daydreams and reverie allow us to communicate with the primordial imagination of space that resides in the child. In *The Poetics of Reverie*, he writes, "Our whole childhood remains to be reimagined. In reimagining it, we have the possibility of recovering in it the very life of our reveries as a solitary child.... [of recognizing] within the human soul the [permanent] nucleus of…an immobile but ever living childhood" (p. 100).

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