Linguistic Landscape

Hybrid places - the reconfiguration of domestic space in the time of Covid-19
--Manuscript Draft--

Manuscript Number:	LL-21043R2
Full Title:	Hybrid places - the reconfiguration of domestic space in the time of Covid-19
Short Title:	Hybrid places
Article Type:	Special Issue Article
First Author:	Stefania Tufi
Corresponding Author:	Stefania Tufi Liverpool, UNITED KINGDOM
Funding Information:	
Keywords:	Hybrid, domestic, space, linguistic landscape, Covid-19
Abstract:	This article is about adaptations to the regimentation of public and private living through the reorganisation of domestic space and time routines a year into changeable Covid-related restrictions. The discussion is based on narratives and audio-visual artefacts generated by participants from 20 UK households through the methodology of photovoice and that articulate domestic-related boundary-making processes and forms of space hybridisation in the ongoing changes caused by the pandemic. In the article Covid-19 signage is represented by language and other semiotic markings that engender an *inside* spatial and social semiotics and that stands in a dialogic relationship with the *outside* spatial and social semiotics as dictated by the pandemic, and where domestic landscapes articulate forms of transmedia code-mixing that invest written words, sounds and screens.
Author Comments:	The pdf didn't reproduce Figures 1 and 2, which were sent to the editor by email.
Order of Authors Secondary Information:	

Hybrid places - the reconfiguration of domestic space in the time of Covid-19

This article is about adaptations to the regimentation of public and private living through the reorganisation of domestic space and time routines a year into changeable Covid-related restrictions. The discussion is based on narratives and audio-visual artefacts generated by participants from 20 UK households through the methodology of photovoice and that articulate domestic-related boundary-making processes and forms of space hybridisation in the ongoing changes caused by the pandemic. In the article Covid-19 signage is represented by language and other semiotic markings that engender an *inside* spatial and social semiotics and that stands in a dialogic relationship with the *outside* spatial and social semiotics as dictated by the pandemic, and where domestic landscapes articulate forms of transmedia code-mixing that invest written words, sounds and screens.

Hybrid, domestic, space, linguistic landscape, Covid-19

Luoghi ibridi: riconfigurare lo spazio domestico all'epoca del Covid-19

L'articolo verte sui processi di adattamento alla regolamentazione della sfera pubblica e privata tramite la riorganizzazione dello spazio domestico e della temporalità quotidiana a un anno dall'introduzione delle restrizioni imposte dalla pandemia. Testi scritti e audio-visivi prodotti da 20 partecipanti residenti nel Regno Unito, e raccolti secondo la metodologia photovoice, evidenziano processi di ripartizione e ibridazione spaziale in un contesto di cambiamento continuo dovuto alle evoluzioni pandemiche. Nell'articolo per 'segni' si intende sia quelli esplicitamente linguistici che quelli di altra natura semiotica ingeneranti una semiosi spaziale e sociale del 'dentro' in rapporto dialogico con una semiosi spaziale e sociale del 'fuori' entro la cornice delle restrizioni imposte dalla pandemia. In tale contesto modalità singolari di code-mixing che interessano parole scritte, suoni e schermi riscrivono l'ambiente domestico.

1. Introduction

This article is based on a pilot study seeking to identify aspects of domestic adaptations in UK homes a year into changeable Covid-related restrictions. As vaccines started being administered and restrictions began to ease in Spring 2021, 20 participants from UK households were invited to document through narratives (space and time biographies) and audio-visual artefacts (pictures of re-purposed domestic environments which include examples of verbal language) their response to the regimentation of public and private living through the reorganisation of their space and time routines. The period of lockdown was characterised by intense exchanges that took place primarily online and that compensated for the lack of physical contact with usual networks. It could be argued that at the time most (if not all) conversations – virtual, on the telephone, or face to face in outside spaces when this was permitted – were dominated by Covid-19 (Cinelli et al. 2020), or that the pandemic was at least mentioned in everyday interactions. In addition, media reports and medical

information kept feeding anxieties generated by the fear of infection, uncertainty about the future, and an inability to exercise control on our lives due to forced immobility and disrupted planning.

As conversations with family, friends, neighbours and colleagues included aspects of space and time dynamics that had been upset by Covid-19, the spatial dimension of confined living came to the fore. Life on the inside needed to be reconceptualised in relation to an outside which became highly regulated and regimented, and a dimension of human life that was turned upside down and semiotically reassembled to signal the dangers of human contact. The topic of the article is related to my long-term interest in bordering practices (most recently Tufi 2021), and more widely it contributes to bringing to the fore the centrality of space for human experience in a context that focuses on internal environments – something that is relatively unexplored in LL studies.[i]

The focus of the article is twofold. On the one hand, space dynamics are investigated through the role that language and other semiotic markings play in demarcating an inside and an outside within domestic landscapes. On the other hand, while addressing the impact of the pandemic on the positioning of bodies in space and on shaping interactional order, the discussion problematises the private/public boundary in relation to domestic environments as affected by the pandemic. It will become apparent that the inside/outside dynamics intersect with dimensions of private and public space - some of the participants' insights will provide the opportunity to discuss self-gazing and the impact on individual and social proxemics, i.e. the perception of interpersonal distance (McDonald, 2020; Mehta, 2020).[ii]

After a methodological section (§ 2), the article incorporates data presentation and discussion (§ 3) before providing some conclusive remarks (§ 4).

2. Methodology

The methodology adopted for this study borrows from photovoice (as in Wang 1999 and 2003). This method is community-based participatory research where participants provide their own photographs to document and reflect on their life experiences, therefore incorporating auto-ethnography.

Data were gathered from 20 participants (15 females, 5 males; age range 23-55) for a total of 120 images and related narratives. Participants were coded as PartA, PartB etc., and the codes are maintained for the purposes of data presentation and discussion in § 3. The type of accommodation ranged between a one-bedroom apartment and a four-bedroom house with

garden, and the composition of the households varied between single occupants and families of four. Participants took pictures of both their internal home environments and of any space that was immediately outside their domestic walls (balcony, back yard, garden, any communal spaces) and that had been adapted to the needs of confined life. They then described the images and provided reflections and comments about the changes to their space and time routines.

In consideration of the ethical implications in the use and dissemination of intimate thoughts and images, participants were given explanations of the project and invited to contribute in any form that they felt comfortable with. Excerpts and images included in the discussion were identified on the basis of their reference to the key aspects of the investigation, e.g. linguistic and spatial semiosis, bordering processes and the fluidity of inside-outside dynamics. The data also evidenced original modalities of code-mixing and layers of performative presentation of the self that have been enhanced through interaction via digital platforms. These aspects are also incorporated in the discussion.

Although there is no attempt to provide generalisations drawn from the limited data available, I'd like to suggest that the physical reorganisation of spaces of living as documented by the participants points to processes that those affected by the pandemic can relate to, and that they are of a translocal nature. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that the project participants shared characteristics such as being able to rely on domestic space – something that cannot be taken for granted and that foregrounds the importance of key variables in this as in any investigation. In this respect, the analysis conducted so far has brought to the fore the importance of variables such as type of accommodation relative to number of residents, and how this intersects with socio-economic group, gender, age and cultural background in terms of the social impact of the pandemic and for the deployment of personal and group strategies to adapt to the new circumstances.

In the future developments of this project (and while a fourth wave of infections seems to be unfolding at the time of writing), a higher number of participants from a diverse socioeconomic background will allow a closer consideration of the importance of social differentials in the configuration of living space and time, and of the ability to articulate spatial narratives describing domestic adaptations (working from home, schooling children, coping with isolation) while carving out personal space (leisure, rest, sociability) in a time of crisis. In addition, digital inequality, which contributes to personal isolation and social deprivation, must be factored into the set of key variables.[iii]

For the purposes of this article, Covid-19 signage is represented by those semiotic markings, including language, that engender an *inside* spatial and social semiotics and that stands in a dialogic relationship with the *outside* spatial and social semiotics as dictated by the pandemic, and where domestic landscapes articulate forms of transmedia code-switching and -mixing that invest written words, sounds and screens.

Due to space limits, this article does not engage with a characterisation of what constitutes public and private space. In LL studies this issue is further problematised by the status of signs themselves and the extent to which private and public agents claim space. However, a discussion in binary terms is not productive in that the group of private actors can extend to include very powerful commercial enterprises that have the financial power to dominate the public space and challenge the visibility of less powerful actors or institutional agents. As highlighted in a recent discussion about the necessity to develop a semiotics of the public (Malinowski 2020, with reference to Gal 2002), the prominence of a private/public (apparent) opposition continues to feed relevant debates in LL studies, and beyond. For example, and in reference to public space, cultural geographers have recently revived a debate about the production of public space as a profoundly ambivalent process, especially in relation to inclusion/exclusion, that calls for a revisiting of epistemologies of publicness (Qian 2020). Binaries can be disproved also in relation to critical approaches that highlight the continuous erosion of public space in favour of spaces of consumption (as already in Sorkin 1992), in so far as spaces of exclusion can engender embodied subaltern counterpublics (Iveson, 2003). From a perspective that underscores the productivity of LL analyses at the online-offline nexus (Blommaert & Maly 2019; Dou 2021), the article also responds to the necessity to reconsider mobility in its multiple configurations (Horner & Dailey-O'Cain 2020), and possibly as a paradigm underpinned by LL understandings of motility, or the potential for (social) movement (Tufi 2021).

For the purposes of the topic under investigation, suffice it to say that notions and perceptions of public and private space are complex, culturally bound and situated. The article contributes to dissecting existing private/public binaries in that it focuses on physical domestic environments as the main sites of negotiation between private and public that lie at the intersection of the inside/outside dialectic. In spatio-cultural terms, there is an overlap between the inside/outside dimension and the public/private spheres, and the blurring of boundaries between these intermingled aspects has become increasingly pronounced in post-industrial western societies. As a result, this phenomenon has impacted practices conducted inside and outside domestic environments. The apparent reversal of roles for outside space

becoming private, and inside space becoming public, has in fact been going on for some time in parallel with technological developments (Doling & Arundel 2020). This has allowed, for example, home working (at least for certain social groups), while the trend of young people reversing functions of space and socialising from home through social media platforms has expanded into other age groups.

The pandemic has accelerated existing trends, but it has been widely documented that these processes have been easier for the so-called cybergeoisie (as predicted by Dear & Flusty 1998), i.e. those professionals and middle-class groups who have been able to work remotely. In this respect, recently reports about the possibility of home working becoming a permanent feature for larger groups in our societies have appeared both in the press and in academia (e.g. Hern 2020; Bick, Blandin & Mertens 2021).

Remaining mindful of different personal circumstances, the pandemic has caused widespread disruption at all levels, with a significant impact on socio-spatial relations and on the blurring of the private/public dimensions as an everyday practice. In what follows, examples of visual and written narratives as provided by the participants in the study underpin the development of data presentation and discussion.

3. Data and discussion

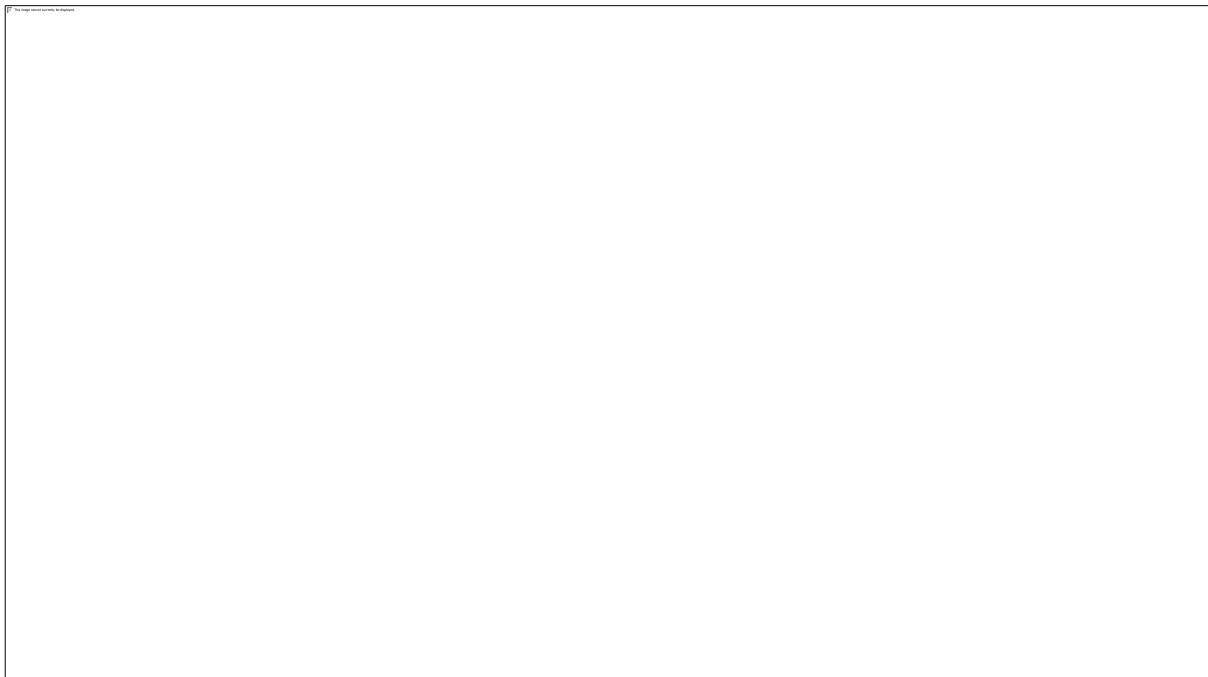*3.1 Domesticating the public, or taking the inside outside*

Figure 1 – Working and socialising in the garden

PartA (female, 55) provided the image in Figure 1 and recorded the following comment: 'I sat at the back of the garden a lot to study, eat and have conversations over the fence, to feel connected and less shut in - if you look you can see a path worn in the grass.' The remark highlights the moving of practices normally carried out inside, outside, and maximising opportunities for both a material and a symbolic connection with the public sphere.

A physical connector (the path worn in the grass) indexing repeated journeys between the house and the garden enacts a material juncture between the inside and the outside. Contacts with the outside world were enabled by happenings that bring to the fore the event nature of public space ('I got to know more of my neighbours who were usually at work. We even had a socially distanced BBQ over the fence'). The garden as an extension of the home was used to carry out both private and domestic admin and to enhance local sociabilities (with the neighbours), i.e. those engendered by commonalities. PartA added that establishing a new routine became very important, and this included using Zoom for personal, private conversations for the first time. The garden became the focal point of her routine, and much time was spent adapting it into a suitable environment for actions usually carried out inside. Everyday objects taken outside contributed to marking time and engendering spaces of recreation and reward – 'A snack whilst I studied – a treat because I couldn't go out for a coffee' (Figure 2). Linguistic characterisation is an integral part of the process of creation of space differentials, of embracing emotions and of the attempt to make order to counter the disorderly outside dominated by the pandemic – 'Different mugs link to different moods.' The different mugs that the participant refers to act as semiotic markings of different states of mind – a process facilitated by the linguistic and semiotic peculiarities of each mug-object. (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Marking spaces of reward

Bordering, de-bordering and re-bordering processes are identifiable in much of the material gathered from different participants. With respect to Figure 3, for example, PartD (male, 40) commented: 'I transformed the shed into an office to get out of the house and used the outside chairs to have a drink with a friend, when allowed. I enjoyed the process of reorganising my small garden more than anything else, it gave me a sense of purpose.' Reduced-scale mobility (moving across different environments rather than travelling to work) is therefore reproduced through the material separation of purpose-built venues with different roles (home vs office) and the re-purposing of outside space. The veranda-style seating area complements an architectural set-up that allows PartD to refocus on the here and now, and incorporate spaces of sociability normally associated with spaces away from home, at a time when planning and physical mobility are suspended.

Figure 3 – Creating inside spaces outside

3.2 Thresholds

Another aspect related to bordering practices is the semiotic articulation of thresholds.
Thresholds marking domestic boundaries were configured to construct material portals into
and out of 'safe' zones and included purification rituals, as in the 'cleansing station' in Figure
4. PartH (male, 52) commented: ''I set up a "cleansing station" in the hallway (sanitizer,
masks, gloves, tissues and nearby bin) for use when preparing to go out or to return. I also
set up a seat in the hallway in order to be able to leave all footwear there when entering.'. The
domestication of items such as masks and hand gels, featuring prominently in homes as well
as in shops and other enclosed environments, contributed to the normalisation of places of

transition and the materialisation of an indefinite liminal time – the state of in-betweenness described by anthropologists van Gennep ([1960], 2019) and Turner ([1969], 2008) that characterises rites of passage. However, while it was possible to identify the act of separation/exit from a social context (the first stage of a rite of passage) with a date, however abrupt and unexpected as in imposed lockdowns, re-incorporation (into the social body – the second stage of a rite of passage) was an unknown entity. PartH refers to boundaries explicitly, both in terms of space and in terms of time: 'Boundaries between professional and personal time now seem more blurred. I am working similar hours in terms of length, but working more into the evening and getting up later. With no necessity to take public transport or adhere to train timetables, and with no need to travel to work, I feel that some structure has been lost from my routine.' The feeling of temporal displacement experienced by PartH is enhanced by his being the single occupant of a small apartment and by the heightened perception of radical shifts from face-to-face activities.

Figure 4 – Cleansing station

Linguistic extensions of conventionalised thresholds (e.g. a doorway) pointed to local sociabilities and relational aspects. The message 'IT'S OKAY NOW' with the two hearts in Figure 5 was found immediately outside PartC's (female, 38) door soon after partial re-opening of outdoor facilities and non-essential shops in the UK on 12 April 2021. 'Just outside our front door, on my way to the local shop, today [18/4/21] I spotted this on the pavement. My first thought was that it must have been a message for the community to say that things are looking up and we can all take a sigh of relief. But I had mixed feelings about it, it made me realise how this could actually be for something else entirely and it showed just how much my mind is conditioned to link everything to the pandemic.' This quote points to the constant adjusting of mental and psychological boundaries in creating mental space that allows meaning-making outside the pandemic at a time of crisis (Castiglioni and Gaj 2020) and erases the possibility offered by potential bordering solidarities and commonalities.

Figure 5 – Extending thresholds

The re-functionalisation or, in Deleuzian terms, the re-territorialisation of domestic space in the form of continuous adjustments of consolidated spatio-temporal routines exposed the

deeply cultural nature of space engenderment and structuring – western understandings of the fact that there is a time and a place for everything. This emerged from all narratives and pointed to physical and emotional disorientation experienced from the disruption of daily coordinates providing material and psychological scaffolding for the habitual performance of daily routines. The unsettling of the public and private spheres challenged internalised synchronicities (Edensor 2006) and spatialities (Lefebvre [1981] 1991) that underpin western practices rooted in positivist understandings of the linearity and structured unfolding of human existence.

3.3 Un-domesticating the private – bringing the outside inside
Boundary-making practices were just as prominent in enclosed domestic environments, and Figure 6 is representative of zoning practices in the reorganisation of domestic spatialities and temporalities. PartM (female, 42) commented: ''I moved my desk around so that the background was a neutral white wall and the children could work in the same room without being seen, they were often heard. As [partner] and I were often involved in online activities at the same time, the eldest was tasked with helping the youngest to do schoolwork.'

Figure 6 – Reorganising domestic spatialities and temporalities

As in Scollon & Scollon (2003), Figure 6 can be seen as a semiotic aggregate consisting of different agents engaged in different tasks while sharing a domestic context not originally designed for the performance of acts such as online work interactions and school homework. - the room is a microcosm of practices usually carried out in different places and at different times. The image shows the new layout of domestic spatialities – the room is divided into three zones, a workstation, a bed re-purposed for home schooling that allows simultaneous supervision, and a corner for physical exercise. The book on the bed between the parent and the children creates a material boundary. This boundary, however, is punctured by sounds ('the children could be heard') and interrupted by transmedia code-switching and -mixing (from the computer screen to oral communication and back, and from work talk to children talk and back). PartM commented on the latter aspect explicitly: 'If the children interrupted me while I was in an online meeting, I found it really difficult to move in and out of different registers.'

During lockdown a multitude of practices normally carried out outside had to be brought into domestic environments, and the participants' comments point not just to the practical

difficulties of having to reconcile very diverse needs of different members of the household, but to the experience of continuous space and time negotiation. This led to a reconfiguration of household mobilities and to peripatetic lifestyles, as in Figure 7, which PartC commented as follows: 'I started using a space that did not belong to me as the laptop is in my children's bedroom. I found myself carrying my work stuff (stationery, glasses, diary, books, etc) from one room to another every morning and back again to my bedroom just before school pickup so that my son wouldn't complain about the "mess".
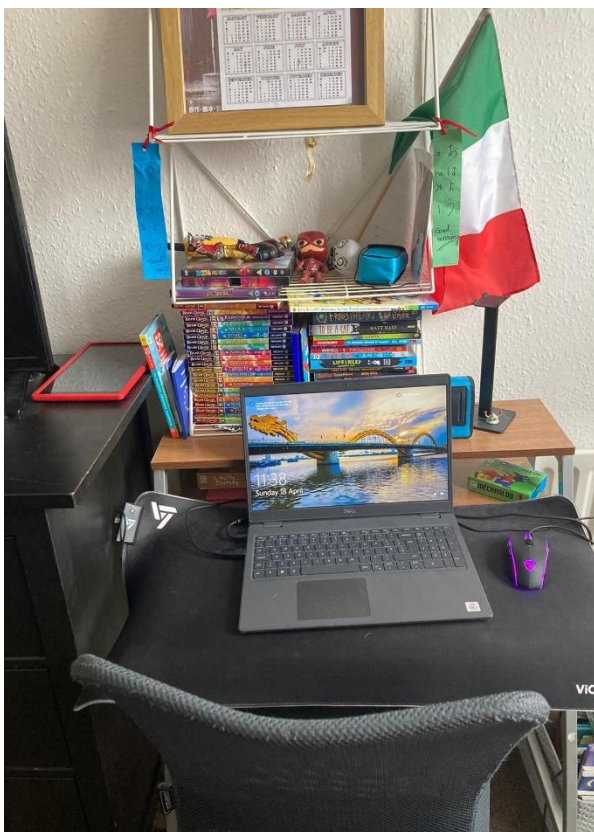

Figure 7 – Household mobilities – peripatetics, nomads and exiles

Domestic displacement, linked to forms of space contestation, was also reported by PartQ (male, 50). In describing the image of a newly created workstation out of a quiet corner in the loft, he commented: 'The loft was originally just meant as storage space, but we had power and lighting put in at the start of the pandemic [to allow me to work]. The only problem was that my daughter would get there in the morning and "claim" the room for the day.' In describing the difficulties of negotiating space in a household of four, PartQ also added: 'There was conflict over who got the best room for the day.'

3.4 Staging the self, gazing the self

Closely related to processes of un-domesticating the private are those indicating the staging of the self, as exemplified in Figure 8, where language (displayed on the shelves in the background and commented on) contributes to self-identification and self-representation. PartJ (female, 23) is in the image and, as a millennial, feels comfortable with visual exposure (the face is covered to allow anonymisation). The visual selfie was provided together with a narrative one. She commented: 'This is me, dressed for work, at my desk, trying to coordinate two different calls. One of the most fascinating things has been seeing where my colleagues have had to work from. In this room are books in French and Russian, the tank picture is on a Russian biscuit tin, and I have pictures with Russian on them in the house, I studied both languages at school.'

Figure 8 – Staging the self

For other groups, however, online communication and over-exposure as a necessity during lockdown have heightened self-awareness and anxieties about social judgement based on the limited visuals that are available to our interlocutor(s) and viewers when interacting online. The background against which we are seen becomes a personal stage as it tends to be interpreted as a deliberate choice signifying our real selves. Five participants (all females) expressed discomfort in relation to this and to the degree of visual closeness which is possible on screens. Concerns about self-presentation in domestic space, which adds a performative

layer to the discursive performance of identity, represents an added dimension to spatial extensions of the self.

The discomfort documented by participants is caused by the perception of a violation of privacy and an over-exposure of the intimate self, because we lose control over our habitual proxemic dimensions, i.e. the type of interpersonal space that we are able to manage in physical interaction and that points to Goffman's (1959) impression management. Three participants (two female and one male) commented about feeling vulnerable and insecure in work-related meetings on Zoom or similar platforms. It could be argued that the fact that we see ourselves while interacting online (something that does not happen in physical interaction) produces a heterotopic (Foucault, [1967] 1984) displacement of the self - due to the mirror effect, we see our objectified selves and the online platforms normalise this type of alienation. In addition, we experience loss of control of how others see us because options on online platforms can be operated by the viewer without us realising which visual mode has been selected by members of an online interaction.

4. Conclusive remarks

The data shown in this article are part of a pilot project. Although they provide original evidence for a range of phenomena that are being documented both in academia and in the press, the analysis presented here does not claim to be representative due to the limited number of participants and the relatively homogenous social group that they belong to. I propose, however, that the insights shared by the participants in the study reflect a human experience that all those confronted with space and time displacement in the time of Covid-19 are able to relate to.

It is important to remember that in many contemporary societies space is a commodity, and comfortable domestic space is a luxury. Differences in gender, age, physical ability and social group have affected people differently during the pandemic, and for some the repercussions have been severe, with cases of total loss of domestic space, or domestic atopia. In order to engage with space reorganisation in a time of crisis, space needs to be available.

For those who have been able to make the most of their homes, and as illustrated by the data, the reorganisation of space and time routines have become an everyday practice, and chronotopic adaptations in households have led to complex processes of spatial hybridisation. The reversal of roles between private and public space, and between the outside and the inside, has engendered novel bordering practices such as domestic extensions into the outside, and additional material and symbolic boundaries inside domestic environments.

As shown in this example of LL in the time of Covid-19, written language contributes to the dynamic making and re-making of domestic spaces and of thresholds, and to the re-signification of space for the visual construction of the confined self. In particular, evidence points to the role of texts on screens in the enactment of both virtual and material borders. In addition, these borders amplify the role of the written word in homescapes in the time of the pandemic, therefore adding further physical and virtual surfaces to the bi-dimensionality of the written word in a metanarrative magnifying the loss of vital three-dimensional sociabilities. This aspect was contrasted by the high iconicity (and verbal silence) of much Covid signage populating deserted towns and cities, and dominated by the pictorial representation of masks, sanitising gels, arrows imposing regimented mobilities etc., whose high salience diminished the role of verbal communication in outside public space.

In expanding LL understandings of the constructions of spaces of living at a time of crisis, the data show that language contributed to the construction of thresholds (e.g. the label of the hand sanitizer – Figure 4, and the message 'it's ok now' – Figure 5), to the configuration of material boundaries in multifunctional, hybrid spaces (the book positioned on the bed in the bedroom in Figure 6), to indexing personal space (the DVDs and other verbal semiotics in the child's workstation – Figure 7) and to marking states of mind (e.g. the mug – Figure 2). The enhanced centrality of written language in homescapes in the time of Covid-19 is complemented by domestic audioscapes and technoscapes which have actively contributed to the normalisation of trans-media code-switching and -mixing, and to the hybridisation of domestic spatialities and temporalities. Domestic landscapes in the time of Covid-19 therefore add further analytical dimensions to LL studies about the online/offline nexus and the multiple roles of semiotic/linguistic markings, while evidencing the inadequacy of binary characterisations of the private and the public spheres and the necessity to qualify the spaces that are at the centre of LL investigations.

References

Bick, A., Blandin, A. & Mertens, K. (2021) Work from Home Before and After the COVID-19 Outbreak.
SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3786142 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3786142

Boivin, N. (2021) Homescapes: Agentic space for transmigrant families' multisensory discourse of identity. *Linguistic Landscape*, 7(1), 37-59.

Castiglioni, M. and Gaj, N. (2020) Fostering the reconstruction of meaning among the general population during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11, 27-41.

Cinelli, M., Quattrociocchi, W., Galeazzi, A. *et al.* (2020) The COVID-19 social media infodemic. *Scientific Reports* 10, 16598. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-73510-5 (accessed 14 October 2021)

Dear, M. & Flusty, S. (1998). Postmodern Urbanism. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 88(1), 50-72.

Doling, J. & Arundel, R. (2020) The Home as Workplace: A Challenge for Housing Research. *Housing, Theory and Society*, DOI: 10.1080/14036096.2020.1846611

Dou, G.Y. (2021) Toward a non-binary sense of mobility: insights from self-presentation in Instagram photography during COVID-19 pandemic. *Media, Culture & Society*, 43(8),1395-1413.

Edensor, T. (2006) Reconsidering National Temporalities. Institutional Times, Everyday Routines, Serial Spaces and Synchronicities. *European Journal of Social Theory* 9(4), 525–545.

Foucault, M. (1984). Of other spaces: Utopias and heterotopias. [Des Espace Autres, 1967]. Translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 5, 46–49.

Gal, S. (2002) A semiotics of the public/private distinction. *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 13(1), 77-95.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Hall, E. T. (1966) *The Hidden Dimension*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Hern, A. (2020) Covid-19 could cause permanent shift towards home working. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2020/mar/13/covid-19-could-cause-permanent-shift-towards-home-working (accessed 19 October 2021)

Iveson, K. (2003) Justifying exclusion: The politics of public space and the dispute over access to McIvers Ladies' Baths, Sydney. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10(3), 215–228.

Lefebvre, H. [1981] (1991) The Production of Space. Oxford: Blackwell.

Malinowski, D. (2020) Linguistic landscape: The semiotics of the public of public signage?. *Linguistic Landscape*, 6(1): 23-28.

McDonald, C. (2020) Pandemic-Informed Proxemics: Working Environment Shifts Resulting from COVID-19. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3847684 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3847684 (accessed 16 September 2021)

Mehta, V. (2020) The new proxemics: COVID-19, social distancing, and sociable space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 25(6), 669-674.

Nguyen, M. H., Hargittai, E. & Marler, W. (2021) Digital inequality in communication during a time of physical distancing: The case of COVID-19. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 120. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S074756322100039X (accessed 4 October 2021)

Qian, J. (2020) Geographies of public space: Variegated publicness, variegated epistemologies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(1), 77-98.

Scollon, R. & Scollon, S. W. (2003) *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*. London: Routledge.

Sorkin, M. (ed.) (1992) *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Tufi, S. (2021) The transformative power of linguistic mobility: Evidence from Italian borderscapes. In Blackwood, J. R. & Dunlevy, D. A. (eds) *Multilingualism in Public Spaces. Empowering and Transforming Communities*. London: Bloomsbury. 89-110

Turner, V. W. [1969] (2008) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction.

Van Gennep, A. [1960] (2019) *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wang, C. C. (1999) Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health*, 8, 185-192.

Wang, C. C. (2003) Using photovoice as a participatory assessment and issue selection tool. Available at 3.pdf (u-tokyo.ac.jp) (accessed 22 March 2021)

---

[i] A recent article discussing homescapes of transmigrant families is Boivin (2021).

[ii] The anthropologist Edward T. Hall is the scholar who is mostly associated with the study of proxemics through his work *The Hidden Dimension* (1966).

[iii] There are numerous reports that highlight to what extent the pandemic has exacerbated structural inequalities in society (e.g. Nguyen, Hargittai & Marler 2021; Oreffice & Quintana-Domeque 2021).