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Place, non place & mutability in an
intimate metropolis

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This essay explores the interweaving of place and non-place within a metropolis as defined by Marc Auge. It also explores the notions of what a building is and show that its not the stable, fixed structure that we may think it is, but in relative terms a living entity that reflects the times and the people who occupy it.

Initially 'Intimate Metropolis' appears to be a phrase at odds with itself. Two words that have little to do with one another juxtaposed together. The book of the same name solves this paradox by defining Public and Private as *Collective* and *Individual* respectively and states that the modern city establishes relationships between the individual and the collective. So the Intimate Metropolis is "a place where the boundaries between public and private, individual and multitude have been blurred" (Palmer.V. et al, 2009, pg2). It is easy

Fig. 1 - Flats above the commercial outlets on the corner of Upper Parliament Street & Market Street, Nottingham

to see the relationship between a business and its customers as an individual supplying goods to the collective; but not so easy to see how the model applies to the individual

Fig. 3 - Flats on Mansfield Road with blinds at their windows

outside of the business world, for example at home in the city. This link between collective and individual is tied to the notions of Place and Non-place defined by Marc Auge in that the place of business or home is in immediate proximity to the non-place of travel.

Evidence of this blurring of boundaries between place and non-place and collective and individual can be seen in many areas of Nottingham that have public spaces right on the doorsteps of private living spaces. In most cases the living spaces are flats above shops (*Fig. 1*), the occupants benefiting from their elevated quarters protecting them from the prying eyes of the public as they walk past on their business. There are some dwellings that are on the ground floor (*Fig. 2&3*). These tend to have blinds in the windows that are very rarely, if ever actually opened. This leaves you with the instinctive feeling that the inside living space must be dark and gloomy and left with a feeling that the world is overbearing as it almost forces itself through the windows each time a car, bus or person travels by. The first floor dwelling benefits from being raised above the hustle and

bustle of the everyday life taking place below. This raised position provides a lofty viewpoint from which to observe events below. Gaston Bachelard tells us that the higher we are in the structure of a building the greater the potential for oneirism.   "Up near the roof all our thoughts are clear." he then goes on to say "As for the cellar, we shall no doubt find uses for it. It will be rationalised". "But it is first and foremost the *dark entity* of the house" (Bachelard.G., 1994, Pg18.). Bachelard tells us that when we dream there we are in harmony with its subterranean depths. But of course these flats do not have cellars as the shop has taken its relative place. One can propose that the inhabitants are saved from the perils of the cellar and are blessed with the luxury of elevation from everyday life. Bachelard tells us the purpose of the ground floor is to connect us to everyday life. But he also says "a house in a big city lacks cosmicity. For here, where houses are no longer set in natural surroundings, the relationship between house and space becomes an artificial one. Everything about it is mechanical and, on every side, intimate living flees." (Bachelard.G., 1994, Pg27) Here

Bachelard recognises the close proximity between place and non-place; the home and the street.

Fig. 2 - Flats on Alfreton Road that open directly onto the street

Within Intimate Metropolis during the chapter Drawing and Dispute by Katharina Borsi, Ildefonso Cerdá is credited as the originator of Urbanism (Palmer.V. et al, 2009, pg150). Cerdá's definition of "the urban" is of a single complex of spaces that accommodate human repose and facilitate movement. This applies on different levels; on the smaller individual scale the home is a shelter where we can rest and relax after a days toil. Within the structure of the home the everyday intimate activities are taken care of through the provision of purposed spaces and the necessary halls, stairs and landings to enable the occupier to move between functions. On the larger agglomerative scale, the city reflects this as it is built from a mixture of

places of rest, places of work and places by which to travel. However it is the density of the mixture that defines the metropolis.

The Inn or Public House is a representation of Cerdá's definition. A place of temporary repose that inherently facilitates movement. Nottinghams The Trip To Jerusalem Inn (*Fig. 4*) is a good example. Cerdá's definition of "the urban" links strongly to the work of Marc Auge. In his book Non-Places he explains that non-places are spaces of transport and transit which are lacking any historical significance and strong symbolism of place identity. He says "If a place can be defined as relational, historical or concerned with identity, then a space which can not be defined as relational, historical or concerned with identity will be a non-place." (Auge.M., 1995, Pg 77).

The Prologue of Non-Places is a narrative of Pierre Dupont's journey from Paris to an unnamed destination. The pages are covertly filled with the references that typically surround a journey through an airport and the experience of flight travel. As you read this introduction the pages talk of

Fig. 4 - The Trip To Jerusalem Inn

his visit to a cash dispenser, his journey on the A11 Autoroute via the tollbooth, the precise location of his car in the car park and his rather automated discussion with the check-in clerk at the airport. At the duty free he buys French alcohol for his Asian clients and a box of cigars for himself.   Eventually he reaches his destination in the form of his seat and engages images of other places on screen and in written from that are telling him how wonderful the places are. There are so many references its as if the non-place is crying out for survival. Indeed Auge tells us that we are important for non places to exist. They need us to give them identity! So much so that our relationship with most Non-Spaces is contractual either tacitly or formally. "Alone, but with many, the user of a non-place is in contractual relations with it (or with the powers that govern it). He is reminded, when necessary, that the

contract exists."(Auge.M., 1995, Pg 101) Evidence of these contracts are in our possession as "tickets he has purchased, the card he will have to show at the toll booth, even the trolleys he trundles round the supermarket, are all more or less clear signs of it." (Auge.M., 1995, Pg 101).

Auge uses the airport as an example of a non-place where contracts are present in the production of proof of contract and following this, identity documents to prove your ability to carry out the contractual arrangement of travelling. Auge calls the passport page that is stamped upon entry to a country "The space of contemporary consumption" which is "stamped with the sign of Non Place". The car driver paying a Toll with his card gives up his identity. The car driver passing by a speed camera gives up his identity through facial and number plate recognition photography. The

customer in the supermarket gives up his identity through a mixture of rows of CCTV cameras (with or without facial recognition) and payment by card or cheque at the checkout. In Non-places "here words hardly count any longer. There will be no individualisation (no right to anonymity) without identity checks" (Auge.M., 1995, Pg 102). Non-places literally demand us to give them identity.

Auge says that a non-place can become a "place of memory" (Auge.M., 1995, Pg 77) which becomes attached to a specific person, forming part of their identity. He uses the example of someone being born in a clinic and dying in a hospital to convey this message. Anyone who spent the first weeks of their life in a hospital can relate to this. However at some point along the way the attachment becomes 'Insert City Name the place of my birth' rather than the specific ward or hospital of the actual birth. However, Auge's point cannot be completely disregard as it is likely that parents remember the place of birth as the name of the Ward or Hospital.

In the context of Nottingham, there

are many Places and Non-Places. It can be argued that the shops, hotels and offices aren't places that provide a sense of history and identity to the city in the same way as Nottingham Castle or Robin Hood. In a short film, Youtube user Gesmos defines a "Non-City" as a place that has many well known branded shops scattered within the metropolis but no reference to places of historical value (28/03/2010, Youtube). While the film does make it's point and shows one angle of Auge's line of thinking it can be argued that it's a surface perspective. Auge's wider message of Supermodernity is one where the places of service, commerce and trade are places of memory. Where do you like to go to eat in the city? Where do you buy your shoes from? Where do you go when you need something? The very fact that we know where to go to buy something means that we have given the non-place in the form of a shop an identity. The point is that the city itself doesn't have an identity, the identity of the city lives in the minds of the people who inhabit it. Because we live in a time where commerce and trade are integral to our survival and our everyday lives, our relationship with our places of

work and places that service our needs contribute to forming our identity. Our dependency on these places is strong. We have a tacit relationship with these places. This elevates them from being non-places to places that contribute to our sense of the identity of the city and of ourselves. The vast sprawl of the city shops are the core of the places, the office blocks and hotels which line the main traffic arteries of the city provide opportunity for the occupants to engage with the city and give it their own personal identity. Place identity is a personal experience.

In between the places that we inhabit for work, rest or play are the intricate veins of our transport network that enables us to traverse in, out and around the metropolis at will. But they provide no tangeable opportunity of identity or historical value. Like many towns and cities, Nottingham's city council has made efforts over many years to promote a sense of history in the city. It has used the network of Non-Places as a tool for this promotion; the The Robin Hood link with Nottingham is exploited on "Maid Marian Way" one of the main non-place traffic arteries in the city.

The memory of the original Marshes of Nottingham is turned into "The Broad Marsh Shopping Centre". The distance between the castle and Sherwood Forest is celebrated through the "Robin Hood Line", a railway service between Nottingham and Worksop. The entire stretch of which is itself a non-place that separates agglomerations of homes, villages and towns. A portion of the A52 road between the cities of Nottingham and Derby has been named "Brian Clough Way" to commemorate the work of one man who raised the sporting profile of Nottingham City for decades. This attaches the his memory to the non-place and while promoting the memory of Brian Clough turns a non-place into a place in that it promotes historical significance and the identity of the city.

The naming of these non-places gives them a sense of identity for those who surround them. The naming of Non-places attempts to raise them from their base function to providing a sense of historical value.

The metropolis of Nottingham is a place where people go to service and maintain their lives. From the

markets in the square of early Nottingham to the high street commerce of today, the city provides a place of meeting and exchange. This place is enabled by a structure of non-places in the form of areas dedicated to transport and transit. In these days of saturated advertising and perpetual brand promotion we are lured to the places of commerce and service. If our city doesn't have a particular branded place (e.g.

Showcase, Maplin, Halfords) we will traverse along the veins of our road network of non-place; discarding in-between places until we reach our destination.

On a smaller scale, when visiting the city to engage its varieties of commerce and service we plan our route and travel the network of pavements paying little or no attention to the surrounding places until we reach our chosen retail destination. Once here we will remain until we have satisfied our sense of its value. This is a significant difference between places of historical value and places of commerce. In the places of commerce they are discarded once their value is used. In the places of historical value we eventually leave, but know that their value remains.

Each Metropolis is built with an overwhelming mixture of brick, concrete, asphalt and glass. The clean lines of the face of the service and retail frontages hides an exciting and varied rear exterior. Exploring these is almost as though you are suddenly party to a previous unknown (fig 5). The same location has a brightly lit welcoming front of house,

but a dark repelling rear. The rear hides the dirty underwear from the customer. The waste bins, air conditioning units, the staff on cigarette breaks, rampant moss growth, refuse sacks piled up for collection, waste packaging clutter, general disrepair and dirt. This Non-place is like the roads at the front of the buildings but this time primarily for pedestrian use. For the travelling worker the space is that final few feet into the building or its exterior inner-sanctum as the rear of buildings feel. The spaces are surprisingly private in comparison to the thoroughfare of the frontage. The rear of the buildings are structured only for travel through the non-place in and out of the adjacent building.

Buildings are shaped and re-shaped by changing cultural influences, changing real-estate value and change in usage. Stewart Brand says that the wider use of the term Architecture to mean "unchanging deep structure" (Brand.S., 1997, Pg2) the whole concept of which is permanence - is in fact illusory. He points out that the word Building means to actually build something and also refers to the finished product. This actually suits

the point he makes; rather than the solid and still structures suggested in "Architecture", a "Building" is fluid and can be considered to be an ongoing work that is continually changing. "First we shape our buildings, then they shape us, then we shape them again – ad infinitum. Function reforms form, perpetually." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg3)

The cultural changes that have influenced the use of our buildings are many. Brand offers us a walk through the 20th century: "When servants disappeared from them, kitchens suddenly grew, servants rooms became superfluous and were rented out. Cars came, grew in size and number, then shrank in size, and garages and car parks tried to keep pace. 'Family rooms' expanded around the Television." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg3). More recently "access for the disabled transformed toilets, stairs, curbs and lifts." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg5). In the 1960s, women joined the workforce, transforming both the workplace and the home." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg3). It is this economic change that has meant the decline of the conventional Nuclear family unit. Brand believes that this

large scale change has left architects catching up to accommodate these changes effectively.

Where money flows buildings grow. "Form follows funding" people find it irresistible to spend money on their largest asset. "If people have spare money, they will *mess* with their building. At minimum to solve the current set of frustrations, at maximum to show off their wealth." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg5). To define the mutability of buildings Brand splits them into three groups. Commercial buildings, Domestic buildings and Institutional buildings. This split is used to highlight the speed that mutability takes place in each of the three categories. The Commercial buildings are forever metamorphic, their turnover in terms of their use is a constant. As Brand puts it "Businesses either grow and move or fail and vanish." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg7) The type of change that commercial buildings have is transformative. He uses an example of what was once a row of buildings on Broadway in 1880 becoming the block wide Woolworth building in 1913. The pictures in Figure six below, were taken in 1880 and 1974 respectively.

Fig. 6 - (Brand.S., 1997, Pg7)

This is very much like the recent changes that have taken place in Trinity Square in Nottingham. Where there was once a Brutalist style car park (Fig. 7) there is now a public space and some flats.

Fig. 7 – Trinity Square car park, Nottingham.
[accessed: 07/04/2010, Flickr.com, user:radfordred]

On the other side of the street which was the rear of the old Nottingham Evening Post building on Forman Street was a row of unassuming shops (Fig. 8) which have now been transformed.

Fig. 8 – Original row of Trinity Square businesses.
[accessed: 07/04/2010, Flickr.com, user:riff design]

Domestic homes are slower to change and not as transformative. Domestic buildings are steady changers which "respond to the family's ideas and annoyances, growth and prospects". The type of mutability of the domestic building is a growing change rather than transformative. Home owners and Renters have a different relationship to the home. In the case of owners; the home and its occupants mould together 24hrs a day. "The building accumulates the record of this intimacy" (Brand.S., 1997, Pg7). In the case of renters this intimate record is prevented from creation because a renter has to ask for permission to make any type of change to the home and they are financially discouraged from making any changes because they will not receive any return on their investment. This together with the landlords business view of the home rather than a personal view makes large changes unlikely.

Fig. 9 (Brand.S., 1997, Pg's 8&9)

The above set of three images (fig 9) shows the changes made at three points in this buildings life: ca.1900, ca.1939 and ca 1941. Each successive development shows how the building has grown to accommodate the needs of the occupiers. The second picture shows that "since 1900 the house has pushed out onto its upstairs deck. A garage has appeared on the left and bay windows on the right. The tall brick chimneys no doubt shaken down in the 1906 earthquake". "In 1940 the whole house surged upward one and two stories. Windows multiplied. The garage became three garages. Each change was an extension or increase of what was there before, rather than a transformation." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg's 8&9).

The steady changes made in domestic buildings shows the increase in wealth of the occupants and this translates to the wealth of the area as a whole. Brand uses the streets of Charleston, South Carolina as an example of how when prospects are low, change is low. In this case the American civil war (1861 to 1865) impoverished the south and as figure Ten shows the streets have hardly changed between 1906 and 1990.

Fig. 10 - Poverty stops change. (Brand.S., 1997, Pg 101)

Institutional buildings are the slowest changers. They are so slow they appear stubbornly immune to the changes that take place around them.

Soldiers Home in Washington DC (fig. 11). In 1857 (first image) it was originally designed to look Italianate. In 1868 (second image) the upward

they should be "Worn but fully functional" (Brand.S., 1997, Pg10). Genuinely old buildings are refreshed gently whereas new buildings are encouraged to ripen quickly to encourage them to embed with the surrounding (older) buildings. Building materials can be used to encourage embeddedness. Brand cites the example of wooden shingle roofing in the USA, a good example from the UK is wooden strip panelling placed around the windows of modern developments of flats, for example in Sheffield (figures 13 & 14). The wear of the panelling that can be seen begins to embed it with its surroundings and helps to reduce the newness of the building. In this case the wild grass that no-one has taken responsibility for yet works wonders too. It can be argued that just the ageing of the panelling doesn't produce a feeling of change, in fact the repetition of the need for maintenance just makes the building appear unmanaged rather than loved as Brand suggests. While these panels are a small effort towards merging with the surroundings, they help to demonstrate the lack of ownership of the exterior space that the apartment owner or renter has.

Fig. 11 - The changing of skin observed in Institutional buildings.(Brand.S., 1997, Pg19)

Of them Brand says "Institutional buildings act as if they were designed specifically to prevent and resist change for the organisation inside and to convey timeless reliability to everyone outside". "Institutional buildings are mortified by change" (Brand.S., 1997, Pg7). When change happens, Brand tells us that only the skin changes rather than the structure itself. This means that the interior would be unaffected by the change and this would suggest that the work of the institution itself remains unchanged by the surface alteration work.

The example Brand uses to highlight institutional building changes is the US

growth of the building was camouflaged by a fashionable Second Empire mansard roof. The tower also benefited from the acquisition of a water tank. In 1890 (third image) the buildings grew again in a Gothic Revival style. (Brand.S., 1997, Pg19) We have seen that as a building ages it records the changes made to it. This age makes us respect and appreciate it more, for the accumulation of investment that it manifests. "Age makes a building come to be loved" says Brand. This is a balance between age and maintenance. For us to appreciate a building it needs to be "just ripe". Things should not be new – equally things should not be rotten with age

This is also manifest in the distinct lack of opportunity for change.

Fig. 12 - Forced mutability stumps natural change.

Fig. 13 - Wooden strip panelling used as a filler between windows.

One of the interesting things about American domestic architecture of the suburbs is the incorporation of nooks and crannies into the building from new. Brand provides an example of one of these buildings (fig. 12) and points out that the maintenance costs of such a building will be high and the opportunity to change the building very low so pre-empting mutability or "pre-ripening" a home is a bad idea.

New, un-ripened buildings don't involve you in their completion as they they already are complete. As you can see in the images of figure Fourteen there is nowhere for mutability to show. As will be shown later, roads are incredibly resistant to change. The steadfastness of the non-place of the road wards off any

chance of development of the front of this building. The multi-occupancy structure of these apartments will also prevent mutability from putting down its roots because, the partition walls of each apartment separate each occupier from the next. In the same way that the road marks out the territory of the metropolis, the partition wall marks out the boundary that mutability cannot cross.

Fig. 14 - Weathered, sun-bleached and worn panelling used to show age in the building in an attempt to form character.

Generally, new homes almost decline your presence because occupants will inevitably ruin their "perfection" by entering the change cycle of function and form identified earlier. In contrast
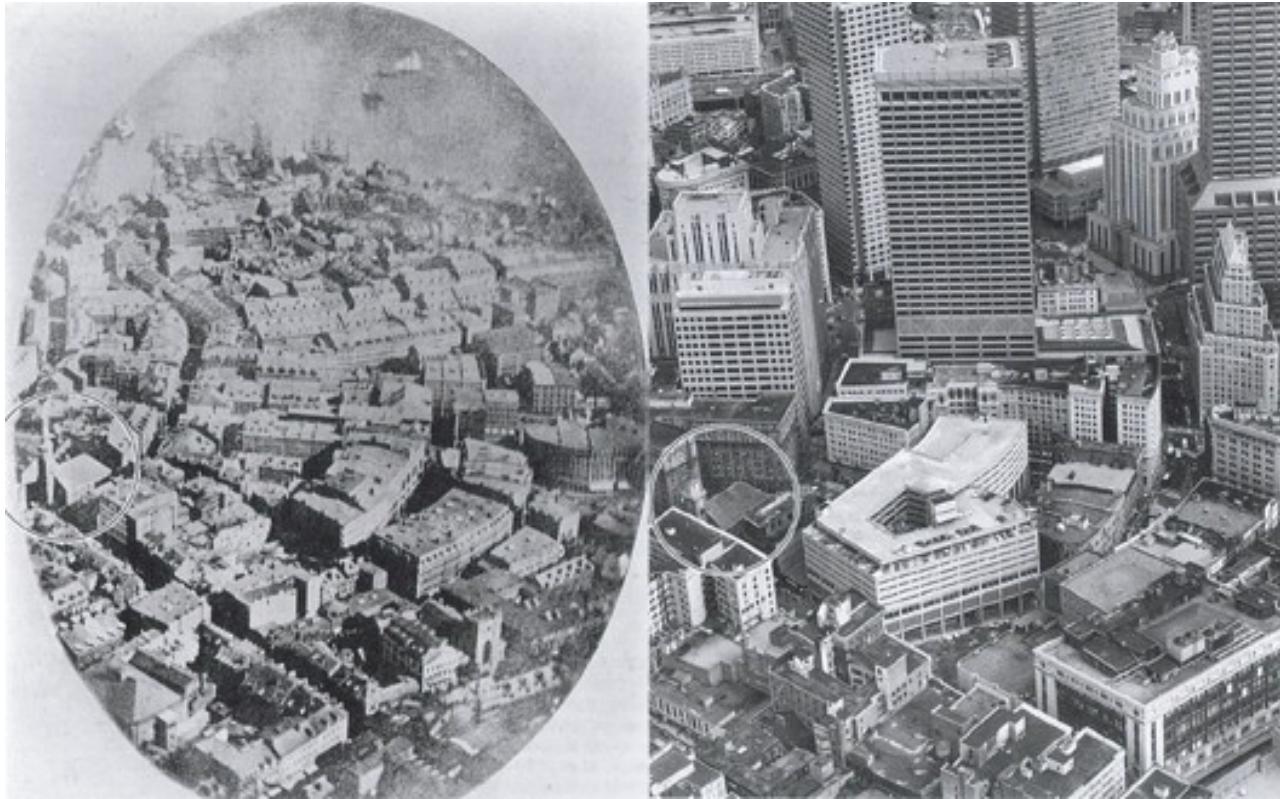
Fig 15. The persistence of the road network and the growth of the buildings. (Brand.S., 1997, Pg16)

to this older buildings are far more welcoming because they are already involved in the perpetual cycle of mutability. Brand quotes Frank Duffy a leading theorist in change rate in buildings, president of the Royal Institute of British Architects for 1993 to 1995: "Thinking about buildings in this time-laden way is very practical.

As a designer you avoid such mistakes as solving a five-minute problem with a fifty-year solution, or vice-versa. It legitimises the existence of different design skills – architects, service engineers, space planners, interior designers- all with their different agendas defined by this time scale. It means you invent building forms

which are very adaptive." (Brand.S., 1997, Pg17) With current trends focusing on the environmental sustainability of the resources that we use, designers will are beginning to embrace these issues through new technologies such as Autodesks Building Information Modelling (or BIM for short) that will allow them to make adjustments to proposed structures because of sustainability issues raised during the design process as people want to get the most from each building project in terms of its cost of maintenance and efficiency of energy use. Coupled with these factors, architects should help their clients consider the use of their buildings over a longer period of time rather than its initial use on the day its completed. This is where visualisers can be employed to show the building in its "potential futures" using the BIM data as a basis for forecasts. This will guide investors in making more astute decisions, enabling them to show the public that they are considering their environmental concerns.

If institutional buildings are stubborn to change, the only thing more stubborn is the road network that weaves the shape of a metropolis. Figure Fifteen shows how institutional buildings remain even when everything else has changed (see ring). Figure Sixteen shows that even after the redevelopment of Trinity Square in Nottingham where the roads were actually re-purposed for pedestrian use, their shape remains intact, and as Figure Seventeen shows their memory remains in that they are still used as roads despite the redevelopment. What is also clear is the impact that the road network has as a method of separation. Metropolis roads provide the guidelines to which buildings are built. A roads ability to have this dominating effect on town planning and architects is strongly linked to the way that buildings are independently owned. Individual people or companies will change their buildings at the time and pace they desire, others do the same. So the roads remain unchanged in position because of this individuality of ownership. The second more obvious factor is of course the metropolis' strong reliance upon the motor car in order for its survival. Today people travel to the metropolis to do business and the majority leave again afterwards, the road network is vital in this respect.

Fig. 16 - Trinity Square, Nottingham - Roads re-purposed for pedestrian use.

Fig. 17 - The memory of the road remains despite redevelopment.

Space can be broken down into several defining elements which seem to link together. Space appears to have an emotionality in terms of whether its inside or outside, Tuan tells us that the "inside provides security and the outside freedom" (Tuan. Y., 1977, Pg3). According to Tuan this creates an emotional temperature in the space which indicates whether connections with others are likely to form or blossom in the space (Tuan. Y., 1977, Pg107). According to Tuan inside space is intimate and secure and outside space gives us freedom but leaves us exposed to the world. The illustrations that have been produced in connection with this project try to reflect this emotionality. The use of lighting to create beams of light to draw the mental eye into the interior is an echo of Bachelard's Hut (Auge.M., 1995, Pg31). The hut being a solitary place of mystery which sparks the imagination into forming images of what may be inside. Spaces can also be described in terms of how accessible the individual is to others when occupying inside and outside spaces. Palmer, in Intimate Metropolis indicates that space can be described as individual space and collective space which I believe strongly links to the notion of private and public space. One being your space to use as a single entity and the other being space for the collective populous to use. It seems that Marc Auge's notions of "Place and Non-place" are a detail that can be used with either side of of the definitions of space as shown below.

Emotionality	Inside (Security)	Outside (Freedom)
Emotional tempreture	Intimacy	Exposure
Access to the individual	Private	Public
Singular or group	Individual	Collective
	Place / Non-place	

"Place and Non-place" can apply both inside and outside and seem to be linked to whether a location is used as a stopping space or a moving space. Maybe each location we find ourselves in can be considered to be one or the other by judging whether we are at our destination or whether we are on our way?

Whilst Auge's definition of "space and non-space" is interesting it could be argued that people play a key role in a greater way than he suggests. Maybe people can convert a "non-place" into a "place". Tuan gives an example of two friends sitting under a young tree talking who then wave to their teacher as he passes on the nearby path. Both parties are in a non-place yet for a moment they acknowledge the other. Maybe this transaction create a place, even if for a brief period of time.

The illustrations connected to this project aim to show the presence of the human without necessarily showing the actual human in the scene. The suggestion of occupation through the inclusion of objects and everyday items positioned in a way that indicates something to the

audience is important. This seemingly unimportant clutter often occludes part of the scene and breaks up the lines of the surrounding architecture. Without it, the scene may appear sterile, the audience possibly unable to sense whether the space is used, misused or disused. The illustration of occupation can provide meaningful narrative to the audience. Indicating human presence. This narrative can turn a normal space of a scene into a place in terms of Human Geography. Tuan appears to support this "Space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning" (Tuan. Y., 1977, Pg.136). While Auge considers space and non-space, Tuan considers the creation of place. He seems to suggest that the metropolis is potentially full of intimate places. "There are as many intimate places as there are occasions when human beings truly connect." But at the same time he tells us that they are mutable and not a fixed or chosen location. "Intimate places can no more be deliberately designed than one can plan, with any guarantee of success, the occasions of genuine human exchange." (Tuan. Y., 1977, Pg.141) There is a suggestion that places are where intimacy can take place.

Simple things such as young tree saplings can change a space into a place. This is highlighted by his story of the teacher and pupil. (Tuan. Y., 1977, Pg.141 - 142)

Conclusion.

The current usage of a building will dictate the speed that it will change. But change it inevitably will. This change reflects the economic wealth, fashion tastes and function of the buildings and their occupants. Where there is change there is wealth, where there is stagnation there is poverty. So Mutability is a sign of wealth. Mutability takes many forms, but always comes from the needs of the occupier. Purpose built apartment flats like roads are resistant to mutability.

The metropolis is a weave of Place and Non-place. By its very nature the metropolis balances opposites in order for it to exist. The road network marks the territory of the buildings of the metropolis creating innumerable guidelines that the individual buildings obey persistently. Up to the very front and very rear of each Place in the metropolis is a Non-place that serves it. It brings a constant flow of customers past the front of the building and provides work space for supporting workers to the rear. These non-places take up a lot of space and clutter the landscape with the support tools of business.

City back streets tell the real story of the metropolis rather than the PR. They tell you about the cities past and they show you how we adapt buildings to suit our needs.

How we feel about a city is developed through personal experience and therefore the identity that we give it is individual.

The naming of non-places gives them a sense of identity and raises them from their base function to providing a sense of historical value. The value of a Place remains once we leave whereas the value of a non-place is lost when we have used it.

It would appear that the most appropriate building in terms of mutability is a simple detached home built to last with the forethought to give it enough space for growth over its life. As has been seen, the building will mature if given time and opportunity. Is this why the UK's typical new build homes are so box like? If it wasn't for the tiny plots of land they are built upon they would be fantastic mutable homes which would grow to the needs of the present and future occupiers, collecting age and appreciation over the years.

Regardless of where our living space is or how it is constructed it appears the expectations are the same; relative privacy, space for reflection and repose, a sense of ownership of the space if not the building itself. Over time as an occupier settles into a home Auges theories of space tell us this personal territory transforms into the backdrop for life events and experiences contributing to the occupants memories. It becomes a central point in that period of an individuals life; a private location to recharge and prepare to return into the collective space of the exterior.

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Fig.7:
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Fig.8:
[accessed: 07/04/2010, *Flickr.com, user:riff design,* http://www.flickr.com/photos/53808520@N00/492367572/]