

linked in special ways. Places that mark time and express it are often regarded with special affection, if not even religious significance. Stonehenge is a huge testament to our need to build spaces that act as records of the passage of time as marked out by the movement of the sun and moon.

Identity

One of the most fundamental forces at work in our psychological make-up is the need to create and maintain our own identity. This was wonderfully explored by Erving Goffman in his study of the 'presentation of self in everyday life' (Goffman 1959). Goffman takes a somewhat dramaturgical approach to the subject, maintaining that to some extent we manufacture our persona. It is interesting that the derivation of the word 'person' goes right back to the masks that helped to define characters and roles in the early theatre. In real life we also play a variety of roles, and these are often associated with the situations or settings that have just been discussed. Goffman uses George Orwell's description of the behaviour of Parisian hotel waiters moving between kitchen and dining room to illustrate the facility we have to take on a persona in a setting (Orwell 1940):

It is an instructive sight to see a waiter going into a hotel dining-room. As he passes the door a sudden change comes over him. The set of his shoulder alters; all the dirt and hurry and irritation have dropped off in an instant. He glides over the carpet, with a solemn priest-like air. I remember our maitre d'hotel, a fiery Italian, pausing at the dining-room door to address his apprentice who had broken a bottle of wine. Shaking his fist above his head he yelled (luckily the door was more or less soundproof):

'Tu mais fas – Do you call yourself a waiter, you young bastard? You a waiter! You're not fit to scrub floors in the brothel your mother came from. Maquereau!'

Words failing him, he turned to the door, and as he opened it he delivered a final insult in the same manner as Squire Western in *Tom Jones*.

Then he entered the dining room and sailed across it dish in hand, graceful as a swan. Ten seconds later he was bowing reverently to a customer. And you could not help thinking as you saw him bow and smile, with that benign smile of the trained waiter, that the customer was put to shame by having such an aristocrat serve him.

Clearly, then, one of the roles of space is to create settings that facilitate the acting out of the range of identities we use in our lives. Much of this must be done not by architects but by the actors themselves, since the space is effectively an extension of their own behavioural mask. In turn, the challenge for architects is how to create space that invites and facilitates taking possession and personalization. In passing, it is worth noting that this is a rather different view of the task of architects to that which seems to dominate in many contemporary schools