

shows this at work. The only architectural concession to the expression even of the boundary of each dwelling is a projecting timber clad porch. Occupants of the first house have decorated this with a plastic-covered trellis material. Their neighbours have followed suit, using the same material but a different design. This expresses solidarity with the neighbours by using the same material and offers a sort of tribute to their idea. The fact that it is slightly more elaborate also suggests just a hint of competitiveness. However, the next set of neighbours has really gone to town, again with the same material but in a very florid design. They have also marked out all their territory in an otherwise open plan scheme by low fencing. The fact that even a small dog could easily jump over this fence illustrates its symbolic rather than practical value. We shall return to the marking of spatial territory in a later chapter.

Much of what we see here, then, is quite clearly display. It is behaviour that falls into a similar category to the way we dress, the car we drive, the badges we wear and the way we speak. Since it is display, it is entirely for the benefit of others. The house with the largest known population of garden gnomes in captivity (Plate 4) illustrates this beautifully! Every single gnome, whether in the garden or in the house sitting on the windowsill, is facing outward. The occupant of the house must go out and stand in the street in order to confront the gnomes face to face. The normal view from the living room is the back of a thousand gnome heads! Of course they are not for the benefit of the occupant but for those of us who pass by. This is illustrated more subtly by Williams's study of the sociology of an English village (Williams 1956):

The type of curtain material to be found on the windows of most village houses varied directly in proportion to the general visibility of each window. The 'best' curtains were to be found where they could be most clearly seen, and were far superior to those on windows which were hidden from the public. Furthermore, it was common for that kind of material which has a design printed on one side only to be used in such a way that the design faced outwards. This use of the most 'fashionable' and most expensive material so that it can be seen to the best advantage is a typical device for gaining prestige.

The balance of needs

As with many aspects of the human condition, one really best begins to understand this as a parent observing children growing up. I have marvelled over the years at the fascination shown by children in stories and drama. The traditional Punch and Judy show is an extraordinarily rich example of the way these needs can be provided for (Fig. 2.11). The characters are strongly portrayed. There is tension as evil and cruelty enters the scene, with of course the cruelty played out on the poor baby with which the children can identify. There is the dangerously exotic in the form of the crocodile. However, good prevails in the end, and even though part of the performance may be frightening