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HABITARE

The Appropriation of the *inhabiting*, *habitations* and *Habitat*
in a Consumer Society

Translated from French by SwissTranslate

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INTRODUCTION

FOREWORD

Is there a correlation between a person's life cycle and the typological layout of their home?

The interest in the analysis of urban changes in the functioning of households lies in the split of the term 'Habitate'. Indeed, this term, borrowed from classical Latin, is the root of the words that make up housing today, that is to say *inhabiting*, *Habitat* and *habitations*. We will understand how these terms have developed in recent years and why they should be inseparable from each other. Societal relationships, as well as the understanding of these different terms, are constantly evolving and the renewal of methods - and especially of the analysis of sociological data - is becoming more and more essential.

Most of the data collected, which theorises an individual's way of life, is analysed without taking into account the previous homes of individuals, nor the cycles they experience during their lifetime. It should be noted that everything that exists in this world, whether natural or created by man, has a certain life expectancy with phases necessary for its development. Most life cycles are highly dependent on their use and can therefore vary in length or even stage depending on the time period in which they are analysed. This will include interpreting these phases by emphasising how they can influence the development of *habitations*. This is what this essay will try to do by questioning the various cycles through the sociology of modes of *inhabiting*, of *habitations* with the question of living together and, above all, by questioning our current *Habitats* in a 'Modern-liquid' consumer society. This notion, identified by Zygmunt Bauman, makes it possible to describe in a relevant way the characteristics of contemporary societies.

Interviews

In order to verify what impact the consumption of a home (own or rented) that we occupy has on our 'Habitare', twenty interviews were conducted. These conversations allowed to understand the cycles, pursued, followed or undergone, of a person's *Habitat*; developments in *inhabiting* and the interactions that result from it and therefore define the form or forms of consumption of *habitations* over the course of an individual's life. The empirical material used in this theoretical architectural statement comes from a questionnaire survey carried out in Switzerland. All respondents received the same contextual framework:

"This is research on your living environment carried out in your different accommodations as part of a scientific and social analysis. I would like you to take part in a discussion of approximately 1 hour in which I would like you to tell me in which accommodations you have lived up to the present one. This research will be based on the synthesis of interviews conducted with several people and will remain anonymous. If you will allow me I would like to be able to record the interview in order to facilitate its subsequent analysis."

They were also asked to specify, for each stage of moving, their age group as well as the location of their accommodation. They all had to start with their memories or/and impressions they had of their first home. The statement will be based, therefore, on the systemic analysis of the 'inhabiting' space and the trajectories of the different 'Habitat' of the households that form the 'hab-

itations'. It will therefore express consumption or social 'lifestyle' at a certain point in a person's 'life cycle'. It will be broken down into three main themes - individuality, community, consumption - addressing the notions set out in different ways.

Finally this themes will allow us to make a correlation between the different stages of the life of inhabiting architecture according to avenues of research helping to define and indicate some directions that the architecture of current society could and should take.



INDIVIDUALITY

INHABITING CYCLE

“Inhabiting does not merely imply occupying a specific place. It also means inscribing oneself in a space - the focus of a larger environment composed not only of landscapes but especially of relationships, practices, dreams and projects.”

Maité Clavel, 1982

Etymology of Inhabiting

This quote, taken from the summary of Maïté Clavel's essay - 'Elements for a New Reflection on Inhabiting'¹ - refers to a notion whose meaning has been forgotten; that of fundamental shelter, of the link between space and humans. In fact, this verb 'to inhabit' is often used in the same way as its namesakes, habitat and habitation, colloquially as if they had the same meaning. One might wonder if the people who use such words know exactly what they mean and what social complexities they actually encompass. Moreover, even the latest dictionaries never really compare these three terms: 'to inhabit', 'habitat' and 'habitation' with each other. They focus more on one of them, without making an analogy of the term. Firstly, it is necessary to discover where they are coming from, be able to understand to whom and to what situation they are referring, in order to finally be able to deduce their true meaning. In everyday life and more precisely when we talk about housing, we use terms that enable us to better understand what subject we are referring to. We often use words that we consider to be synonymous with habitat such as 'shelter', 'apartment', 'home', 'house', or even more familiar ones such as 'pad', 'flat', 'den', 'lair', simply because we were brought up using them.

Looking at its meaning in the Collins dictionary², for example, habitat is "the environment in which an animal or plant normally lives or grows" and also "the place in which a person, group, class, etc., is normally found". And the words often used in the same sense almost all convey a concept of defined, concrete space. A shelter is something "which gives protection from...", an apartment is "a set of rooms for living in, especially on one

1. Maïté Clavel, « Éléments pour une nouvelle réflexion sur l'habiter », Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie : Nouvelle série, Vol. 72, Habiter, Produire l'espace (juin 1982): 17-32.

2. William Collins, *Collins English Dictionary*, Glasgow, HarperCollins Publishers: online dictionary and reference, (2021) - Habitat. Collinsdictionary.com

floor of a building” and a house is “a building that people, usually one family, live in”. We naturally begin to ask the question whether in its deepest sense the habitat is tangible only when people are *inhabiting* and if otherwise it is a simple space without a specific goal. It should be noted that “the word ‘habitat’ belongs to the vocabulary of botany and zoology; it first described, around 1808, the territory occupied by a plant in its natural state”³ and it was only in 1881 that it also took into consideration the animal kingdom.

3. Thierry Paquot, « Habitat, habitation, habiter », Ce que parler veut dire..., Caisse nationale d’allocations familiales, n° 123 (2005): 48-54.

4. Collins, *Collins English Dictionary* - habiter.

5. Caroline Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue* (Paris: Décisions Durables Editions, 2015), p.30.

This word originates from the verb ‘to inhabit’, which was borrowed from the classical Latin ‘habitare’ (to dwell) and from the word ‘habere’ that means ‘to hold’, ‘to have’. As for its definition in the Collins dictionary⁴, it means “to live or dwell in (a region, house, etc.); occupy. If a place or region *is inhabited* by a group of people or a species of animal, those people or animals live there.” In a sense, we can say that “staying in a place implies being physically and spatially anchored in a place and at the same time contains an idea of duration.”⁵ To better understand the meaning of this word, we must look at the etymology of the verb ‘to live’, present in the definition of ‘to inhabit’. It comes from the Latin ‘vivere’ which means ‘to live’, ‘to be alive’, ‘to subsist’ or ‘to be’. Terms that are used more for living beings than for inert objects, raising an important notion of temporality. Therefore, inhabiting does not only imply the principle of protection, which the symbolism of the primitive hut can suggest to us.

Bestial Nature

If we go back to primitive times when Man, in their first origin, had only natural instinct as a guide and nature as their only model, we notice the need for them to conceive something concrete, which would order nature in such a way as to give them a roof over their heads, but also the will to constantly progress to possibly do better than their neighbour. The historian and philosopher Marc-Antoine Laugier in his 'Essay on Architecture'⁶ published in 1753 gives an overview of what for him is the 'primitive hut'. He explains that the need to protect themselves from the sun, torrential rains and other natural elements led the first men to take refuge first in the thickness of the forest, and then to take shelter in a cave. The latter, sorely lacking in light and air, could not be the solution! They needed a home, a hut made from natural elements, creating a primitive model for any type of architecture.

"Some fallen branches in the forest are the right materials for his purpose. He chooses four of the strongest, raises them upright and arranges them in a square. Across the top, he lays four other branches; on these he hoists from two sides yet another row of branches which, inclining towards each other, meet at their highest point. He then covers this kind of roof with leaves so tightly packed that neither sun nor rain can penetrate; thus man is housed. Admittedly, the cold and heat will make him uncomfortable in this house, which is open on all sides but soon he will fill in the space between two posts and feel secure."⁷ Laugier explains that it is by getting as close as possible to the simplicity of the model he described that we will be able to avoid the essential defects and allow us to grasp the real perfections. He will

6. Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris : chez Duchesne, rue S. Jacques, au Temple du Goût, 1753).

7. Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*.

have defined his hut in such a way that he can make a connection with the Greek temples and give an explanation as to their architectural functioning as well as the orders of the columns. Although there are several interesting points that can be noted in this description of the first architecture, it is not only a question of protecting oneself from danger and adverse weather conditions with a roof and four walls, but of reflecting on one's own needs. This reflection will then allow us to appropriate a space, to stay there and therefore to live in it. Laugier is not the only one interested in this. This primary space that we inhabited arouses the curiosity of many scientists. Especially ethnologists and geographers when they are interested in a people and its culture, animals and their behaviour. In 'Vue sur mer', we also find an extract from *Architectura* by Vitruvius "So some began to make huts out of leaves, others to dig lodges in the mountains; and some, by imitating the nests of swallow and their method of construction, made places of refuge out of mud and twigs. Next, by observing the shelters of others and adding new details to their own inception, they constructed better and better kinds of huts as time went on!"⁸

8. Isée Bernateau, *Vue sur mer* (Paris : Puf, Petite Bibliothèque de Psychanalyse, 2018), p. 30.

Despite the fact that Vitruvius, unlike Laugier, speaks of several possibilities, the fact is that Mother Nature remains the common and essential guide. This way of building is not trivial, it strangely resembles the way animals live in their own environment. Like them, humans first started to build their shelters according to their needs and the environment in which they find themselves. We could, for example, take the environment of the ant and find indisputable links between its environment, its morphology and its way of life: "The construction of ant hills, apparently disordered, is done through stereo-

typical behaviour, but globally coordinated.”⁹ Ants are socially organised in castes: workers, soldiers, nurses, gendered individuals or queen and for each of these castes galleries are formed conducive to the functions essential to this community.

“Animals develop habits, shape their own world to the rhythm of their behaviour, manifest a sense of the world they cultivate through the care of their bodies as well as their environmental and social surroundings.”¹⁰ This is one of the reasons many people are interested in studying habitat as a way to gain a better understanding of the species that live there. We could go as far as the way in which living beings are reflected in their way of occupying an environment. Moreover, it is true that when people or animals have no shelter they appear to the community as an anomaly, an aberration. In the case of a human being, this person will generally be considered to be in extreme poverty and described as ‘homeless’¹¹.

9. *AXIS: L'univers documentaire Hachette*, vol. 4, éléments, corps simples et composés à appareil génital (Vanves: Livre de Paris : Hachette, 1994), p.370.

10. Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue*, p.131.

11. Paquot, « Habitat, habitation, habiter ».

Projection

“Contrary to what the architects thought after Vitruvius, the body-house analogy does not derive from the fact that the house shares a number of similarities with the body. It is explained by the fact that the status and the functionality of the house are built on the basis of conscious and unconscious representations of the body itself. Both the house and the body are places that the subject inhabits.”¹² This analogy of the body and the house perfectly explains why living beings take so much care of their shelter. However, what we consider to be habitat and our ways of inhabit differ, where habitat represents the environment and inhabiting the way a living being uses it. The term *inhabiting* which will be used throughout this statement, is a word that alone defines a larger world. The idea that we are projecting our own body inside our home is what makes *inhabiting* unique to human beings. Indeed, as explained above, we can say that every living being will inhabit an environment, but what differentiates the human being from the rest of the living beings? Is it the fact that they neglect their environment in order to gain more profit? Its superiority as regards the fact that they think they are the only ones gifted with language? “The analogy between the body and the house becomes clearer if we consider that the psychic meaning of the house is based on the psychic construction of the body itself: ‘In each of us, the image we have of our body is projected onto the habitat’.”¹³

12. Isée Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.42.

13. Isée Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.36.

Inhabiting therefore represents something which would go beyond the simple fact of being housed in a building so as to satisfy a certain number of needs, and that it would be a question of an otherwise more complicated action, which would change over time. “Having a

roof over your head is not enough to truly inhabit.”¹⁴ *Inhabiting* is different from household to household. This is due to several factors which can all be related to our habits. This word is not trivial in the language of the home.

Indeed “the French word ‘habituer’ (habituate) has long meant to dress, [just like the etymology of the word ‘inhabit’ borrowed from classical Latin ‘habere’, which also means to wear] as its Latin etymology suggests, but ‘habituer’ also means ‘to have such a way of being’, and this depends to a great extent the clothes.”¹⁵ In the French dictionary *Le Littré*, we also find the general term “habitude du corps” (habit of the body), which means “the appearance, which generally results from the posture, the gait, the attitudes.”¹⁶ The walls that make up the house can be compared to a “second garment” that protects “the body-house”. In the same way as the second garment, the envelope protects, hides and ensures the well-being of the body as well as that of its surroundings. It therefore makes it possible to affirm family ties, but also a form of expression that is specific to us within a multitude of individuals.

“Not being able to get out of the crowd, escape its harassment, hide from view, close a door behind you, walk a few square metres where you are at home, pause, regain strength, answer a call of nature, wash yourself, prepare a meal, store in a safe place the objects which one holds, it is to have only one garment out of the two that we need”¹⁷. Indeed, if the body conditions the *inhabiting*, since it is structured according to the rhythm of our habits, it also makes it possible as it is the guarantor of our life. Body care is also “among the first habits that animals develop, because it allows the proper develop-

14. Martin Heidegger, « Bâtir, habiter, penser », *Essais et conférences*, op. cit., (Darmstadt, 1951),: 170-193.

15. Paquot, « Habitat, habitation, habiter », 48-54.

16. Littré, « Dictionnaire de la langue française » - habitude.

17. Mona Chollet, *Chez soi : une odyssée de l'espace domestique* (Paris : La Découverte, 2015-2016), p.69.

18. Binkley-Valissant et al.,
Habiter à perte de vue,
p.151.

ment of behaviour while ensuring the reliability of sensations”¹⁸ and therefore of their own language. The cat, for example, spends a third of its waking time washing, so ensuring not only aesthetics but also good health. It can also be said that man wears clothes that allow him to express his perception of the world and his emotions, which are in tune with his environment and his social circle. It would therefore be plausible that man had reached such an extreme that he decided to project not only his psychic, but also his life course onto his house.

Movement

To understand what a life course is, we must first understand the concept of the life cycle. The life cycle describes a series of stages, from birth to death, through which all matter, product or living being passes. The durations of the different phases of the life cycle are of course extremely variable depending on which element is being studied. For example, in biology, the life cycle is understood to mean the alternation of generations¹⁹. In marketing, it makes it possible to analyse the conditions of a product on the market or even to measure the impact on the environment. In human life, several stages are identified by scientists: birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, old age and death. Each of these phases corresponds to a change that modifies the previous stage to lead to integration, a new relatively stable state, until the next transformation. We can also speak of an evolutionary transition whose final purpose is death.

This view of the human life cycle remains very narrow. It focuses only on biological changes and does not take into account environmental factors. These phases are only described in general terms, as if all individuals were the same, without taking into account the subtle variations that can be observed in each individual. In this case, we understand that the idea would be that this cycle remains unchanged and that even natural evolution does not change anything. To express this point of view, we could speak of the theory of the evolution of species thanks to “natural selection”²⁰ described by Charles Darwin, in ‘The Origin of Species’ (1859 edition). Despite its title, this work is considered today as the foundation of the theory of modern evolution. It proposes a mechanism to explain the transformation and adaptive diversification

19. The birth: the organs are almost all operational, apart from the sexual organs. The childhood phase is a very important learning stage that allows children to develop their physique and their mental. The adolescence representing the transition from childhood to adulthood through the evolution of the body at puberty. It is at this point that we notice the biggest differences between girls and boys. the adulthood : makes it possible to conceive a new life cycle by putting together a household and/or conceiving a child, etc. Ageing remains unclear, it is a stage of deterioration of the body, of decline, which leads to the last stage: death.

20. Charles Darwin, *De l'origine des espèces* (1859), (éd. Schleicher Frères, [trad. Edmond Barbier], 1906): 650.

of species in their environment by exposing the idea that the environment shapes different living beings. It is based on the fact that each individual of a species differs, in one way or another, among themselves, as well as from one generation to the next. Ultimately, it concludes that only those who have successfully adapted to their environment will survive and reproduce. "We can give the name of individual differences to the numerous and slight differences which appear in the descendants of the same parents, or to which we can assign this cause, because they are observed in individuals of the same species, living in the same restraint locality."²¹

21. Darwin, *De l'origine des espèces*, p. 68.

Another term can be used that would define the stages of human life more fully and the way in which the composition of the household evolves called the residential life cycle: the *inhabiting* cycle. The residential cycle simply refers to the succession of stages in a person's life, during which "the composition of the household to which he/she belongs and/or his/her position in this household changes."²² It is very common to think nowadays that when a family grows it is desirable to find new and more adequate accommodation, as well as when the household becomes smaller - when the children leave the family home, for example. We can say that "households change as it unfolds in their housing needs, their ability to meet them and their way of using space, especially the space surrounding their place of residence."²² The residential life cycle comprises stages that can be dissociated from each other by - The composition of the household to which it belongs and its position within it - The societal role that it has or does not have within a society - The amount of good it has accumulated in his life. The term *inhabiting* cycle is a dynamic vision that

22. ATEMHA, « Cycles de vie, comportements résidentiels et structures urbaines », Rapport du projet de Recherche sur l'Île-de-France, Lettre de commande n°F 01129 (Mai 2004) p. 5.

emphasises more on the residential sequences, which punctuate the development of the existence of *inhabiting* and which accompany the passage from step to step, from move to move, than on the actual stages. This vision has the advantage of allowing a detailed analysis of the interactions between the different components of the habitat and the inhabitant, in particular its residential component.

We think of Georges Perec, who, in ‘Species of Spaces’, describes architecture built as a series of spaces which fit into each other, from the smallest to the largest, from the simple page to the world and finally to space. He also imagined apartments of seven rooms, one for each day of the week: “Mondayery, Tuesdayery, Wednesdayery, Thursdayery, the Fridayery, Saturdayery, and Sundayery. These last two rooms, it should be noted, already exist, marketed under the name of ‘second homes’ or ‘weekend houses.’”²³ It is not absurd to imagine these rooms knowing that we buy holiday homes that we only visit “sixty days a year.” In addition, the rooms of the week would on average be used this long. “Wednesdayery, for example, would be dedicated to children, since they are not going to school that day.”²³

23. Georges Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, New revised edition, Collection l'espace critique (Paris: Éd. Galilée, 2010), p. 64.

The most interesting in his book is this desperate search for “useless space.” He exclaims: “I have several times tried to think of an apartment in which there would be a useless room, absolutely and intentionally useless. It wouldn’t be a junkroom, it wouldn’t be an extra room, or a corridor, or a cubby-hole, or a corner. It would be a functionless space. It would serve for nothing, relate to nothing. [...] Not ‘without a precise function’, but precisely without a function; not multifunctional (that everyone

24. Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, p.66.
- knows how to do), but a-functional.”²⁴ He reassures us on one point, which is that space and man are therefore undoubtedly linked. Man designs their needs and their needs design space. Space needs man to be *inhabiting* it in order to exist and man in their thirst for the imagination needs space to satisfy it. Therefore the *inhabiting* cycle is an essential cycle that defines the need, which has become fundamental, of a living being to have shelter.



INDIVIDUALITY

INDIVIDUAL PASSAGE

To understand the term *inhabiting*, it is important to be able to determine the different cycles that compose it, its evolution as well as the hold it has on our life. These stages, which are specific to each person, develop in a more or less linear fashion during the phase of human growth, then they separate and meet at certain times to reveal the individuality of *inhabiting*. These multiple stages can be categorised into three very distinct periods, that of development, emancipation and transition.

Development

The developmental period is always acquired the same way for everyone. It brings together the phases that are necessary for learning and it is found in each of us in a more or less rooted way. Their temporality changes according to the personality, environment or even the conditions (social, financial, family, etc.) of the individual. These are periods that can be longer or shorter to finally bring us to a phase of emancipation and transition in our current way of life.

“When I was 3 years old I remember drawing in the stairwell of the building where my parents lived. A story that my mother likes to tell when talking about me, because it caused our eviction.” This simple sentence by Claude reflects the awareness of home in children. The period in which memories and stories intermingle like an *implanted image*. He even talks about it himself, saying in a perplexed way that ‘the only thing that clearly comes back to him is the white wall.’ We should not speak of phase or period but rather of stages necessary for the development of the consciousness of *inhabiting*. Moving often reflects this awareness. It is often seen as a drastic change for the child, even a shock.

Natacha remembers the pile of cardboard boxes in the doorway, not knowing if it was for moving in or moving out. We also find Marie-Flore who explains how sick her son was when they had to leave their previous home: “At any time, we had to take him back to my parents because he was ill. For example, in summer, we would go to the swimming pool. Everything was fine and all of a sudden he would say ‘I’m not feeling well’. He would go to bed with a fever; we would return home, then I would





send for Doctor Forel from Nyon to come to the house. He was the one who said ‘try to take him back to a place where he felt good.’ My husband went with him to Bern and his temperature had already dropped because he knew he was going to my parents.” A change of roof is a big shock at the age when memories are not yet stable. By questioning his son, Laurent, we understand that he knows he lived in an apartment opposite his last childhood apartment, but that he does not “remember the interior”.

This shock which allows the first memories to take hold can also be due to a strong feeling for loved ones. They are usually part of the same household and are the only people you recognise at that age. Marie for her part has a memory linked to a member of her family. It creates a shock that allows the brain to print it not as an event but as a way of *inhabiting*. “My first memory is my house in Champlan. I was 3 years old and there was my grandmother who was unwell and came to live with us. I remember this room where, instead of having a walking frame like nowadays, rollators, she had a chair, which helped her walk, so I still have the idea of this room where there was a medical bed. Now the medical beds are beautiful. But at the time, there were three plastic cubes, and because she couldn’t go to the bathroom on her own anymore, there was a big hole in one of the mattresses for her to relieve herself.”

“Around my parents house, there was a large green space. It was the place to live, to play, to party. There was also a vegetable garden at the back on the left. Next to it, my father had set up swings anchored to the ground. I often went to play around fruit trees, apples, pears, cherries ... We had also set up a badminton court

which turned, when we wanted, into a volleyball court. Whenever the weather was nice, we were outside. It was an extension of the house, like an extra room.” Claire accurately describes the place she spent most of her childhood in.

At this point, we have assimilated our home as the point of return, a stable and comfortable point of reference, but we don't really pay much attention yet. We focus on fun, games, which are mostly outdoor games. This is the phase of discovery and recklessness. Despite a young age, the relationship people have with the environment surrounding their childhood home is very strong, whether it is a garden, a park or a courtyard. It could also be the view of the dwelling like that of Georges who remembers “his window facing the railroad tracks.” This search for the outside has often impacted the search for their future home. Some could not see themselves living without a suitable environment.

The places that are described even more precisely are those that our minds associate with games and recklessness. Karina describes the bathroom very precisely - its size, colour, layout and furnishings - while later evoking the memory linked to it. “It was my dad who used the shower. I often went to hide under the sink to scare him when he came out of the shower. There was a laundry basket and I hid inside it so he wouldn't see me.” Jean, on the other hand, remembers the texture and the materials used in his home: “ [...] as it was a period when they built a lot of low-rental housing in France to accommodate migrant workers. There, we often had bathrooms with mosaic-type tiles, at the time, it was fashionable. My brother and I used to play a lot with these tiles. We used to play on the building sites; we took them and we



cut them and stuck them to create things.” *Inhabiting* is more focused on the external environment as well as on carefree memories or anecdotes. Housing itself is not yet ingrained enough as a part of life which is to be remembered.

“When the bedroom was mine, it basically contained an evolving piece of furniture that went from a baby cot to a child’s single bed. Then I spent a while with my sister in the same room and ended up having my own room. My sister had kept the stickers and the red and green paint I had on the wall. My room was my refuge, it was I who chose all the furniture that allowed me to store my memories and my collection of toys. I don’t remember the layout because I changed it all the time.” This “refuge” that Eloise described to us represents the phase of seeking intimacy during the period of development. You could think of it as the period of pre-adolescence until the end of adolescence. It represents the moment during which the memories of our *inhabiting* are sharper and more precise. This is the beginning of the appropriation of space. We often focus on our bedroom or on certain rooms in the house that we occupy. This change is noticed by several points, such as the memory of the dimensions, but also of the precise period during which one lived there or the various changes which occurred.



Laurent talks about his grandparents’ house as a place where he really lived. “In the bedrooms at my grandparents house, the rooms were heated by wood. We had stoves with pipes coming out and going around the floor. At the time, the pipes ran all the way up the ceiling and went through other rooms to heat them. Of course, they were not to be touched as they were hot. I believe that today it is prohibited. The fire had been

going for 6-7 hours before going to bed. It was also the only time in my life that I fell asleep with bags of cherry stones in my bed to keep me warm. I had my own room with a small bed, well I always had the same room each time and I considered it my own. Inside was a small bed and next to it a nightstand and a chest of drawers in front to store my clothes. All the furniture was made of wood inside.”



Emancipation

Development in the *inhabiting* allows us to discover who we are through memories, images, experiences. Despite everything, the accommodation, in this stage, is not our own. It generally belongs to another individual, parent, relative, guardian or other. It generally evokes the *inhabiting* of this third party more than our own *inhabiting*. Emancipation, on the other hand, represents the stage during which one frees oneself from the tutelage of a higher authority. This step can also be defined as an action that allows a new start. It symbolises home, a place that comforts us and resembles us. It can manifest itself in three ways: autonomy, concubinage and activity. Obviously these cases only summarise the different possible ways of emancipating oneself. It is possible that an individual will experience only one of these ways. The order is not the same in all human beings either. For example, we can leave the family home to be closer to work or the place of study. It is also possible to move directly into concubinage without having experienced life alone.

“I was mostly fed up of being home, I even lived far from work. [...] I had a friend who told me about a friend who had moved so it was through word of mouth that I was able to obtain a place to live. It was in a big, beautiful house with a huge bull’s-eye. It was really nice apartment. The bedroom was in the corner to the left and I had a bathroom opposite which was as big as the bedroom. I had the shower just to the right and next to the toilet. The sink was in front of the door with a huge mirror. Considering the size of the room, I had put my huge candle holder to the left of the door. In fact, once I had a power cut in the middle of winter. So I said to myself ‘it’s okay’. I lit my candle, I took a shower, washed my hair and then



I said to myself ‘damn I can’t dry my hair’. So I took my favourite hair dryer with me to the office. The whole terrace opened directly onto the whole garden with a hedge next to the road. To the right of the entrance, I had the kitchen. There was a small wall just to the left of the entrance that separated the living room with a white sofa. I also had a closed stove. And there I had my table. I also had 6 chairs because I was going to have guests. Ah! I like to entertain, I really liked cooking... not all weekend, but I do like cooking.”

Karina’s first home sums up the case of autonomy well. It’s what people remember the most, what they consider to be their first apartment. It is special and generally unforgettable. We took time to develop it, to appropriate it. This is when we build our first *inhabiting*, which is ours. This pattern can also occur during our *inhabiting* cycle. It may happen after moving in with one or more people or even never happen. Some people, who cannot bear to be alone, leave the house only when they have found someone or people to move in with.

Elizabeth “I moved with my boyfriend Claude in an apartment in Trélex. It was on the first floor of a house; the apartment was really a square, it was not bad. We had the entrance with the stairs going up there and then there was a door in front of it, it was Zia’s. I remember because we once had a party there and we got shouted at. The bedroom was to the right and there was a hallway leading to all the rooms, to the left the library, a real library with a tiny balcony. I mean we were crazy because sometimes there were ten of us on this tiny balcony. It was for smokers. Then the living room, I believe there was a toilet before the bedroom. At the far right, there was the kitchen and a shower between it and the bedroom. We

entered the shower from the kitchen. There was an old sink with curtains and next to the entrance to the shower. Moreover, Claude's brother had painted the entrance to the shower red for us. He had taken the initiative. What I remember is we spent a lot of time in the kitchen so we had a big square table in the kitchen."

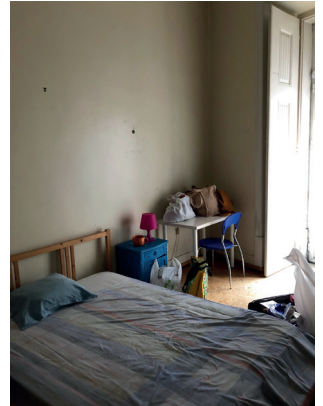
The peculiarity of concubinage is the lack of personal appropriation. The description is always done by 'we' or 'us'. We take into account the needs and desires of the people with whom we share the accommodation. Despite everything, peculiarities are felt in the speeches. People who share the dwelling remember certain things more precisely depending on their idea of *inhabiting*. The layout remained the same in their minds but the details were felt more in some rooms depending on who was describing it. If Elizabeth spoke of the kitchen as the main place of life, her partner, Claude, meanwhile, spoke more specifically of the living room and its layout. He couldn't remember any more that they had a balcony "we were upstairs so we enjoyed the garden and the library was in his mind an office. What stood out for him was especially the shower room. It was a wardrobe that my uncle had turned into a bathroom. It was really a wardrobe that he took apart and turned into a bathroom with a small shower and a sink. He had put a sliding door so as not to lose space inside". The number of rooms also stayed in his memory "... we had three rooms! Three very nice rooms."



"I moved from my parents mainly to be able to be closer to my university. I found a studio two metro stops from EPFL. It was small but very practical. I knew I was going back only to get some rest and sleep and spent most of my time in class or out with my friends. So I

wanted to have a cosy apartment, I just had a bed and a high table to work and eat.” Anya was from France while the university where she had decided to study was in Switzerland. It was a necessity for her to move. Despite everything, she was *inhabiting* in her apartment in such a way that she felt at home and not in a space that did not belong to her. In some cases, people have a profession that requires frequent travel: a factory relocated from the administrative centre; branches to visit regularly or clients to canvass in a large territory. In other cases, it is also novelty and change that attracts or even the shortage of jobs in one’s own region.

For example Pierre, French, who liked to find seasonal jobs in other countries for the sake of change. “When I was leaving for my seasonal jobs, I would leave home with a suitcase that I would fill with clothes for all seasons. The accommodation was not a place to live for me it was only for sleeping, for me it was more the outside, the environment I was in that was important.”



Motion

The transition is a special stage because it represents an intermediate stage, it is the passage from one state to another. It finds itself mixed with the other two stages as if it marked a pause in the *inhabiting* of individuals. Indeed, if the first stage is that of *co-inhabiting* with another individual and the second is to reside in one's own *inhabiting*, the intermediate stage may represent an absence of *inhabiting*. Of course, a form of housing appropriation will take place, but it will remain, in our minds, as a transitional space. We will not find the same quality of *inhabiting* as in our other accommodations. This step is often necessary when moving from one phase to another, enabling you to take the time to meet and define your new needs or not. At this stage, we know that we will not live here forever. It is a fleeting, accommodating, momentary moment, but always linked to what is going on in our life. It's the idea of knowing when you move in that you will have to leave for one reason or another. This transition makes its appearance in three different forms: rupture, expectation and constraint.

“When I separated from Nicole, it was her apartment so I had to leave. And I didn't really want to go back to my parents. Well, not right away ... I called my friend Patrick to ask him ‘do you have a solution?’. As he was living in a garret, he went back to the apartment he had with his brother and his father and lent me the garret. I had nothing inside. I had room for a mattress, a suitcase, my football gear and of course my guitar with my stool and the music stand. It was a real garret under the roof, in a beautiful old building.” This transition period that Laurent describes, determines a phase of rupture of his concubinage. In a relationship separation, one of



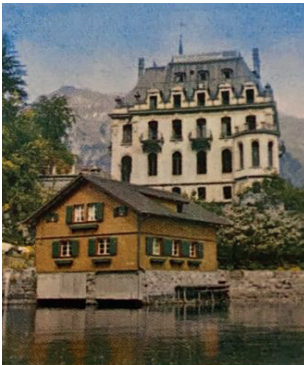
the two people usually has to leave the home quickly to avoid tension. In this situation, people usually choose the first affordable home they find knowing full well that they will change in the near future. Rupture is therefore often defined by human beings as a time when a relationship ends. But, the term rupture can also be defined as the fact that something that had lasted suddenly comes to an end. Georges, on the contrary, considers all the dwellings where he has lived in concubinage as transition spaces. He was always going to live with the other person, and it wasn't until he got married that he made the move to a two-person accommodation, chosen by both. "At the time, I had very few qualms about moving to other people's homes. That is, I was really settling down, inhabiting the place. I would say... 'Can I come to your place?' A way of asking the question, while basically giving the answer. That's what often created tensions, by the way."



"We went back to Switzerland, I sublet the apartment from a friend who lived in the mountains at the time. The apartment was in Tolochenaz, it was very nice! There was also a small bedroom and a living room with an open kitchen. It was up in the roof, in the attic. We didn't stay very long, a few months, to find another apartment that we really liked." This description made by Natacha perfectly reflects what one might call a waiting phase. The moment when you live in a transitional place by choice and not by real necessity. To wait is to stand in a place and stay there on purpose so that something better can happen next. You can go back to your parents' place while waiting for a shared room to become available, for example, or even as Marie, wait for the construction of the new home to be completed. This phase is distinguished from the rupture by the fact that nothing

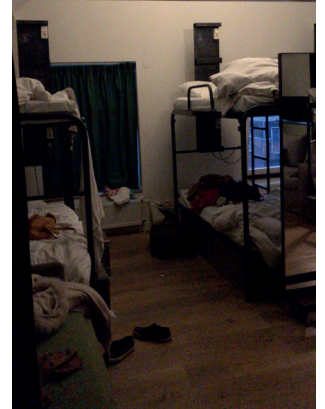
and nobody pushed us to be there. Marie describes one of her transitions before buying their current home. “We didn’t want to pay double the rent so we moved in with my in-laws, it was a place of waiting; we knew it was only a place of transition. Moreover, very often, when you buy a property that you cannot occupy straight away, there is this transition. Either you pay double the rent or you try to find another place. So we lived in a two-room apartment, living room-bedroom-bathroom. Since there were three of us [two adults and one child] we made the living room into a bedroom.”

“My parents put me in boarding school for a year. I never really lived in Fahrwangen [her parents’ second home], I was only there on holiday. It was a boarding school run by nuns where I learnt German. It was a difficult year. There was a mansion and several outbuildings around. All around was water so you couldn’t get away. I had a room that I shared with my friend in a three bedroom cabin with two beds and when I opened the window I could see water. We had a bed, a chest of drawers, a wardrobe and a sink. We were allowed to wash our hair only once a month. It was hard and I even came back with the nun’s Christianity.” Marie-Flore’s experience in a place where she was forced to stay enables us to understand what happens in places of unwanted transition.



People usually spend more time there than in transitional accommodation that comes after a break-up or waiting to find something more comfortable. In the transition stage, therefore, we can also find obligatory places, accommodation that we know to be transitional and that we do not appreciate. We were forced to go there, for example a boarding school, a military camp, host family, etc. We do not feel at home and yet this way of *inhabiting*

has marked us for life. Sandrine mentions those difficult years when she had to live in places she didn't want to. Places that provided her with a roof over her head but which were only temporary without any notion of proper *inhabiting*. She had to leave her sister behind and only found her years later. "I went to boarding school first when I was at my grandmother's. So I wasn't sleeping in boarding school and it was only when I was twelve that we started to sleep there. Afterwards, when I was a teenager, I had to go with a host family to Chêne-Bourg. I lived there for three-four years. I did not feel at all at home, I was very sad because the family already had two children, two daughters. I didn't have my own place there."





INDIVIDUALITY

ABOUT ME

«Time is running out - it is no longer «moving forward». There is change, more change, always more change, but no destination, no final limit, no anticipation of a mission accomplished. Every moment we experience brings with it a new beginning and an end: once sworn enemies, now Siamese twins.»

Zygmunt Bauman, 2013

Native-House

In the first chapter, we saw the need for humans to order nature to enable it to protect itself. They therefore fabricated the primitive hut according to Marc-Antoine Laugier. Subsequently, men built more and more concrete buildings and began *inhabiting* there in order to appropriate these shelters. Just as with the primitive hut, human beings sought to have better comfort suited to their needs. This built environment has become an environment peculiar to human beings, the diversity of which has nothing to envy that of nature. The individual undertakes to appropriate this new environment in an individual way so that they can find their own order in this environment built by others.

“Jakob von Uexküll, biologist and philosopher of the early twentieth century, describes in *A Foray into the Worlds of Animal and Humans*, based on his in-depth study of the tick environment (Umwelt), how animals and man each differentiate an inner world and an outer world on the basis of species-specific and completely non-overlapping dividing lines. For man, the house is undoubtedly the first interior. Like an envelope, it protects the subject from break-ins from the outside and constitutes this inside in which the subject can come to stay: ‘The house, the belly, the cave, for example, bear the same great mark of the return to the mother. [...] The birthplace interests us from the earliest childhood because it bears witness to a more distant protection’, wrote Bachelard.”¹

The interviews led us to the hypothesis that children see the house as a fixed point from which the outside world is organised. Wherever it is located, the house quickly appears to children as the centre of their world. It

1. Isée Bernateau, *Vue sur mer* (Paris : Puf, Petite Bibliothèque de Psychanalyse, 2018), p.32-33.

2. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.32.

is from this point in the past that the exterior can first be explored and later take shape. "The house is a refuge, a retreat, a centre, wrote Bachelard. Because the house is an inside, it makes it possible to live, it draws the limits between the outside and the inside, it creates an interior space."² We can also hypothesise that the habitat has replaced our representation of our own body. Indeed, the age of implanted memories has shown us, through many testimonials such as those of Claude, Laurent or even Natacha, that even if we do not remember in detail a moment or a space being small, we often see ourselves clearly standing in this formless space: it is the relation to the body.

3. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.44.

In the world when we are born the first point of anchoring that is made is the representation we have of our own body. This proper body is therefore necessarily the centre of the world since it is the place from which the world is organised. It is later that "The house is even liable to 'steal' this central status from the proper body, because the proper body, capable of movement, of displacement, lacks the fixity that the centre must have."³ The parents' house offers this fixity. Even if we have to move, this new place remains the parental home, the one that accommodates and protects us. It allows us to experience the world in a certain carefree way. Our *inhabiting* is not yet anchored, it belongs to someone else. Remaining in an environment implies the fact, as already mentioned, of being physically and spatially anchored. Nevertheless it is essential to understand the notion of passing time as well as a concrete representation of oneself in order to be able to call it *inhabiting*. This awareness begins to emerge with the search for the intimate.

The native-house is a centre; however, when the period of recklessness evolves in the search for intimacy - usually expressed during adolescence - individuals are led to invent their own *inhabiting*. They wander, look for themselves, try to understand who they are and in what world they live; they seem to be in search of places, of a place of their own, which does not appear to be that of the birthplace. The bedroom becomes the 'refuge' according to Éloïse; it is a 'landmark' for Natacha. This space, when private, provides a type of den, "a room of your own' by Pascale Baligand"⁴, the "das Ding". These places, according to each person's personal privacy, must be 'reinvented', 'dreamed', 'imagined', 'reinvested' for all individuals. In order for a place to be created, the imaginary and the symbolic must be located on the same landmark where, generally speaking, the relationship to one's own body is essential.

4. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.142.

Body-House

“I wish there were places that are stable, still, intangible, untouched and almost untouchable, immutable, rooted; places that would be references, starting points, sources: My native country, the cradle of my family, the house where I was born, the tree that I would have watched grow over the passing years (that my father would planted on the day of my birth), the attic of my childhood filled with intact memories, etc. Such places do not exist, and it is because they do not exist that space becomes a question, ceases to be incorporated, ceases to be appropriate. Space is a doubt: I must constantly mark it, designate it; it is never mine, it is never given to me, I must conquer it. My spaces are fragile: time will wear them out, destroy them: nothing will look as it really was, my memories will betray me, oblivion will infiltrate my memory, I will look without recognising them at a few yellowed photos with tattered edges. There will no longer be written in white porcelain letters glued in an arc on the mirror of the small café in rue Coquillière: ‘here you can consult the Directory’ and ‘snack at any time.’”⁵

5. Georges Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, New revised edition, Collection l'espace critique (Paris: Éd. Galilée, 2010), p.179-180.

This doubt of space creeps into the consciousness as we search for our first home. We are looking for shelter for ourselves, still having in mind our native-house. When one leaves the home the landmarks are lost and the space is called into question. What are we looking for in a home? Who are we going to live with? How will our accommodation be perceived by others? “The native-house has inscribed in us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting.”⁶ It unconsciously imposes on us *inhabiting* ways that remain anchored in us when we search for our home. Despite everything, we still seek to assert ourselves by seeking our own ‘way of being’.

6. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.32.

As we saw in the '*inhabiting* cycle' chapter, "to have such a way of being"⁷ is the definition of the verb to habituate. Through our homes acquired after emancipation, we seek to forge our habits, to distinguish ourselves from others in the same way as when we wear clothes that we like. "Moreover, in French, the word 'habit' (clothes) will be synonymous with 'deportment', 'behaviour', in the sense of 'holding one's position', one's rank."⁸ Our habits will therefore allow us to take a 'place' in society. Moreover, 'habitus', noun of 'habeo' or 'habere', comes from classical Latin and means 'way of being', 'exterior aspect', 'attitude' or even 'outfit', 'clothing'. "Émile Durkheim [...] makes it a key concept in French sociology: 'habitus' is a set of frameworks that allows the individuals to situate themselves in relation to them."⁹ It is through their clothes that they will obtain a 'place' in society and conceive their individuality. It is at the time of emancipation, after having become impregnated with the *inhabiting* of others, that the body becomes really *inhabiting* just like the dwelling.

The phases, which can be found during this period, include autonomy - living alone, concubinage - living with one or more people, and activity. They reflect general cases of how to invest in a home, to dress up a space that belongs to us. "By Me-skin, I designate a figuration that the child's ego uses during the early phases of its development to represent itself as the ego containing the psychic contents, starting from the child's experience of the surface of the body", writes Anzieu. The skin, both barrier and interface, through the different tactile and erogenous experiences it offers, would bring about the first psychic representation of the body as a containing envelope."¹⁰ Therefore, contrary to what the architects thought after Vitruvius, the analogy between the house and the body

7. cf. Sub-chapter Projection, p.13.

8. Thierry Paquot, « Habitat, habitation, habiter », Ce que parler veut dire..., Caisse nationale d'allocations familiales, n° 123 (2005): 48-54.

9. Paquot, « Habitat, habitation, habiter ».

10. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.42.

11. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media; the Extensions of Man* (New York : Signet Books, 1966), p.133.

does not derive only from the fact that the house shares common points with the body, nor that both have been considered as landmarks at some point in our lives. It is explained by the fact that the position and the functionality of the housing translate into a conscious or/and unconscious representation of the body itself. "Clothing and housing are similar to twins, although clothing is both closer and older; because housing extends the internal heat control mechanisms of our body, while clothing is a more direct extension of the outer surface of the body."¹¹

This awareness is tangible when we are autonomous, but it becomes a little more abstract when we are faced with the case of concubinage. The latter represents the fact that two or more people are *inhabiting* in a dwelling. It is therefore possible and even probable that everyone's awareness of 'clothing' clashes. *Inhabiting* as a cohabitation consists of making two different beings coexist in the same environment. Take, for example, the case of an event that requires us to match our clothing (party, disguise, halloween, etc.), we are no longer alone in dressing, we have to combine everyone's tastes. The two individuals could sometimes agree only on the colour, without guaranteeing the harmony of styles, or sometimes on a theme that can be interpreted in a different way. During one of the interviews, Arnold had to urgently find an apartment for him and his family. "I had chosen the apartment in Basel on my own [...] and found one that I liked very much. We had an open kitchen and that was the first time we had this. It is for this reason, among others, that I had chosen it." Speaking with his wife, in another one-on-one interview, we understand that for her having an open kitchen didn't make sense. She didn't like the setup, as she wanted a closed kitchen that would allow her privacy when she had guests.

Fluid-House

Darwin explains that migration is a stage that has allowed several species to find themselves in different environments, distant from each other, and has accelerated, in some cases, 'changes in progeny.' For him, migration is an evolutionary force that increases the different genetic possibilities of a species. Darwin favoured the hypothesis of seed migrations from one space to another, with isolation and the gradual origin of new species. "As for the distinct species of the same genus, inhabiting remote and isolated regions, the progress of their modification having necessarily been slow, all the modes of migration will have been possible for a very long period, which attenuates up to a certain point the difficulty of explaining the immense dispersion of species of the same genus."¹² Migration can be seen as a transitional stage that allows living beings - humans, animals, plants - to gain experience so that they can improve and evolve. The analogy of migration with the transition period is mainly due to the environments they are inhabiting during this phase. In both cases, we start from an environment that is no longer suitable to join another with more favourable conditions. In between is the transient environment that is known to be temporary. Moving is also a process of gaining experience.

Georges Perec, in 'Espèces d'espaces', makes a list of elements, which qualifies the move and the installation. "Leave an apartment. Clear the premises. Decamp. Make room. Clear the floor. Inventory tidy up sort. Eliminate throwing away [...]"¹³. The impact that such an act can have on our subconscious is certainly not insignificant. These strong terms express all the transitions from one state to another; ceasing to be in a place, going

12. Charles Darwin, *De l'origine des espèces* (1859), (éd. Schleicher Frères, [trad. Edmond Barbier], 1906), p.591.

13. Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, p.70.

out of an apartment, leaving in a hurry, withdrawing in a hurry... or they can also mean starting over, as if the move was a way to reset their life. Laurent, during a transition stage, tells us moreover that he left one city for another - from Nyon to Fribourg - to devote himself entirely to music leaving behind, for a time, the family, friends and work.

Most of the interviews also made it possible to observe that these places of transition did not have great meanings and that is why they did not remember them. Indeed, this period of movement could be perceived, in a certain way, as the anti-place or rather the non-place that Isée Bernateau describes in her work 'Vue sur mer'. At the centre of her book, the author asks herself what the place needs in order for it to truly be a place for a subject as well as the necessary psychic conditions. To do this, she analyses all the occurrences that embody the place and their antitheses: anti-place, non-place, wandering, outside-place, exile, etc. "In these cases, the anti-place is movement; it has the fluidity, the liquidity of the ephemeral; it lasts only as long as it is occupied [...]"¹⁴.

14. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.68.

For Isée Benateau, there are moments in the subject's life that did not take place, it was in a non-place. It does not indicate that the environment did not exist, but that we do not have enough elements, memories, to represent it. This period of transition or this non-place is generally marked by an absence of experience, where there are no landmarks to guide us, and which leaves a trace in the unconscious, a trace of non-experience. "For a place to be a place for a subject, it must have a symbolic and imaginary function in which the relationship to one's own body is central."¹⁵ Through the interviews, we understand that the period of transition is a place in the

15. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.10.



COMMUNITY

HABITATIONS CYCLE

«Housing is a biographical field woven of social interactions, personal and collective events. It is indeed a feeling of being at home that comes through family relationships, an attachment to places and people, a sense of belonging.»

Caroline Binkley-Valissant et al., 2015

Habitation Roots

We have previously defined the term *inhabiting* which represents the new way in which human beings occupy their homes. In this chapter, we will talk about *habitations*. The etymology of the word comes from classical Latin ‘habitatio’ which means ‘habitation’ and it can also be analysed as inhabit; from classical Latin habere, ‘to hold’ and from the suffix -tion; from lat. -tionem which expresses an action or the result of this action. If we combine it with the way we defined *inhabiting*, habitation put in the plural takes on a new meaning which is that of cohabitation. The term habitation can be defined in a multitude of ways depending on its use. In the Collins dictionary, it is the “activity of living somewhere’ or ‘where people live, dwelling, home, house.”¹ In natural history, habitation is defined as a climate that each living being prefers. It can also be the establishment that a colony forms in a distant country. In other words, *habitations* - put in the plural to encompass all these definitions - includes an action, a climate, a place, a colony. It is an amalgamation of things that define a world, whether tangible or intangible, fictional or real. *Habitations*, as I understand it, can be defined simply as the act of inhabiting taking into account what surrounds us.

One of the first philosophical analyses of the concept of habitation² was conducted by Martin Heidegger. In 1951 in Darmstadt, he gave a conference entitled ‘Building Dwelling Thinking’ at a meeting on ‘Man and Space’. He referred to the housing crisis in post-war Germany, which renews his view of the concept of being. The main point of Heidegger tends to show that the question of housing cannot be reduced only to the socio-economic debate of housing. He wanted to prove

1. William Collins, *Collins English Dictionary*, Glasgow, HarperCollins Publishers: online dictionary and reference, (2021) - habitation Collinsdictionary.com

2. Martin Heidegger, « Bâ-tir, habiter, penser », *Essais et conférences*, op. cit. Gallimard, (Darmstadt, 1951). http://palimpsestes.fr/textes_philo/heidegger/habiter.html

that the mass reconstruction of housing, as a basic human need for shelter, cannot be restricted to the simple need to have a roof over one's head in order to actually live. In other words, the whole point of his essay is to make a strong distinction between housing and habitation, the fact of only being sheltered and the fact of finding one's place in the world. By thinking of habitation as the fundamental trait of the human condition, Heidegger wants to show builders that inhabiting and building are among the things "that deserve to be thought about."³ Moreover, he also carried out the research on the root of the word habitation in Old High German "Buan", which means to dwell, to remain, to stay in a place. He took as an example for his essay the word neighbour - the Nachgebur, the Nachgebauer - literally the one who lives nearby. The old word Buan "lets us understand how we should think of this habitation, which he designates. Usually when it comes to inhabiting, we imagine a behaviour that a man adopts next to many others. We work here and we live there. We don't just live, it would almost be idleness, we are engaged in a profession, we do business, we travel and, once on our way, we live sometimes here, sometimes there."⁴

Buan can also be interpreted by the verb 'to be' conjugated in the present first person singular - 'bin' therefore I 'am'. Putting these different phrases together he came to the conclusion that 'to inhabit' means to be in this world. He saw the habitation as not being a behaviour among others, but a relationship which aims to live according to a way of being in the world which belongs to us. He stated, "The real housing crisis is that mortals are always looking for being in the habitation and they have to learn to inhabit first."⁵ This is why Heidegger ex-

3. Heidegger, « Bâtir, habiter, penser »: - 47.

4. Heidegger, « Bâtir, habiter, penser »: - 4.

5. Heidegger, « Bâtir, habiter, penser »: - 50.

presses habitation by having a world and does not distinguish between several ways of being in the world. He does not make any real distinction between the various human structures. For him, when constructions, which are not intended for housing, appear, it is their link to them that determines whether or not they are part of the habitation. In a sense, Heidegger does not restrict himself to the world covered with shelter for his concept, but that of the world without frontiers. "Habits forge the habitation, maintain and reveal the meaning of the world for those who deploy them."⁶

6. Caroline Binkley-Vallissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue* (Paris: Décisions Durables Editions, 2015),p.131.

Language

7. Collins, *Collins English Dictionary*, - language

Self-knowledge is important in understanding what 'being in this world' means. It is a characteristic trait that distinguishes us from the animal species. It is generally simplified by the term language in the Collins definition, which is "a system for the expression of thoughts, feelings, etc., by the use of spoken sounds or conventional symbols"⁷. It is important not to see it as a simple way of speaking, of expressing yourself, but of a deep awareness of oneself. Moreover, if we go back to ancient times, it is thanks to the dwelling that language - a way of expressing oneself - came into being. "Formerly, men were born in the woods and in caves like animals. [...] But by chance, a strong wind came to push with violence trees that were pressed together; they shocked each other so hard that it caught fire. The flame astonished at first and made those who were there flee, but having reassured themselves and having felt as they approached that the moderate heat of the fire was a convenient thing, they maintained this fire with more wood and brought in other men... Hence, the fire gave the opportunity to the men to assemble, to form society with each other and to live in the same place [...]' The fire, the language, the conviviality, the hut: a house would be first and foremost a place to live together ... The prehistorian Leroi-Gourhan does not contradict this original myth when he notes that the first houses, dated from the Upper Palaeolithic, are linked to the acquisition of language and that they coincide with the creation, in the house, and 'starting from the house, with controllable space and time'. The house, which coincides with 'the appearance of the first rhythmic' representations in humans requires, but also makes possible, a mastery of space and time. Understood in

this way, the house maintains an original relationship with space: far from being one place among others, it is the original place making possible not only the creation of other places, but also that of a possible relationship between the different places. In other words, the house would open up man to the dimension of space as an organisable space, no longer just a space to be traversed, but a space to be organised, to be mastered.”⁸

8. Isée Bernateau, *Vue sur mer* (Paris : Puf, Petite Bibliothèque de Psychanalyse, 2018), p.30

When choosing accommodation, this will obviously be the centre of our interest. But then come the garden, the street, the neighbour, the whole surrounding area, all these elements are the basis of *habitations*. It is a concept made up of a multitude of social strata. From inside the home, the view of the outside world can be seen as an extension of our habitat that blends with more or less intensity with the vision of others. It is an extension of our way of life, furnished with as much care as any other space. The relationship between interior and exterior can be developed even in the smallest way: between window and planting - tub or balcony in an apartment; between garden or private terrace with a sound, visual or only mental boundary; then come the streets, parks, public spaces, which are inhabited depending on the day in a collective or semi-collective manner in the case of a neighbourhood; and so on on the time scale. Just as we occupy our interior, taking care of it like our own body, deciding why a table should be placed here, we should take just as much care of all the other layers that make up our *inhabiting*.

Diversity

The spaces that constitute such a community form the *habitations* cycle. Using the data formulated so far, it can easily be said that social interactions are necessary to form a society, but also that living together depends on the commitment of each individual. It is reasonable enough to think, in fact, that nature and forms of housing occupation adopted by individuals change during their existence, including in their spatial orientation, because the needs of households with regard to the city, and consequently their relative positioning within it, change with the size and age of the latter. The question would be: how and when are such spaces created and what is their life expectancy? The most glaring examples began to develop in the 1970s when locals did their utmost to make their personal dreams and aspirations fit with their everyday life. They are “people who work to come together to ‘invent the everyday life’”⁹ and try to design spaces that are both dynamic and peaceful according to the people who employ them.

9. Binkley-Valissant et al.,
Habiter à perte de vue,
p.45

The types of building in participatory, grouped, shared or even cooperative housing are buildings designed with these ideologies. They obviously referred to singular spaces with a certain dynamic and also revealed specific groups of people. These spaces made it possible to occupy the place by and for the inhabitants without necessarily imposing particular uses on the spaces. The diagrams which nevertheless represent the strong idea of spaces changing *habitations* cycle are those of cohabitation, whether it is of a private nature - in a building such as a cooperative for example - or of public nature when we occupy a place or a park.

We can also speak of the case of residential estates, mostly built in the years 50-75. The emergency context of the time led to the very rapid construction of new forms of housing in virgin territories. The estates formed an adequate response to this massive housing need. They formed living places for a large part of the population. The estate of Avanchets in Geneva is a good example: laid out in a diffuse way in time and space, it presents a particular identity, which is neither that of the city nor that of the unbuilt parts of the territory. It sees life develop in a complete *habitations* cycle. Thanks to the special conditions of Les Avanchets as well as a mix of accommodation and activities, this estate has been given the image of a village. The estate went through several cycles. First seen as a united village, it was divided into two “with the mass arrival of people from the Balkans in the 1990s and the meeting with the former inhabitants.”¹⁰

We see village life turning more and more into a small community, probably due to a great culture shock between the new and old inhabitants. Ten years further on, the end of the shopping centre’s life marks a new stage in the estate’s *habitations* cycle. ‘It was a meeting point that brought people together.’ And the loss of this landmark has further degraded the neighbourhood’s social ties. The introduction of an EMS¹¹ in one of the buildings makes the neighbourhood less dynamic and increasingly shows its aging. Finally, more sporadic phases have occurred several times when friends, close neighbours decided to leave the estate. All these steps have made a young and dynamic district, an old and slow district. This estate, probably at the end of its life, could all the same start a new phase when a greater mix of age and an *inhabiting* cycle are reintroduced.

10. Collectif Sarka-SPIP, « Les Avanchets : parlons-en ! », Analyse des récits des habitants, 9 décembre 2008, <http://www.tshm.ch/avanchets-onex/spip.php?article109>

11. EMS: Medical-social establishment: In Switzerland, an EMS is a medicalised living space for the elderly. It offers not only care services but also social and hotel services.

12. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.68
- Isée Bernateau, in her book *Vue sur mer* of 2018, hypothesises that it is “the groups that found the space”¹² and not that a given space, by its capacity and its volume gives birth to groups. She suggests that we look, for example, at the car parks of shopping centres, which change function over time depending on the people who use it. They are used, most of the time, by independent adults, people who use them for what could be described as a primary function: a space to park your car while shopping. But they may at some point be used by teenagers as a playground. The stairwell is perhaps a more striking example, because it is a forgotten space, yet very important in social life. It makes it possible to make the transition, in a building for example, from one floor to another, from next-door neighbours to the neighbours upstairs. It is a gathering place for teenagers, who don’t want to be at home, but not outside or standing either.

13. Georges Perec, *Espèces d’espaces*, New revised edition, Collection l’espace critique (Paris: Éd. Galilée, 2010), p.76.
14. Bernateau, *Vue sur mer*, p.68
- Moreover, Perec, in ‘Species of Spaces’, invites us to understand and see the stairways as a space and not only as a means: “We don’t think about stairs enough [...] We should learn to live more on the stairs.”¹³ Isée Bernateau also suggests that groups - here a group of adolescents - can design and appropriate spaces that are meaningful only to them. “Car parks in shopping centres, stairwells, cellars, squats, skate parks, building lobbies.”¹⁴ They occupy these places which for other groups are more than a play area. For adults, these adolescent spaces are non-places, places of passage or simply unhealthy places for certain social classes. It highlights an important point: a place which, in its appearance, is repulsive to some, can be attractive to others. We therefore notice that a place designed for a certain use gives way to another by the force of imagination. “The ado-

lescent place is in essence an anti-place, it is defined in the negative: it only becomes a place for the adolescent because it is neither a place for children nor for adults.”¹⁵ These spaces that she describes are what form the *habitations* cycle, a threshold of transition between phases of life, “For them, to build a space, with more or less transgressive aspect which ensures a clear separation with the world of childhood while being protected from the intrusion of adults.”¹⁶ Amos Rapoport expressed in his triptych, “between experiences, forms and the common good”¹⁷ the meaning of multifunctional spaces, similar to *habitations* cycle. It is a drawing of the same piece used in different ways over time. It is used as a standard classroom with the interlocutor facing everyone, as well as a seminar space with tables grouped together in a large square or as an end-of-year party room with chairs that has disappeared to invite conviviality.

15. *Idem.*

16. *Idem.*

17. Amos Rapoport Cited by Luca Pattaroni, « Learning From Squat: une Critique en situation du Capitalisme » Lectures during the Sociology course and Superstudio B at the EPFL, Lausanne, Switzerland, October 13, 2020.

Thresholds

The practice of *inhabiting* in the same space in different ways has similarities to the squat movement. A trend of the 70s, which is committed to going against functionalist spatial forms. It puts in crisis the clear separation between the private and the public: “Beyond this landing [of the staircase which leads to the apartments], nothing in common between the tenants; their home belongs to them entirely, they close their doors and they are at home; they do not share anything with the neighbours, as is too often the case in ‘barracks’”¹⁸, buildings for workers where they share the kitchen or sanitary facilities. In a conference by Luca Pattaroni, ‘Learning From Squat: a Critic in the Situation of Capitalism’ of 13 October 2020, we find these policies of liberation from function by analysing a working-class building in the Grottes district in Geneva. Pattaroni explains how the district lives, changes over time, people who live there, or households that grow. This movement fits into four stages that form the “squat cycle: occupy - install - (co) inhabit - evacuate perpetuate.”¹⁹

18. Bulletin de la Société pour l'Amélioration du Logement, n°2, 1894. cited by Luca Pattaroni, « Learning From Squat: une Critique en situation du Capitalisme » Lectures during the Sociology course and Superstudio B at the EPFL, Lausanne, Switzerland, October 13, 2020.

19. Pattaroni, « Learning From Squat: une Critique en situation du Capitalisme ».

The squat evolves according to who occupies it and quite often the same room is used in several different ways. In a squat, the dilapidated elements are used to give plasticity to the spaces and also assume some reallocation. A hole in a wall becomes the metaphor for a porthole. It is furnished, it gives a semi-private space. The breach, once sealed, makes it possible to understand that a need for more privatisation was necessary and indicates a change in the household. Or this same hole is enlarged into a door allowing direct access to the space behind. These *habitations* cycle of dwellings are therefore accompanied by an extremely important term,

which is the 'threshold'. "It is a transitional space which means a place of passage between living beings, a means of communication between two delimited spaces, between two worlds or even according to different space-time"²⁰. There is always an intermediate space that takes us from one world to another. For indoors and outdoors, it is easily remarkable for the sheer thickness of the wall one has to climb. According to its etymology, the tangible threshold is the lower part of the bay of a door and historically it is translated in the Collins dictionary by "a sill, esp. one made of stone or hardwood, placed at a doorway."²¹ Cambridge dictionary also defines it as "the part of a floor at the entrance to a building or room"²². In the expression 'the threshold of life', it can also mean the beginning of something. There is also the expression that says that in a journey, the longest is to cross the threshold. We can say that the threshold marks the beginning of another world compared to the previous one and generally visible by a more or less distinct sign. "The threshold of the house is the symbolic space which materialises the dialectic of inhabiting: inside/outside. It belongs at the same time to inside and outside; it is this no man's land that does not belong to anyone and at the same time to everyone."²³

In the example of the workers' building in the Grottes district, the transitions that form over time allow us to understand the type of household that occupies the dwelling. First, we find the initial typology of the plan, which delimits six two-room apartments. There is a chance of seeing single people or perhaps an ephemeral couple. Initially openings are formed; the floor is released and becomes an apartment of three and four bedrooms. "They close the corridors, they organise circulation, transform

20. Collins, *Collins English Dictionary*, - Threshold.

21. *Idem*.

22. Cambridge University Press, *Cambridge advanced learner's dictionary*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) - Threshold.

23. Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue*, p.35.

24. Pattaroni, « Learning From Squat: une Critique en situation du Capitalisme »

kitchens into bedrooms or even a bedroom which is reduced to be able to make an interior corridor”²⁴. There is a whole pooling process that is taking place, a large number of walls are knocked down. It’s a rather instinctive job that gets done. Residents build and destroy spaces based on what they want to see when they use the space. In a second phase, people begin to form a couple and the spaces are transformed again, closing into four apartments. We are reforming new collectives which are shared toilets with two private dwellings.

Later, rooms that belonged to the other apartments are reallocated, the household has decreased in one apartment and in another it has grown. So we need a child’s room or an office, for example. The thresholds change, are modified by small gestures and transform the functions of the same space. “We protect ourselves, we barricade ourselves. The doors stop and separate. The door breaks space, divides it, prohibits osmosis, imposes partitioning: on one side, there is me and my home, the private, the domestic (the space overloaded with my property: my bed, my carpet, my table, my typewriter, my books, my mismatched issues of *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, etc.), on the other side, there are the others, the world, the public, the politician. We cannot slide from one to the other; we do not go from one to the other, neither in one direction nor in another: we need a password, we have to cross the threshold, we must be invited, we must communicate, as the prisoner communicates with the outside.”²⁵

25. Perec, *Espèces d’espaces*, p.73.



COMMUNITY

LIVING TOGETHER

We live in different ways with different people throughout our *habitations* cycle. People who are internal or external to the home, friends of the family or even simple acquaintances greatly influence the way in which we will shape our *inhabiting*. *Habitations* brings together different factors such as an action, a climate, a place or even a colony. It takes into account all the individuals who would be likely to come to us: friends, family or even colleagues, clients. By including all of these people we subconsciously design places specifically for them and we subconsciously change our own concept of *habitations*.

The Neighbourhoods

“I was looking for a place where my daughter could go to school during all her compulsory education and also with amenities close by, like supermarkets, public transport, day care, etc. So I negotiated for an apartment because I had to get out of the other at short notice. This one was free very quickly and it was perfect for a child. It was a complex of several buildings that surrounded a square that was half concrete and half garden. The neighbourhood was made up of several families as well and I think if I hadn’t had the neighbours I had, I would never have stayed.” The words of Elizabeth are representative of what determines us to stay in a certain neighbourhood or to go. A neighbourhood has an extremely important impact on *inhabiting*.

It can represent the nearby facilities as well as the neighbourhood as a whole or simply the people who live in the immediate vicinity. It influences our habits, the actions we take. Individuals are often attentive to the criteria of safety, mobility, the possibility of access to certain activities - extracurricular, sports, intellectual, etc., and the presence of infrastructure such as schools or shops depending on their concept of housing. Some respondents, when they had to start a family, even had to put aside their personal desire to live in a lively district of the city centre, for example. The good level of family comfort offered by a village allows greater familiarity with the neighbourhood. Elizabeth also adds, “If I hadn’t had children I don’t think I would have stayed in this village. I have moved to the same area several times. It allowed me to be able to juggle work, family, school and shopping quite easily.” Dani, meanwhile, lived in a residential city called Les Avanchets. “My parents rented an apartment



in Avanchet Park. They actually moved for us. They felt that the previous apartment was too small so [...] they wanted to move so that everyone had their own room. [...] What is funny about the Avanchets is that today we will say that it is an estate not very welcoming, an estate of foreigners. At the time, I must say that what was good was that there was no road, that is to say that the concept was to be able to walk in the whole neighbourhood, to go to all buildings without crossing a single road. For my parents it was really safe to have us there. [...] The school was right next door, in front of our building, so we could walk there. There is a huge fountain surrounded by trees in the summer where we went to bathe. There is a multipurpose room, which we could rent, for birthdays for example. [...] The shopping centre was small at the time; it has since grown. There was the bakery where we went to get bread in the morning, a small supermarket and also a pharmacy and many other shops.”



“We moved because of the noise. The apartment was really nice and I felt good there. But we couldn’t sleep at night, it was unbearable. Someone with his moped who came to deliver I don’t know what around 3 a.m. and left it running. Even during the day, I spent my days outside with my baby because all day long you could hear screaming. It was a family down below, drug addicts, even social workers came. The whole neighbourhood was complaining. They were smoking and we could smell the odour in our apartment. So we looked at the ads and moved on.” The feelings that we might have towards our neighbours, for example, could very well be bad like the situation Sandrine experienced. Neighbours are individuals who, despite having housing more or less the same, have their own way of *inhabiting* and perceive

habitations in a different way. Indeed, whether in a private home, where you can hear sounds or smell through the walls, or in collective places outside their home, each individual interferes with their neighbours. One of the essential characteristics of neighbours is that you cannot choose your neighbours. They are indeed imposed by fate and renewed at random. Spaces that are not well delimited such as balconies, gardens without separation between apartments, can be seen as semi-public places, they encourage sociability between neighbours, which some consider a positive point. However, some people fear that their neighbours, with whom they get along well, will move out, and then have to share this space with people with whom they would not get along as well. This was the case for Marie “We lived in what was called the boat, the building was banana-shaped and the apartments inside resembled a slice of cake. On the one hand, we were very far from the neighbours but when we went to the bedroom, the neighbours’ balcony was right next to ours. Luckily we didn’t get along too badly with them so there was no problem. But it’s true that I wondered what would have happened if we hadn’t liked them.”



The Guests

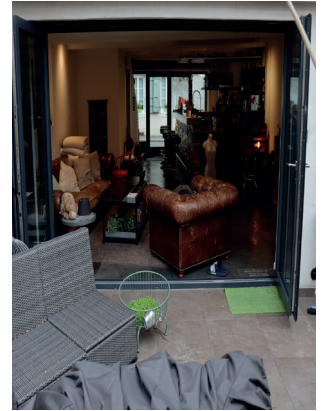
“We had rented a four-room apartment by choice. We wanted at least two bedrooms to be able to receive friends or family, at least one room for storage, tidying up, the office and a large living room to be able to receive guests too. It’s something that is important to me, to have a room for guests. I don’t want my friends or family to feel like they have to leave or find a hotel room when they come to see me. In fact, in our current apartment, I find the guest room a little small; we can only accommodate one person.” This need for an extra bedroom, which Claire just spoke about, for “when friends come to sleep” is not trivial. When moving into the emancipation stage, this need to have room for friends is very often present. It is this need that also differentiates transitional housing from emancipation housing.

In temporary housing, we know that we are not going to stay there forever and we are looking primarily for easily accessible accommodation - mostly for financial reasons or for reasons of speed of acquisition. It is a room that makes it possible to receive friends and nevertheless grants certain independence to all permanent and temporary residents. Indeed, unlike additional space provided for this purpose, transformable furniture, such as a sofa bed, does not guarantee privacy. It tramples on the space that dwellers see as a common space. Georges, who slept a few months at his sister and her husband’s, describes it as “not very comfortable”. He adds, “I didn’t have a room, I slept on the sofa bed and had to tidy it up every morning.”



“Never in any apartment have I really felt at home until my current apartment. Even in the precedent apartment that we had chosen together with my partner, I still did not feel at ease. Since I arrived in Switzerland, I have enjoyed living with those around me. That is to say that before the kitchen was very small. I couldn’t enjoy it with the others. I cooked, I prepared, I served. I was just the waitress because I was sitting at the table and two minutes later I had to go back to the kitchen to prepare something else. Today in the house we all live together. Even if I have fifteen guests, they are with me in the kitchen, as it is open-plan kitchen. Now I am really at home!” The common spaces are, as Lara just explained, a place to strengthen family bonds. They must provide for the needs of the whole household.

If generally the common spaces are, in many countries, such as Switzerland, already integrated into the accommodation, it is possible that these spaces become, at one moment of the day, an intimate space, a bedroom. This is often the case when a household suddenly gets bigger. This could be due to a birth, a person who had left home coming back temporarily, or when you decide to host friends. Lara who, for example, grew up with the other four members of her family in a two-room apartment, didn’t see the difference between the common and the private spaces. Being able to have a large common space was probably a primary reason for her. In fact, many people who own their own property often seek to expand this space. These could be windows that allow you to erase the boundaries between the outside and the inside at a certain time of the year or the addition of a room such as a veranda or simply the extension of the house like what Marie did.



“The old house was only sixty-eight square metres on the ground and had one hundred square metres of land. It was a little bit on the small side and there were plenty of rooms. There was a wall separating the kitchen from the dining room. [...] He was knocked down using hammers to have an open kitchen. When they kicked it they thought it was going to be something thick, but they almost went through it was so thin. The wall was taken down easily. The house was surrounded by windows. There was a small window on the current living room side and since we did not have a living room we knocked down the outside wall where this window was. We then built a heated veranda, which is attached to the house to make our living area. [...] Much later, outside, we built this veranda, which we call the ‘Outside glass’ because that’s where we have our aperitif. It is a place that has no heating and no water. So it wasn’t to make the house bigger, because we have enough space, it was quite the opposite. In Switzerland, it is rare that we can end an evening outside. So it was an area to retreat to when there is a north wind. My mother-in-law told us ‘you have enlarged your garden’. We don’t use it much in winter, only when it’s snowing because it’s pretty, but otherwise we go there between seasons to be a little warmer.”



The Specifics

“Our apartment was situated under the roof and the house was like an appendix. What was funny was that below the roofs, there was a very small attic. It could be accessed using a very steep spiral staircase. It was a kind of work area where my dad had established his workshop. So it looked out onto the roof and you could look through a small window, like a sort of skylight, outside. I used to go there a few times to tinker and remember putting together a lot of parts to make a glider. So we went there sometimes to tinker with my brother.” Arnold shows us how important a DIY room is to him.

A room dedicated to a specific practice like Dani mentioned is something that is becoming more and more common. This room can be used for children as a playroom, for an activity such as a music room or gym or for food such as a wine cellar. These rooms are more or less used by living beings according to their functions, but they can just as well be used as a place of storage. Normally, these spaces are used by more than one family member and are seen as common spaces, just like a living room or a kitchen. They are differentiated by the time spent occupying them. These practices can also divide spaces into several smaller ones, assigning each corner of the room an activity. *Habitations* are formed through these activities which form the basis of space at a given time by one or more individuals. Dani offers us an even clearer vision of two bedrooms. “To the right was my sister’s bedroom and then there was a playroom section. It was more or less demarcated with a round carpet for the play area and rectangular for my sister’s space. Her bed was below the window. This is where we came to play, because my brother and I had a room that



was right across the corridor. We had our two beds and I remember this room was relatively small. They were old wooden beds with bars. It was my grandfather who made a system to be able to put them up when we were babies, I guess and to make the bars go down as we got older. I only remember when the bars were down.”

“When she visited the house, she saw the owner’s wife with her two children who were at the table, perfect harmony! She called me and told me to come over right away. When I arrived she said to me ‘look, there is the ideal number of rooms that we need. There is a bedroom downstairs with a private bathroom for when my parents come home so it’s great. There is a playroom for the children too.’ And then, the main asset of the house was an extra apartment, which could be rented out in the attic. It was empty, not rented, when I bought the house, but I know the former owners used it for their parents. It was apparently something very important when they had built the house. What’s good is that if my kids want more space for themselves, they can live above in it.” What Jean tells us is that he chose his accommodation because it also allowed him to welcome his mother-in-law. This specific place consists of providing a living space for a person and not just putting them up in a guest room. These dwellings, attached to the house, or within the property in the case of an outbuilding, serve to enlarge the home while creating two different *inhabiting*. Some decide to rent this additional space, while waiting to welcome the person for whom they had chosen it or, on the contrary, to do so after the departure of this person.



COMMUNITY

ABOUT US

«As public spaces are places where strangers meet, they represent condensations and incarnations of the essence of life's defining features [...]»

Zygmunt Bauman, 2013

Obligation of Limits

In the chapters constituting individuality, we have discussed the different *inhabiting* cycles of individuals. Each cycle being unique to the human being who conceives it, we have found that *inhabiting* is something that belongs to us. Briefly, we understood that, depending on who we lived with, we had to adapt our way of *inhabiting*. This part in particular introduced the concept of living together. Indeed, we are not alone in our cocoon; we interact with other individuals in the household, but not only. In the context of housing, we are also forced to interact with external elements. It can be family in the broad sense, friends or acquaintances, next door neighbours or neighbours from the neighbourhood, but also the places where we live, building, area, ...

Therefore, even if the *inhabiting* is ours, it must be able to be shared whether it is voluntary or not. As the saying goes: Our freedom ends where the freedom of others begins.

Public Exteriors

The estate of Avanchets breaks with the pattern of large housing estates, usually made up of an orthogonal grid, with a much less rigid layout allowing new housing perspectives. These buildings together, thanks to their own neighbourhood facilities and services, constitute a free entity. To avoid a ghost town and promote community life, the promoters have equipped it with several shops and services, guaranteeing real autonomy: a shopping centre, a restaurant, a tea room, a pub, a religious centre, a cultural centre, a medical practice, two schools, etc. This estate promised safety, forbidden to cars and with a police station nearby; calm, gardens and fountains giving it an air of a park; mutual aid, the inhabitants all came from the same social background. This thoughtful and proven balance was jeopardised when state decisions, through lack of understanding of the Avanchets microcosm, introduced a new human group into one of the buildings. Although the initial idea was otherwise charitable (they were refugees), seen as human, it ignored the concept of group strength ...

1. Dragoslav Miric, *Évolution et troubles de personnalité* (Wavre (Belgique); [La-gny-sur-Marne: Mardaga] ; Diff. Sodis, 2012), p.5

“ [...] the individual without his group would simply not exist.”¹ Dani remembers this period very well. “The state put all the foreigners in the same building, they didn’t have anyone they could count on to teach them the inner workings of the country they had just arrived in.” This group therefore established its own rules, rules which were obviously not understood by the original inhabitants of Avanchets. It may well be that if these refugees had been treated not as a group but as individuals, and therefore not housed all together, but in a fragmented fashion, this would not have precipitated the decadence and ageing of the estate of Avanchets. The lack of state

psychological support has in fact created communication problems between individuals as well as cultural differences, which affected the original concept of Avanchets, that of community life, of helping a specific group. These community concepts are found in many neighbourhoods in new cities. China Town in New York for example. It is because mutual aid is strong that such neighbourhoods emerge, but the fact remains that the notion of a group can mean the decline of another group. In this example, the district of Little Italy has gradually lost its territory in favour of the extension of China Town.

In the chapter “Understanding mobility and lifestyles to analyse the spatiality of everyday life’ by Yann Dubois and Lorris Tabbone, the authors discuss the relationship between lifestyles, residential choice and mobility. They distinguish “six ways of life among the inhabitants of Bas-Rhin”²: ‘Family’, a neighbourhood where children can thrive; ‘Countryside’, aimed at elitism and security; ‘Remote proximity’, proximity to transport and urbanity; ‘Anchored in the place of life’, proximity to friends and family; ‘undergo’, residential preference little emphasised. These lifestyles represent the ideal for individuals. We understand that residential mobility can be due to this search for the ideal or simply a change in lifestyle. For example, in the case of a family with children, once they have left the rest of the household decides to change neighbourhood for one which seems to them to satisfy their current lifestyle. “But behind these general trends, there are very marked differentiations in the ways of living in the neighbourhood of these city dwellers.”³

Jean-Yves Authier’s survey also notes a differentiation in the use of these neighbourhoods. The different neighbourhoods or way of life have variable configura-

2. Vincent Kaufmann et Emmanuel Ravalet, *L’urbanisme par les modes de vie: outils d’analyse pour un aménagement durable, vuesDensemble* (Genève: MétisPresses, 2019). p.61-62.
3. Jean-Yves Authier, «Les citadins et leur quartier.» Enquêtes auprès d’habitants de quartiers anciens centraux en France, *Année sociologique*, Vol. 58, (janvier 2008) : 21-46.

tions for each individual, which are part of socially and spatially differentiated ways of cohabiting and living in cities. We are confronted with several *inhabiting* cycles, with several ways of living outside our home. These different modes must all interact with the neighbourhood they have chosen, but above all with the individuals who reside there who cannot be chosen in advance. “For example, between the inhabitants who have a ‘traditional’ use of their district, for whom the district functions as a local space, and the inhabitants who have a district life detached from the gravity of the neighbourhood, for whom the district functions on the contrary like a space open to the ‘cosmopolitanism’ of urban life.”⁴

4. Authier, « Les citadins et leur quartier. »

These different ways of *inhabiting* combined with lifestyles refer to the *habitations cycle*. The latter, being variable, can be a source of serenity as of conflict. If, as analysed in the previous chapter, it is thanks to *habitations* that language - a way of expressing yourself - has emerged, it can also destroy it. Indeed, community life, not being perceived in the same way by everyone, can force some people to lack communication and language. Behaviour considered normal by some could upset others. In the Fossés-Dessous district in Aubonne Sandrine, for example, some tenants take the initiative to privatise a piece of garden in front of their terrace. Obviously, the garden is normally accessible to all residents of the neighbourhood and this privatisation is therefore illegal. Some of Sandrine’s neighbours are, like her, upset about what they see as disrespect; others have no opinion about it and the last category finds it normal. This last example reflects a case of limitation between public-exterior and private-interior housing. This border, in this kind of residence, is often blurred. While some en-

joy the scenery and the outdoor life they have from their living room, others are annoyed that 'strangers' can visually enter what they consider their privacy. *Habitations* allow us to occupy a territory that suits us as long as we can agree to share it with a larger group of people who make up our home, but also outsiders that we know or not. We must be able to integrate into the community and into the management of the neighbourhood. "Habitations are a biographical field made up of social interactions, personal and collective events. It is indeed a feeling of being at home which goes through family relationships, an attachment to places and people. This social organisation of the world constitutes the framework of a history with cultural, even political accents."⁵

5. Caroline Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue* (Paris: Décisions Durables Editions, 2015), p.140.

Public Interiors

In Susanna Magri's essay, we find the evolution of the domestic interior in its configuration, at different times. The author presents the reconfiguration of social space in the use of housing, at a given cycle, to question the transformation of ways of housing. What interests us in this work lies in "the monofunctionality of the bedroom, which in no case should be used to receive."⁶ In fact, housing has included, in its developments, a privatisation of the spaces that compose it. The home, as such, remains one of the main frameworks for primary socialisation. But the places for welcoming outsiders and the spaces for bringing together members of the household have changed. "The distribution of rooms, which have now acquired their functional specialisation, is changing under the effect of an overvaluation of the family which materialises in a clearer cut between public and private. Therefore, the three functions that qualify the interior space: reception, services, privacy, are better defined."⁷

Nowadays, each home must be able to guarantee sufficient privacy to each individual who composes it. Each member who enters the home, even temporarily, must be able to isolate themselves to avoid tension. For Georges, in the 'living together' chapter, we saw that his lack of intimacy created internal conflicts with his sister and the other members of the household. It is advisable "to arrange a common space where everyone can meet, a space for the children, a space for the parents and finally, a space for each of the adults, so that they can 'maintain their individuality, without risking to see it engulfed in the identity of the other or in the identity of the couple'."⁸

6. Susanna Magri, «L'intérieur domestique. Pour une analyse du changement dans les manières d'habiter», *Genèses*, n° 28 (Étatisations, sous la direction de Jean Leroy, septembre 1997): 146-64. p.155.

7. Magri, « L'intérieur domestique. Pour une analyse du changement dans les manières d'habiter », p.154.

8. Mona Chollet, *Chez soi: une odyssée de l'espace domestique* (Paris: La Découverte, 2015 - 2016), p.265.

“One can easily imagine an apartment whose layout would no longer be based on daily activities, but on relationship functions. This is the model distribution of the so-called reception rooms in 17th century mansions or in large bourgeois apartments at the end of the century: a series of adjoining lounges, commanded by a large vestibule and whose specification is based on minimal variations all revolving around the notion of reception : large living room, small living room, Monsieur’s office, Madame’s boudoir, smoking room, library, billiards, etc.”⁹

This relationship function that Georges Perec states is not trivial. It is about particular spaces that revolve around the guest, of the gathering. The interviews we have carried out have also shown us that most individuals choose their accommodation according to others. They want to be able to spend time together during a meal without being left behind in a closed kitchen, or others prefer a closed kitchen to maintain privacy while preparing the meal. The borders, during receptions, change. Housing that we would describe as private, unlike the so-called public exterior, turns into a semi-private space. The boundaries between household members and the outside are reduced to make room for spaces that could be defined as ‘temporary-public’ when meeting with friends/family/colleagues. If we speak of reception, in this case, we also find a notion of ‘invited intimacy’, which is installed in the accommodations, which includes all the intimate spaces of the latter which have been arranged for the guests, such as the guest room. “The prominent place accorded to private property is largely due to its ability [...] to secure and maintain individual autonomy.”¹⁰

9. Georges Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, New revised edition, Collection l'espace critique (Paris: Éd. Galilée, 2010), p.63-64.

10. Marc Breviglieri, Luca Pattaroni et Joan Stavvo-Debaug, «Les choses dues propriétés, hospitalités et responsabilités ethnographie des parties communes de squats militants», Rapport à la Direction de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Mission à l'ethnologie, (octobre 2004). p.59.

Organisations

In all households and their neighbourhood, it is necessary to be able to distinguish different levels of participation: management of the building, of the housing, of outdoor or indoor common areas, mutual assistance between close neighbours or entire neighbourhood, etc. In the case of cohabitation, this daily management “can vary widely depending on the degree of integration chosen by the inhabitants, from the maintenance of common areas (garden, guest room, recording studio, craft room, etc.) to the preparation of certain meal, more or less regularly.”¹¹ Squatting very broadly demonstrates all of the types of relationships and organisations that make up a household. They start from the most intimate, which is that of the bed, to the most open, which are the outdoor spaces, from the privacy of the bedroom, to the public-type common spaces, to spaces that change from private to public or vice versa.

11. Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue*, p.57.

“Not needing to earn a lot of money and having your time allows you to take your habitat head-on by carrying out all the necessary work: spending six months ‘out of the world’ setting up a concert hall in the cellar, clearing tons of rubble, tearing down walls, renovating the electrical installation and plumbing, creating a kitchen or a bathroom, etc.”¹² By immersing themselves together in the modification of their *habitations*, the occupants acquire a degree of mastery over their environment, which is rare in other homes. Their ways of operating is to take into account all the factors and all the desires of everyone. Therefore, the squat is a good illustration of the word ‘Habiter’, defined in the introduction, and which represents at the same time *inhabiting*, *habitations* and *Habitat*. Together, they design their *inhabiting* environment, a

12. Chollet, *Chez soi: une odyssée de l'espace domestique*, p.343.

place where *Habitat* is inseparable from the individual.

They delimit private and public borders with few limits. Unlike an imposed, built and immutable *Habitat*, the squatter's environment is not governed by the rules of society but those of the community. "You just have to assemble a small group and be ready to roll up your sleeves to occupy a place and start living according to your wishes, there, right away, regardless of your economic situation - whereas participatory housing implies at the same time a few years of patience, a minimum of financial means and, most often, the use of the services of an architect."¹³

13. Chollet, *Chez soi : une odyssée de l'espace domestique*, p.342.



CONSUMPTION

HABITAT CYCLE

«I dream of the entirely new society that would be born if we could break down this compartmentalisation, and bring out of the consumerist'sphere the conviction that we deserve lives worthy of the name.»

Monat Chollet, 2016

Life of the Habitat

In the first three chapters of individuality, it was defined that the construction of a shelter is a technical fact common to man and animal, who seek to bring together the conditions favourable to their existence in a defined territory. "Unlike animal habitat, human habitat is not immutable in time or space. It is partly linked to the natural environment, but it depends above all on a representation of the world, which reveals more the organisation of space than the techniques and materials used."¹ Links have also been made between *Habitat* and *inhabiting* through prehistoric shelters and the representation of the primitive hut by Marc-Antoine Laugier, which enabled us to dissociate the verb from the noun. Amos Rapoport underlines that "given a certain climate, the possibility of obtaining certain materials, and the constraints and means of a certain technical level, which ultimately decides the form of a dwelling and shapes the spaces and their relationships, it is the vision that a people has of the ideal life."²

If we take the analogy with animals, the movements undertaken by them in their environment reflect the resources conditioning their survival in this environment. Climatic conditions, vegetation and the presence of predators therefore play a very important role for the environments of most wild animals. Rapoport distinguishes between the traditional way of building, the architecture, influenced in various ways by the natural environment in all parts of the world, and the *Habitat*, which is originally inseparable from the way of life of a society. "He translates the cultural habits, the type of social relations and the way of thinking of a group of humans in an apparent but also symbolic way."³

1. AXIS: *l'univers documentaire* Hachette, vol. 5, peinture de genre à Ivan le Terrible (Vanves: Livre de Paris : Hachette, 1994), p.168

2. Luca Pattaroni, « Learning From Squat: une Critique en situation du Capitalisme » Lectures during the Sociology course and Superstudio B at the EPFL, Lausanne, Switzerland, October 13, 2020.

3. Pattaroni, « Learning From Squat: une Critique en situation du Capitalisme »

4. AXIS: *l'univers documentaire Hachette*, vol. 5
5. AXIS: *l'univers documentaire Hachette*, peinture de genre à Ivan le Terrible, vol. 5, p.180
- Religion is one of the important factors that led pre-industrial civilisations to develop in one way and not another. "The influence of the cosmic image is particularly pervasive in Africa, where the sacred is also reflected in the habitat."⁴ For example, the Zulus, people of southern Africa, prioritise their *Habitat* according to the cycle of the sun and build them according to their belief that the circle is the perfect shape that attracts blessings from heaven. The chief's dome being placed where the first rays of the sun land, makes it possible to date precisely the moment when the village was built. Another factor in the evolution of housing includes "Beliefs and practices surrounding the basic activities of daily living (eating, sleeping ...)." ⁵

6. AXIS: *l'univers documentaire Hachette*, vol. 5, peinture de genre à Ivan le Terrible, p.184
- In Europe, for example, the specific role of each member of the family, as well as their gender, defined the place they were to take around the table. We can also talk about the Zen organisation of Chinese habitats, which in their culture attached great importance to traditional medicine and the flow of forces. An essential factor is the basic household composition, which obviously makes it possible to structure the space or the relationship and the role between men and women in the household which has greatly influenced the notion of intimacy and therefore the typology of house. In some peoples, "men and women have completely separate houses: a man living in the neighbourhood of his lineage frequently sees his wife living at the other end of the village, in the house of the women of his lineage."⁶ The *Habitat* develop according to the evolution of technical beliefs, relationships, cultures of different societies.

In the West, the modern movement which appeared due to the technical, social and cultural changes linked to the industrial revolution, brought with it new housing turned towards industrialism, nature and functionalism by proposing collective prototypes and ideal plans for entire cities. This way of conceiving architecture by function by conceiving typologies, as if all human beings were alike and remained unchanged from life to death, is more or less still relevant today. Yet we have entered a new phase of modernity, a consumer society or, to use Zygmunt Bauman's term, 'Liquid modernity'⁷; it is the era of 'all disposable' which allows 'throwing away' everything that is 'old' enabling us to source the latest 'trendy products'.

7. Zygmunt Bauman et Laurent Rosson, *La vie liquide* (Paris: Pluriel, 2013).

The life we know and which manifests itself in work, emotion, leisure, family or even in culture is a slave to time. The products must quickly disappear, to be able to give way to more recent technologies and our way of life is carried out according to new principles of design, production, consumption. We have arrived in the era of the disposable, which allows you to always acquire more new things and to be 'trendy'. This consumer society accelerated with the industrial revolution, but it is not the source of it. Man has lost the very essence of their *Habitat*; they have moved further and further away from the original shelters relating to all living beings, whether plant or animal. "To look at the dwelling of animals is also to see beyond the exhaustible resources brought to light by an economy based on their commercial exploitation. For any living being who shares the values of dwelling, nature and animals are revealed respectively as a diversity of habitats and as inhabitants. The forgetting of this perspective was made possible by a hierarchy establi-

8. Caroline Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue* (Paris: Décisions Durables Editions, 2015), p.130

shed in Western culture between ‘Man’ and all other animals, ‘The Animal’.”⁸ We are, unfortunately, ill-equipped to take on the extent to which liquid society affects us in our living environment, because we are only ‘going with the flow’. These changes, which seem normal for a whole generation, influence our ways of *inhabiting*, our social and cultural environment and even our language.

Beginning

The sedentarisation of man came relatively late. We have found archaeological traces of the journey towards sedentary life in the Middle East, “dating from 18,000 to 8,000 years BC.”⁹ Semi-permanent sites have been found near water points where vegetation and food were abundance, which guaranteed a reasonable level of stability. It is therefore understood that the step towards sedentarisation is not a result of agriculture, but that of the beginning of the domestication of nature by maximising the use of the climate in their favour. “In Japan, for example, the abundant resources of the forest and the sea enabled Jomon cultures to build important dwellings 8,000 years before wet rice cultivation became the basis of the economy, but after harvest they had to store food and large objects to transform them.”¹⁰

The habitations became larger and more entrenched as humans depended more on intensively collected food than on agriculture. This accumulation of food and objects in the houses accelerated the progress towards sedentarisation, gradually leading man to review their way of life, including the layout and shape of their houses. One of the most fundamental elements characterising the evolution of architecture during human sedentarisation is the transition from the round plane to the rectangular plane and the beginnings of what you might call geometry. This rapid growth of rectangular structures is “visible as a gradual process spanning the 7th millennium BC.”¹¹ The circular plan was obviously simpler to design, because it resulted from a natural shape and it could easily be drawn by hand. Unfortunately this shape does not allow the optimisation of the space. In the process of sedentarisation and accumulation of goods, space be-

9. Jerry D. Moore, *The Prehistory of Home* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), p.35.

10. *Idem*.

11. Marcin Białowarczuk, *from circle to rectangle: evolution of the architectural plan in the early neolithic in the middle east* (Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 25, 2016).

12. Çayönü is located on the Bogâzçay, a tributary of the Tiger, 7km southwest of Ergani, in the Diarbakir region. It is one of the oldest known villages in Anatolia (9'500-9'000 B.P.). Traces of three cultural eras can be found there: Pre-Ceramic Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Ancient Bronze.

comes crucial and this is one of the reasons why the rectangular plan has established itself as the best solution. This gradual transformation, into regular abstract modular geometric shapes, appears to have been the last step in intensive efforts to enlarge the floor space and operate it in the most efficient way possible. This way of life is noticed in one of the most famous Çayönü¹² sites, which offers cell-plan. We observe that the stone base of the buildings served as a foundation and probably allowed the safeguard and conservation of goods, while the top of the house was made of more perishable materials. This site, which had evolved continuously in several phases, therefore shows us that the evolution of houses in their organisation, changes in materials and shapes, is carried out for the conservation of surpluses accumulated during the year.

Rectangular buildings give rise to a clear principle of ownership. Accumulation of municipal or private surpluses, increasing dependence on agriculture. The house also becomes a symbol of the social level, bringing with it its own social conflicts. James S. Slotkin asserts that when populations “ [...] ceased to fall asleep under the first tree, or in the first cave which offered them shelter; they invented several kinds of tools in hard and sharp stones [...] they then made huts with branches [...] It was the time of the first revolution, which established and distinguished families, and introduced all kinds of properties, themselves sources of a thousand quarrels and conflicts.”¹³

13. James S. Slotkin, *Readings in Early Anthropology* (Psychology Press, 2004), p.329.

Indeed, the construction of the houses was quickly carried out by the strong men of the tribe, on the contrary the weak men were content to imitate. This fact, coupled with the appropriation of goods and the advent of agri-

culture, led to a hierarchy within the very heart of the village. Common monuments emerged to reduce these conflicts and establish a level playing field and rules of life. The first important communal buildings were the storage rooms for food and especially cereals, foods that do not spoil easily. These buildings had a predominant function in the survival of the people and therefore the one in charge of the stock was considered to be the most powerful person in the village. At this point we cannot speak of the state yet, but perhaps of the beginning of its transition into an abstraction of the human mega machine. We cannot yet speak of agriculture at this time, but rather of planting wild cereals¹⁴ and therefore stocking was carried out only in case wild resources were scarce. This granary was therefore distributed during periods of shortage in an equal manner. We are at the beginnings of what will later become consumption, what we can call accumulation. Resources will become commodities, storehouses shops and nature profit-based industries.

14. A common response was that cereals can be harvested, threshed and stored in a granary for several years and represent a dense stock of starches and proteins if, by chance, there is a sudden shortage of wild resources.

Liquid Society Product

In today's society, habitat no longer represents "a place set aside for the *inhabiting* of a plant species, it is also applied to animals and humans considered according to the various races."¹⁵ Now, the *Habitat* I'm talking about has become a product of human consumption. The man of 'liquid modernity' changes according to their desires; they have acquired such an existence that these primal needs become acquired. Zygmunt Bauman claims that new questions about the evolution of the world come at the expense of our decisions, our positions and our responsibilities for the benefit of change and novelty: "In the liquid state, nothing has fixed shape, everything can change"¹⁶.

The liquid substance is distinguished by its own volume and it does not have its own shape. It is perfectly deformable from the very weak attachment of molecules that it is composed of and adapts to any container or any change no matter how small. Unlike it, solid is a state of matter characterised by the absence of freedom between molecules and it requires a very great effort for it to be deformed. This metaphor made between liquid and man leads us to the idea that man is not constant; he has become vulnerable to all changes. "Going forward for the long term is a difficult exercise, and moreover can be perilous, as there is concern that long-term commitments will restrict your future freedom of choice."¹⁷ We will therefore take models that will guide our choices. They may be famous people, standards designed by society or trends created by consumer companies. The importance is no longer to live, but to be 'in the game'. "Human beings have always been consumers, and the relationship between humans and consumption is nothing

15. Émile Littré, « Dictionnaire de la langue française », Paris, L. Hachette, 1873-1874. Version électronique créée par François Gannaz. <http://www.littre.org>

16. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, A propos.

17. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.10.

new. It certainly precedes the advent of the 'liquid' variety of modernity. Its origins go back to distant times from the birth of contemporary consumerism. It is therefore very insufficient, and ultimately misleading, to simply examine the logic of consumption (an activity that is always completely individual, solitary even when performed in the company of others) to understand the phenomenon of the current consumer. On the contrary, it is necessary to concentrate on a real novelty, which is essentially of a social nature, and then of a psychological or behavioural nature: the individual consumption carried out within the framework of a society of over-consumers."¹⁸

18. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.130-131.

The life cycle of a product is the length of time a business object exists. It is generally illustrated as a series of steps that take into account all the activities that come into play. It has six steps, from design (product development) or production (extraction and harvest of raw materials) to final decline of this product, which generally ends up being definitively eliminated from the market. It goes through manufacturing, packaging, transportation, consumption by households and industries, and recycling or disposal. The development phase defines the idea, concept and typology of the product or service as well as the necessary raw materials. The research phase consists of market studies to understand the product environment and/or its break-even point. The launch phase, or the introduction of the product to the market. We start sales and we generally generate losses due to communication actions. The growth phase where we notice an acceleration in sales that allows the company to generate profits. This is the most strategic step in the process of reviewing its methodology. The maturity phase with a product utilisation rate that is at its maximum and helps

to delay the decline stage. This stage can take a very long time. The decline phase is simply the end of the product cycle. This is often noticed due to a significant decrease in sales.

“We need things to consume, to exhaust, to wear out, to replace and to discard at an escalating pace.”¹⁹ The duration of the building’s existence allows people to experience these material and symbolic characteristics. The space-time relationship constitutes a dialectical process between spatial form and social form, between continuity and change, between constancy and flexibility. “Faced with the rejection of standardisation brought about by product standardisation, many industries have opted for customisation.”²⁰ There are a lot of products whose quality has decreased and production has increased considerably. The shelf life has adapted to the current consumption pattern. “The clothes we wear are a more convenient and comfortable way to keep up with the brisk pace of our times than anything we can do to our bodies. The things you put on (to take them out and throw them away right away, of course) can actually follow/move/replace each other at a breakneck pace.”²¹

They allow you to assert a personality, follow the seasons, express your mood of the moment or simply follow fashion and avoid the ‘scrutiny’ of others. Another relevant example, whose lifespan has greatly shortened in recent years is the Mobile Phone. Not only does the latter have a very short life cycle, but, as early as 2007 and the appearance of the Iphone, it has also cannibalised other products such as cameras, alarm clocks, paper diaries, landlines, etc. Today’s cell phones allow you to shop faster, relax on social media, have quick access to information from around the world and of course com-

19. Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, vol.2: Science of Freedom, (Wildwood House, 1973) p.3 cited by Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.135.

20. Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue*, p.55.

21. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.136.

municate.

In addition, the continuously challenged offer between manufacturers pushes consumers to always want more, faster, more storage, thinner, larger, more trends. Products are thrown away before their real life cycle ends. Society and its environment have changed according to consumer policy. But what about the *Habitat*?

Consumer Product

The *Habitat*, unlike the majority of consumer goods, evolves only according to the needs of individuals, but not according to the consumer society in the broad sense, qualifying the *Habitat* of a product becomes a perilous exercise because it does not follow the life cycle as defined previously. We have shown in the previous chapters that, at the outset, *inhabiting*, *habitations* and *habitat* were inseparable; together they formed a whole - represented by Laugier's primitive hut or the cell-plan of the city of Çayönü. Today, they are treated as unique and independent entities.

This is why the *Habitat* cycle today does not keep pace with the *inhabiting* and *habitations* cycles. The goods, which we use for housing, do not correspond to our rate of consumption, use. Its primary function, by analogy with the telephone - the only function of which is by far no longer to make a telephone call! -, has therefore not really changed. It is obvious that changes have taken place all the same. As with the landline telephone, which has gone from the wall to the table, from a rotary dial system to a key system; but the *Habitat*, for its part, is a commodity that has not been able to create a need like the phone has become mobile. In the end, the smart-phone has not evolved to satisfy a need but to create a need. Housing only meets basic needs. It has remained in the form of the 'machine for inhabited' that the industrial revolution and modern architecture had designed. It did not know how to become 'liquid' as Baumann explains: "The expansion of consumption patterns to all aspects and activities of life could be an unintended side

effect (as resulting from carelessness) of the pervasive 'marketisation' of life processes."²²

22. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.140.

Consumers only have freedom that is imposed on them. The lifespan of the building is imposed on us almost infinitely. Even if it is no longer natural, as in the days of the primitive hut, it still offers so many possibilities. Today's housing is made up of old buildings designed according to the way of life of yesteryear, villa or detached house built according to our needs or a final category which is that of housing built by others to meet the immediate needs of consumers, for whom we develop series arrangements, crammed into an artificial envelope for the benefit of profit. These dwellings, which incidentally keep remnants of the days of the industrial revolution, will age but will always be used perpetually, like our old buildings today. It is a form of perpetual recycling that undergoes little transformation and ends up no longer being adapted to the needs of society.

Even today, we seek to always put more into smaller spaces while respecting what society calls 'habitations standards'. These standards, specific to each country, provide orders that define, for example, the minimum net living space, the number and size of rooms (programme) or even the layout of the kitchen and sanitary equipment. "The habitat, in a collective housing or an individual house, rented or owned, corresponds to so many square metres, it is a 'cell', a 1-bedroom apartment, a loft, regardless of the reference standard; it is delimited by walls, has an entrance door and its uses are private."²³ They regulate our homes according to demand, consumers' needs, without really taking into account the *inhabiting*. The society only supplies habitable products. However, *Habitat* as an environment should no

23. Thierry Paquot, « Habitat, habitation, habiter », Ce que parler veut dire..., Caisse nationale d'allocations familiales, n° 123 (2005): 48-54.

longer be just a shelter but a product that we should be able to appropriate.

“We do not have the right to live in our house, under penalty of encountering immediate censorship. We only have the right to consume it. Here we find the double moral standard of which our society is a prisoner: hardness towards oneself, demand for performance, mortification and sacrifice in most areas of life; immediate satisfaction of all desires, solace and consolation in the sole domain of consumption.”²⁴

24. Mona Chollet, *Chez soi : une odyssée de l'espace domestique* (Paris : La Découverte, 2015-2016), p.31.

Today, the consumer is increasingly demanding a way out of this standardisation sought by industrialisation. And while our homes are nothing more than ‘empty shells’, they give consumers a form of freedom to occupy them. This gives them the privilege of believing themselves to be different from others and this even if we impose on them the frame to be decorated. This psychological subterfuge probably allowed the housing to distance itself from other consumer goods and not abiding by the same laws of marketing. The fact remains that “everything that touches the market turns into consumer goods; including the things that try to escape its grip, and the means used to do so.”²⁵ With regard to housing, this translates into moves ‘consumed’ not out of desire but out of obligation, to meet our changing needs in our lives. The *Habitat* should become a real product, abiding by the same laws of commodification to finally meet the real needs of consumers.

25. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.142.



CONSUMPTION

INHABITING HABITAT

The habitat of all living things is first perceived as an environment enclosed in a space that we have designed. Human, since he started to make shelters, has designed his personal environment, specific to the conception of the *inhabiting* of the one who made it. The *Habitat* is a whiteboard that gives free rein to our imagination. We can have one or more, in the case of second homes. Every living being must succeed in appropriating their environment so that it can be considered as their *inhabiting*.

Appropriation

“I customised all my furniture. For example, I would take furniture from my mother that I thought was old-fashioned and I re-decorate it. My kitchen was red, I needed life. I needed to make my home my own.” In each of her homes, Coralie did little things. She took care to change the floors to parquet, a material she particularly appreciates. She wanted to appropriate the house with beautiful materials. “I liked feeling a certain energy in the apartment I lived in, one that represented me.” Appropriation through transformation is what Coralie shows us. A way for her to show her presence in her house. Whether it is paint or materials, there is a form of change in the *Habitat*. The environment, which was originally built for someone and by someone in particular, is transformed through this way of appropriation to please the current living being who lives in it. Jean tell us “I don’t care if I don’t have furniture of my own. For me, from the moment the place has been repainted, I feel at home. I want with this process to eradicate all traces of previous occupants. If all of a sudden I had to find myself in the house on my own, for some reason, I would get rid of everything because I didn’t really care. For me the goal is to be warm, to have a roof over my head. The only thing I would do is redo the paint to start a new chapter.”

“As soon as I put down my things I was at home. Not necessarily furniture, but above all my clothes and my guitar. I could easily see a place as my own just by sleeping there.” As Laurent points out, products can easily make us feel at home. Personal objects have a very strong link with the *inhabiting* because that is what makes a ‘home’. Unlike furniture, we can more easily transport objects, collect them or even exchange them. They are

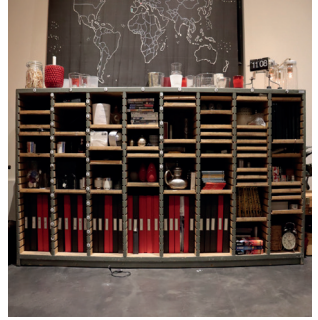




also linked to memories, they are precious. Although this can also be the case for a piece of furniture, this memory is generally less precise; we do not necessarily remember where it came from. The object is fragile, it deteriorates quickly when forgotten, and it is more easily lost. Moreover Georges admits to us that he doesn't like moving for this reason. "I don't like moving, I always lose things. When I settled in with my partner, I brought my things back by transporter and lost half of them. I never found them. The only thing that made me feel at home was my records and films. So losing them really cheesed me off."

"I have to say that I don't think I really own an apartment in any particular way, but I like change and cleanliness. Depending on my mood or the seasons I decorate and rearrange my apartment in a different way. I also redo the paintings regularly; not really to change the colour but more to erase the traces that people have left by knocking or rubbing against the wall. For example, I just moved my room to my daughter's and I repainted all the walls to make it feel like no one has lived there." Sandrine has a special way of making her apartment her own, she makes it evolve to suit her moods or the passing seasons. This way of doing things is not unusual. We notice it, most of the time, in already furnished accommodation. Concretely, when individuals temporarily occupy a furnished accommodation, they tend to reposition furniture and other fittings so that the layout suits their *inhabiting* style. Georges, who had to live in a furnished apartment for a few months, confirms this concept of appropriation by changing the interior layout.

“I found a piece of furniture in the old Aubonne printing house. It was in the craft room of the house, as there was no room elsewhere. But already at that moment it occupied a special place in my head. I always wanted to make sure it had a prominent place in the house. Later, after moving, I was finally able to put it in the living room. Either way, I always told myself that if I really didn’t have the room to keep it, I would destroy it. Kind of like if I can’t have it nobody can.” Elizabeth tells us about a huge cabinet used to sort printing paper. It is true that furniture is the most complicated item to transport when moving.



Heavy and bulky, they nevertheless form the majority of our *Habitat*. It brings a built environment to life. It decides how a space is used and defines its function. While some people appreciate the change or like to start over with new furniture in each new home, some prefer to keep their old furniture. For them, the furniture that follows them, during several moves, allows them to appropriate their environment. Like an object, it may also be linked to childhood memories, but of course it cannot be used or taken back straight away. It are put on hold for our future life cycles. Tabata found herself in this situation. “When I was a kid, I really liked the black leather sofas in my parents’ house. After they divorced, my father kept them and moved several times. It was when my father and his new partner decided to change the sofa, that I asked him to keep them for me. And, when I moved in with my boyfriend, I got them back. It made me feel at home. Afterwards, it is true that I had taken other pieces of furniture from my parents to avoid buying. But these were special, they reminded me of home.”



Second Home

Secondary housing is an environment that is occupied each year on a temporary basis. It allows you to find yourself, a few days a year, in another environment without being in someone else's house. Indeed, we understand, from the interviews, that the second home is a second *inhabiting*, it is not borrowed as in a hotel but it belongs to us. In this way, it is possible for us to consume it to our heart's content. We don't have the same constraints as the holiday accommodations we rent. Even if these can also change temporarily, by the rearrangement of furniture or objects for example, to suit our *inhabiting*, they do not belong to us totally.



It is possible to see a difference in *inhabiting* between several second homes, as explained by Claude "It is true that for me the chalet is like a second home. It is used in summer as in winter. We occupy it, we made it our own by doing some renovations and we always have belongings there. We even have a downstairs guest area that has its own new bathroom and even its own entrance. When you go there you already know where things will be and you just need to shop without worrying about whether the things you need will be there or not. We are also thinking of expanding the living room in order to have more space."

He also speaks of a second residence but which would be used more in summer. This, unlike the chalet, is only used in summer and does not have the same meaning for him. "It's true that for me in Lanzarote it's not home yet. Since the house was rented out during certain periods, little was done about it. But perhaps, later, we will live in it the same way as the chalet." From the

statement we just read, we understand that there is a difference that is setting in between the different second homes. It could be due to its accessibility, its seasonality or its availability.

“It is true that I tend to go more easily to my chalet which is accessible by car than to my summer house, which can only be reached by plane. It involves more preparations. We have to plan in advance when we want to go or not. Because we have to buy plane tickets and rent a car there.” This notion of location, which Karina speaks to us about, is important when we talk about a second home. With secondary housing, we often try to change the environment. The goal is to find a *Habitat* that suits us but which does not reflect what we consider to be ‘home’. However, it is often used not only for our holidays but also for our weekends. It is true that when resting for short periods of time, we tend to think of the least complicated residence to access. To fully rest, we automatically choose the place that makes it easier for us to move in. That is, the one that takes the least mental effort from us. This is also the case for the availability of the residence.

Some people will make the decision to rent their second home like Elizabeth. “My apartment in Portugal, I rent it out to make the cost of the residence profitable. I also plan to settle there afterwards. Of course, in the meantime, I have to organise myself annually to go. Once a year, I indicate when it will be available for rental. The rest of the time, it’s occupied by me or my friends. On the other hand, I know that I could not go there in high season, which is to say in summer, because this is when I am sure to rent it out.” When making a location available for rental, it takes more planning time than if it was not



rented. This way of proceeding is mainly used for financial purposes. It does not require financial means, but to rent your own property at no cost. Moreover, it is not necessarily possible to go there in the right season. This is the most pleasant season for this property. In the case of Elizabeth, when she goes she is usually left alone in the complex because all the other apartments are empty. If people appreciate the peace and quiet and bought their property for this reason, there will be no problem in living there.

On the other hand, the fact of not being able to dispose of one's property at one's convenience can lead people who own it to abandon it and see it simply as an investment good. Marie has chosen the seasonal residence. She lives there in an equivalent way and considers her two dwellings as her own in the same way as her house. "We bought something in France, the first was a total failure because it was next to the railroad track. We sold this property and bought another one in the same town. We renovated it. Initially, there was a loggia and two doors that led to it with a wall in the middle. The man who did the work for us advised us to tear down the wall and now I'm very happy because it gives us a lot of light. It's a magical thing, it makes the room bigger for us too. And then, there was also a big bathroom and we divided it into two. [...] This is really our home, we are there all summer, by the sea and we can go there by car. This is our second home with Thyon. There we also have a winter apartment, which is cosier. Initially, we rented it out but in doing so we didn't feel as though it was our home anymore, so we stopped. We really like skiing, which is why we bought it to stop renting an apartment every year in the same place."



Facilitators

The novelties which facilitate the management or the appropriation of the home have always been a trigger in the change of people's *inhabiting*. For example, Arnold tells us about the dishwasher. "There was a dishwasher there, this is the first one we had. I remember it very well because the tenant before had explained to us how the machine worked. It was not common at all, even in new apartments." Despite the fact that this was an invention that already existed, it was not yet implemented in all homes. This product changed the way people lived. They took less time on dishes and spent more time for themselves or with family. Not to mention the vacuum cleaner, washing machine, and many other household appliances that have greatly changed the schedule of people responsible for a household and the way they live there.

When it comes to interior facilitator design, it is probably the Ikea brand that has fostered the dawn of a new *inhabiting* era. It has radically changed the way housing is appropriated by offering affordable products that make it possible to develop a space. Ikea was originally a small Swedish mail order catalogue company. It then evolved into what it is now, one of the world's most successful home furnishings brands. Nowadays, there are more than 420 stores in 50 different markets around the world. Jean "When I separated from my wife, I offered to go and pick up some furniture, but when I returned she had taken everything and my house was empty. So I went to Ikea to buy some simple furniture. It was easy to take home with me and I knew I wasn't going to stay in the house."



It is certainly not wrong to say that Ikea has revolutionised the way of *inhabiting*. This brand allowed individuals from all environments *inhabiting* without having to use ‘apple cages’ as a library, for example, one of Ikea’s flagship products has long been the Billy library. It made sure that everyone could adequately appropriate a place without having to invest a lot of resources, neither financial nor logistical.

Ikea’s concept is based on the self-service of supermarkets and on the furniture kit, packaged since 1956 in a ‘flat package’, cheaper to produce and transport and easier for the customer to take to their home. It is easy to access and suitable for all styles of *inhabiting*. Moreover, the brand employs sociologists who study how residents find housing in order to offer them a range of furnishings and accessories that meet their needs, or even create new needs. Ikea’s first idea was to offer timeless, practical and accessible furniture for everyone. For a long time, Ikea was also a reference in terms of localisation in French-speaking Switzerland.

Sandrine asked her partner where Aubonne is and he replied that it is in the same region as Ikea “I said to myself ‘yes I know’ because with my grandmother I went there very often to see the new products.” In addition, the store is designed (and this in all branches) as a labyrinth, despite a few shortcuts, customers are forced to follow a route in the store, which requires them to discover all the products in a situation to arouse impulse buying. It is also one of the first stores to offer all kinds of services to extend buyers’ visits. They have in fact set up a restaurant in each store that serves Swedish dishes, as well as a



food shop that allows you to buy typical products. Some stores even offer daycare for children. Coralie declares “we bought furniture in the early days of Ikea. I liked going there because it was fun and they also offered easy to assemble furniture and kitchen utensils, a whole range of fun products.”

With Ikea, wherever you are in the world, the buying journey is the same. Once in the store, apart from a few details such as the language or certain products very specific to the markets, it is impossible for you to know if you are in Paris, Beijing or Aubonne. Elizabeth confirms this through her experience in Beijing, Lisbon and Brisbane. “Ikea it’s reassuring because you always know where the things you’re looking for are, It’s quicker. At Ikea, I’m a bit at home.”



CONSUMPTION

ABOUT THEM

«They wander through shopping centres, driven and guided by a semi-conscious hope of finding the badge or the identity sign that will bring them up to date. [...] »

Zygmunt Bauman, 2013

Taking Possession

The appropriation of goods has grown a great deal during this century because it makes it possible to assert oneself in a world of consumption where one's own identity is not valued. "In fact, the built environment is only a potential, because many behaviour are achievable there. The lived built environment, on the other hand, loses this capacity since it results from individual experience."¹ Appropriation is the last thing that allows us to identify with others. And in the *Habitat*, this appropriation translates into a decorative offer - Ikea has understood this well - and logistics - the evolution of home automation, for example. "An entire industry sells us from domestic bliss to excess. Furnishing, equipping and decorating own homes: these activities have become the last refuge, the last source of pleasure, beauty and fantasy for millions of people who no longer believe they can find happiness elsewhere - and who unfortunately have some reasons to no longer believe in it."²

The whole strategy now consists of making consumers believe that they have a choice, as with the smartphone, the choice of colour, dimensions, downloaded applications, etc. But this choice does not exist in *Habitat*. It is a deceptive choice that comes up against the limits of the hard elements that create housing. Moreover, if we look at the housing market today, old buildings, designed according to the way of life of yesteryear, such as the dimensions of a bathtub, still exist and no one there finds fault because no offer to upgrade already built housing is offered to the consumer. The only choice left is moving if we want to be able to meet the real (and not created) needs of a growing or shrinking household. We saw it in interviews. The primary motivation for a change of loca-

1. Roderick J. Lawrence, « L'espace domestique : typologie et vécu », Presses Universitaires de France Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Nouvelle série, Vol. 72, Habiter, produire l'espace (juin 1982): 55-75.
2. Mona Chollet, *Chez soi : une odyssée de l'espace domestique* (Paris: La Découverte, (2015 - 2016), p.31.

tion is most often a change in the status of the person who lives there. This can sometimes lead to small tragedies like Lucrèce, who today finds herself forced to leave an apartment where she lived for over 50 years because it no longer meets the needs of her age (no lift, bathroom unsuitable, too many rooms, etc.). For Lucrèce, changing her environment and leaving her neighbourhood was a painful experience. In the end, moving has become an obligation and almost a form of addiction, imposed by the lack of flexibility of what's on offer.

“The appropriation of space consists of the possibility of moving, of relaxing, of possessing, of acting, of feeling, of admiring, of dreaming, of learning, of creating according to one's desires, one's aspirations, one's projects. It corresponds to a set of psychosociological processes which are situated in a subject-object relationship (individual or group), which appropriates the space and the objects arranged around it in everyday life.”³ This material configuration therefore allows us to assert ourselves in a world that tends to duplicate us. Personality is reflected in the way which people are *inhabiting*, which, nowadays, remains superfluous and dissociated from our *Habitat*. The domestic decor also functions as a socialising device, which shapes the dispositions of its occupants. For example, travel photos generally engage visitors and generate discussion. In recent decades, housing has therefore taken on an increasing importance in the social existence of individuals and the role of personalisation, in an environment built for others that has not changed over time, in the organisation of sociability which has been reinforced. “Our gaze travels through space and gives us the illusion of relief and distance. This is how we construct space, with an up and a

3. Lawrence, « L'espace domestique : typologie et vécu ».

down, a left and a right, a front and a back, a near and a far.”⁴ This way of conceiving a space, which one might think banal, is however essential in the conception of our *inhabiting*. It allows you to organise and enhance your home in front of others. While some favour the relationship between “a left and a right” others might have opted for a “front and back” arrangement.

During the interviews we were able to discern some general ways of appropriating a property. The painting of the walls that make up our home or the customisation of recycled furniture is a way of proceeding which tends to eradicate all traces of its predecessor and therefore to shape the goods - old and used - according to our desires. This is a reflection of a certain refusal to use things already used in a world where the product is constantly changing. On the contrary, people who easily feel at home simply by moving in with objects dear to them - guitar, photos, candle, etc. - reflect an unconscious appropriation. Housing, whatever it is, is a landmark for these individuals; it is the place where they return to sleep. We could speak of habit or of primary needs which are reflected here: The residence for them is “passive, it meets a set of standards that can be shared by a maximum of individuals; it fulfils a function: it is possible to sleep there, to eat there [...]”⁵

We also find an appropriation that is found between these two cases, which is that of furniture. This one begins to refer to the current consumer society without actually being there. For some, furniture reflects their personality. They choose it carefully, spend time finding it and cherish it. It is an integral part of their personality and under no circumstances will they tolerate sharing it. Somehow they don’t want a part of them to end up un-

4. Georges Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, New revised edition, Collection l'espace critique (Paris: Éd. Galilée, 2010), p.159.

5. Caroline Binkley-Valissant et al., *Habiter à perte de vue* (Paris: Décisions Durables Editions, 2015), p.56.

controlled with someone else. We took the case of Elizabeth, who, for the piece of furniture she had taken a long time to find, talks about destroying it if, for some reason, it could no longer be part of her home.

“The struggle for uniqueness has now become the main engine of mass production and mass consumption. But to enlist this yearning for uniqueness in the service of a mass consumer market (and vice versa), a consumer economy must also be an economy of fastageing objects, almost instant obsolescence and the rapid rotation of goods, therefore also that of surpluses and waste.”⁶ Consumer products are used to make us doubt what we already have. Today, we always find something better, always faster. We never really finish a product because its successor is already on the market. Taking the example of the telephone, we appropriate it with the help of gadgets, protection, customisation and also internally thanks to the choice of the wallpaper, applications - which moreover come out again and again faster on the market and multiplying at high speed - or just using the password. “Planned obsolescence and the acceleration of production threaten this appropriation [...]: we have to buy new things because the market subjects us to an almost irresistible temptation by offering us better than what we have.”⁷ Appropriation allows us to take possession of goods.

For it to truly belong to us, it is not enough to be its owner, we have to be able to make it our own, to be attached to it. Interior design is also affected, through current trends, for example, which prompt us to remodel our interior to match what people expect at that time. For example, Sandrine, who changes her interior frequently, tells us about things she saw in magazines and that she

6. Zygmunt Bauman et Laurent Rosson, *La vie liquide* (Paris: Pluriel, 2013), p.43.

7. Chollet, *Chez soi : une odyssée de l'espace domestique*, p.36.

liked. As shown by the development of DIY stores - Hornbach, Leroy Merlin - and furniture such as Ikea, Casa and Pfisters, as well as the proliferation of D&CO type television shows and the development of a specialised press devoted to these practices - *Décoration*, *Interiors* - but above all tutorial videos that can be found in abundance on the net. Decoration and furnishings seem to have obtained a new position in domestic practices. “ [...] the consumer society seems, if we stick to a superficial analysis, to compliment our domestic aspirations, but in reality it hinders our ability to inhabit.”⁸

8. *Idem.*

Waste

“Liquid life is a life of consumption. [A society is said to be liquid-modern if the situations in which human beings find themselves and their actions change before they can even be considered habits.] It treats the world and all of its animate and inanimate fragments as objects of consumption: that is to say, objects which lose their usefulness (and therefore their lustre, their charm, their power of seduction and their value) while they are used.”⁹ Nowadays all things that are useful to us have a ‘short’ lifespan. They have a limited life expectancy. This shortened life allows a continual renewal of consumer goods. Once this limit is exceeded, these objects are qualified as no longer ‘suitable for consumption’. They become inappropriate and unnecessary. When withdrawn from the market, they make room for new consumer products that are still unused. “Waste is the end product of all consumer action.”¹⁰

In his book, Zygmunt Bauman defines consumer products as liquid, allowing “a succession of new beginnings”¹¹ and permanent solid products as ‘waste’. Waste is what is left after consumption, unfortunately it is permanent. “‘Solidity’ is now a synonym of ‘waste’.”¹² We have already expressed it, housing has a lifespan which is almost infinite and which is imposed on us. The individual lives in the house “but it escapes them, it was there before them and it will survive them. The house represents immutability, or at least permanence.”¹³ The accommodations are designed according to very specific habits which, as we have just explained, are not in keeping with the “liquid-modern” society that we experience. We still live in housing based on the functional analysed by Georges Perec. In his ‘barely caricatured’ model of a

9. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.19.

10. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.142.

11. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.8.

12. Bauman, *La vie liquide*, p.142.

13. Isée Bernateau, *Vue sur mer* (Paris : Puf, Petite Bibliothèque de Psychanalyse, 2018), p.28.

housewife's day, he ultimately describes her habits, in terms contrary to liquid life. "What seems to me, in any case, is that the ideal dividing-up of today's apartments functionality functions in accordance with a procedure that is unequivocal, sequential, and nycthemeral. The activities of the day correspond to slices of time, and to each slice corresponds one room of the apartment."¹⁴ In this model, consumers only have freedom that is imposed on them.

14. Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, p.59.

In the first chapter of consumption, we briefly analysed the path of human standardisation. It is clear that the cause of standardisation does not come from the invention of agriculture or any particular object, but from that of a conducive environment. Man, thanks to this place, has been able to tame nature, which guarantees them food throughout the year. These nomadic origins are reflected in our consumer society, through the search for a favourable environment, in a world where *Habitats* are no longer environments but 'solid' objects that do not change. What is important does not necessarily lie in the homes we live in: it is not what we own but where we own it that is decisive. This search for an ideal place is the heritage that our ancestors left us. Today, our form of nomadism is reflected in our *Habitat* cycle in the form of relocations. The interviews led us to reflect on this overconsumption of *Habitat*. We perceive three essential factors which are: the environment called here the *Habitat* - the search for a place that suits our way of life - the accommodation or the *inhabiting* which allows us to express our personality by satisfying our needs and the neighbourhood or *habitations* - Socialisation and living together. The first factor prompts us, like our ancestors, to explore the different environments that surround us. The second, encourages

us to seek the accommodation which suits us in relation to our *inhabiting*. The third factor encourages us to look for a group of individuals to perfect our *habitations*.

The rigidity of our housing complex is the primary cause of this mobility. In fact, as we have just seen, the dwellings are consumed several times and permanently by different individuals. This overconsumption of goods can be seen as perpetual recycling. But for there to be recycling, there has to be an end of consumption. What results from this end of consumption is considered in liquid-modern society as 'waste' due to their 'solidity'. We can therefore say that we are no longer looking for dwellings but the residues of a past era that would contain our personality. In this world of 'liquid' consumption that prompts us to change, living in a 'solid' place that does not evolve is a difficult task. Our *Habitat* is no longer really one, no longer linked to our *inhabiting* and/or our *habitations*. We are looking for secondary accommodation to be able to satisfy this need for change and customisation. It being understood that by residences or second homes we mean any place to which we regularly return voluntarily: house of grandparents or parents, residence purchased in a winter or summer resort, holiday apartment rented seasonally and always at the same place, etc. Our main accommodation cannot be modified or personalised as we wish, we try to acquire other *Habitat*, to appropriate other 'waste', to detach ourselves from the influence of this 'solid' state. But what if we could change our homes? What if we could make them evolve, allowing housing that would become 'Habitare', linking *inhabiting*, *habitations* and *Habitat* in a single entity?



CONCLUSION

SYNTHESIS

The course and the analysis of the different components of the 'Habitar': *inhabiting, habitations, Habitat*, enabled us to understand in depth the meaning of these terms. Through the three main chapters, we were able to follow the evolution and the theories which analyse the 'Habitar' of the individual. The data collected through the interviews made it possible to clarify and understand the different cycles that occur today.

The 'Habitare' is incomplete; the housing has become solid, so *inhabiting* is not possible in a way that we would really like. It appears liquid due to the many moves that we carry out. However, despite appearances, it was not the Habitat that became liquid, but the human being. 'Everything, including man, becomes an object of consumption' says Zygmunt Baumann in his summary of 'Liquid life'. Yet the housing itself is described as being 'solid', not being thrown away after being consumed. This solidification of the housing is due to a lack of flexibility thereof. It only allows for a superficial level of appropriation which is that of decoration and furnishings. It has caused the inhabiting of human beings to be affected by it in the way they think about it. Inhabiting is peculiar to humans, who are aware of the passage of time, which is not the case with animals.

Unfortunately, the solidity of the accommodation does not allow us to have our habits there; we cannot decorate it in the long term, because the occupancy time is too short. In the case of individuals who have kept their homes for a long enough period, allowing them to occupy it, the envelope, which is generally untouchable, may no longer suit them and, since they cannot move, they must occupy spaces that they find it difficult inhabiting. The problem of solidification of the Habitat also leads to neighbourhood conflicts and therefore influences the sphere of habitations. Indeed, the limits and borders being fixed, it is unfortunately not possible to change their attribution. Spaces that we would like to be more public remain private and unused and others in which we would appreciate more intimate are open to the neighbourhood. This harshness of the built environment influences the social character of housing. It generates conflicts that

could easily be defused with an environment that allows change, a so-called 'liquid' *Habitat*.

The future of *Habitat* would therefore lie in the full understanding of 'Habitaré'. To do so, it must get rid of its 'solidity' to allow all kinds of *inhabiting*, specific to each individual, to coexist and, therefore, form sustainable habitations. This liquefaction of housing must allow everyone to express themselves freely by adopting an evolving and changing behaviour that individuals seek today, through relocations. The present considers consumption to be the engine of society until it turns the individual into consumable goods. To adapt, the builder of tomorrow should see housing as a product with a rapid life cycle and not as a durable object, therefore allowing the individual to once again become a point of reference and take the place of the body-house.

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INTERVIEWEES' PROFILE

Anya. 26 years old, single. Tenant. Lives in Renens.

Arnold. 77 years old, married, 2 children and 4 grandchildren. Tenant. Lives with his wife in Acorn.

Claire, 48 years old, lives with her partner. Tenant of her cohabitee. Lives with her partner in Aubonne.

Claude. 57 years old, divorced once with 1 child. Remarried with 1 child. Owner. Lives with his wife and son in Gilly.

Coralie. 55 years old, divorced twice, 3 children. Tenant. Lives with her daughter in Gland

Dani. 53 years old, married, 2 children. Tenant. Lives with his wife and son in Aubonne.

Elizabethe. 55 years old, divorced twice, 2 children. Owner. Currently lives with her son in Aubonne.

Eloïse. 47 years old, married, 2 children. Owner. Lives with her husband and 2 daughters in Aubonne.

Georges. 56 years old, married, 1 child. Owner. Lives with his wife and daughter in Aubonne.

Jean. 59 years old, divorced once with 1 child. Lives with his partner and father of 2 children. Owner. Lives with his concubine and 2 children in Bursins.

Karina. 44 years old, married, 1 child. Owner. Lives with her husband in Gilly.

Lara. 49 years old, married, 2 children. Owner. Lives with her husband and 2 daughters in Marly.

Laurent. 52 years old, married, 2 children. Owner. Lives with his wife and 2 daughters in Marly.

Lucrèce. 86 years old, widow, 3 children. Lives alone in a home in Gland.

Marie-Flore. 74 years old, married, 2 children and 4 grandchildren. Tenant. Lives with her husband in Gland.

Marie. 55 years old, married, 3 children. Owner. Lives with her husband and 1 daughter in Aubonne.

Natacha. 55 years old, married. 1 child. Owner. Lives with her husband in Aubonne.

Pierre. 32 years old, single. Tenant. Lives as a cohabitant in Ecublens.

Sandrine. 51 years old, married, 2 children. Tenant. Lives with her husband and son in Aubonne.

Tabata. 26 years old, single. Tenant. Lives with partner in Ecublens.

Note: if we count all the living places invested or not by the interviewee, we count more than 250 locations.

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