

Glocal Spatial Lifestyle in Tel Aviv

Izhak Schnell
Tel Aviv University*

Tel-Aviv-Jaffa's members of the glocal lifestyle tend to perform their daily life in two reaches: their corporeal daily-life circulations and a virtual space of telecommunication and Internet. Their experiential space spreads into global horizons with the spaces of daily reaches intentionally being estranged. They experience three different types of reference groups. They maintain a home out of their residential home and few friends based on sentiments and strong sense of belonging. Reference groups of interest and concern, in contrast, are more carefully considered and subjected to the project of the growth of the self. Estranged spaces become an adequate arena for mask game, in which the status of the home as an existential 'zero point' is deteriorating. The estrangement from home spaces enables easy residential mobility and movement throughout the spaces of the network society. This further detaches them from home places, leading to the globalization of their spatial awareness on the one hand, but at the same time, to the maintenance of a nurturing home in one's locality.

Keywords: Spatial lifestyle, glocal lifestyle, regionalization, neighborhood of strangers, telecommunication, sense of belonging.

Spatial lifestyle has been defined by me as the forms of using everyday life spaces in performing social projects associated with agents' everyday life routines, or by the socio-spatial patterns of regionalizing everyday life (Schnell and Benjamini, 2001). These projects are based on choices from options that are made available to agents according to their life situations. Lifestyle studies were renewed during the last decades due to the new awareness of the fragmentation of society into cultural subgroups based on class, but also by criteria such as ethnicity, gender, religion and ideology (Saunders, 1986; Hall, 1983; Maffesoli, 1993; Castells, 1996). It is recognized that symbols and cultural traits crystallize around communities of status. The theoretical justification for such an approach relies on Weber's multi-dimensional social stratification model.

Despite this acknowledgement, geographical studies of lifestyle remain marginal. Exception are the following works including those of Kipnis and his graduate students, that of Blumen and the work of the Dutch geographers Versantvoort and

* Department of Geography and the Human Environment, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel. E-Mail: schnell@post.tau.ac.il

van der Laan from the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. Most of these studies are compiled in this GRF volume (Kipnis, 2003; 2004a; 2004b; Blumen, 2004; Goldman and Kipnis, 2004; Kravchyk and Kipnis, 2004; Versantvoort and van der Laan, 2004). It seems that a lack of methodological foundations for these studies has blocked further research until the 1970's, when Hagerstrand (1975) suggested a methodological framework for the description of human activity patterns and a theoretical framework that associates between 'social projects' and 'spatial paths'. But his emphasis on the analysis of constraints on activity patterns left the study on spatial lifestyles to later works, like Buttimer's study of the uprooted in Dublin (Buttimer, 1980). She has distinguished between 'localite' and 'urbanite' lifestyles, each characterized by different styles of using everyday life spaces. Since then, telecommunication technologies and the further condensation of time-space may have widened the range of possible spatial lifestyles.

In this article I suggest studying a 'Glocal' lifestyle for those who estrange themselves from local communities while developing a multitude of affiliation groups based on urban, national and global networks, highly supported by means of telecommunication. The study focuses on a sample of young Israelis aged between 25 and 40, who chose to live in the inner city of Tel-Aviv.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Weber (1946) and Shils (1970) viewed lifestyle as a dimension of social stratification, distinct from class and associated with status. They viewed social stratification as a multi-dimensional concept, but they did not object to the possibility that in certain societies class and lifestyle may coincide. This opened the door for Marxist interpretations that examined lifestyles from the perspective of class differentiation such as in the case of Bourdieu (1985). With the rise of the late-modern era, the large masses of those who joined the middle classes have become increasingly aware of cultural differences among social groups (Giddens, 1991). Certain lifestyles are emerging as major criteria for the particular groups' sense of belonging. Weber argued that lifestyle is constituted of two different sub-concepts: 'life conduct'—choices a person is making in respect to his/her lifestyle groups' values, and 'life chances'—the probability to realize these choices. Thus, the concept of lifestyle combines agents' choices with their position in social structure (Dahrendorf, 1979; Habermas, 1984; Cockerham et al., 1993).

The idea of spatial lifestyles attracted geographers since the early years of the twentieth century. Vidal de la Blache's idea of the 'genre de vie', led French geographers to identify different socio-spatial lifestyles. Sorre tried to show how social groups, located in homogeneous areas, create a network of social movements among places and routes that reflect the groups' particular values, norms and affiliations (Sorre, 1955). Chombart de Lauwe (1966) looked for descriptions of groups' spaces of daily

movement and circulation within their ecological settings and for the sets of meanings ascribed to these spaces. Chapin (1978) best grasped the Weberian concept of lifestyle, when he explained the patterns of activity orbits both in terms of agents' propensity to act and their opportunities to engage in relevant activities. Cullen and Godson (1975) emphasized the fact that agents' daily activities are, to a large extent, habitual and/or constrained, being the result of long term commitments made by agents in transition periods in their lifecycle. Shapcott and Steadman (1978) argued that basic commitments are also taken within the pressures of cultural norms and values which agents are expected to confront in their decision-making.

Pred (1989) tried to bridge the gap between human identity and spatial lifestyles by setting a dialectical framework among human inside-outside, present-past and future, individual and society aspects of life, but it has remained for Giddens' (1984) to comprehensively theorize these dialectics. He has introduced the concept of 'regionalization', as the socio-spatial context of everyday life activities and networks and as the corner stone for the conceptualization of spatial lifestyle studies. Regionalization is the spatial arena in which social integration takes place. While traditional theories has assumed that face to face interactions, which are necessarily dependent on the distance decay principle, have a privilege status in social integration and in regionalizing everyday life, we are more and more aware of the increasing salience of distanced interactions, where interaction does not require the co-presence of the agents both in time and in space (Giddens, 1991; Slevin, 2000). Internet interactions may present the best example of distanciation, through which agents may communicate in real time, seeing each other along global distances while they are not present at the same time near their computerized stations (Smith, 1996).

Movement in space also bears existential implications on human experience, dividing space into home and reach zones dialectically associated in identity formation. Home areas are spaces of predictability, homeliness, warmth, and security, all intended to enable self-reflection and enhance autonomy in identity formation. Reaches are associated with challenges, risk taking, adventure etc., which may enrich human experiences (Sopher, 1979; Buttimer, 1981). Home and reach areas are continuously shaped and reshaped in human experience along highly fluid coordinates. But beyond personal experiences, modernity may be characterized by increase in the fluidity of home and reach dialectics. The first one to realize the ideas of distanciation and its social implications was Simmel (1950a; 1950b), who realized that society and space are mutually associated and that modernism brings about the disassociation between physical and social distances. Decline in friction of distance in spatial movement may bring together distant others as well as leave neighbors strangers (Allen, 2002). Thus, estrangement and distant interactions, including intimate ones, may become salient experiences of urban-modern life (Lofland, 1971; Fischer, 1984). These trends reach a new scale in the network society fragmenting home regions and reaches into discontinuous spaces with reaches in close vicinities and islands of home places in close and distant spaces. The fragmentation of existential

space may be associated also with the rise of new ideas concerning the formation of identities. Two polar styles of identity formation may be identified. The first style is associated with modernist theories in social psychology and the second style is associated with late-modernist theories.

The modernist social psychological theory assumes that identity arises from human need for sense of uniqueness on the one hand, and of belonging and appreciation on the other hand. The basic mechanism of constituting identities is based on the 'me in the mirror', namely—people strive to become similar to members of chosen affiliation groups (Tajfel, 1978). Several tenets may characterise the theory. Human beings tend to simplify the complexity of the world by classifying social aspects of reality into categories of similarity and difference, feeling sense of solidarity with similar others and strangeness to others, and exaggerating the good characteristics of similar others and the negative characteristics of others. Agents' social values and norms determine the content of the categorisation of human individuals into social groups. Furthermore, privileged status is given to face-to-face interactions with similar others, which means also that such interactions bring together neighbors in physical space.

The late-modernist theory assumes that the constitution of complex repertoires of identities should be understood in the context of globalization. Individuals are highly exposed to global information and participate in global interactions, which infiltrate into everyday practices in their locales. Therefore, more individuals are exposed to a greater number of lifestyles, amongst which they have to make choices. They are exposed also to the dialectical tension between global economic forces and local cultural contexts. In this complexity individuals are required to develop more autonomy in constituting their identity. They may achieve it by a reflexive process of unifying memories of their past, present interests and future aspirations into one coherent narrative, instead of sameness to others in affiliation groups (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1987; Weinreich, 1996; Noy, 1995; Anderson, 1997). Globalized individuals may avoid deep feelings of identification with one dominant affiliation group, maintaining more openness to different 'others'. Ethically, there is a growing voice that calls to treat others as ontologically privileged entities worthy of unique and autonomous identities and of empathy toward them, instead of reducing them to their images in their selves or as complete strangers (Levinas, 1981). Practically, several scholars argue that under the situation of multitude of affiliation groups and distanced interactions, individuals tend to loose sense of commitment to meaningful others (Benjamin, 1999; Bauman, 2002), using them as a source for alternative models of the self that none of them can be fully adopted and trusted (Giddens, 1991). Therefore, identity may be considered balanced if each fragment of a complex repertoire of identities may have the freedom to move to the center of the identity field as a response to every day practices. At the same time, each fragment may leave room for alternative fragments to move to the center of the field whenever circumstances change (Lewin, 1951; Sarup, 1996). There are already signs that those

who are exposed to globalized forms of identity formation develop also introvert personalities, in which they emphasize internally motivated action, they loose social sensitivities for others, they develop flexible cognitive schemes which make them less conform to any social affiliation group, and they are less attached to any place, preferring to stay in private spaces and places (Kreitler and Kreitler, 1990).

Members of different social groups may choose to emphasize more collective forms of social identities or more individualistic ones. From Castells (1996) and Baumann's (2002) argument it may be concluded that those who are connected to the network society, tend to adopt more individualistic repertoires of identities and introvert personalities, while those who are marginalized by globalization tend to develop collective identities with high commitment to one affiliation group and extrovert personalities. Schnell (2002) argues that socio-spatial segregation may be associated with the adaptation of collective identities and extrovert personalities.

The discussion so far leads to the distinction between different spatial lifestyles that are varying according to the compactness and scale of home and reaches. Buttner (1981) distinguished between 'localite' and 'urbanite' lifestyles. Localites tend to constitute narrow activity orbits with a high degree of overlap between different spheres of activities and social networks, all of which are centered on the home. Urbanites tend to constitute wider orbits of daily activities, each of which are centered in different locations in space, and spreads into largely separate ranges. As a consequence, localites tend to assign higher salience to home and neighborhood, while urbanites tend to expose themselves more intensively to strangers in the city, while tending to move freely in metropolitan spaces. Hall (1983) has distinguished between 'urban' and 'suburban' lifestyles. 'Glocal' lifestyle may characterize different groups of young urbanites, who are highly exposed to globalization, and amongst whom one could reckon Yuppies, Dinkis, and Bobos etc. They choose to locate in the inner cities of the larger metropolitan areas, finding there a supportive environment for their condensed and anonymous lifestyle. Within limited local spaces, they may use the wide range of opportunities for jobs, social life, leisure activities and shopping. They tend to emphasize also the interests of adults at the expense of children, long working hours, consumer culture, and living on credits (Short, 1989; Soja, 1996). The members of the new lifestyle may define their localities as well as their distant reaches in terms that go beyond the dichotomy of sense of insideness vs. outsideness, using anonymity in daily spaces as a mean of exercising the new introvert personality and identity and their hyperactive lifestyle of changing masks while performing with different groups of others for their benefit. On the other hand, they may find intimacy and friends in islands of home places in virtual communities constituted of others that may be distributed around the globe. These issues, that is the fragmentation of the home, the estrangement of local spaces and the constitution of long distance networks via Internet among young Glocal urbanites, are dealt with in this paper, with evidence from Tel-Aviv-Jaffa in Israel.

RESEARCH METHODS

A comprehensive quantitative research on spatial lifestyles in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa identified seven different spatial lifestyles, with 16 percent of the protagonists presenting some characteristics of a glocal lifestyle. This work has been based on time budget assigned to different activities in different spaces around the home and evaluations of the salience of these activities to the protagonists' social life (Schnell and Benjamini, 2001). In this research I supplement the quantitative analysis by a qualitative investigation of the glocal lifestyle. I made one hundred interviews, seven group interviews with sixty protagonists each and forty personal interviews. The interviews included open free discussions followed by a short written questionnaire. We have supplemented our interpretations by photos of young artists, whose life and work in Tel-Aviv represent the glocal lifestyle.

ACTIVITY PATTERNS

The protagonists' daily activity time budgets and relative importance ascribed to their social life, in comparison to the average city dweller, are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Time budgets of daily activities and relative importance.

<i>Sphere</i>	<i>City sample</i>		<i>Glocal lifestyle</i>	
	<i>Time (hours and minutes)</i>	<i>Importance*</i>	<i>Time (hours and minutes)</i>	<i>Importance*</i>
Spatial				
House	8:10	3.7	5:45	3.0
Neighborhood	1:20	2.9	0:10	1.8
City and beyond	7:00	3.3	11:00	3.5
Total spatial	16:30	9.9	16:55	8.3
Social				
Householders	4:15	3.8	3:00	2.7
Friends	1:50	3.6	2:00	3.7
Work mates	7:25	2.6	7:30	3.1
Telecom. Mates	1:40	2.9	2:40	3.0
Urban leisure	0:50		1:00	
Green leisure	0:40		0:45	
Total social	16:30	12.9	16:55	12.5

*1=low importance, 4=high importance.

The table shows that members of the glocal lifestyle experience a somewhat longer hours of activity but a much more intensive timetable. They assign much less significance to the spaces of their activities and a similar level of importance to their social networks. In spatial terms, the neighborhood loses much of its relevance, both in terms of time spent in the neighborhood and its relative importance

for their social life. The house loses also much of its salience, and reaches beyond the neighborhood are not less meaningful for them than home spaces. In terms of the social spheres of activities, the decline of the household as a meaningful social unit is the most striking result. While in accord with the Yuppi lifestyle, they assign relatively high importance to their career and work, although unlike some of the yuppies, they do not spend long hours at work. They spend much time on leisure activities mainly in coffee shops, bars, restaurants and theatre (Schnell, 1993). The difference between them and other middle class people lies in the rhythm of changing activities. They are moving between activities in short durations, mixing work with leisure, telecommunicating with others while doing other works, performing much denser list of activities in each active hour of the day, in addition to the fact that they are active 15 minutes more than the average citizen of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa.

THE STATUS OF THE HOME

As we have noted, members of the glocal lifestyle tend to spend only relative short time at home along a regular day. But even during these hours, a member of the glocal lifestyle does not socialize with others, whether home mates or visitors. Only 1:15 hours a day is spent on socializing, mainly with home mates. Most of the time is spent on socializing through telecommunication by the use of cellular phone, Internet, etc. Relatively much time is spent alone being with oneself (Table 2). This time budget fits personalities of members of the glocal lifestyle. Inspired by personality studies, such as Kreitler and Kreitler's (1990) cognitive index, and Noy's analysis (1995), Markus and Kitayama's (1991) attempt to transform the model to the social-psychological dimension and Bauman's (1995) and Slevin's (2000) sociological discussion on postmodern personalities, I summarize the main characteristics of glocals as follows:

1. They develop their identities in respect to a wide range of repertoires of affiliation groups, toward which they feel only a limited sense of belonging and commitment. In accordance, they develop autonomous personalities independent of any affiliation group, highly internally motivated, and they develop highly flexible cognitive schemata, which enable them to perform in changing milieus, but which make them insensitive to others.
2. They do not feel strong sense of belonging to places and they feel the need for privacy and private places. A cognitive test suggested by Kreitler and Kreitler (1990) shows that out of 50 youngsters interviewed, 70 percent are clearly diagnosed as glocal (articulated by them to be extroverts) personalities. As glocals, their home activities are experienced alone or are carried out by telecommunicate interactions, which enable them free withdrawal and controlled exposure to others.

Table 2: Time budget of daily home activities.

<i>Home activity</i>	<i>Time (Hours and minutes)</i>
Chores	1:20
With home mate	1:00
Telecommunicating	2:10
Being with oneself	1:05
Hosting	0:15
Total activities	5:50
Sleeping	7:00

Glocals may feel, in extreme situations, frustration from intimate commitments to others on the one hand, and loneliness in being alone on the other hand (the same experiences were verified in a less sophisticated language in the interviews). Few quotations from young poets from Tel-Aviv may demonstrate the sense of loneliness in the apartment. Duchin demonstrate how these frustrations lead him to self-estrangement articulated by the shift to second form in relating to himself:

“...Finally I have rented an apartment with a veranda/ The sky are seen from the window/ and the price is right/ Now I am here playing catch with me, with myself, the floor, the ceiling, and the lamp/ How can one bear it when it gets evening? How can one bear it once it gets morning?” (Duchin, *On the way to Eilat*, Hebrew). “I have a room of my own/ and the room is full of light/ but I am not myself/ or I am in dark...” (Duchin, *A room of my own*, Hebrew).

The third poem demonstrates the failure of reaching out of the self in an attempt to develop intimate relations with other, failure that leads to self-alienation:

“I still can feel your taste/ although I have stopped dreaming/ I still feel your smell/ although I have stopped breathing/ and I feel when it is good/ but I have myself to love/. Some told me we are with you/ But they all have disappeared/ I am left alone/ so do not fall, do not melt, do not leave/ even if it is hard, do not seduce to love...” (Ivri Lieder, *The Blue Glass*, Hebrew)

Photographic art pieces made by young artists from Tel-Aviv shed a somewhat different light on aspects of the home for members of the glocal lifestyle. Figure 1 represents three aspects of the glocal lifestyle are represented in this work. First, the old deteriorating home is completely dark inside and the young couple turns their back to their home, focusing on making impression on the exterior world. Second, the young couple is incapable of any intimacy between themselves. They are hiding from each other behind the corner of the home, focusing their attention to the impressions they leave on others outside their home. Third, their attention is devoted completely to the impressions their temporary masks leave on the outer world, ima-

ges that emphasize their mere sexuality and emotionally freezing faces.

Figure 1: Ron Kedmi, 1993 "Fashion photo".



Tiranit Barzily emphasizes the loss of intimacy in the new households of the members of the glocal lifestyle. A common afternoon in a rented apartment is demonstrated in Figure 2. Each member is busy with herself, almost completely avoiding others in the room. The two only encounters emphasize the loss of intimacy. On the right side the young fellow touches the woman's breast but at the same time his attention is directed elsewhere and hers' is directed toward her instant food. In the second encounter, on the left side, some intimacy is achieved, but it can take place only with the dog.

Figure 2: Tiranit Barziliv, 1991, "No name".

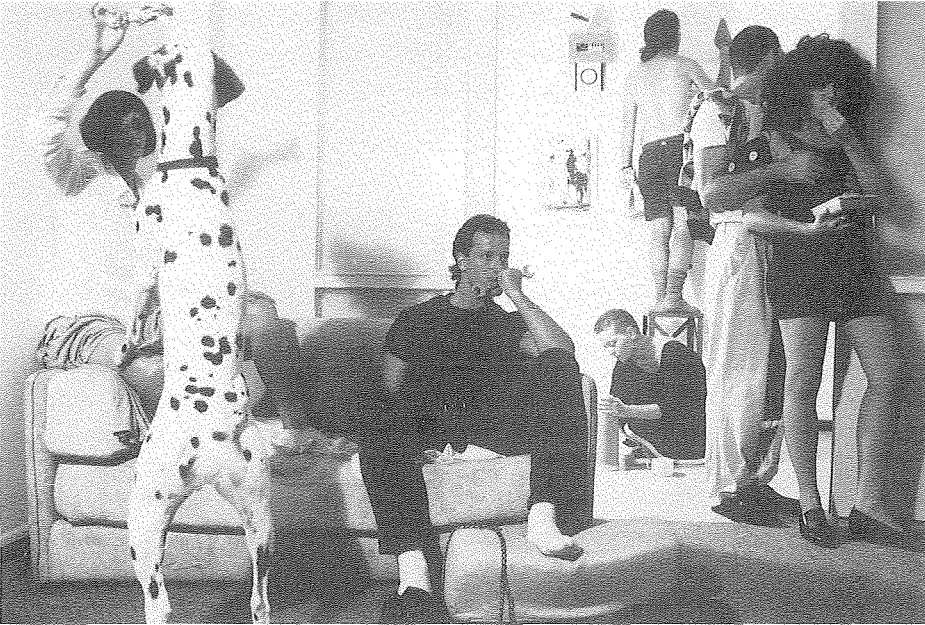


Figure 3: Alex Libak, 1994, "Dizengof square"



Alex Libak's photo (Figure 3) demonstrates the loss of boundaries between 'home' and 'reach' places. The lady presents herself to the world in a way that reminds the young couple in Kedmi's photo, even at the price of presenting a grotesque image. At the same time and place the young couple gains a moment of intimacy while taking their fast food lunch in the square instead of at home, were traditionally intimate meals used to take place.

NEIGHBORHOODS OF STRANGERS

Despite the possibility to encounter intimacy in public space, the more frequent experiences achieved at the homely environment are experiences of strangeness. This sense of strangeness does not lead to alienation, but to anonymity that sets the context for a sophisticated game of masks changing while socializing with different groups of others. The status of the neighbor is demonstrated by several quotations from the interviews:

- "I recognize some of the neighbors' faces but I do not know their names or anything about them, nor do I want to know anything about them."
- "I have never climbed the stairs above my apartment to see who lives there."
- "I gave one neighbor, that looks nice, my apartment's key but I don't let him chat with me even in the corridor."
- "My neighbor suggested once to enter for a coffee. I consider it a very aggressive invasive offer. Since then I try to avoid him in all means."
- "I will never ask any favor from a neighbor, there are always open shops if I need anything."

Anonymity, in respect to neighbors, is a preferable stance for members of the glocal lifestyle. It is not an alienating experience but one that enables them to practice their glocal personality free of external stressing control mechanisms. In the crowded areas of the inner city of Tel-Aviv and the architecture that stresses large windows and open verandas, built for a different residential culture, such privacy from neighbors' control is difficult to achieve. Privacy is achieved, therefore, by the anonymity that residents gain from neighbors.

Neighbors are not perceived as human subjects worthy of any humane affiliation, but as anonymous objects that furniture the environmental context of the inner city, to a place that is anything but their parents' bourgeoisie reality. "My home area in Tel-Aviv means freedom from the control of parents, family, neighbors etc., everything that means home and neighborhood."

Sense of anonymity and strangeness in neighborhood and reach spaces is associated by members of the Glocal lifestyle with sense of convenience and warmth, unlike what might be expected from existential models (Sopher, 1979; Buttimer, 1977). The next set of quotations demonstrates these feelings:

- "Limited and none-obligatory relations with suppliers of services and goods in

the neighborhood are enough to give me some sense of at-homeness in my home area.”

- “When I moved here I was looking for a known laundry, grocery and a coffee shop. There I can chat without exposing myself and without being exposed to others beyond some un-obligatory discussions. We have regular small talks that repeat themselves each visit. With the barber I talk about the success of his innovative equipments, in the grocery we talk about the last cooking program on T.V. etc.”
- “Some people I meet frequently and despite the fact that we will never exchange even a word with them, the fact that I meet them frequently makes me feel at-home.”
- “The 24 hours grocery store is a place of intimate talks, sometimes even with strangers, that are held during the small hours of the night. It may be considered the natural reserve of the traditional home neighborhood.”

The refusal to constitute a community of insiders does not destroy for the protagonists their sense of at-homeness. Instead, they constitute for themselves home spaces that support their lifestyle as flaneurs-who never feel sense of belonging to any place and community, who never allow themselves to be contained by any place and community, but are always searching for pleasure and passion in places, remaining aware of alternative opportunities in different places and ready to test them. The kind of sense of at-homeness, constituted by the protagonists, could be easily reconstructed in any new place after a short time. Many of them have expressed their disengaged position in the place:

- “I am not willing to join any public activity, not even to the petition against the cellular phone Antenna distributed lately. I do not have time for it. I am just an apartment renter here; it is not my place. If worse comes to worth I will just move elsewhere.”
- “There are no relations among people in Tel-Aviv. It is a city of strangers and tourists. Today they are around the next day they move elsewhere. I myself am just a visitor in a longer vacation in Tel-Aviv.”
- “In search for an apartment I consider only the apartment qualities. I do not care about the environment and neighborhood as long as it is located in the inner city of Tel-Aviv.”
- “A neighborhood is a place of rooted people with children who need a safe milieu. Here it is different, everybody stays here temporarily. They have arrived here once and are expected to disappear anytime.”
- “The advantage of the inner city is its accessibility to markets, the beach, restaurants, shopping centers and other services. I came here because I wanted to have a good time, participate in leisure activities, to work, to get to know new people and to do everything that is opposite to family style of life.”

SOCIO-SPATIAL NETWORKS

Making new social networks is one of the reasons to move to Tel-Aviv, a reason that is associated with the perception that the inner city supplies diverse and wide sets of opportunities. In practice, most of the protagonists mentioned that they have 6-7 circles of closer friends. The first division is between circles of friends recruited from virtual networks and from local communities. Most protagonists mentioned between three and four circles of local social networks and anywhere between none to four virtual networks. Most social networks include about four to seven friends, with only few affiliation groups mentioning larger numbers. Each such circle leads to larger networks with others that are based on much less sense of friendship and commitment. Convergences among different social circles may exist but they are not so frequent.

Three types of affiliation groups may emerge in the experience of each member of the glocal lifestyle: sentiment, interest and concern. Groups founded more on sentiments are recruited from the hometown and the military service milieus. These communities are characterized with more intimate relationships, they serve for relief from the sense of competition and anonymity of the daily life and escape from the mask games that characterized their lifestyle. Interest groups are recruited from the reservoir of university and work mates from former places, as well as from the current workplace. They reflect the greater representation of the protagonists' achieved statuses and their interest in maintaining open opportunities for their future careers, sources of relevant information for their performance at work, businesses, etc. Networks based on common concern are more characteristic of the virtual networks. Chats are frequently based on people from all over the world, who share common concern for particular aspects of life, like certain types of music, environmental issues etc.

In managing sentiment groups the protagonists tend to maintain intimate relations with others, even if these are not so frequent. The most common statements regarding these type of networks is that "we can avoid any contact, including phone contacts for long time, but when we meet we feel as if time didn't pass at all and we had just met shortly before." The second statement concerning these networks emphasizes the sense of intimacy that characterizes them. It relates to the ability to be open and to leave aside any mask or image because they are good friends, who know the protagonist long since in all kinds of stressful situations in which one cannot play any games. The third characteristic of these networks is the feeling of strong trust in the others in the group. "I know they will always be there for me". Others in the affiliation groups of sentiment may be few people from the protagonists' home place who moved to the inner city of Tel-Aviv, or those who have spread all over the country and even abroad. Members of these groups are there to escape the protagonists' moments of loneliness.

Affiliation groups of interest are managed in very different ways. Social contacts take place mainly in coffee shops and restaurants; many times they involve business

with social interests. They may take place during work hours, in between work and other activities, contributing to the formation of a highly intensive timetable of the protagonists. These relations are maintained and organized by intensive network of cellular phone calls. Meetings are coordinated via cellular connections, followed by a more general decision to meet at the exact times and places agreed upon. Such meetings are coordinated at the last minutes according to the activities of the participants in the time that shortly precedes or follows these meetings. In many cases, cellular conversations are the main mean to maintain interest social networks. Many of the protagonists mentioned that they keep calling such friends at least once a week in order to maintain the privileged status of their relations, while they meet them face to face only once in few weeks or even once in few month. Members of the glocal lifestyle make intensive use of cellular phone on a daily basis in order to coordinate their family lives or their relations with spouses. They overcome coupling constraints by coordinating activities and their relatively short meetings at home or elsewhere by using cellular and S.M.S. messages to each other on a regular base.

Virtual affiliation groups may be of marginal relevance for some of the members of the glocal lifestyle, but highly salient for others. In average, they are not less important than face-to-face contacts as it is shown in our investigation. Following Barash (2001) I relate to three aspects of social relations: intensity of social contacts (Table 3), protagonists' sense of belonging to affiliation groups (Table 4), and their influence on worldviews (Table 5). All these aspects are studied in comparison to the protagonists' local affiliation groups. For the average member of the glocal lifestyle, local affiliation groups are still more salient than virtual ones although virtual affiliation groups are a significant part of their daily life. They mainly enlarge the circle of friends with more than half of the friends gained via virtual relations.

Table 3: Intensity of use of telecommunication encounters.

<i>Contact intensity</i>	<i>Affiliation group</i>	
	<i>Virtual</i>	<i>Local</i>
Average weekly hours spent in each	14.0	26.0
Average number of weekly encounters	4.9	5.3
From ten best friends how many are from	5.3	4.7

The same pattern of relatively higher salience attributed to local communities is also phrased in terms of the sense of belonging they raise. Although virtual affiliation groups enable the development of intimate relations, they raise much less sense of belonging than local affiliation groups. While more than seventy percent of the protagonists expect to develop sense of belonging to others in virtual affiliation groups, only close to half of them feel, in practice, strong sense of belonging to any virtual community, although they feel strong sense of belonging to few individuals from virtual affiliation groups.

Table 4: Sense of belonging evoked by telecommunication encounter.

<i>Sense of belonging</i>	<i>Affiliation groups</i>	
	<i>Virtual</i>	<i>Local</i>
Feels strong sense of belonging to dominant group	48%	80%
I have intimate relations with one person in these groups	76%	81%
Main purpose of the group is to supply close social relations	71%	96%
Main purpose of the group is to supply necessary information	47%	2%

In terms of the impact that the two types of affiliation groups have on individuals, the dominant status of the local community may be observed, but, again, the significant role of virtual communities stand out clearly. Beyond this fact we see the divergent role of the two types of communities. While local affiliation groups are more dominant in shaping tastes and opinions, virtual communities are more dominant in exposing the protagonists to none conformist worldviews and new ways of thinking.

Table 5: The impact of telecommunication on worldviews.

<i>Impact on worldview</i>	<i>Affiliation groups</i>	
	<i>Virtual</i>	<i>Local</i>
Dominant impact on environmental issues	25%	58%
Dominant impact on choosing music	33%	51%
Dominant impact on political issues	35%	41%
Dominant in exposing me to new ideas and worldview	52%	48%

CONCLUSIONS

Members of the glocal lifestyle tend to regionalize their daily life spaces along the highly condensed reaches of the inner city and to expand them into global reaches, relying highly on telecommunication. Cellular phones are used more in order to support the condensed activity patterns within the urban and national reaches and Internet is used more in order to widen horizons of interactions beyond daily reaches and to expose them to new tastes and worldviews. The result is an experiential space that spreads into global horizons with the spaces of daily reaches intentionally being estranged, except for islands of home places and spaces, shared with five to nine fragmented affiliation groups, part of which are rooted in daily reach spaces and others in cyberspace.

The estrangement of others in local reaches transforms them into detached scenes that may be decoded by observation with no desire to get to know them intimately beyond the scenic aspects. Experiences in estranged spaces become, then, series of episodes with limited roots in their pasts and little consequences for their futures. Observers remain detached but curious to these scenes. As curious observers, members of the glocal lifestyle continuously search for opportunities, either for careers or

for leisure activities, affiliations that may subdivide them into 'Yuppies' and 'Bobos', and 'mobile youngsters' who present high affiliation to leisure activities (Schnell and Graicer, 1995). Both sub-groups may emphasize their high expectations for self-fulfillment and pleasure in their daily life on the one hand and their limited commitment to others from affiliation groups.

The three different types of affiliation groups emphasize their glocal style of life. Like tourists, they maintain a home out of their residential home and few affiliation groups based on sentiments and strong sense of belonging as milieus for rescue in situations of loneliness and frustration. Affiliation groups of interest and concern, in contrast, are more carefully considered and subjected to the project of the growth of the self. Estranged spaces become an adequate arena for mask game, frequently performed by members of the glocal lifestyle. On the background of anonymity, masks may gain credibility by others who tend to reduce reality into scenes. This opens space for a sophisticated lifestyle in which individuals may continuously recreate themselves and present their fashioned images to the external world, usually as desired objects for short run pleasures. In the process, personalities are changing and the status of the home as an existential 'zero point' is deteriorating. The estrangement from home spaces enables easy residential mobility and movement throughout the spaces of the network society. This further detaches them from home places, leading to the globalization of their spatial awareness on the one hand, but at the same time, to the maintenance of a nurturing home in one's locality.

REFERENCES

- Allen, J. (2002) On Georg Simmel: Proximity, distance and movement. In Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Thinking Space*. Routledge: London, pp.54-70.
- Anderson, J. (1997) Nationalism and geography. In Anderson, J. (ed.) *The Rise of the Modern State*. Brighton: Wheatsheaf, pp. 7-21.
- Barash, G. (2001) *Virtual and home based communities among chat users*. M.A. thesis Department of Geography and Human Environment, Tel Aviv University. (Hebrew)
- Bauman, Z. (1995) Making and unmaking of strangers. *Thesis Eleven*, 43:1-16.
- Bauman, Z. (2002) *Globalization, the Human Perspective*. HaKibbutz HaMeuchad Publisher: Tel Aviv. (Hebrew)
- Benjamin, W. (1999) *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Blumen, O. (2004). Fathers' work and children's distinctive lifestyle: Children of Israeli high-tech men. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:77-99
- Bourdieu, P. (1985) The social space and the genesis of groups. *Theory and Society*,

14:723-744.

- Buttimer, A. (1977) Grasping the dynamism of lifeworld. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66: 277-292.
- Buttimer, A. (1980) Social space and the planning of residential areas. In Buttmer A. and Seanon, D. (ed.), *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. New York: St. Martin Press, pp.21-54.
- Castells, M. (1996) *The Information Age—Economy, Society and Culture: Volume I - The Rise of the Network Society*. London: Blackwell.
- Chapin, F. S. (1978) Human time allocation in the city. In Carelstein, T., Parks, T., and Thrift, N. J. (eds.) *Human Activity and Time Geography*. London: Edward Arnolds, pp. 13-26.
- Chombart de Lauwe, P.H. (1966) Sociologie sciences humaines et transformations sociales. *Revue de L'Enseignement Superieur*, 1-2:11-19.
- Cockerham, W. C., Abel, T. and Luschen, G. (1993) Max Weber, formal rationality, and health lifestyle. *The Social Quarterly*, 34:413-426.
- Cullen, I.G. and Godson, V. (1975) The structure of activity patterns. *Progress in Planning*, 4:1-96.
- Dahrendorf, R. (1979) *Life Chances*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fischer, C. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outlines of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Goldman, A. and Kipnis, B. A. (2003) Similarities and differences in lifestyle attributes of residents of Haifa, Israel. *Social Security*, 64:83-99. (Hebrew)
- Habermas, J. (1984) *The Theory of Communicative Action* Vol. 1. Boston: Beacon.
- Hagerstrand, T. (1975) Space, time and human conditions. In Karlqvist, A. Lundqvist, L. and Snickars, L. (eds.), *Dynamic Allocation of Urban Space*. Farnborough: Saxon House, pp. 127-135.
- Hall, P. (1983) The urban culture and the suburban culture: A new look at an old paper. In Agnew, J. A., Mercer, J., and Sopher, E. (eds.) *The City in Cultural Context*. London: Allen and Anwin, pp.120-133.
- Kravchyk, L. and Kipnis, B. A. (2004). Similarities and dissimilarities in the evaluation of lifestyle attributes by hi-tech employees in Israel: A value stretch analysis. *Tichnun*, 1:17-33. (Hebrew)
- Kipnis, B. A. (2003) Lifestyle attributes of young Israelis at the eve of the 21st century: Their weights, gaps and time horizons at the value stretch model, and their planning applications. *Ofakim Ba-Geographia*, 55:5-23. (Hebrew)

- Kipnis, B. A., (2004a) Post-industrial lifestyles attributes of work and leisure of Israelis at the end of the 1990s: A value stretch analysis. In Le Heron, R. and Harrington, J.W. (eds.) *New Economic Spaces: New Economic Geographies* (forthcoming).
- Kipnis, B. A. (2004b) Lifestyle—An Editorial Introduction. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:1-20
- Kreitler, H. and Kreitler, S. (1990) *The Cognitive Foundation of Personality Trait*. London: Plenum Press.
- Levinas, E. (1981) *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Ethics*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Lewin, K. (1951) *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: Harper.
- Lofland, L. (1971) *The World of Strangers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Markus, H. R., and Kitayama, S. (1991) Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98:224-253.
- Maffesoli, M. (1993) The social ambience. *Current Sociology*, 4:7-15.
- Noy, P. 1995 What is the self in 'the psychology of the self'. *Sichot*, 9:180-90. (Hebrew)
- Pred, A. (1989) On paths and projects: Individual behavior and its social context. In Cox, K. R. and Golledge, R. (eds.) *Behavioral Problems in Geography Revisited*, New York: Methuen, pp.223-254.
- Sarup, M. (1996) *Identity, Culture and the Post-modern World*. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press.
- Saunders, P. (1986) *Social Theory and the Urban Question*. London: Hutchinson.
- Schnell, I. (1993) The emergence of an urban lifestyle in Tel Aviv. In Nachmias, D. and Menahem, G. (eds.) *Social Processes and Public Policy in Tel-Aviv-Yafo*. Tel Aviv: Ramot, pp.42-53.
- Schnell, I. (2002) Segregation in everyday life spaces: A conceptual model. In Schnell, I. and Ostendorf, W. (eds.) *Styles of Segregation and Dissegregation*. Aldershot: Avebury, pp.39-66.
- Schnell, I. and Graicer, I. (1995) *Back to Tel Aviv*. The Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Haifa: Technion University Press.
- Schnell, I., and Benjamini, Y. (2001) The Socio-spatial isolation of agents in everyday life spaces as an aspect of segregation. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 91:622-633.
- Shapcott, M. and Steadman, P. (1978) Rhythms of urban activity. In Carelstein, T. Parks, T. and Thrift, N. J.(eds.) *Human Activity and Time Geography*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 127-139.

- Shils, E. (1970) Deference. In Laumann, E. O., Siegel, P. M. and Hodge R. W. (eds.) *The Logic of Social Hierarchies*. Chicago: Markham, pp.20-30.
- Simmel, G. (1950a) The Stranger. In Wolff, K. H. (ed.) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 32-40.
- Simmel, G. (1950b) The metropolis and mental life. In Wolff, K. H. (ed.) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: The Free Press, pp.75-94.
- Short, J.R. (1989) Yuppies, Yuffies, and the new urban order. *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers*, 14:173-188.
- Slevin, J. (2000) *The Internet and Society*. Polity Press: London.
- Smith, M. A. (1996) *Voices from the WELL: The Logic of Virtual Commons*. UCLA. (electronic edition)
- Soja, W. E. (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sopher, D. (1979) The landscape of home. In Meining, D. W. (ed.) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.129-150.
- Sorre, M. (1955) *Les Migrations de Peuples: Essai sur la Mobilité Géographique*. Paris: Marcel Riviere et Cie.
- Tajfel, H. (1978) Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In Tajfel, H. (ed.) *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Psychology of Inter-Group Relations*. New York and London: Academic Press, pp.61-76.
- Taylor, D.M. and Moghaddam, F.M. (1987) *Theories of Intergroup Relations*. New York: Praeger.
- Versantvoort, M. and van der Laan, L., (2004) Labor supply in a lifestyle perspective. *Geography Research Forum*, 24:21-36.
- Weber, M. (1946) Class, status and party. In Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. (eds.) *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.180-195.
- Weinreich, P. (1996) The operationalisation of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations. In Rex, J. and Mason, D. (eds.) *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.76-89.