

**The Unseen University:
A Schizocartography of the Redbrick University Campus**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the tensions between the discourse of Higher Education (HE) in Britain and how the university is physically manifest. Using Bill Readings's concept of "excellence" from *The University in Ruins* (1996), it critiques the corporate oriented contemporary university in an attempt to challenge its neoliberal rhetoric. The narratives and processes that support the concept of the corporatised university – whether they appear in the form of its relationship with industry, in the performative measures applied to teaching or in the situating of the student as consumer – will be examined by using the University of Leeds campus.

Using archived documents, historical information and psychogeographical methodology, a poststructuralist analysis is provided of the Redbrick University campus based on its origins in the Civic University model of HE. As well as including spatial theorists from the field of urban theory and postmodern geography, the main poststructuralist thrust will be from Félix Guattari – the schizoanalysis he carried out in the institution of psychiatry and his work on molecular revolutions. The methodology will include analysis in the form of urban walking and theories about walking practices, which will include the work of the Situationist International (1957-1972).

The outcome of the project appears takes the form of a discourse analysis and semiology of university representations. This thesis offers a supplementary social history of the campus and a critique of university urban development. It provides a view of the campus that is other to the typical one, demonstrating that it can be a place where people challenge conventional routes and express their desire to be creative in response to university space. This schizocartography reveals the hidden university campus and suggests that there are minoritarian politics in operation that challenge dominant discourses and how they appear spatially.

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List of Abbreviations

CJWT	Carey Jones and Whitelaw + Turkington
CPB	Chamberlin, Powell and Bon
CPO	Compulsory Purchase Order
GCAS	Global Centre for Advanced Studies
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GPS	Global Positioning Systems
GUI	Graphic User Interfaces
HE	Higher Education
IMIB	International Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus
IUPUI	Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis
LI	Lettrist International
MA	Master of Arts
NSS	National Student Survey
OWU	Ohio Wesleyan University
PR	Public Relations
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
REF	Research Excellence Framework
SI	Situationist International

Project and Thesis Outline

Introduction

My interest in walking as a form of urban critique was inspired by studying the Situationist International for my Masters of Arts (MA) in Cultural Studies in 2008/09 at the University of Leeds. The module I was studying at the time ('Capitalism - Critique - Contemporary Art') looked at walking oriented art projects. Online research led me to find groups and individuals who were employing urban walking as a way of critically examining their own towns and cities. One such individual was Nick Papadimitriou, a London-based writer who walks the geographical area of Middlesex. His website and films inspired me to write an essay on his work for my MA about how he gave voice to the landscape.

I was aware that urban walking groups existed in Britain but was unable to find one in Leeds, so towards the end of my MA I set up the Leeds Psychogeography Group at the university. The group met fortnightly at the University of Leeds during term time. A programme of speakers was organised for both semesters each academic year. The audience was made up of people from inside and outside the university who mostly consisted of artists, photographers, geographers, walkers and local people interested in the history and geography of Leeds.

During the summer of 2009 I organised a number of campus walks as a way of getting to know the terrain of the university better and as a starting point for arranging regular walks for the Leeds Psychogeography Group. It is during this time that I started to become interested in the relationship between organisations and the space they occupy, the social history that the topography reveals, the politics and economics of urban planning and how people might choose to use particular spaces in an alternative way to their intended use. It was this that led me to create the original outline for this project and propose it for my thesis: a project that examined the contemporary university and included a spatial analysis in the form of urban exploration through the act of walking.

The walks I have carried out on campus, whether on my own or in groups, have helped me understand the importance of physically inserting the body into space and doing this in a way where usual suppositions about how that space appears can be challenged. This might be through asking a simple question, such as 'Why is this notice prohibiting ball games placed here?' or 'Why does the university not provide historical information about this park on its website?'. One needs to move through space in a reflexive and

critical way in order to be able to ask the questions that help reveal the hidden university.

The walking-based research and the actual walking have all helped inform this thesis in one way or another. Even the walking I have carried out in other places (such as London, Los Angeles and a collaboration I undertook on the North Norfolk Coast), have helped me to understand the aesthetics and development of urban space at Leeds. So, too, have the talks and walks organised by myself but presented by others at Leeds Psychogeography Group. Examples include a talk by a choreographer who used public space in Leeds for creating performances and one by an urban specialist who studied Brutalist Eastern Bloc architecture. The walks were mostly in the Leeds area and took various formats, from city walks to beating-the-bounds (a form of walking going back to Anglo-Saxon times where people were walked around the village and shown where the perimeter lay).

The walks and urban investigation that directly fed in to this thesis took various forms. Some were carried out in groups whereby we created chance routes through space in order to challenge the conventional paths on campus that urban décor tends to designate. Other walks I embarked on alone to enable me to investigate specific phenomena, such as comparing the difference between the campus boundary as it appears on university maps with the actual space itself, or putting together an account on the architectural aesthetics of one of the university buildings.

As a mature student at the university since 2005, the experience and the knowledge I have gained has enabled me to develop my own walking practice and methodology for examining urban space: schizocartography. The spatial analyses and related findings that have resulted from my campus explorations have revealed a multiplicity of ways of operating in space. These have formed a reading of the environment that critiques the conventional ways of viewing, interpreting and mapping the space of the university. This data has been connected to the discourse of the university through a process of cross-referencing with published documents, campus development plans, and communiques which are available in the university archive.

This project looks at how performative based narratives, those based on accumulated data, and capitalist ideology in the form of connotation, get taken up into the institutional discourse to the degree that they are often presented as being the only way

of operating within the institutional structure, a *fait accompli*.¹ These narratives appear in the form of text and data that reflects what could be described as the corporatised university of contemporary times, statistic based performance measures (the phrase ‘corporatised university’ rather than ‘corporate university’ will be used in order to differentiate from the American phenomena of university-like places of learning set up by corporations). This thesis, therefore, examines the discourse of the university in order to discover the tensions that appear between how the university represents itself and how it is spatially manifest. It also provides alternative narratives to the overriding ones by revealing minority voices that appear in the archives and reveals the heterogeneity of the other that operates in campus space.

The Aims and Scope of the Project

In *The University in Ruins* (1996) Bill Readings says that it is ‘excellence’ in its manifest bureaucratic forms – such as the Research Excellence Framework (REF)² formed in 2007 and its predecessors Research Assessment Exercise – which is the driving force behind harnessing the university’s function of the past and in postmodernity placing it under the forces of the market (1999: 38): “Like the stock exchange, the University is a point of capital’s self-knowledge, of capital’s ability not just to manage risk or diversity but to extract a surplus value from the management” (1999: 40).³

Upon repeated use the language of the university of excellence becomes normalised, but it has ideological origins which are needed for it to function within the capitalist system, both within and outside the university. The language that excellence adopts, while serving the purposes of the corporatised university, also has the function of creating a type of abstraction, which removes the output of the system – the data that is promulgated – from not only the material practices that are required to deliver it, but also from the staff who work in the university and produce this data (or are party to producing the data). This discourse, hence, has a spatial extension: the university speaks

¹ The word ‘ideology’ will mostly be used in this thesis in the generic usage of the term – as a formulation of ideas that supports a specific agenda – unless otherwise stated. For instance, if used in the context of ‘capitalist ideology’ it will mean the vision and accompanying rhetoric that supports and propagates a capitalist program. The only other use of the term will be from the Althusserian perspective and it will be made clear when ‘ideology’ is being used in this way.

² The Research Excellence Framework (REF) is a government instigated working group that assesses the quality of research at the institutions of HE in the United Kingdom. It evaluates the outcomes submitted by each institution, accounting for the financial investment made to them and providing statistical benchmarks.

³ Readings’s discussion hinges on European and North American universities, with examples mostly provided from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany and France.

to those who operate within its campus, and also to those outside it. While it is apparent that the university has a discourse available for interpretation, I would like to suggest, along with Readings, that its historic origins – which still exist in its current posthistoric form, as ruins – enable a reading that might usually be applied to that of urban space. This opens up a space that challenges dominant modes of operating in the institution, abstractly and concretely, and shows that Readings' motif of negotiating the ruins is already taking place in the campus. Readings believes "We have to recognize that the University is a *ruined institution*, while thinking what it means to dwell in those ruins without recourse to romantic-nostalgia" (1999: 169). He later uses the analogy of the city to express where academics reside, using this as a starting point in their negotiation of the institution: "The city is where we dwell. The ruins are continuously inhabited, although they are also from another time whose functionality is lost" (1999: 172). This thesis demonstrates that what can be accessed under the veneer of the university might go somewhere to challenging the concept of the university of excellence and the student as consumer.

The idea of the student-consumer has become more significant since the public-funding cuts that followed the global recession beginning in 2008. The 2013 National Student Survey (NSS) asking students for feedback on whether their degree courses were 'value for money' resulted in 29% of them stating it was not (Public Finance 2013). This study coincided with the first group of British students (excluding Scotland) being subjected to the rise in course fees from approximately £3,000/year to up to £9,000/year. The study was criticised for asking the wrong question because it was placing the student solely as a consumer of a product that might be expected to be directly commensurate to some kind of financial gain (for instance, a graduate job), rather than providing a question based on knowledge gain. Hence, the question posed tends to encourage an answer in the negative. Nevertheless, one could argue that for the other 71% it was 'value for money', perhaps a higher result than might have been expected with such a significant course fee rise.⁴ However, the question itself reflects the trend to express the acquisition of knowledge through exchange-value rather than use-value.

Like academics, students are also subjected to university bureaucracy in the form of surveys that measure their teaching and service satisfaction at the micro and macro level. Mary Beard describes the lack of a response to the questionnaires by students as

⁴ Current students at this time protested against the course fee rises, even though they would be introduced subsequently and did not affect them.

“survey-fatigue”, and in an article in the BBC news magazine looking at the pros and cons of student surveys, states that the problem with the student survey was that it was seen as an absolute measure of course quality, when actually students can mark courses down for a host of different reasons, such as extensive reading lists (Beard 2013).

However, the latest tuition fee rise and the other cuts in HE funding by the British government, appear under the popular media-promulgated term of ‘austerity measures’. In 1989 in an article entitled ‘The Management of Austerity in Higher Education: An International Comparison’ Manuel Crespo stated:

The management of higher education in a period of uncertainty, budgetary constraints and real or apprehended decline in enrolments has become a major issue in Western developed countries. Since the late seventies different HE systems have devised strategies to adapt themselves to shrinking resources. (1989: 373)

As the new British Prime Minister in 1997, Tony Blair hoped that 50% of young people would go to university. He stated that: “Labour has no plans to introduce tuition fees for HE” and “will not introduce ‘top-up’ fees and have legislated to prevent them” (Blair 2005).⁵ Nevertheless, later he was accused of reneging on this promise with many later media interviews hinging on the semantics of the above statements, especially the “no plans” reference (ibid.). It appeared that the structures and money were not in place in order to support Blair’s wishes. Neither were they at the point of the later 2010 coalition government in Britain, when the current, and greatest, course fee rise occurred. This response to public sector cutbacks in periods of austerity, while not a new money-saving strategy, nevertheless, in the contemporary university – which operates on the guidelines set out in the Jarratt (1985) and Dearing Reports (1997), where HE institutions are expected to operate like corporations – means that today they are evaluated primarily in economic terms.⁶

Since the Enlightenment the university’s relationship with industry has grown out of a direct response to an economic need. This meant the university reacted to the demands for a certain type of knowledge requirement. In postmodernity the university has acquired the mantle of a business-oriented philosophy in its own right, meaning that attempting to demarcate commerce and HE as separate entities is far more complex. In order to compete in a globalised market the contemporary university is expected to

⁵ Top-up fees is the term used for tuition fees when they were changed from a flat rate to a variable rate in 2005. This meant that the shortfall in funding received by a university would be topped-up by the tuition fee.

⁶ One of the recommendations of the Dearing Report was the introduction of tuition fees, while the Jarratt Report recommended greater accountability and higher levels of monitoring for institutions.

think and operate as if it were a business: it has to take up the procedures and practices of commerce. As far back as 1990 academics were writing about the application of a commercial formula to *every* aspect of education. Cynthia Hardy says:

The tough choices advocated in business literature are likely to escalate the political conflict that surrounds declining resources, not resolve it. Draconian measures – terminations and program closures – can send shock waves through the university community. The more marketable individuals will leave to find less hostile surroundings; potential recruits will resort to political infighting, as they try to protect their departments. (1990: 317)

Hardy's comments imply a potential move by many academics into other professions with those remaining having to become defensive in order to protect themselves and their future within the institution.

These illustrations are provided so as to emphasise that the current period of austerity is situated within the greater issue of how organisations operate under neoliberalism in general and their response to politico-economic events. While cuts to funding in HE are going to have an impact on those studying and working at the university, the effects of capitalist oriented processes on those at the university can be both subtle and furtive.

Mark Fisher makes direct reference to university bureaucracy, including providing an extensive list of documents a module leader is required to complete for each module they oversee (2009: 41). He says that the constant checking, monitoring and production of figures does not provide “a direct comparison of workers’ performance or output, but a comparison between the audited *representation* of that performance and output” (2009: 42). Mary Evans puts it succinctly: “Since God no longer exists, we have invented assessment” (2004: 34). Evans says of both the Jarratt Report (1985) and the Dearing Report (1997) that they imposed “upon universities a quasi-democratic ethos of collusion with the values of a market economy” (2004: 23). Consensus is all that is needed to enable bureaucracy’s seamless transition: “The ‘right’ process is established, the rules of the game set, and what is then required are cooperative and consenting players” (2004: 62).

Dissent becomes difficult in a system that sees the student as consumer, service and product of the system (Fisher 2009: 42), because the ability of students or staff to direct any grievance to a recognisable figurehead is difficult. Any challenge of/to the system simply points to another set of figures, attached to which are a set of further criteria. Or, instead, the result of the query may just appear as a re-framing and re-presentation of

that data back to the enquirer: “the best performativity [...] comes rather from arranging the data in a new way” (Lyotard 2004: 51). Bureaucracy, as an instrument for measuring excellence in the corporatised university, as Fisher describes, “floats freely, independent of any external authority” (2009: 50). It produces a style of surveillance culture for academics that is rather like an invisible postmodern semblance of the time and motion study that constantly hovers over them in the form of a bureaucratic superego. This constant checking is part of the everyday administration of the contemporary university which attempts to measure production in the same way that a factory would through the use of the nebulous term ‘excellence’.⁷ The pervasive audit culture enables a form of micro-management without the manager appearing in bodily form. Richard Hill says that technology has enabled this ideology to proliferate, since administrators are often no longer needed to carry out many tasks on the behalf of academics, now measuring forms are often online and accessible by all through their desktop computer (2012: 172).

Hill highlights the common use of the word ‘excellence’ in taglines and slogans used by universities, providing examples from Australian HE institutions: “‘Integrity, Respect, Rational Enquiry, Personal Excellence’ (Edith Cowan University): ‘In the pursuit of excellence in teaching and research’ (Griffith University): and ‘Excellence, Innovation, Diversity’ (University of Wollongong)” (2012: 60). He describes this as “corporate-speak” and while he uses a flippant writing style to explain how these taglines operate on the unconscious, he nevertheless hits upon a significant point in regard to how language is linked to how we view the world: these “phrases [...] send certain images racing through the collective psyche of prospective students in the hope of instilling some sort of lasting semiotic effect” (ibid.).

An example of how technology operates in measuring excellence and how excellence gets taken up into higher level discourse is through the reviews provided by the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA). On the University of Leeds website under a section for potential undergraduates there is a page entitled *Teaching Excellence*. One of the paragraphs is headed “Quality” and states: “In the latest audit by the Quality Assurance Agency we received the highest possible result, confirming confidence in our management of academic standards and the quality of learning available to our

⁷ The use of the term ‘excellence’ has changed over time. For example, in the transcription of a lecture given in 1991 at The Centre for the Study of Theology at the University of Essex, David Jenkins (the Bishop of Durham), uses it quite differently. This lecture is entitled ‘Price, Cost, Excellence and Worth – Can the Idea of the University Survive the Force of the Market?’ While it offers a critique of the corporatised university, Jenkins uses the term ‘excellence’ in a similar way to how the term ‘mastery’ might be used: “everything is concerned with ‘price and cost’ and not with ‘excellence and worth” (Jenkins 1991: 31). It is likely that the term ‘excellence’ has become appropriated by corporations (and the university) because of its convenient vagueness.

students” (University of Leeds 2011a). A link is also provided which takes the reader to an article in the *Reporter* (the university’s news magazine). This article is on the feedback from the 2008 QAA audit.⁸ Part of the text provides four bullet points which list some of the ‘positive’ feedback by the auditors. Three of the four points are for praise in the area of the devices used for measuring the quality of teaching, rather than on the quality of teaching itself:

- the development and consistent use of the strategy map as a tool for enhancement
- the varied mechanisms for making research-led teaching an increasingly distinctive feature of the University
- the importance given to teaching as well as research in the appointment and support of academic staff
- the development of mechanisms across the University for considering and publicising responses to the National Student Survey results (University of Leeds 2011e).

This highlights the degree of importance required in mapping, tracking and measuring excellence. Not only is it essential that there are mechanisms in place for measuring excellence, but these very systems and processes themselves can also be recognised as being excellent in their own right.

When discussing the actions and practices within the institution and how the inscriptions of power effect subjectivity, I will demonstrate how they are prescribed through an ideology that promotes ideas of ‘excellence’. The institution can only represent and re-inscribe power that is already available to it. But, I maintain, this is done through an ideological structure that promotes certain ideas (ideologies) that become realised through concrete practices in the form of actions carried out by the body (the subject). John Tagg says that it is “systems of representation” that actually operate on identities, constructing them, rather than expressing them (1988: 30). Louis Althusser states how material structures operate on subjects:

[I]deology has very little to do with ‘consciousness’. . . . It is profoundly *unconscious*. . . . Ideology is indeed a system of representation, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with ‘consciousness’: they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as *structures* that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their ‘consciousness’. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on men via a process that escapes them. (Althusser cited in Hebdidge 1979: 12)

⁸ Established in 1997, the QAA is a body for measuring and maintaining the standards of British education in HE.

What this means for the university is that its representations are ideologically oriented. For example, within the sphere of excellence they appear as signs that represent the data which is the output of its performative measuring. These signs present the university in the guise of what Guy Debord would describe as “commodity as spectacle”. Debord states that the spectacle is “where the tangible world is replaced by a selection of images which exist above it, and which simultaneously impose themselves as the tangible *par excellence*” (2005: 36). This is problematic for the university because it means it can become removed from its original idealised functions – the pursuit of knowledge, academic research and education for all – resulting in the potential for others to see it in purely economic terms too. Today these ideals often become sidelined by a preoccupation with metric-based assessments such as student satisfaction surveys, the publishing of student numbers and the research output of academics. However, the tracking of excellence as it appears in the form of data enables a semiology to be performed and for alternative mappings to be made which can counter authoritarian representations of the university. In taking up a position whereby the signs transmitted by the university of excellence are seen as part of the spectacle of capital, a spatio-material critique can be elicited which enables a type of resistance to these overriding forms.

The concept of the spectacle also aids a discussion of capital in its appearance as an image, for example, that of a visual response to the urban sphere. While the University of Leeds has many signs which represent it (its logo, website and marketing materials are examples of more obvious ones), it also has the physical space it occupies. The campus can be read as a sign like any other sign might be. This can be done by analysing the way the university represents and discusses the campus itself, but also by examining the actual concrete space empirically, through placing the body in the space and examining the university on the ground. This also facilitates an aesthetic or affective response to that space which is not possible from simply examining university data, historical texts or the archives. The aesthetics of the campus offers a counter perspective on the everyday operations of the university.

While ‘aesthetics’ has traditionally been used for the philosophical study of beauty within the sphere of the arts, here it will be used in the context of a sensory event as it pertains to the reaction a person has to a specific setting, one that is spatially manifest. These responses may not be able to be clearly articulated and notions such as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ may not even apply. Nevertheless, they will be personal, individual and will be

reactions that are not necessarily at all objective in nature. They will also involve what that particular individual brings to the moment.

It is a specific type of aesthetic response that highlights one of the problems commented upon by Terry Eagleton: “Aesthetics is thus always a contradictory, self-undoing sort of project, which in promoting the theoretical value of its object risks emptying it of exactly that specificity or ineffability which was thought to rank among its most precious features” (1991: 2-3). Aesthetics in this thesis is often a “self-undoing sort of project” (ibid.) in relation to the concept of “singularization” as it is for Guattari (the event being transformative and, thus, changing the individual): “An individual’s response to an aesthetic stimuli can provide “opportunities for resingularization through the opening of new universes of reference” (Guattari 2002: 91). These experiences often include none of the dichotomies involved in good/bad evaluations about how a particular space might appear. The aesthetic response just *is*, as it is for that person, even if there may be some contradictions in the material space being studied, or within the psyche of the observer. The individual’s response to a particular space will not necessarily be the same at a different moment in time or upon another visit. The word ‘aesthetics’ will be used in the psychic sense in regard to the response the individual has to a cultural object, in this context that of urban space. This response will not necessarily be an explicit reaction to the space and might also be partly unconscious or sub-conscious, but either way it will be an affective response.

Aesthetics is connected to the term ‘affect’ because it is concerned with the reaction of an individual to an event or situation. Affect is not the same as emotion or mood. Emotion has an apparent stimulus and mood is a rather more generalised feeling, often without an obvious cause. In psychology ‘affect’ is mostly seen as positive or negative and involves an interactive process of some description. It is considered to be an instinctual reaction. In philosophy ‘affect’ is a term used by a number of theorists, including Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, and also Brian Massumi. In ‘The Autonomy of Affect’, Brian Massumi describes affect as “intensity owned and recognised” (1996: 221). It is “autonomous to the degree to which it escapes confinement in the particular body whose vitality, or potential for interaction, it is” (Massumi 1996: 2006). Affect is considered to be reflexive in that when you influence some ‘thing’ – an event or an ‘other’ – you are reciprocally affected (Massumi 2013). Guattari, in his essay ‘Ritornellos and Existential Affects’, discusses affect within the

framework of the aesthetic, explaining how expressions of an aesthetic nature can become catalysts for the individual. He contends that in special circumstances this can induce “aesthetic ecstasy, a mystical effusion” (1996: 165). In *Chaosmosis* he uses the phrase “poetic-existential catalysis” to explain a trigger operating within a particular enunciative domain (1995: 19). This catalyst can appear in the written word or in music, for example, forming a personal denotation that serves to “put emergent subjectivity to work” (ibid.). This affective reaction can become a “molecular rupture, an imperceptible bifurcation capable of overthrowing the framework of dominant redundancies, [...] the classical order” (1995: 19-20). Affect and aesthetics may be used interchangeably in this thesis as they cannot be easily separated from each other. They will be used as a way to promote the heterogeneity of subjectivities, a central theme.

Guattari recognises that society prefers a particular subjectivity from the individuals which make it up and that they are ‘normalised’ through the processes and discourses they encounter. He says: “subjectivity is always the result of collective assemblages, which involve [...] a multiplicity of technological, machinic and economic factors” (40: 2011). He states: “The individual, for me, is only a particular case of assemblage linked to a certain type of culture, and of social practices.” (ibid.) Guattari situates language within the social in which we emerge as the human child, and subjectification works in the same way (41: 2011). In specific circumstances, Guattari says individuals, or groups of individuals, can “crystallise complementary segments of subjectivity” and hence “release social alterity” (1995: 98). It is this that he describes as “ethico-aesthetics” and occurs when enunciation is “caught up in the movement of processual creation.” (1995: 107). An ethico-aesthetic approach offers something other than the “technical and institutional apparatuses” and allows alternative subjectivities to flourish which respond to a heterogeneity of psychic drives and produces a “multiplicity of cartographies” (Guattari 1995: 11).

In regard to the field of postmodern subjectivity, this also allows discussions to open around the anti-aesthetic, which acknowledges the internal world of individuals and how the aesthetic can enable people to engage in political life. Anti-aesthetic

signals that the very notion of the aesthetic, its network of ideas, is in question here: the ideas that aesthetic experience exists apart, without ‘purpose’, all but beyond history, or that art can now effect a world at once (inter)subjective, concrete, and universal – a symbolic totality. [...] More locally, ‘anti-aesthetic’ also signals a practice, cross-disciplinary in nature, that is sensitive to cultural forms engaged in a politic (e.g., feminist art) or rooted in a vernacular – that is,

to forms that deny the idea of a privileged aesthetic realm. (Foster 1985: xiii)

While anti-aesthetic is not set up in opposition to aesthetic, the definition here demonstrates its local aspect, which is relevant to the physical site of the case studies in this thesis and also acknowledges the experiences of the individuals who are expressing their own responses to the parts of the campus space under discussion. It is these aesthetic reactions coupled with a critique of campus development arising from placing oneself bodily in concrete space that enable alternatives to the dominant discourse. These individual accounts can then be offered as a way of adding significance to what it means to be in the space of the ‘ruins’ of the university today. They provide an insight into what might be occurring outside of the typical channels that make up the university of excellence. They offer a different narrative on what it is to be part of the university – a rearticulation.

Michel Foucault says of discourses that “the tranquillity with which they are accepted must be disturbed; we must show that they do not come about themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known, and the justification of which must be scrutinized” (2006: 28). He suggests a different type of knowledge that is available from what we consider “stable and definitive” forms of knowledge that are expressed through discourse (2005: 348). This kind of truth can be “outlined, formed, stabilized, and expressed through the body and the rudiments of perception” (ibid.). The counter-narratives articulated here, while challenging the discourse of excellence, also put into play the possibility for redefining what it is to be actively present in university space.

Jennifer Daryl Slack states: “With, and through, articulation we engage the concrete in order to change it, that is, to rearticulate it. [...] Articulation is, then, not just a thing (not just a connection) but a process of creating connections” (1996: 114).

Representations rely on predefined associations and connections that are subsumed under that which is being represented. These connections are not necessarily apparent in the image being represented, even if they are an intentional part of the process of forming that representation. Representations appear in the form of a narrative which, following many repetitions, get mistaken for ‘the truth’.⁹ The narrative eventually reaches the level of a discourse which becomes the dominant voice. This thesis is interested in how the discourse of the university is held in place through a specific

⁹ They could be described as *doxa*, as they would be for Roland Barthes: texts that were closed-off and limiting in terms of interpretation.

ideology which creates both a 'truth' and also attempts to form particular subjects through the actions that it requires they participate in. While not all practices can be readily reduced to discourse, discourse is the starting point required in order to question the story the institution tells about itself. This project is cultural and political and is about the material existence of some of the minority groups and discourses that are not represented in images of the university. Not those images that appear under the umbrella of equality as it pertains to diversity, but those that are literally 'off the map' and that do not reflect the dominant representations of structures of power as they pertain to place.

The seemingly 'naturalness' of place can disable our ability to see it any other way than how it has been consciously and ideologically designed to appear to us. Urban space has not sprung up from nowhere, it comes about through a reflexive process whereby we form it, and it forms us. However, its tendency to represent a dominant voice means we can often take for granted that it is the way it is. In the Althusserian sense of being subjected, we could say that the environment interpellates us. We recognise ourselves as a citizen of the city because we take up a particular position in a material practice, for example, as shopper of goods. The city/townscape we place ourselves in as someone moving about the metropolis as a consumer, encourages us to purchase and reinforces the process of capitalism at the same time. It is difficult for us to see something other happening under the surface of the shopping centre. So, too, at the university the student, in the form of the consumer of the product, 'buys in' to a particular practice by acting as a student-purchaser. The environment (the campus) and the practices (the academic processes, teaching, research, student-related administration) expect, or even demand, a certain behaviour from the student (and the lecturer or, indeed, any staff). The behaviour expected by the institution of its members, such as students, involves many things, from acting in a particular way on campus space (for example not partaking in certain acts, like illegal drug-taking or breaking into locked university buildings) to producing output in the form of good grades and a degree. The space of the institution and its administrative processes reflect its ideology, and foster a conformity to a subjectivity that supports this ideology. By following the 'rules' of these ideological practices we become those subjects.

Stuart Hall says that to understand a particular dominant articulation "you need to know the ideological terrain, the lay of the land" (1996: 142). I shall be analysing this historical aspect of the university's former representations from a genealogical perspective. This will be interwoven with the discursive aspect of the institution,

especially in its relationship to power, for example, as it applies in a Foucauldian sense.

Paula Saukko states that genealogy “investigates how certain taken-for-granted [...] truths are historic constructions that have their root in specific social and political agendas” (2003: 115). Since the contemporary university has an agenda which has become seamless with the politics of the day – capitalism and globalisation – a genealogical approach will enable these “timeless truths” (Saukko 2003: 116) to be understood and will also help reveal the ways the institution is seen, how it represents itself and what is the thinking is behind the discourse. Because this analysis of the university concentrates mostly on the space of the institution, my attempt will be to provide something similar to what Edward Soja would describe as a “thirdspace”: an open place that enables resistance to emerge. This resistance will offer alternatives to the dominant voice of the university (the ‘corporate’ voice) and will enable a polyvocality to emerge.

Any new way of living in the university will require an understanding of the complexity of space that the university has inherited: “this means neither razing the old to build a rational city on a grid, nor believing that we can make the old city live again by returning to the lost origin” (Readings 1999: 172). This exploration of the university is an attempt to acknowledge a repressed past, a search that may require a form of revealing to occur in order for us to understand what the university of today means. The outputs of this research – archived data, maps and documents, material traces and remnants, individual recollections and responses – builds up a more encompassing picture of the university.

The Theoretical Background to the Thesis

Readings's *The University in Ruins* has been described by many as acerbic, polemic, unconventional and even eccentric. Nevertheless, it has been highly influential on theorists writing about the university, education and interdisciplinary subjects from 1996 onwards. These include Samuel Weber, Simon Wortham, James Miller and Christopher D. Morris amongst others. Weber challenge Readings's self-reflexive analysis of 'excellence' in his essay 'The Future of the University: The Cutting Edge'. By employing the Cartesian cogito he demonstrates that the self-reflexive nature of excellence presupposes a reference of some sort, explaining that the posthistoric university continues to inscribe Enlightenment ideals to some extent. Readings uses the term "posthistoric" to describe the contemporary university – a university that for him "no longer participates in the historical project for humanity that was the legacy of the Enlightenment" (1999: 5). Simon Wortham in "'To Come Walking": Reinterpreting the Institution and the Work of Samuel Weber' offers another interpretation which introduces doubleness into the equation. While both these are valid challenges of the reflexive aspect of Readings's term 'excellence', I do not intend to introduce them here as my interest is more in the direction of how excellence manifests itself in language and actions. The *University in Ruins* also sparked a debate between Dominick LaCapra and Nicholas Royle in the journal *Critical Inquiry*. Readings is considered to be important in moving the focus from the emphasis of science in the production of knowledge to one of the problem of knowledge production itself. Readings's text is influenced by, amongst others, Jean-François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979), and this is apparent when Readings discusses the performative aspects of excellence's measure: "the question of the University is only the question of relative value-for-money, the question posed to a student who is situated entirely as a *consumer*" (Readings 1999: 27).

Readings dedicates a whole chapter to the notion of 'excellence', which he considers to be the watchword of the contemporary corporatised university. Its effectiveness within the institutional apparatus cannot be underestimated and in order to deconstruct the university discourse it is important to understand the way excellence operates. For Readings, 'excellence' is a hollow term that has no absolute definition (1999: 24). He states: "An excellent boat is not excellent by the same criteria as an excellent plane" (1999: 24).¹⁰ He also makes reference to how the consumer-orientation of the university

¹⁰ A 2013 article in *Times Higher Education* mentioned "teaching jargon" and states: "despite repeated claims of

ties in with technology, a large focus of Lyotard's critique. Readings says: "All that the system requires is for activity to take place, and the empty notion of excellence refers to nothing other than the optimal input/output ratio in matters of information" (1999: 39). Capitalism uses technology in order to circulate information and enable a pooling of resources into a "generalized market" (Readings 1999: 32). In the university it is the term 'excellence' that helps promote the propagation of this data and mobilise its message. Readings says 'excellence' becomes translatable and usable by anyone who wishes to describe it within any phenomenon, in whatever way they choose, by any criteria (1999: 24).

One of the functions of excellence is how it helps promote the processes of circulation essential to capital's operation in regard to power. Previously, the nation-state sat in the centre of civic life and produced streams of power emanating outwards (the institution being one of the representatives of the nation-state). Readings says that today, however:

Capital no longer flows outward from the centre, rather it circulates around the circumference, behind the backs of those who keep their eyes firmly fixed on the center. Around the circumference, the global transfer of capital takes place in the hands of multi- or transnational corporations. (1999: 111)

What this means for the university is that in its corporate incarnation it is essential that it becomes part of this process and adopts the modes of operating that capitalism endorses. It needs to involve itself in the transfer of capital within society both at home and abroad. The university does this in a number of ways, for example, through its relationship with industry in its vocational courses and through the 'product' (a degree) provided to both home-grown and international students. Capital is also transferred via the provision of consultancy, services, events and solutions to business, by working with local economies in a reciprocal relationship and through university spin-out companies.¹¹ It is also carried out through research projects that directly benefit business and technology. While many of these functions are part of the historic university and go back to at least the Civic University model, the change of focus from teaching and research towards corporate activities has meant that today's university is often referred to as the corporatised university. Henry Steck's definition of the corporatised university situates excellence within the contemporary university model:

the corporatized university is defined as an institution that is characterized by

¹¹ 'teaching excellence' on institutions websites, there was little elaboration of what this meant in practice" (Matthews 2013: 8).

¹¹ Spin-out companies are originally working groups (usually research-based) within the university that when they have the potential to become a profitable business become companies in their own right, usually including a university board member.

processes, decisional criteria, expectation, organizational culture, and operating practices that are taken from, and have their origins in, the modern business corporation. It is characterized by the entry of the university into marketplace relationships and by the use of market strategies in university decision making. (2003: 74)

The corporatisation of HE has become prevalent within the period of neoliberalism. In the broadest sense neoliberalism entails the promotion of private businesses endorsing liberal enterprise in an open marketplace. It is a loosely defined economic model which encourages a political agenda oriented around competition, free enterprise and globalisation. This definition by Jeremy Gilbert demonstrates the usage of neoliberalism in this thesis: neoliberalism is “a ‘discursive formation’ [...] an organised set of statements about human nature, economics and politics – which insists upon the desirability of market relations as the paradigmatic form of human interaction [...] its implication is to fully legitimate an existing set of relations, neutralising the most prominent critiques thereof, thereby legitimating the power of ruling elites while occluding the historical contingency of existing social relations” (Gilbert 2008: 172). In this thesis a critical position will be taken on neoliberalism as an economic (and ideological) project. This will be oriented in the rhetoric which is promoted around the use of the term and also the effects it has in its unlimited subordination to capitalism.

For Readings, the origins of the contemporary university is based on the modernist ideals of the German formulae of HE that was instigated by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the late 18th century, the then Prussian Minister of Education, at the University of Berlin and “still served for the postwar expansion of tertiary education in the West” (1999: 7). Humboldt’s model was concerned with such concepts as free and accessible education for all and an education system with a smooth transition from secondary to higher education. Readings says that “we are now in the twilight of this model, as the University becomes posthistorical” (ibid.).¹²

I will be using the term ‘postmodern’ in order to better situate the posthistoric university within a particular expression and understanding of the aesthetic in recent times, and because ‘postmodern’ enables an understanding of how capitalism functions post World War Two. According to Fredric Jameson, postmodernity has brought with it a response

¹² In Germany, the word *Bildung* is used to refer to a particular type of education and learning, with no English word equivalent, that goes beyond acquiring knowledge and skills. It involves a psychic or spiritual response to the process of learning which then changes the humanist qualities of the individual attributed to values and how the world is viewed.

which involves a “penetration of the spectacle, of late-capitalist commodity form of the image, into the aesthetic sphere” (Meyer and Ross 2004: 20). Jameson’s formulation, is concerned with globalised, multinational, postindustrial capitalism. He uses Ernst Mandel’s definition of the third level of capitalism to introduce his discussion on the form which operates within postmodernity. Jameson says that postmodernity

constitutes [...] the purest form of capitalism yet to have emerged, a prodigious expansion of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas. [It] thus eliminates the enclaves of precapitalist organization it had hitherto tolerated and exploited in a tributary way. One is tempted to speak of a new and historically original penetration and colonization of Nature and Unconscious[.] (2009: 36)

Jameson alludes to a relationship between capital and the psyche of the individual in the use of “Unconscious”, a connection also made by Guattari. Guattari describes this influence as a “capitalist subjectivity” (2013: 44) that pervades not only the daily lives of people but the unconscious of individuals such that they tend to orient themselves according to a singular form of desire that predominantly involves one of the attainment of mass produced consumer goods. Market forces are such that postmodern subjects are situated as consumers within a predominantly capitalist environment, oriented in a position where consumption is conceived to be the norm.

Unlike during the Enlightenment when the cultural identity of citizens was determined through the clearly identifiable body of the nation-state (or even in Modernity when the shift began in providing a Civic University model, which would inculcate citizens in a sense of culture), postmodernity has also been responsible for the breaking down of grand narratives. This has meant that in the period of globalization – and with the contemporary notion of a ‘world citizen’ – a clearly defined cultural ‘individual’ is less clearly classifiable than in previous epochs. While this may enable a flexibility in the forming of multiple subjectivities, it can also create a void that can be filled with assertive structures that pervade everyday life.

Guattari refers to Lyotard’s critique of the decline of grand narratives in *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* (1989). He recognises Lyotard’s discussion on how it is that the little narratives, in producing heterogeneity, can “save some of the values of justice and freedom” (Guattari 2013: 39). Guattari criticises postmodern theoretical approaches that valorise a “floating discourse in a signifying ether” as reducing the social sphere to “the facts of language” (ibid.). He disparages postmodern philosophers for being unable to relinquish their structuralist roots and says they “never articulate subjective facts with the formations of the unconscious, aesthetic or micropolitical problematics” (2013: 40).

Guattari sees this way of thinking as operating against “the logics of existential Territories” and preventing opposition to “desingularizing and infantilizing reduction of the capitalistic productions on the signifier” (ibid.).

Capitalist consciousness, or subjectivity, is often referred to by poststructuralist theorists who critique the cultural period of postmodernity, for example Deleuze and Guattari. Capitalist consciousness considers that consumerism infiltrates every aspect of society and postmodern life, forming a large part of the identity of individuals. Guattari contends that there are many subjectivities available to us, but the prevailing one is a capitalist one. Capitalist consciousness comes about in the way that capital creates a dominant viewpoint which, in its rhetorical dissemination, has a tendency to pervade all aspects of life in ‘the West’. Lyotard states that the process of transmitting a capitalist ideology occurs through “formulat[ing] prescriptions” (2004: 31) which appear in the form of utterances that legitimate particular statements. This means that it is difficult for individuals in society, and indeed within the university, not to take up these narratives and continue to circulate them. Readings contends that in capitalist society we are no longer citizen-subjects but “operatives” who take part by adopting a “corporate identity” (1999: 48).

Capitalist consciousness suffuses all aspects of postmodern life, from television viewing to education (the transmission of knowledge). Guattari says that capital’s pervasive influence occurs through something he calls “anti-production”. Using education as an example he demonstrates how capital operates in this regard:

It is impossible to separate the production of any consumer commodity from the institution that supports that production. The same can be said of teaching, training, research, etc. The State machine and the machine of repression produce *anti-production*, that is to say signifiers that exist to block and prevent the emergence of any subjective process. (Guattari 1984: 34)¹³

Guattari is saying that any process antithetical to that of the capitalist project will be prevented, as much as is possible, from emerging. The signs that capitalism creates discourage any singular processes of individuation and attempt to reroute subjective desires back into capitalist production: this is anti-production. It could be said that it is the consumer’s consent to anti-production that allows the ghostly figure of capital to

¹³ When writing together Deleuze and Guattari have a slightly different definition of anti-production. For them anti-production appears to be autonomous but is not: it operates alongside production but is liable to being rerouted into the dominant productive processes and becoming recoded into the forms of representation used by that system. Their definition takes the form of an internal process that can become hi-jacked by capitalism. While there are differences between the two versions, they are not significant enough to change the context of how they are used in this thesis. In terms of how anti-production operates once mobilised, both versions operate in the same way.

take up the cultural role it does in the nation-state. This enables the consumer-subject to feel that they have free choice in a free market, when actually the power that was originally attributed to a visible, knowable agent of logocentrism in the form of the nation-state, has now been transferred to an unseen, decentralised, mythical form which is much harder to pin down. It is also because of its ubiquitous and permeating character that capital is able to galvanize and promulgate the rhetoric behind the notion that ‘there is no alternative’. One form this takes in the university is through narratives that adopt key words or phrases that appear innocuous but in fact have ideological foundations, such as the term ‘excellence’.

This is how Fisher puts it in relation to how we think as consumers: “Time ceases to be linear, becomes chaotic, broken down into punctiform divisions. As production and distribution are restructured, so are nervous systems” (2009: 34).¹⁴ To demonstrate this I provide an example from the University of Leeds School of Design 2011 final degree show, where this poster was exhibited by Daniel Bird (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Poster by Daniel Bird, School of Design

CC Tina Richardson

This poster lists the material impact of taking an undergraduate degree. Note the £23,551 of student debt, which is actually before the course fee rise of 2012.

¹⁴ Fisher states “Capital follows you when you dream” (2009: 34).

In a ledger-style format Bird had distilled his degree into a list of items, most of which involve monetary expenditure, although also personal effort. Bird's response to the bureaucratic performative approach of the university is to list the impact of his degree on his own life, in basic material terms by quantifying it in terms of input and output. Although it does not say at the end 'equals 1 Young Designer', the poster implies that the previous 'costs' could be seen to be those required in order to produce the young designer. It could also be seen as a profit and loss account with some items being seen as negative and some positive. The poster reflects the way that the university can be accused of seeing HE today in purely economic terms.

Readings compares the university to the stock exchange, describing its ability to manage risk and profit from its surplus (1999: 40). It is this money-market aspect of the corporatised university that he sees as epitomising its "self-knowledge", with the surplus resulting from a speculation on the difference between input and output (1999: 40). Readings states that the shift of the university from its cultural function to an economic one means that in the Althusserian sense it can no longer be considered an Ideological State Apparatus. He does not mean that the university has no political agenda, or indeed no relation to politics, but rather this relationship is no longer "ideologically determined" through a culturally centred nation-state (1999: 13) but, rather, is "an autonomous bureaucratic corporation" (1999: 40).

Lyotard contends that there is no longer a system focused on knowledge (learning and teaching), instead what exists is one that concentrates on measuring performance and output, and disseminating that data: "The true goal of the system, the reason it programs itself like a computer, is the optimization of the global relationship between input and output – in other words, performativity" (Lyotard 2004: 11).¹⁵ The university needs to express excellence in the form of representable and accessible data: "knowledge is only worthy of that name to the extent that it reduplicates itself" (Lyotard 2004: 38). Once we begin to look at systems of measurement for the input and output required to assess excellence, we then need to examine what the ideological impact might be on those using those systems in order to create, disseminate and promulgate that data.

Althusser situates ideology within the state apparatuses, providing it with a material setting and discussing the effects of concrete existence on subjectivity. In this thesis

¹⁵ The term 'performativity' will be used in this thesis in the sense Lyotard has described here. While it also has other uses, such as that defined by Judith Butler when discussing gender performativity (based on J. L. Austin's definition), it will not be used in this way in this thesis, unless in making reference to an action being performative, when the context will be made clear.

Althusser's ideological analysis will be used in the sense of how practices existing in a given setting are contingent on influencing subjectivity: "ideology existing in a material ideological apparatus, prescribing material practices governed by a material ritual, which practices exist in the material actions of a subject acting in all consciousness according to his belief" (Althusser 2006: 115). Althusser's definition of ideology will be used when discussing the practices and processes of bureaucracy in the institution of HE in conjunction with how the university represents itself. While capitalist ideology and subjectivity are used in order to express a dominant aesthetic and a particular response to the material structures of the university, this thesis focuses on how they might be re-routed, by offering a way through the posthistoric university.

Readings believes that the posthistoric university is not doomed once we have moved past considering it in terms of the provider of culture, the project of its past incarnation. He argues that once judgement is applied to the question of value, as it pertains to excellence, this can open a space which enables excellence to be defined. It is this aspect of Readings's own thesis that makes up the second part of my own. Evaluation can become a social question rather than a device for measurement:

Where excellence brackets the question of value in favor of measurement, replaces questions of accountability or responsibility with accounting solutions, I shall argue that holding open the question of value is a way of holding open a capacity to imagine the social otherwise. [...] Rather than being a central locus of investigation into cultural value, the University thus becomes one site among many others where attempts are made to hold judgement open as a question. (Readings 1999: 119-120)

Lyotard comments on university research in the same vein, by suggesting that new ideas become stabilised on a macro level and end up being the norm, but then later get challenged by 'the local' (on a regional or micropolitical level) and hence create an unpredictability that systems theory-type strategies (the systems that are often applied as tools of measure) are unable to anticipate (2004: 61-66). As Lyotard notes, this is a problematic area in that 'the local', as an area of analysis, can become taken up as a generalised field of study, thus removing it from its original position on the margins.

Readings recommends a different type of self-reflexivity than one that responds purely to economics. These projects might involve the potential for new modes of knowledge dissemination that do not involve the classical mode of knowledge production as a tool that pertains to the knowledge economy. This crisis in relation to university knowledge is commented on by those studying supercomplexity in education: "In an age of

supercomplexity, a new epistemology for the university awaits, one that is open, bold engaging, accessible, and conscious of its own insecurity. It is an epistemology for living amid uncertainty” (Barnett 2000: 409).¹⁶ These notions of complexity and insecurity, while reflecting postmodern consciousness in its response to a lack of a cognitive map, also enable a plurality to appear in the form of creative expression. The way users negotiate the contemporary university involves the abstract psychic space of the individuals through their own physical act of inhabiting the campus as a material space. This connection between mental and physical space is raised by Readings when he elicits the use of Sigmund Freud’s analogy of Rome as a representation of the unconscious.

Readings describes the university as a “*ruined* institution” (1999: 129) which should become “a site of obligation” that moves from an ethos of checks and balances to one of answerability (1999: 154). Part of what is required to enable this to happen is seeing the university as it is today, in its move away from the cultural, ideological centre which it once occupied: “recognizing the University as ruined means [...] attempting to make things happen within a system without claiming that such events are the true, real meaning of the system” (Readings 1999: 178). Readings uses Freud to evoke this idea of ruins as they pertain to a university that is attempting to ‘shake off’ its historical past. He refers to Freud’s discussion of the problems of present-day Rome in its inability to be co-present with its past (1999: 170). Talking about how the city of Rome appears to the visitor of today, with all its partial remains of yesterday, writing in 1930 Freud says:

One need hardly add that all these remnants of ancient Rome appear as scattered fragments in the jumble of the great city that has grown up in recent centuries, since the Renaissance. True, much of the old is still there, but buried under modern buildings. This is how the past survives in historic places like Rome. (2004: 8)

Thus, the figure of the past haunts the present because it is impossible for different historical moments to be present to each other: “If we wish to present a historical sequence in spatial terms, we can do so only by a juxtaposition in space, for the same space cannot accommodate two different things” (Freud 2004: 9). By taking time out of the equation Freud evaluates this problem by describing Rome as if it were just a physical place where all the cultural periods exist in the same moment. All the epochs would exist side-by-side – or rather on top of each other – along with the present. In this

¹⁶ Supercomplexity is the condition of postmodernity as it is applied to a state under which individuals or groups are expected to respond to ever-changing situations with a high degree of unpredictability. Historically ‘super complexity’ has often been used in computer programming.

thought experiment, the problem occurs for Freud with the ancient buildings, which exist in the past(s) (and some still also in the present-day), and therefore in multiple temporalities at the same time. Thus, these buildings have their original features before any changes, and also any later additions or repairs. They would have the architectural features of all the periods of history all at the same time. Indeed, in some circumstances, there would be more than one building occupying the same space (Freud 2004: 8-9).

Readings says that the return of the repressed (for example, the co-existent architectural periods Freud mentions above) constantly hangs over us and in order for us to negotiate it, a certain “institutional pragmatism” is needed rather than hanging onto a lost past or seeing knowledge in terms of a clearly-defined form of mastery (1999: 171). While we need to accept that the past still haunts the corridors of the institution, it should be acknowledged in its spectral manifestation and not be seen as something nostalgic, a time when ideas about the university were pure, honourable and righteous. In talking about the city in regard to hauntology, Jen-yi Hsu says that

a city that can be habitable and make its dwellers have attachment to it is a city that does not purge itself of its own ghosts and phantoms. It would be a city full of memories, a city in which different identity positions and their histories are accepted within a more pluralistic milieu” (2004: 560).

This could just as readily be applied to the University of Leeds in regard to recognising its history, which may not always be one that is easy to acknowledge, and also in more readily accommodating the multiplicity of individual responses to campus space.

While having ruined signs of the ghost of university past all around us, the complexity of postmodern space, with its protocols and procedures, demands a renegotiation of that space. Even if it might be difficult to compare the university campus to ancient Rome in a cultural or architectural sense, the analogy described by Freud in regard to the themes of co-presence and the return of the repressed can be applied to it spatially.

Like Freud Readings also provides an analogy of the city, by way of a suggestion of how we might go about negotiating the ruined university:

Like the inhabitants of some Italian city, we can seek neither to rebuild the Renaissance city-state nor to destroy its remnants and install rationally planned tower-blocks; we can seek only to put its angularities and winding passages to new uses, learning from and enjoying the cognitive dissonances that enclosed piazzas and non-signifying *campanile* induce. (Readings 1999: 129)

He later goes on to explain that we actually never leave the city, it is where we continually reside, even if some of its elements are from the past: “Even if the

University is legible to us only as the remains of the idea of culture, that does not mean that we have left its precincts, that we view it from the outside” (1999: 172). It is apparent from Readings’s spatial reference to the university as city that this is potentially useful as a *modus* for a critique of today’s university. Clark Kerr also uses the concept of the city to describe the model of the contemporary university, what he calls the “multiversity”:

The ‘Idea of the University’ was a village with its priests. The ‘Idea of a Modern University’ was a town – a one-industry town – with its intellectual oligarchy. ‘The Idea of a Multiversity’ is a city of infinite variety. Some get lost in the city; some rise to the top within it; most fashion their lives within one of its many subcultures. There is less sense of community than in the village but also less sense of confinement. There is less sense of purpose than within the town but there are more ways to excel. There are also more refugees of anonymity – both for the creative process and the drifter. (2001: 31)

Kerr’s city analogy offers the positive and negative qualities of the contemporary university, also providing the model of the drifter as an individual who can move about university space and yet also blend into the landscape. The comparison of language to the city is also taken up by Barthes in his text ‘Semiology and Urbanism’: “The city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it” (2004: 168). He says that if one were to produce a semiotics of the city, one would be required to be a “semiologist [...] geographer, historian, planner, architect and probably psychoanalyst” (2004: 1666). Barthes also comes close to describing the elements which make up the city in a similar way to Readings and Freud, as having constituent parts which are socially and ideologically coded in such a way that they elicit both a psychic and aesthetic response from those inhabiting its space: “a city is a tissue formed not of equal elements whose functions we can enumerate, but of strong and neutral elements, or [...] of marked and unmarked elements” (2004: 167).

Both Freud’s and Barthes’s texts discussed above connect culture/language with abstract/physical space as a form of analogy that enable a re-reading of particular structures. And even though Readings is discussing historical, philosophical, ideological and/or political space in his book (rather than geographical), he uses the language of the concrete, the Italian city. Universities often take the form of small towns, especially those that are located in the suburbs, or indeed those that have been purpose-built in more rural areas. Examining the university as if it were a city enables a critique of many of the university functions (for example, administrative and marketing). This helps to

reveal a material life that can easily be forgotten when dealing with the abstract notions associated with technological systems and knowledge generating processes. The university is a physical body that exists in geographical space, it is occupied by people who traverse its roads, paths and corridors. Not everything that can be learnt about the university is available in texts on the university. To fully understand the university it needs to be excavated, both archivally and topographically in order to discover what the university does not say about itself.

Offering a deconstructive critique of the institution as a structure would support Readings's call for "a serious attention to the present complexity of space" (1999: 129) and a way of thinking "the notion of community otherwise" (1999: 20). The community within the posthistoric university does not represent the idealised past notions of a unified culture representing society, it recognises the contradictions in this outmoded view, and a space should be created that enables a discussion on this to take place (1999: 20). For this thesis this involves a recognition of the community that exists in the university today. It acknowledges the local communities of the past that have been effected by the development of a university in their city and examines ways of opening up university space so as to encourage a sense of belonging that extends beyond the university boundaries, one that reflects the contemporary university of today. This examination will investigate the "angularities and winding passages" that make up the posthistoric university (Readings 1999: 129). This supplementary history does not follow the conventional teleological approach with its focus on what might be considered university events, rather, it tells the stories of a heterogeneity that is less tangible in representations of the university. This involves lifting the veil of the bureaucratic university through an examination of material space. A particular walk through that space, one where "the lever (foot) that propels one forward nevertheless roots itself to the spot [...] thus demanding a serious rethinking of newness and invention, of radicalism, and of origination" (Wortham 2001: 196).

Case Study, Archival Material and Theoretical Application

This re-reading of the University of Leeds will predominantly be done through a textual re-mapping of the university in an effort to provide alternative histories. It will not provide a comprehensive coverage of these histories but a selective one that stands as an example of how the spatial manifestation of an organisation can be interrogated and

rearticulated. This thesis concentrates on specific moments in the development of the university campus and particular spaces of import to the university. The campus will be interrogated in a way that can be applied to urban space in general: through theoretical and historical analysis, but also as a place of community, like a town or city.

In his article that was reproduced in the Henry Moore Institute publication *The New Monumentality* (2009), Lance Wright argues that the campus development at the University of Leeds in the 1960s was oriented around “university-as-ideal-city” (2009: 33). The development, led by the architects Chamberlin, Powell and Bon (CPB), was considered at the time to be both an attempt to create a university-as-city in its own right, but also to integrate the university itself into the city which it belonged. Today campus universities are relatively self-contained inasmuch as they house all the facilities and amenities required for students not just to study, but also to live and socialise: supermarkets, eateries, cash-machines, bars and clubs, and a variety of shops from travel agents to opticians. This thesis takes psychogeographical and Situationist approaches to campus space, and therefore has connections to the city from those perspectives, but also the ideology behind the massive 1960s development plan for the Leeds campus orients it within a city-based model. Therefore, it serves us to consider some of the existing texts on the University of Leeds and its relation to its city.

The University of Leeds Library contains much in the way of archives about the campus, its development and history. This archived material takes the form of letters, reports, plans, newspaper articles, marketing material and ledgers. Examples of the type of documentation used from the archive in this thesis are some of the letters between the university bursar and Leeds City Council with regard to campus development in the 1960s and also campus development plans that pertain to this same period. These materials have been used in conjunction with published texts about the University of Leeds and historical information contained in *University of Leeds Review*. The two published histories on the University of Leeds are *Studies in the History of a University, 1874-1974: To Commemorate the Centenary of the University of Leeds* edited by P. H. J. H. Gosden and Arthur Taylor and A. N. Shimmin’s *The University of Leeds: The First Half Century*. Representations of the university, for example, in its image as portrayed through the official university website, have been compared to alternative histories that have been discovered through the examination of urban space and also the university archives.

During 1977-78, the University of Leeds house magazine published a series of articles on the university by the social historian Maurice Beresford who was a Professor of Economic History at the university at that time. These articles consisted of a series of walks that Beresford took around the university with his dog, where he systematically covered the campus, providing an architectural and historical critique of it. Two years later, these articles were published by the University of Leeds Press in a book entitled *Walks Round Red Brick* (1980). It is likely that Beresford would not have considered himself a psychogeographer, but these articles, while providing a social history of the campus, also include the descriptions of the aesthetics of that space as it appeared to Beresford at the time of his walks. Included were maps and photographs from the time of publication and older.

In 2013 the University of Leeds academic Chris Hammond published a rewrite of *Walks Round Red Brick*. A friend of Beresford's, Hammond took these walks with him in the 1970s and later provided guided walks influenced by the walks in Beresford's book. Hammond's book includes the original text from Beresford's book with a new addendum to each chapter appearing in note form. Also, the old black and white photos have all been replaced by contemporary high-quality colour ones. Images from both Beresford's and Hammond's texts are included here and the aforementioned texts along with the university archives form the basis of the historical information on the university provided in this thesis.

Texts on the city also lend themselves to being used for analysing campus space because the posthistoric university has many qualities that are comparable to city living. The university puts consumers and products into circulation, enabling an analysis from the perspective of networks and flows. Space is designed, from a rational standpoint, to control the flow of people, machines and materials in a way that encourages the efficient running of university space while also supporting the ideology behind it. This means that the campus can be analysed from the perspective of how capital might use and acquire that space, for example, through capital accumulation.¹⁷ Also, the university, like the city, has an appearance in concrete form, its referent. In its manifest form it is a representation supported by a particular discourse, which means it can be

¹⁷ The term 'capital accumulation' is being used here to describe an economic activity that concentrates wealth in order to generate more capital, such as through reinvesting profits. This capital may appear in the form of land and/or property and is included in the capital base of a company (or any organisation) and is part of what they are 'worth'. This has a geographical effect whereby wealth becomes concentrated in different areas – both on a world-wide, but also local level – especially in regard to real-estate. This process can also include expropriation, which is the power that a public body has to acquire property and land for the purposes of 'public interest', even against the will of the current owner.

deconstructed linguistically. This concept of a semantic analysis of space implies an effect on the individual through the use and understanding of spatial signs. Moreover, it alludes to a form of praxis that occurs through discourses on space and how they influence us. That, but also, the affective and aesthetic response to physically moving around space itself and the relationships we have with the actual space and those around us.

The significance of social relations in regard to capital is discussed by Fisher when he describes education as being “the engine room of the reproduction of social reality, directly confronting the inconsistencies of the capitalist social field” (2009: 26). All the contradictions of capitalism are inherent in educational space, as they are elsewhere, nevertheless a process of revealing is required in order not to take for granted the subtle yet effective way that consumerist ideology infiltrates every aspect of contemporary life. Claudia Matus and Susan Talburt explain how important this form of analysis is: “Making visible how institutional discourses reify the logics of these spatial imaginaries is one means to denaturalize them with an eye to contesting them” (2009: 525). Philip Hancock and André Spicer state: “Enactment [...] might serve to both challenge and confirm prevalent forms of spatial ordering, dependent on the possible intersections of experience, power and ways of seeing and doing that inhabit the individual at any given moment” (2011: 96).

Often part of the urban imaginary produced by groups and individuals operating in space appears in the form of a desire for community. While this is a problem flagged up by cultural theorists and postmodern geographers alike, Giuseppe Dematteis contends that geographers are in a prime position to report on this issue from a number of perspectives, specifically by seeing “networks and territories as metaphors which represent social relations” (2001: 123). He believes that taking a number of viewpoints and reworking different representations enables the global and local to be effectively critiqued in their complexity (2001: 123-4).

The theoretical analysis that has been applied to the corporatised university has involved a number of fields, including cultural studies, geography, history, politics and economics. Because the university needs to be considered in regard to its relationship with its city, and because it is also a hub within that city, spatial and economic theory relating to the city has been viewed in the light of the university’s geographical development as it pertains to capital. As this is a ground-level analysis of the

posthistoric university, the theoretical research considers the work of the Situationist International (SI) and contemporary psychogeographers. Also, artists and theorists on the act of walking, and performance art and activism as it relates to walking. Because the theory of the SI is so intrinsically tied up with their practice of urban walking, I will be including an overview of their analytical approach in the section ‘Walking as Methodology and Critical Practice’, alongside a discussion of psychogeography as a methodological practice.

The fields of postmodern geography and urban theory enable a critique of the development of urban space and an examination of the social relationships people have with particular spaces. Postmodern geography becomes useful for examining the complex physical spaces that are part of our heritage, but also respond to the demands of limited resources, complex infrastructures and attempts at revealing historical and social signs in the postmodern terrain. For example, the analysis of hidden spaces proposed by Cindi Katz will be used to examine a specific part of the university campus in order to reveal its social history. Cultural theorists include Foucault, especially his work on heterotopias and space in regard to power. Fredric Jameson will also be used, especially his critique of postmodern architecture. Other architectural critics, such as Reinhold Martin, will be utilised in order to interrogate the aesthetics of university buildings at Leeds. These architectural critics enable an analysis of the appearance of postmodern architecture and the affective response individuals may have to them.

The relationship capital has with urban space will be examined through the theories of Marxist geographers such as David Harvey and Neil Smith. Their input enables discussion to open around the concept of capital accumulation in the way that the university has historically acquired property and land. Harvey highlights the complexity in connecting the wider terrain with a particular point in space:

An event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends on everything else going on around it [...] A wide variety of disparate influences swirling over space in the past, present and future concentrate and congeal at a certain point [...] to define the nature of that point. (2006: 124)

Harvey’s work is pivotal in regard to how capital contributes to formulating our landscape. It is also the case that the processual and relational factors that influence space (and that are influenced by space in return) can be related to the work Guattari has done in the area of “molecular revolution”. Guattari says that it is possible for individuals not to be reliant on “the spatio-temporal specifications of the social

phantasy” (1984: 97). In other words, the representations of the university – which includes how it appears in space – while encouraging a certain semiotic (in the case of the examination underway here, a capitalist-oriented one), can also enable a different aesthetic paradigm through differing connections and alternative existential territories.

While there may be tensions between the theories of the Marxist geographers and poststructural theory, there are also many commonalities. For instance, Smith discusses the totalising form of gentrification in *The New Urban Frontier* (1996) and is sympathetic to other alternatives to private capital. It is also the case that Smith’s discussion on the uneven development of urban space looks at the friction between space and capitalism which arise in a kind of continual dialectic where space is seen as a commodity and difference is homogenised. As for Harvey, he explains how capitalist activity is always spatially situated, but also how organisations operate through discourses that are “so abstract as to be opaque to the mass of the population” (2006: 83). This demonstrates the significance of terms such as ‘excellence’ when they are applied in a given discourse and how they can be used to mobilise specific agendas. Both Harvey and Smith are interested in capital accumulation and are used in this thesis as a way of setting up the physical space of the university as it pertains to economics in regard to the appropriation of space, and in the negotiation with public bodies that is required in the acquisition of that space.

The mode of space I shall be challenging is the one that appears absolute and unquestionable in its form, the one that Debord would put down to the project of capitalism, the spectacle. At the university capitalist-influenced processes can be spatially observed, not only in the more obvious physical movement of staff and students covering the campus terrain, but they are also actualised in both the actions taken up by the various actors at the university (for example, in taking up the practice of completing an administrative process) and in the concrete form of the buildings or other campus phenomena that support these processes. Therefore, Harvey’s formulation of space, provides a useful springboard into a critique of postmodern space and the “relational aesthetics” associated with it.¹⁸

In taking a material examination of the university campus, spatial theories relating to practice and representation, postmodern urbanism and Marxist geography enable a form

¹⁸ *Relational Aesthetics* (Nicolas Bourriaud 1998) refers to a response to art (predominantly art of the 1990s) which not only emphasises the social nature of the lived experience, but also draws the viewer into the work as participator. One of his definitions is: “art taking as its theoretical horizon the realm of human interactions and its social context, rather than the assertion of an independent and *private* symbolic space” (2002: 14).

of revealing to take place that carries out a number of tasks, such as excavating social history, analysing spatial effects on individuals and highlighting spatial tensions. Since modernity, space has been transformed in relation to the lived experience. In his 1903 essay ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’ Georg Simmel presented us with a representation of the individuals’ internal life in response to the modern city. He discussed the acceleration of pace and the collapse of space-time resulting in the “*intensification of nervous stimulation*” (2004: 132), (Simmel’s italics). Postmodernity brought with it an ever more complex response to space, as discussed by cultural theorists such as Jameson who calls for an aesthetic of cognitive mapping to help the individual negotiate post-Marxist space. The spaces we occupy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century have spawned new terms in order for these spaces to be articulated in a new way: hyperreality (Jean Baudrillard and others), non-place (Marc Augé), empty spaces (Jerzy Kociatkiewicz and Monika Kostera), heterotopia (Foucault), to name but a few. Therefore, space is not only overdetermined because of the many different groups of people who operate in these spaces and, hence, have a different aesthetic of them, but also because of the multiple ways of analysing space.

Theoretical approaches to space occur in many fields of academia, even if we choose to just analyse concrete space as it appears in the urban environment. Urban space can be critiqued from multifarious disciplines, such as sociology, geography, cultural theory, architecture, urban planning and even psychology. Also within those fields there are many different approaches. The term ‘urban space’ will likely be defined differently depending on the particular field of analysis. For example, the urban designer and architect Rob Krier describes it thus: “If we wish to clarify the concept of urban space without imposing aesthetic criteria, we are compelled to designate all types of space between buildings in towns and cities and other localities as urban space” (1979: 15). Two important factors become apparent from this definition, the first is this: because Krier is bracketing the aesthetic, this demonstrates how significant it is to any discussion of urban space. Secondly, it is difficult to talk about urban space without also talking about the city (or the town, or even suburbia).¹⁹

Henri Lefebvre’s socio-philosophical synthesis of real and mental space in his book *The Production of Space* (1974) presents urban theory with one of the most significant texts on space. *The Production of Space* has influenced Harvey, Edward Soja and Manuel

¹⁹ In a deconstructive sense it is also difficult to not talk about what is not urban, for example ‘rural’.

Castells. Castells's *The Urban Question* (1977) was a criticism of the Marxist-Humanist approach Lefebvre took in *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre categorises his formulation for analysing space by using the following phrases: "Spatial practice" (the space that society utilises for the purposes of both work and leisure, and the praxis involved in these relationships), "Representations of space" (how space is defined and represented by the various dominant agents in society) and "Representational space" (a response to how space is lived through the various signs that represent it, this includes dominant images of space but also the possibility for other more inventive representations) (1991: 38-39).

In his *homage* to Raymond Williams, Harvey offers us another approach to looking at space. In 'Space as a Keyword', Harvey breaks down space into absolute, relative and relational. He states that absolute space is "the space of Newton and Descartes and it is usually represented as a pre-existing and immovable grid amenable to standardized measurement and open to calculation" (2006: 121). Relative space allows for "multiple geometries" and can be approached in a multitude of ways depending on who and what are being investigated, the Einsteinian conceptualisation (Harvey 2006: 121-122). And relational space, which Harvey attributes to Leibniz, states that "there is no such thing as space or time outside of the processes that define them" (2006: 123). Both Lefebvre's and Harvey's frameworks allow for methods of categorising space that highlight a space that can appear at once dominant or rigid, but also fluid, allowing room for negotiation or even appropriation.

Foucault's analysis of space is apparent in much of his work, including *The Order of Things* (1966) and *Discipline and Punish* (1975). In his interview with Paul Rabinow, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power', Foucault demonstrates how space is inseparable from other factors. As discussed in *Discipline and Punish*, fields of surveillance are spatially manifest: operations and procedures applied to the body-politic take place in material structures that appear in the concrete form of the institution, whether it is a prison, a mental institution or a university. The authority attached to these procedures (and hence these institutional structures) come in the form of statements that become naturalised upon being repeated by not only those designated to do so, but also they become legitimised by being taken up by larger groups. Foucault describes how the individual is under the influence of various propagated discourses that exist in the environment under the aegis of 'truth'. He states: "'Truth' is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of

statements” (1980: 133). These very statements, existing in their moment of utterance and defined by their enunciative domain, are materialised by their particular formalised mode of power. Statements are supported in the structures of particular institutions through the practices that reaffirm them and in the discourse transmitted by them. In regard to this thesis, statements appear in the form of texts about and images of the university. In this same regard the campus is also considered a text and requires analysis in order to understand the origins of discourses that pertain to it. The geographers J. Duncan and N. Duncan say that poststructuralist analyses can be useful in deconstructing landscape because they “demystify the illusion of texts as unified, original creations of a Cartesian subject” (1988: 120).²⁰ They continue: “These descriptions suit landscapes well because landscapes are usually anonymously authored; although they can be symbolic, they are not obviously referential, and they are highly intertextual creations of the reader, as much as they are products of the society that originally constructed them” (ibid.).

The main thrust of the poststructuralist theory used to analyse the corporatised university is the work of Guattari, in particular his two volumes on *Molecular Revolution*.²¹ These texts are aimed at challenging dominant modes of power and focus on enabling a heterogeneity to appear in spaces governed by singular overriding discourses. In addition, cartography is explored in the light of the cognitive map concept, but, also, because this project is concerned with a re-mapping of the posthistoric university from an operational, geographical and historical perspective. I use the term ‘cartography’ in the broadest sense, as a way of representing topographical phenomenon. This has not necessarily taken the form of conventional maps. It also include films, images and text as a means of orienting certain motifs, behaviours or relations in order to reveal what Guattari would describe as existential territories or flows, or an ethico-aesthetics of particular places.

The process of map-making I have formulated is based on Guattari’s schizoanalysis. Guattari says that the profusion of signs in the modern environment have resulted in “mechanisms of growing discordance being set up at all levels of industrial society in its neo-capitalist and bureaucratic socialist phase whereby the individual tends to have to identify with an ideal of consuming-machines-consuming-production” (1984: 14). Guattari is criticising the postmodern dissonance that exists in the environment through

²⁰ The term ‘landscape’ is used here to refer to any geographical space.

²¹ *Molecular Revolution: Psychiatry and Politics* (1984) and *Molecular Revolution in Brazil* with Suely Rolnik (1986).

the contradictory demands capitalism imposes on us. His approach to psychiatry, society and capitalism sought to provide a new understanding of the problems he highlights above. Guattari's practice enabled dominant conventions to be questioned and provided a process that enabled other forms of representation to be made available. When working with the schizophrenic, Guattari developed an approach that did not impose a social or institutional hierarchy onto the individual when attempting to understand them. This was "the difference between a real schizophrenic journey and a familialist regression along petty bourgeois lines" (Guattari 1984: 54). The 'schizo' aspect of the term 'schizoanalysis' refers to the way that the verbal expression of the schizophrenic is untranslatable through usual (institutional) semiotic channels of understanding. What Guattari proposed was that "interpretative analysis should be reshaped into a different type of analysis of the unconscious, in which non-signifying semiotic elements would be in the forefront" (1984: 77). Schizoanalysis sought to promote a "semiotic poly-centrism" that supported "equal acceptance to all desire whether it makes sense or not, by not seeking to make subjectivation fit in with the dominant significations and social laws" (ibid.). In more general terms it is "the analysis [of] subjective productions in a given problematic context" (Guattari 2013: 18), allowing the process of schizoanalysis to be transferred to other institutions, settings and places.

It is also the multi-layered nature of postmodern space that lends itself to analysis using Guattari's theory as a way of providing a polyvocality which questions institutionalised thinking and subjected positions. Rather than providing a top-down approach to the problem of space, this project examines it from the ground up, literally, and attempts to see it from the perspective of a network. In regard to the discourses on space, an analysis of the semiological relationship between language, ideology and the postmodern individual can be explored this way. This also enables a space where agency can occur through a decentred subjectivity that is not inflexible and fixed.

The analyses of Guattari alongside the Situationists supports a critique of capital's relationship with space (the space of the institution and urban space) and at the same time offers alternative approaches to viewing, responding to and operating in material space. This material critique ties in with an archaeological orientation inasmuch as the physical space of the campus will be examined in an attempt to excavate signs held in the terrain that might be contrary to the dominant discourse. Paul R. Mullins and Lewis C. Jones propose an archaeological approach to the university campus involving a

multitude of “stakeholders”, including the relatives of previous local residents who may have lived on what now appears as university space (2011: 251). They go on to say that campus archaeology “illuminates the strategically unrecognized privileges that made mass displacement possible and confronts the ways many universities continue to clumsily negotiate their complicity in mass removals while they aspire to grow further” (ibid.). The archaeological angle I shall be taking does not necessarily involve the process of physical excavation that may be implied by the term. However, it does involve the archival exploration required to reveal historical signs of the past hidden in space and the necessary physical enactment of placing one’s body in the terrain in order to read the signs therein.

In the opening passage of *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari state: “A schizophrenic out for a walk is a better model than a neurotic lying on an analyst’s couch” (2007a: 2). This concept is reaffirmed by McKenzie Wark when he states that Deleuze and Guattari are actually considering a critical form of urban walking to be a type of nomadic analysis (2011: 26). This example demonstrates the value of a number of factors that connect subjectivity, space (both mental and urban), aesthetics and psychogeography.

The application of theory in this thesis will be set out as a kind of toolbox. This suggests multiple possibilities for interpretation which will reflect the heterogeneity of space proposed by the project, but also mirrors the attempt at challenging the totalising perspective on space that capital encourages. Inherent in postmodernism is the availability of a multitude of objects (or texts) available for reuse, reinterpretation and reappropriation under the umbrella of *bricolage*. Part of schizocartography involves reappropriation and multiplicity, therefore different theories will be applied to the smaller case studies that appear within the larger case study of the University of Leeds campus, as much as anything to highlight the urban imaginaries discussed herein.

It is in this way that this thesis attempts to validate the constructivist nature of the project underlying it. Here constructivism will be used in the sense suggested by Deleuze and Guattari’s work, the formation of political assemblages that emerged from their projects on capitalism and schizophrenia. This is apparent in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980) in their discussion on territories and the offering of a kind of experimental cartography. The constructivist approach taken here will be demonstrated in the creative elements employed and expressed, but also through the assembling and disassembling of elements (theories, texts, maps or the voices of others)

that come together and pass on from moment to moment.

Walking as Method and Critical Practice

Before introducing the walking practices of the SI and providing a background on their theoretical perspective on psychogeography, I will situate walking practices within their historical lineage and discuss the work of some contemporary practitioners.

Walking has created paths, roads, trade routes; generated local and cross-continental senses of place; shaped cities, parks; generated maps, guidebooks, gear, and, further afield, a vast library of walking stories and poems, of pilgrimages, mountaineering expeditions, meanders, and summer picnics. The landscapes, urban and rural, gestate the stories, and the stories bring us back to the sites of this history. (Solnit 2001: 4)

Peoples' motivations to walk are multifarious and there exist many different terms for different forms of walking: rambling, perambulation, strolling, stalking, trekking, hiking, street-walking, cruising and so on.²² To the extent it has permeated the field of cultural theory, the two most common forms are the psychogeography of the SI and *flânerie*. Charles Baudelaire adapted the term *flâneur* which referred to the male stroller of the city who took the position of a passive and detached observer of urban phenomena. Using it within a literary tradition, Baudelaire subsequently made the *flâneur* a popular area of scholastic study. While it was a rather nebulous term, and still remains so, the *flâneur* of 19th century Paris was usually considered to be bourgeois, or at least independently wealthy, and most likely a writer of sorts, and often a dandy. The first description of this character, the *flâneur*, appeared in Baudelaire's 1863 text *The Painter of Modern Life* which provided Walter Benjamin with material for *The Arcades Project*, his unfinished project on the Parisian arcades. It is also important to acknowledge the Surrealists' contribution to psychogeography with their ludic act of walking and its emphasis on psychoanalysis. Poet, writer and prior Dadaist Louis Aragon provides an account of walks through Paris in his text *Paris Peasant* (1926), viewing his own affective response to those spaces through the veil of sexual desire. Jean-Jacques Rousseau is also often considered a *flâneur*, even though he predated the term. In *Confessions* (1782) he writes about the act of walking and how it aids the process of philosophical enquiry.

The Surrealists and Situationists have been superseded by many contemporary artists,

²² In 1987 the British Government commissioned a research project on walking as it was for the pedestrian. This appeared in the form of *What's Wrong With Walking?: A Consumer Review of the Pedestrian Environment*, produced by the National Consumer Council. It dealt with the obstacles to walking, such as uneven pavements, cars, skips and cyclists.

film-makers and practitioners who use walking in their work. The list is vast, and includes: Richard Long's *A Line Made By Walking* (1967), a track left in the grass from walking backwards and forwards over the same trail, and Tony Smith's account of his car ride along the, at the time, not yet completed New Jersey Turnpike. Postmodern critics of urban space include the film-maker Patrick Keiller, whose critique of how the economic climate plays out in the London landscape can be seen in his films *London* (1994), *Robinson in Space* (1997) and *Robinson in Ruins* (2011). Chris Petit's film *The London Orbital* (2002), made with the psychogeographer Iain Sinclair, provides a Ballardian journey around London's largest ringroad-cum-motorway, the M25. J. G. Ballard's novels often take a dystopian view of urban space and concentrate on how the protagonists respond to the postmodern environment in which they live. Sinclair's own fictional and non-fictional texts, going back to 1970, cover his walks in London. In a recent film directed by the film-maker John Rogers, *The London Perambulator* (2009), Sinclair looks at the urban explorer Nick Papadimitriou.

Criticisms levelled at British psychogeography, in particular, have centred on its nostalgic bent, with Sinclair being cited as one of the main proponents of an approach where "loss and redemption are explored and negotiated" (Bonnett 2009: 54). Alastair Bonnett's article 'The Dilemmas of Radical Nostalgia in British Psychogeography' explores these notions alongside a consideration that this strand often sits next to a radical activist lineage of psychogeography in Britain. Bonnett states that nostalgia, as it was for the SI, was not "good or bad", rather it empowered their cause yet also created issues at the same time (2006: 40). In relation to Bonnett's and Catherine Alexander's project on Tyneside with local residents, they discuss how nostalgia can actually be productive in relation to the memories of ex-residents of the area (2012). While the nostalgic perspective of psychogeography will not be pursued directly in this thesis, it is impossible for it to be completely separated from the aesthetic responses to space included herein.

Like Sinclair, Peter Ackroyd's concentration is also London, with his fiction and non-fiction books and television programmes such as *Peter Ackroyd's Thames* (2008). Some of Stewart Home's activist books and films also cross over into psychogeography, for example an edited volume *What is Situationism? A Reader* (1993) and his text *Jean Baudrillard and the Psychogeography of Nudism* (2001). Will Self's book *Psychogeography* (2007) is based on articles of walks (that originally appeared in the British newspaper *The Independent*) and are accompanied by images drawn by the

caricaturist Ralph Steadman.²³ However, texts on space and place that are oriented around the act of walking, observing those spaces and critiquing them, are not recent phenomena. Merlin Coverley's timeline in his book *Psychogeography* (2006) goes back to the work of Daniel Defoe and William Blake (Coverley has already provided a concise history of psychogeography, which will not be repeated in this thesis).²⁴ There is also a long tradition of walking and literature that could be considered to go as far back as the educational perambulations of Plato at the Peripatetic School in Ancient Greece.

Historically, psychogeography has been considered to be the pursuit of middle-aged men who are fortunate enough to have the luxury of time and money to wander through urban space formulating a commentary on it. However, in contemporary times, and perhaps in part because it has become a method and practice for art, there are many more women who partake in it and would perhaps classify themselves as psychogeographers.²⁵ Probably the most high profile female psychogeographer in recent history is Michèle Bernstein, who was a Situationist. There are a number of articles that exist on gendered psychogeography-related issues, however this thesis will not be taking a feminist look at urban space.

Contemporary psychogeographers include Roy Bayfield, whose recent project, *Walking Home to 50* (2011), took him on a walk from Southport Pier to Brighton Pier via urban hinterlands, and John Davies who has written about his recent Hull to London motorway walk, *Walking the M62*.²⁶ Also, many urban games exist that involve walking and the challenging of space, for example an Urban Disorientation Game organised at a recent Conflux Festival – an annual international conference held in New York “for contemporary psychogeography [and] the investigation of everyday urban life through emerging artistic, technological and social practice”. There is also the game of geocaching where players can locate secreted packages through Global Positioning Systems (GPS). There are a number of psychogeography-related societies in the UK and worldwide. Well-known international societies of recent times include the New

²³ Self also has a subsequent book on the same subject-matter, called *Psycho Too* (2009).

²⁴ Iain Sinclair describes William Blake as the ‘Godfather’ of psychogeography (cited in Coverley 2006: 39).

²⁵ I can comment on my own experiences through the connections I make through networking, and I do know other female psychogeographers, even though they are still in the minority. So perhaps it is the beginning of a gender turn. Contemporary female academic psychogeographers include Mags Adams at the University of Salford, Cathy Turner at the University of Exeter and Deidre Heddon at the University of Glasgow (although I appreciate they might not necessarily classify themselves as such).

²⁶ Alan Burnett, a one-time lecturer based in Huddersfield who uses images and text in his blogs of walks around various cities, did not realise he was ‘doing’ psychogeography until I pointed it out to him when inviting him to talk at Leeds Psychogeography Group.

York Psychogeographical Association, Associazione Psicografica di Bologna, Toronto Psychogeography Society and the International Psychogeographic Society (Ontario). In the UK there is the Psychogeographical Commission, the London Psychogeographical Association and, in Manchester, the Loiterers Resistance Movement and Manchester Area Psychogeographic. In Leeds there is the Leeds Surrealists Group, Leeds Psychogeography Group and a number of other different groups that take an alternative look at urban space, or involve walking as part of their practice.²⁷

Texts that specifically focus on the subject of walking as a critical practice include Michel de Certeau's 'Walking in the City' (1980), which offers a method of walking as a "space of enunciation" (1988: 98). His text provides us with a new character in the urban story, the city itself: "a *universal* and anonymous *subject*" (1988: 94), (De Certeau's italics). De Certeau makes useful semantic comparisons with the city and language, explaining that below the dominant discourse of the city lie alternative stories "whose surface is only its upper limit, outlining itself against the visible" (1988: 93). This provides an opportunity for the city to be examined at the micro level, through what he describes as "spatial practices" which take the form of modes of resistance to an imposed way of life as it appears in "lived space" (1988: 96). What de Certeau calls "pedestrian speech acts" enable "appropriation", a form of "acting-out", and "relations" to come into being through spatial interactions that might influence the social contract (1988: 97-98). Thus the "act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to statements uttered" (1988: 97).

Rebecca Solnit opens her introduction to *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2001) with the example of Doris Haddock who, in 1999 at the age of 88, set off to walk across America because of her dislike of hostile financial corporate interests and to campaign for finance reform. Solnit says that it was "no coincidence that she chose an activity that required openness, engagement and few expenses to make her protest against the hidden corrosion of big money" (2001: xi). Solnit's concise study of walking – from Rousseau to Wordsworth, the Boy Scouts to the Situationists – provides us with every possible way of looking at walking, beginning in the first chapter with the physiological movement itself and finishing with one of her own walks in Nevada. While her text

²⁷ Not all the above groups are still in existence. Many of them sprung up in the 1990s, but not all of them appear to still be in operation. While the current surge in psychogeography is not clear, periods of economic hardship encourage people to question their everyday lives and the structures that affect them. This might explain the popularity of psychogeography in Britain in the early 1990s and that of today.

covers many modes and differing terrains, her comments on urban space are particularly noteworthy. She says that the word ‘street’ “has a rough, dirty magic to it, summoning up the low, the common, the erotic, the dangerous, the revolutionary” (2001: 176). This revolutionary aspect is the focus of not only the Situationist’s psychogeographical walks, but also their influence in Paris in May 1968 at the time of the public sector strikes and civil unrest started by the workers and students. At times Solnit also describes the city as a language, however, referring to De Certeau, she adds a caveat: “if the city is a language spoken by walkers, then a pedestrian city not only has fallen silent but risks becoming a dead language” (1988: 213).

Geoff Nicholson’s *The Lost Art of Walking* (2008), while having some similarities to Solnit’s text in that it provides a history of the act of walking, offers a rather more psychogeographic account in the sense of it being a more affective response to space. Nicholson offers his own reactions to the aesthetics of the spaces he walks in, while also providing interesting and amusing anecdotes. He makes reference to popular culture when cues in the environment cause him to consider a film or a novel. Francesco Careri’s *Walkscapes: Walking as an Aesthetic Practice* (2002) – a dual language text in both Spanish and English – provides a critique of landscape from an artistic and architectural perspective, looking at walking as a form of art. He appropriates the term ‘transurbances’, used by a group called Stalker who are based in Italy. Transurbances are walks that are carried out in the ‘forgotten’ spaces attached to the city, often referred to as brownfield sites. Stalker roams the city, reinterpreting it in a similar way to the Situationists.

For the SI psychogeography was “The study of the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals” (Situationist International 1996: 69).²⁸ However, it is pertinent to note that another form of psychogeography was given the same name by Howard F. Stein. In his book *Developmental Time, Cultural Space: Studies in Psychogeography* (1987) Stein does not see psychogeography as critical response to space at all, but something that is ever-present in the individual. Approaching it from a psychoanalytical angle, Stein sees psychogeography as referring to “people’s shared psychological representation or ‘map’

²⁸ In his article ‘Lynch Debord: About Two Psychogeographies’ Denis Wood says that two psychologists who were unaware of the Situationist International’s psychogeography, in the late 1960s used the term in a funding proposal for studying something rather like the psychogeography of the SI. It was listed as two separate courses (Psychology 207 and Geography 207) and was “An investigation of human and animal behaviour related to aspects of the physical environment with emphasis on social interaction, territoriality, density, movement, and migration” and was offered by both schools. It became known as psychogeography. (Wood 2010: 185-190)

of the natural and social world” (1987: 3). In Stein’s co-edited text *Maps from the Mind: Readings in Psychogeography* (Stein and Nederland 1989) it is described thus:

“Psychogeography is the study of how issues, experiences, and processes that result from growing up in a male or female body [...] become symbolized and played out in the wider social and natural worlds, which serve as ‘screens’ for these inner dramas” (1989: xvii).

Psychogeography for Stein and Nederland takes a Freudian look at space, in considering the inner life of the individual and their gender. This form of psychogeographic study aimed to look at what connected someone to place and how geography made a person who they are. It is possible that this form of psychogeography pre-dates that of the Situationists, as the introduction to *Maps from the Mind* states that Nederland developed it in the 1950s when looking at river symbolism (1989: xxix). Joel Greenberg uses Nederland’s definition of psychogeography in his Oedipally titled essay ‘Psychogeography: A Freudian Look at the Search for Mother Earth...or, How I loved My Mother, Hated My Father and Discovered America’ (1978) which looks at exploration and cartography. Greenberg examines “the unconscious libidinal components linked to geographical pursuits”, why the ego projects imagery onto the outside world and how geography appears in representative form (1978: 90). While there are psychoanalytical elements to the analysis carried out in this thesis, the psychogeography of Stein and Nederland is not the direction it will take. I include it here because I wish to differentiate it from the type of psychogeography carried out in this project and to show the ‘grey areas’ in the different types of psychogeography.

According to the SI’s definition, psychogeography is our aesthetic and psychological response to urban space, a large part of the group’s focus. Historically the SI’s roots were in a number of different groups that preceded them. Their initial forming came from two directions: one oriented in the Lettrist *avant-garde* movement and the other originating from the journal *CoBrA* (1948-1951).²⁹ The Paris-based Lettrist Group was established in 1946 but became The Lettrist International (LI) when Guy Debord became a member (1952 to 1957). *CoBrA*’s contributors were artists and writers, with one of its founding members being Asger Jorn. As *CoBrA* came into decline, Jorn produced an offshoot known as the International Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus (IMIB), concerned with the education of artists and promoting a more revolutionary

²⁹ An acronym for Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam. Henri Lefebvre was one of the originators of *CoBrA* and later became involved with the SI.

approach to art. Simon Sadler says, the Lettrist strand was “inclined towards the minimal and conceptual rather than the visual”, whereas the strand influenced by Jorn was more expressionist and felt “political and artistic unruliness was a gesture against the regulation of politics and art” and a “refusal of both socialist realism and abstraction” (2001: 4). Correspondence passed between Debord and Jorn led to the LI and the IMIB coming together at the First World Congress on Free Artists in 1956. A year later the SI was formed, which also included, in their drunken inaugural gathering, Ralph Rumney, as a representative of The London Psychogeographical Association (ibid.).

The Situationists’ focus on the urban environment as the nexus of power they sought to challenge came about because they thought that city space was not only characterless but had become a threat to any sense of freedom or playfulness. They alleged any new approach to architecture should enable the desire of individuals to be taken into consideration and for this to be injected into the process of creating buildings. The SI were disappointed in the current shift in France that appeared to be moving away from any sense of pending revolution and were still interested in the Marxist views on capital, stating any progress which was oriented around the social should not ignore the individual, but actually enable a space for possibility (Sadler 2001: 7). Sadler sums up the underlying principles of the SI: “Situationism was founded upon the belief that general revolution would originate in the appropriation and alteration of the material environment and its space” (2001: 13). Psychogeography became part of this undertaking in an effort to question and make claims on urban space.

It is because of these Situationist principles that urban walking has become part of the method of examining the corporatised university. The SI use the term *détournement* to express the need for a continual re-working of the past in order to resituate it in the form of the new. Readings uses the same term in his discussions on rethinking the posthistoric university. Here is a definition provided by the SI:

Short for: *détournement* of preexisting aesthetic elements. The integration of present and past artistic production into a superior milieu. [...] In a more primitive sense, *détournement* within the old cultural spheres is a method of propaganda, a method which testifies to the wearing out and loss of importance of those spheres. (Situationist International 1996: 70)³⁰

This description demonstrates how the process of *détournement* can be utilised within

³⁰ A number of Situationist texts do not credit a specific author. In these cases I will reference the author as ‘Situationist International’).

any form of production and is not something solely associated within an act of challenging capitalism. The SI make reference to how it has historically been used, in an ideological way, through propaganda. The act/process of *détournement* is not something that has only been used in a utopian project, such as that of the SI, but can be employed for any political end, or indeed artistic means. While the SI do not explain what they mean by “a superior milieu”, based on further uses of the phrase it appears to stand for the institutions that they consider problematic, and the totalising forms, such as capitalism, which their programme fought against. In relation to the power invested in the term *détournement* in essays by many members of the group, including Debord’s ‘*Détournement as Negation and Prelude*’ (1959), it is clear from accounts that the Situationists used the process in a practical sense, as Sadler says in *The Situationist City*: “*Détournement* would permit anyone to take part in raids on official culture” (2001: 44). The SI state, “[T]he use of *détournement* in architecture [...] signifies the reinvestment of products abstracted from the ends contemporary socio-economic organization gives them” (Situationist International 1996: 107).

Their plan included rerouting desires back into the process and altering how the end product appeared in order to make claims on an alternative aesthetic value which opposed the intended one.³¹ Bonnett says the *détournement* of the SI works by “taking elements from a social stereotype and, through their mutation and reversal, turning them against it so it is disrupted and exposed as a product of alienation” (1989: 135). In the same way that Readings recommends a process of challenging the space of the posthistoric university by the use of *détournement*, I propose a possible process in the form of a concrete practice, in an effort to apply “a serious attention to the present complexity of space” of the university (Readings 1999: 129). The relationship between *détournement* and the schizoanalysis of Guattari is apparent in Guattari’s questioning of overriding forms and how they can become re-appropriated, enabling a reformulation (a reterritorialization) to occur which appears in the form of a translation of certain structures.

One of the practices of the SI was through the *dérive*. In *The Theory of the Dérive*, Debord provides extensive instructions on how to partake in a *dérive* (drift). The SI describe a *dérive* as a “mode of experimental behavior linked to the conditions of urban society: a technique through varied *ambiances*. Also used to designate a specific period

³¹ Sadler describes *détournement* as “diversion”, (2001: 11) one of the typical translations from the French.

of continuous *dériving*” (Situationist International 1996: 69). The *dérive* involves moving through the city in a new way by creating different paths by chance. There are a number of methods of doing this, and new ones can be invented, for example tracing the outline of the map of one city over that of another and attempting to follow that route as much as possible. Debord says: “Progress is nothing other than breaking through a field where chance holds sway by creating new conditions more favorable to our purposes” (1996: 23). What the SI were attempting to do was to challenge capital as it appears in the form of the spectacle: “The spectacle is not a collection of images, rather it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images” (Debord 2005: 4). Debord does not see the spectacle as being something that is opposed to material reality, he sees it as the simulacrum-like form that capital takes.

Abdelhafid Khatib, a member of the SI, describes the *dérive* thus: “At the same time as being a form of action, it is a means of knowledge” (1996: 73). He lists a number of other supporting processes, which he terms “theoretical”, such as “the reading of aerial views and plans”, which he does not consider to be part of the ‘direct action’ element of the *dérive* (ibid.). For the SI it was important that these walks were not a “journey” or a “stroll” (Debord 1996: 22). Despite the fact that a playful element was deemed essential, those taking part were expected to be conscious of the environment, especially in the way it tied in with a critique of capitalism. Walkers were encouraged to be aware of “fissures in the urban network, [...] microclimates, [...] administrative districts, and above all the dominating action of centers of attraction” (ibid.). An article by the Situationists Attila Kotanyi and Raoul Vaneigem provides a harsh critique of urbanism. They state: “The development of the urban milieu is the capitalist domestication of space. It represents the choice of one specific materialization, to the exclusion of other possible ones” (1996: 116). It was this domineering appropriation of space that troubled the SI: “For in fact one doesn’t live somewhere in the city; one lives somewhere in the hierarchy” (ibid.).

This psychogeographical project at the University of Leeds examines the campus space in the same way the SI explored Paris, by seeking out elements in urban space that represent the corporate aspect of the university and by examining its history in regard to social relations. When looking at the above quote by Kotanyi and Vaneigem, the similarities in the object of study of the Situationists and that of Guattari becomes apparent: totalising dominant modes of power that have the effect of removing

alternative choices that might deviate from a set mission.³² Both the Situationists and Guattari are interested in organisations of power that have implications on the lives of people as they exist within a specific spatial structure, the city and the mental health institution, therefore lending themselves to a form of analysis that can be applied to the institution of HE in its manifest form, the campus. In discussing the institution (in his case that of psychiatry), Guattari says: “Analysing the institutional object means channelling the action of the imagination between one structure and another” (1984: 40).

The SI attempted to rearrange the matter that appeared as urban décor, and even if they could not do this in concrete space, they had every intention of changing the psychic space of urbanism. Following the SI’s urban walks around Paris, areas were assigned specific *ambiances* and labelled as such. For example, those suggested by Gilles Ivain³³ in his utopian text ‘Formulary for a New Urbanism’: “Bizarre Quarter – Happy Quarter (specially reserved for habitation) – Noble and Tragic Quarter (for good children) – Historical Quarter (museums, schools) – Useful Quarter (hospital, tool shops) – Sinister Quarter, etc” (1996: 17). These newly formed zones were a response to an aesthetic of the City (especially Paris, but also other cities) that was not only a critique of capitalism, but also a hankering back to some of the Modernist aspirations from the turn of the 20th century, such as those of the Bauhaus movement.

These *dérives* became ‘moments’, or ‘situations’: “The ‘moment’ is mainly temporal, forming part of a zone of temporality, not pure but dominant. Articulated in relation to a given place, the situation is completely spatio-temporal” (Situationist International 1996: 101). The SI project directed at urbanism was about seizing a moment in time and space and attempting to change its aesthetics for a short time by diverting it away from the project of capital. The Situationists were conscious of the effects that the environment had on the individual, and wanted those participating in *dérives* to be both aware of this and at the same time attempt to let notions of the dominance of the capitalist city to be temporarily stemmed (Debord 1996: 22).³⁴ *Dérives* were considered to be a process of surveying space and consequently enabling a narrative to arise from it (Debord 1996: 24). The SI used existing maps, redesigning them to express their own impressions of particular spaces, for example, in the series of maps called *The Naked*

³² For the SI one term they used for capital’s overriding presence was “coca-colonisation”. Coca-colonisation implies the colonisation of culture by commercial brands to the extent that it seamlessly infiltrates the everyday.

³³ This is the *nom de plume* of the Paris-born Russian Ivan Chtcheglov.

³⁴ The SI thought that urban planners saw the problems attached to the city as being divorced from the needs of humans, therefore planners made practical choices about housing and transport based on other criteria.

City. Careri poetically describes the SI's maps:

The city is nude, stripped by the *dérive*, and its garments float out of context. The disoriented quarters are continents set adrift in liquid space, *passional* terrains that wander, attracting or repulsing one another due to the continuous production of disorienting affective tensions. The definition of the parts, the distances between the plates and the thicknesses of the vectors are the result of experienced states of mind. (2003: 102)

This quote not only sums up *The Naked City* as it pertains to the *dérive*, but it also contains many of the significant themes for this project at the university: affect, liquid space, tensions and passion.

As Sadler says of the *dérive*: “On the one hand it recognized that the self cannot be divorced from the urban environment; on the other hand, it had to pertain to more than just the psyche of the individual if it was to be useful in the collective rethinking of the city” (2001: 77). The SI's attempt at solving this problem was through Unitary Urbanism which tried to “recover lost mythic wholeness that had been shattered by capital and bureaucracy” (Sadler 2001: 120). While Unitary Urbanism is considered to be a failed project by most critics, perhaps due to its backward-looking nostalgic aim, it was oriented in bringing back something that was lost in what the SI observed in the city around them, a disconnect between the city and its citizens. However, the architectural drawings offered up as genuine plans for buildings and city-living, in the beginning at least, were aspirational and utopian. This can be seen in the work of the SI member Constant Nieuwenhuys.

David Pinder's *Visions of the City* (2005) takes a primarily Situationist look at the city and discusses *détournement*, the *dérive* and the SI's cartography in depth. Preferring the Situationists' approach to that of the Surrealists' he states: “The *dérive* placed more emphasis on a conscious analytic subject, investigating and contesting terrain” (2005: 3). Pinder says that the maps produced by Debord, and the performative acts behind them, go towards altering conceptions of the city and the lived experience therein (2005: 159). However, Jean Barrot argues that the SI's form of materialism appears to ignore how institutions work through their apparatuses, simply deciding to concentrate on “the awareness of society as intersubjectivity, as interaction of human relationships on the immediate plane” (1979: 37). He goes on to qualify this in discussing the SI's creation of situations and by invoking Althusser:

The ‘creation of concrete situations’ is only one facet of the revolutionary movement. In theorizing it, the SI does indeed start out from real conditions of

existence, but reduces them to intersubjective relations. This is the point of view of the subject trying to rediscover itself, not a view which encompasses both subject and object. It is the subject stripped of its representation. (ibid.)

My interest with the psychogeography of the SI is three-fold: their map-making techniques (which challenged the geography of urban space), the processes they utilised as a form of re-appropriation of space and their critique of capitalism. This thesis attempts to redress this critique of Barrot's by enabling a multiplicity of representations for individuals and at the same time acknowledging the propensity to become subjected to the institutional apparatus through the processes of anti-production. In order to demonstrate how this can be done through critical forms of walking, I shall introduce some past psychogeographical projects in order to demonstrate how they might influence subjectivity while also challenging the appearance urban space.

Inasmuch as walking pertains to performance art Phil Smith's work provides a good example. His 2004 performance *Crab Walks* took place in the coastal town of Dawlish and subsequently elsewhere in Devon, UK. Smith carried a stick and wore a large prosthetic crab claw in his performances in beach huts at the seaside resorts. In preparation for his performance he walked for six weeks in the Devon area looking for phenomena that sparked childhood memories. These walks were not direct and linear but rather more chaotic, like a crab's scuttle. As well as these walks culminating in a performance, they also exist in a cartographical textual form in his essay *The Crab Walks*, which notates the journey and his experiences of the walks.

In their essay 'Building Utopia: Performance and Fantasy of Urban Renewal in Contemporary Toronto' (2009), Laura Levin and Kim Solga explain how they set out to understand who benefits from urban renewal, whose idea of the city is the 'true' one and how performers and activists deal with the experiences of citizens in that city. They provide a long list of walking-based projects in Toronto which are organised by many different groups. For example, the *[murmur] project* conceals recordings around the city which can be located by signs and can be accessed via a mobile phone (2009: 45). One of the problems that Levin and Solga stress is that in order for citizens to lay claims to their city, not only do they have to walk it, but they also have to leave a trace that they were there (2009: 47).

C. Cred is a fluid arts collective that works on collaborative projects that attempt to connect to politics by opening dialogue, forming networks and encouraging learning.

Counter.Cartographies is the title they have given a series of walks. While they are mostly based in London, they have worked in conjunction with the *16Beavergroup* in New York on the above cartography project. This is how they describe their motivation behind these walks:

Using the simple medium of collective walking, we wanted to explore and intervene in the historical, cultural and socio-political contexts of artistic practice and challenge what we felt were a set of often normative and authoritarian structures put into place by the various cultural and academic industries that seemed to us to govern the parameters of artistic production. (2007: 119)

They explain that the walks created spaces for dialogue in the “nomadic structures” that became available, with the walking becoming a way to take apart dominant narratives that are invested geographically (ibid.). The walks were archived through images and texts, which were made available to anyone and could be altered in any way or even totally destroyed.

Not only are there very different approaches to critical urban walking as the above examples show, but there are alternative names for different forms of psychogeography, and some of the differences are quite subtle. Nick Papadimitriou calls his own type of urban walking “deep topography” and describes it as “an acknowledgement of the magnitude of response to landscape” (Papadimitriou 2009).³⁵ One of the forms of walking Phil Smith employs is known as mythogeography, subscribed to by a number of artists and writers who are part of a fluid collective. On the *Mythogeography* website it is described, thus: “Mythogeography emphasises the multiple nature of places and suggests multiple ways of celebrating, expressing and weaving those places and their multiple meanings” (Mythogeography 2011). The type of psychogeography I have developed, is more similar to mythogeography than deep topography. Papadimitriou’s deep topography is mainly concerned with the history of a disappearing landscape that has changed since his childhood. While critical, it could also be considered nostalgic in the sense of a longing for a lost time and place. Mythogeography, like my own psychogeography, is more interested in the heterogeneity of individuals’ responses to space and how that can be produced through different forms of meaning-making produced by walking.

While psychogeography is not a discipline in the scholarly sense of the word – it is not

³⁵ This is a transcription from a recorded sound file of a short interview with the psychogeographer and film-maker John Rogers, which Rogers sent to me.

an academic field in its own right, neither does it belong to a singular field of theory – it, nevertheless, does involve some of the factors that make up the definition of an academic discipline. It could be considered a form of knowledge, an expertise and/or a community of interested parties, however disparate that community might be. Also, since psychogeography has largely evolved from a literary tradition, its practitioners are very often located outside academia, even if its critics and those discussing urban walking practices very often are not.

According to Coverley psychogeography resists definition because of its relation to many other fields and because of how it is reconfigured by those who practice it (2006: 10). Therefore, psychogeography, in its broadest sense, can be used within a discipline – in art or literature-based subjects, or within Cultural Studies, Politics or History – in a flexible way, as can be seen in the above examples. Because of its activist and anti-disciplinary roots (at least as far as the SI are concerned), psychogeography lends itself to being a critical tool. It is in this way that it can be fused with theorists such as Guattari and Harvey.

Even if psychogeography's inability to be clearly defined may be considered its downfall, it could also be part of its enduring nature: it can be re-shaped to suit the particular practitioner. The downside of it is that practically anyone on a causal stroll through town could describe themselves as a psychogeographer, and while this is not really a problem for many individuals involved in this field, it is another criticism levelled at it.³⁶ Coverley describes it as “cutting across established routes and exploring those marginal and forgotten areas often overlooked by the city's inhabitants” (2006: 12), and this describes what many contemporary psychogeographers do, including the Situationists. It would be at least partly correct to say psychogeographers “seek to reveal the true nature that lies beneath the flux of the every day” (Coverley 2006: 13). However, this sentiment is problematic, as it implies that there is an absolute truth underlying postmodern space that can be revealed, and this is not the case. There is no single truth present under the surface. Nevertheless, the act itself does allow one to reveal social histories which might otherwise remain hidden.

Because of the historic problems attached to the term psychogeography, and in order to differentiate my own style of psychogeography from the many other existing forms, I

³⁶ In order for psychogeography not to be an elitist pursuit, I prefer to be generous in the use of the term. I would attach the premise that the walk needs to have certain qualities for it to be of a psychogeographic nature, for example, it needs to be an intentional act that elicits a critical response to the space under examination.

have formulated my own term: schizocartography. I have developed schizocartography from Guattari's terms "schizoanalysis"³⁷ and "schizoanalytic cartography".

Schizocartography enables alternative existential modes for individuals in order to challenge dominant representations and power structures. This provides an opportunity for multiple ways of operating in space and reading the environment. It critiques the conventional ways of viewing, interpreting and mapping space.

Schizocartography offers a method of cartography that questions dominant power structures and at the same time enables heterogeneous voices to appear from underlying postmodern topographies. Schizocartography is the process and output of a psychogeography of particular spaces that have been co-opted by various capitalist-oriented operations, routines or procedures. It attempts to reveal the aesthetic and ideological contradictions that appear in urban space while simultaneously reclaiming subjectivity for individuals by enabling new modes of creative expression.

Schizocartography challenges anti-production, the homogenizing character of overriding forms that work towards silencing heterogeneous voices.

Guattari developed the term "schizoanalysis" as a way of challenging the conventions of traditional psychiatric and psychoanalytical methods: it is a process that enables other forms of representation to be made available (1998: 433). He states that schizoanalysis "has the potential for reading other systems of modelization" (1998: 433). It challenges dominant powers and offers a process for remodelling their structure not only to suit multiplicity but also to reflect a social history that may be counter to the dominant one. It is because Guattari's schizoanalysis looks at representations of power, and proposes ways of challenging them through creative avenues that encourage a more free subjectivity, that it lends itself to become incorporated into the psychogeographical practice that has been used for this project.

There were a number of reasons I formulated my own term for expressing my psychogeographical practise. Firstly, as a practitioner it was important to differentiate my own type of walking critique from those carried out by others. Every individual who undertakes walking as a form of observation or analysis of urban space approaches it differently, whether they are artists, academics or writers. Secondly, today psychogeography has become a generalised term for urban walking which may not have

³⁷ While the term "schizoanalysis" is derived from "schizophrenia" (as discussed in depth in the *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* collaborative series of Deleuze and Guattari), it does not promote mental illness. Rather, "schizo" is used as a way of offering up the possibility of multiple voices, and alternative world-views, amongst other factors.

any relationship to the activist approach the Situationists took. In order to prevent my own form of psychogeography being caught up in a general swathe of any vaguely similar walking practice existing today that may or may not have any bearing on the focus of the SI's psychogeography, I have created schizocartography so as to emphasise its critique of the spectacle, as a way of formulating a methodology that will stand up to academic rigour, and also to situate it in contemporary culture and in postmodern space. Schizocartography engenders the specific approach I take, highlighting the multiple viewpoints and mapping elements of psychogeography.

The forms of walking used as part of the methodology for this thesis have been used in a critical way to examine a number of factors: the social history of the space, the sense of place (the affect as it is for a specific group or individual), how dominant forms may override other aesthetics within a particular space, and how groups or individuals find ways to side-step these prevailing structures. In examining the posthistoric university via a critique of urban space one can probe beyond the everyday surface presented to the casual observer, revealing the corporatised university's history from an ideological perspective, through its concrete manifestation. Psychogeography enables the urban walker to move through space in ways that challenge normal routes. One of the ways this was carried out in this project was by exploring the campus from the position of its architecture and urban planning so as to be able to respond to it aesthetically, but also in order to discover aspects of the campus that are very often not seen on a non-critical walk through the space. The university topography was interrogated in order to reveal how campus planning controls the movement of individuals, and to discover the logic behind historical decision-making on how the campus is formed.

Throughout the project a number of campus walks took place. These walks were carried out by myself as an individual walker or in groups, such as with members of Leeds Psychogeography Group. The walks I carried out, either singly or with a group, took differing approaches to the campus and the findings were written up in my research blog *Particulations*. While this information cannot be considered data in a truly analytical sense, it ties in with the Situationist and psychogeographical ethos to lay claims to urban space through walking and interpreting it from an aesthetic perspective, and this requires creating a textual and image-based space that is readily accessible to others, hence the blog. Individual responses to the campus also include a questionnaire from one group of students and a creative exercise of mapping with another group of students.

The practice takes the form of the walking and mapping of the campus as research for this thesis, producing a creative movement between the urban space of the university and the mental space of those taking part in the walks. These actions are carried out in order to question the manifest environment in its representation of capital, as it appears in its material, corporate form. The signs that capitalism creates discourage any singular processes of individuation and attempt to reroute subjective desires back into capitalist production (anti-production). This blocking became apparent to the SI and appears in what Debord describes as the spectacle.

As is the case in the psychiatric institution, the contemporary university forms individuals in a particular way so that they are encouraged to become a certain kind of person: one that is considered to carry out the tasks that society deems 'useful'. In the university, it could be argued, the ideal student is produced in the form of a consumer-producer. Guattari states that the capital machine does not encourage other types of subjectivities (individuals). Schizocartography, I maintain, challenges these ossified symbols of capitalism, through the act of crossing the barriers (concrete or abstract) of the terrain of the university.

For Guattari, schizoanalysis offers alternative voices and structures that cut across controlling forms of power in order to provide multiple modes of expression. Guattari states that dominant structures – such as Oedipalisation, logocentrism and capitalism – produce narratives in order to close off avenues of escape and re-route desire back into the main system. This process of anti-production attempts to disable any subjective processes that are aberrant to the dominant system. Capital's power to reappropriate, recode and reterritorialize these break-out flows means that alternative narratives about the lived experience need to be constantly reworked. Guattari says that the success of capitalism is contingent on its ability to reroute any wayward desires back into the capitalist process: "There is always an arrangement ready to prevent anything that might be of a dissident nature in thought and desire" (2008a: 58). Capital's ability to redirect deviant flows and turn them to its advantage is part of its success, not only as an economic model, but, more importantly, as a mode imposed on individual consciousness.

Schizocartography provides a method of examining the rationalising character of the university of excellence from the ground upwards. The output of the schizocartographical practice often introduces some form of re-appropriation

(détournement): this is a way of highlighting how controlling forms appropriate minority structures, but also a way of opening up inventive avenues that can be closed off due to what could be called creative protectionism. The process of schizocartography creates a space for heterogeneous voices to appear: these are both singular and minority group voices that are usually unheard or that exist only momentarily. Schizocartography encourages a process of revealing to take place through a remapping and a re-presenting of those voices and spaces that otherwise may remain hidden. It enables the topophilic relationship between space and its inhabitants to become a creative process whereby those spaces can be rewritten, thus forming a new narrative of place.

The schizocartography of the university, as it appears as a response to the campus itself, is under the section 'A Schizocartography of the University of Leeds'. However, there are schizocartographical elements that are situated elsewhere because they respond directly to a specific space or time (for instance, a particular building or an architectural period) under discussion. But, in order to see how schizocartography has been applied to the case study, the University of Leeds needs to first be considered in its historical roots so that its development can be seen in the light of how it is manifest today.

The Development of the Redbrick University and its Campus

The University of Leeds's origins are in the Civic University and, specifically, the Redbrick University. The ideals attached to both the Civic and Redbrick models of university effect how they have developed, where they are located in relation to their respective city and how they appear through the buildings that form them. The Redbrick University is a particular type of Civic University that produces an identifiable spatial aesthetic. This, coupled with the 1960s extensive modernist campus development, make the University of Leeds a significant opportunity for a case study that takes into account a history rooted in the original Civic Colleges and that allows insights into how it can be viewed aesthetically and architecturally today.

The Redbrick University historically has a strong connection to its city as a cultural and industrial hub. Also, campus development during the 20th century makes each Redbrick University very distinct from each other, despite their commonalities. The architectural materials used in university buildings reflects the local and historical choices that are made during construction. Not only does this mean that the campus can be read through its buildings, but also that the aesthetics of the space lends itself to psychogeographic practice because of the affective response produced in the individuals occupying it. Also, the local history of the adjacent city bleeds into the campus, because the university has acquired public and private space over time in order to expand. This makes the terrain rich for revealing and discovering the signs of potential conflict which may be hidden there. The physical Redbrick campus is an out-facing representation of the ideology and policies of the university in its moving from the origins of the local to the global. Its history is a long one which extends beyond those of the Polytechnic Colleges that became universities in the 1990s and later. Also, the urban setting of the University of Leeds is more spatially connected to its city than a suburban university might be, for example, such as the post-World War Two universities like the University of East Anglia (1963) and Loughborough University (1966).

In order to better situate the University of Leeds as it exists today, an introduction to the Civic and Redbrick University is required so as to be able consider it in regard to the motives behind these types of university and to examine their connection with industry. This will help position the case study within a particular convention that is oriented in an industrial past with strong relationship to its city. This short history of the Civic and Redbrick Universities will be the grounding in a discussion on the University of Leeds

that shows how its spatial development is very particular to the history and geography of Leeds city. It is also included to demonstrate that a psychogeography of place, as it pertains to schizocartography, involves a historical understanding of how that space has come about and is materially manifest where and how it is.

Defining the Civic and Redbrick University

The Origins in the Civic Colleges

The University of Leeds is a British Redbrick University, one of six which are also known as Civic Universities.³⁸ While it is not easy to separate the concepts behind the Civic University from a discussion on the British Redbrick Universities, I shall begin by providing definitions of both. The term ‘civic’ is originally tied in with the idea of good citizenship, processes for citizen engagement with policy, a healthy democracy, community participation, knowledge transfer and skills education. A contemporary definition of British civic education is provided by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: “educational, learning or promotional activities carried out in a local context by or on behalf of local Councils, to enable people to become more involved in democratic processes” (2005: Preface).

The definitions of what a Civic University is are broad and enmeshed in the notion of what civic education stands for. Definitions differ slightly because of the time periods they represent and in regard to the particular appeals for engagement that reflect the policy of that moment. Elizabeth J. Morse provides an example of a specific post World War One request for civic support based on a forward-looking university model that is also considerate of the catastrophic events of the war: “the idea of a Civic University, situated in the heart of a great city, oriented toward the practical and the modern, is enunciated, together with a reassurance that the modern university can combine modernity with a respectful sense of the past” (1992: 189). David Robert Jones uses a definition that situates the Civic Universities in their preceding Civic Colleges: a refocusing of curriculum based on the demands of society that move away from the more traditional subjects like classics and mathematics offered by Oxford and

³⁸ The Redbricks are considered to be the universities of (university charter dates follows in brackets): Birmingham (1900), Liverpool (1903), Leeds (1904), Sheffield (1905), Bristol (1909) and Manchester (2004). The University of Manchester had previously existed in the form of The Victorian University of Manchester and The University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. Bruce Truscot includes the University of Reading (1926) under his ‘Redbrick’ classification (1945: 15), however it does not appear in other lists. This may be because it was originally associated with the University of Oxford.

Cambridge (1984: 4).

In 1943 Bruce Truscot coined the term ‘Redbrick’.³⁹ While considered a contentious term by some, Truscot’s texts on the Redbricks have been influential. They have become the catalyst for discussions on a very particular type of modern university that we now refer to as the Redbrick University (or to be true to Truscot, simply ‘Redbrick’). It became difficult after this moment to discuss the modern university without using Truscot’s term.

The Redbricks grew out of pre-existing regional colleges, which had been formed by local endeavour, donations and also grants. The intention was to enable local students to have access to local, high quality education without the need for expensive accommodation away from home. Consequently, this meant that these universities sprung up in industrial hubs and were situated in urban space. The Redbricks were a product of particular cities, ones that reflected a specific building material in their architecture popular in Victorian Britain, especially in the North of England. Truscot calls the Redbrick cities ‘Drabtown[s]’, and this is how he describes them with reference to the university’s urban setting and from whence he derived the actual name Redbrick:

So more than one of our modern universities stands in the midst of the humblest dwellings – not far removed, to put it bluntly, from slums. Nor were the buildings erected during the late Victorian and Edwardian epochs either imaginative or appealing. For the most part the material used in them was a light stone which the coal-dust of the city quickly turned to a dismal and depressing grey, or a hideously cheerful red brick suggestive of something between a super Council-school and a holiday home for children. (1943: 17)

Core authors on the Civic University debate include W. H. G. Armytage who provides a detailed history of the universities going back to what he calls the “Monastic Matrix”, thus situating their origins within the faith tradition. Armytage is considered by many to be an authority on the Civic Universities, although he does have some detractors. Texts by other historians look to Ancient Greece as a starting point for the Civic University due the notion of ‘civic’ being attached to ideas of a ‘good society’. V. Sanderson deals specifically with the period of industrialisation as it pertains to the Civic University and analyses them in the context of the ideology of the time. He discusses the creation of various colleges by eminent industrialists and the successes and failures of these. In his

³⁹ Bruce Truscot is the pseudonym that Edgar Allison Peers wrote under for his three books on the Redbrick University.

published thesis David Robert Jones looks specifically at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester Universities and their origins in the preceding Civic Colleges. Walter Moberly, writing shortly after Truscot, distinguishes the Redbrick from other Civic Universities and states that it can do some things better than Oxford and Cambridge: “It is easier for it to preserve a sense of proportion and to avoid self-importance. In a university that is not too remote from ‘men unblessed’, it is easier to preserve a sense of reality” (1950: 23).

The Civic Universities all grew out of the existing medical schools (attached to hospitals) and technological colleges that were situated, in particular, in the industrial cities of England. The technical schools were essential for the continuing economic growth of Victorian Britain and its Empire. Jones states: “Mid-Victorian society was rearranging its institutions and creating new ones to serve a changing and growing variety of needs and people” (1984: 34). While the new Education Act of 1870 concentrated on the education of the young, it was driven by the need to keep Britain competitive in the international industrial arena. This followed the poorly received British exhibits at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 (Armytage 1955: 219), especially those of the Yorkshire industry (Sanderson 1988: 94). Sanderson discusses the creation of various colleges by eminent industrialists and the successes and failures of these: “Those Civic Universities located in industrial regions, gaining the support of the business classes and reflecting their interests and spirit flourished. Those that did not, did not” (1988: 93).

The Yorkshire College of Science was set up in Leeds as a response to the industrial Paris Exhibitions of the 19th century:

It was hoped that such a college would raise the level of science and education and thereby heighten the competitive capacity of the textile industry in particular. As the college said, its purpose ‘is intended to supply an urgent and recognized want, viz, instruction in the sciences which are applicable to the Industrial Arts’[.] (Sanderson 1988: 94)

Armytage discusses the influence of Matthew Arnold in promoting provincial colleges. Arnold considered it vital to have local centres in the form of faculties in key areas of the country, enabling people to gain a local education outside of Oxford and Cambridge (Armytage 1955: 220). As well as the new Yorkshire College of Science, The Leeds Art and Science Institution was established in 1867. Many local industrialists were behind the project, including Edward Baines, the radical newspaper editor, who was also a

benefactor of the Yorkshire College of Science (Armytage 1955: 221).⁴⁰

In an attempt to differentiate the Redbrick University from other universities I shall discuss some of the qualities attributed to them. As Jones says, the Civic Universities did not show the “anti-commercial bias” that the ancient universities did, or those modelled on them, such as Oxford and Cambridge (1984: 71). Most texts on the Civic Universities and the Redbricks include a discussion on the ‘ancients and moderns’ and questions concerning whether the Civic Universities were modelled on the Oxford and Cambridge university system. Walter Moberly thinks that early on the Redbrick turned away from the ‘Oxbridge ideal’. He claims that Redbrick did not have the luxury of “Stately buildings” in a beautiful city and they always had a different purpose to Oxford and Cambridge (1950: 14). However, the once criticised Victorian red terracotta buildings attributed to the industrial cities where the Redbricks reside, in the period of postmodernity now add gravitas to the campus since often these buildings are preserved by English Heritage.

When discussing the architecture and the ethos of the Redbrick, as opposed to Oxford and Cambridge, William Whyte states: “Here was no slavish aping of Oxbridge. Rather, as the Civic Universities grew in confidence, in success, and in power, so they developed an architecture all of their own” (2006: 154). He also states: “If the Civic Universities were nothing more than unconvincing simulacra of Oxbridge, then they failed on their own terms, and failed in their contribution to England’s economy and culture” (2006: 153-154). Moberly states: “It followed that ‘Redbrick’ University should have a closer connection with the surrounding region than ‘Oxbridge’”, because this was essential for producing good businessmen [sic] (1950: 14). This meant that the Redbricks should not appear inaccessible, aloof or high-brow, but somewhere that represented their region while also supporting it. This was true in terms of provision for the middle-classes, but the Redbricks were still out of reach of working class students wishing to do degree courses until at least the end of World War Two.

While the courses at Oxford and Cambridge had historically provided education in the classics and mathematics, the Civic Colleges that preceded these universities refocused their curriculum, providing a new model for education. Jones says that while classics and mathematics were not dropped from the agenda, other arts subjects were added, such as English literature, history and economics (1984: 4). In order to support the local

⁴⁰ Baines was socially and politically aware, very liberal in his views and also an advocate of secularism.

economy, the physical sciences and technology became important: “Faced with little competition in the newer fields, the colleges quickly distinguished themselves as centres of scientific, historical and social studies” (ibid.). Nevertheless, upon achieving university status the Civic Universities often had to reconsider the syllabi of their preceding colleges. For instance, the University of Leeds, upon receiving its Charter in 1904, had to drop some of its ‘non-university’ courses, such as evening and part-time classes, in order to be competitive and hone its resources (Shimmin 1954: 30). It was also the case that any new courses, even if they were a direct response to local industry or medical needs, always had to be justified in order to secure state funding.

Truscot’s comments on the regional aspect of the Redbricks centres around what he describes as their responsibility to be a “regional power-house” (1945: 108). He thought that a Redbrick should be conscious of its own abilities, resources and influence and must effectively prioritise (ibid.). He also said: “regional characteristics and interests should be preserved” (1945: 109). These elements would be influenced by the university via the local Grammar School students and through workers taking evening classes. However, Truscot thought that the service to local industry was secondary to the university’s responsibility for the pursuit and transmission of knowledge (1945: 106).⁴¹ This shows Truscot’s nostalgia for the Enlightenment ideals attributed to the Oxbridge model, where knowledge could be achieved for its own sake.

The Redbrick Universities’ ability to respond to a changing industrialised society meant they were well-suited to accommodate the education of the professions that were required to support industry. This heralded a shift from HE for only the upper classes, provided by the ancient universities, to a provision for the new middle classes who required education in medicine, law and banking along with the business and technical skills required in industry. This turn-of-the-century move from an education for public school boys only, at Oxford and Cambridge, to one for the middle-classes of grammar school origin, began to be extended, fifty years later, to an education for all local people in the appearance of evening classes in adult education.⁴²

Flexner cites the University of London (who received their charter in 1836) as a model which was copied by the provincial universities in their early days (1930: 248).

⁴¹ This local industry support versus educating students highlights the dichotomy between a past university (one of tradition) and a current, or even future one, (of renewal and progress).

⁴² The historian E. P. Thompson worked at the University of Leeds from 1948 to 1965 and was an advocate for adult education classes for local working class people. Today at the University of Leeds, adult education appears under the aegis of Community Outreach and Public Engagement and is supported by their University Adult Educational Engagement Strategy.

However, at the time of his writing (1930), Flexner is not sure whether to consider the University of London as a university at all because “it lacks unity of spirit and design” (1930: 234), not something we would question today. Since the University of London received its Charter many years before the Redbrick Universities, it would be unlikely for it not to have influenced these, at the time, new universities. The Civic Universities evolved into something different from both the University of London and the Oxford and Cambridge models. And for the Redbricks, being both industrial and regional cultural centres in their own right, they were required to respond to the cities that bore them, creating ties to both local industry and local people.

The Reform Act of 1832 changed the existing electoral system and brought with it the right for many more men to vote. This required a greater degree of electoral awareness for individuals who had previously not had this responsibility: the country required literate labourers. So, too, the developing technology used in industry also required that labourers kept their skills updated. However, Jones states that the reforms required to make wholesale changes in making connections to science and industry did not move very quickly until the industrial exhibitions began and Britain realised their complacency was holding them back (1984: 60).

During this period the de-gentrification of HE also became a subject for education reformers in “redefining higher education as a necessary adjunct of society and the state” (Jones 1984: 53). University College (founded in 1826), a tertiary subsidiary of the University of London, was set up for the purpose of providing a university education for anyone who was qualified (Armytage 1955: 234). At this time only the male children of the emerging middle-classes were considered, but at least HE was moving away from its sole purpose to serve the aristocracy and landed gentry. Armytage states that the development of Civic Universities actually contributed to the emancipation of the working-classes: “This emancipated class, with its clamant need for relevant knowledge, has strained the traditional concept of the university: one which owed much to Plato and Newman in stressing that practical competence was a by-product of a liberal and intelligent attitude to things of the mind” (1955: 310).

The Influences on Redbrick in the 20th Century

The early part of the 20th century, following the university Charters for the Redbricks, saw a surge in state funding for Civic Universities leading up to World War One.

However, issues of national defence eclipsed the commitment that had previously been put into HE in the form of supporting industry and expanding the student body (Armytage 1955: 251). Nevertheless, this local aspect that had become part of the identity of the Civic University became overshadowed not only by the war in terms of funding, but also by a sense of a shared identity in a nation fighting against its enemy. Sarah Barnes states that the decline of the provincial universities between the wars was because they were not valued culturally (1996: 302). Morse sees the problems of this inter-war decline of the Civic University as one which resulted in their attempts to go back to a more traditional university model (1992: 194). She and Barnes see it as being due to a waning of provincial culture.⁴³ Armytage provides examples of arguments that were circulating then, such as a snobbery attached to the preference of a second-rate degree from Oxford or Cambridge rather than a first-rate one from a Civic University (1955: 268). Barnes says: “[It] was not so much that the provincial institutions tried to realize the Oxbridge idea and failed, but rather that critics of the universities did not value what was distinctive about the civics’ unique mission” (1996: 301).

Michael Sanderson highlights the influence of both Wars on university scientists and their fields. While the First World War had been organised around developments in chemistry, the Second World War was about nuclear physics, radar and radio technology (1972: 347).⁴⁴ Sanderson says that while in both wars the Civic Universities provided direct technical support for the war effort, in the Second World War the major Civic Universities (including Leeds), while continuing to support their traditional subjects, did not provide any major improvements in regard to technology for the war (1972: 348). Sanderson also discusses Lord Percy’s 1943 report that commented on the supply of engineers into industry from the Civic Universities. He says that the committee realised that industry seemed unable to express their requirements in regard to the subject matter included in degree courses and the volume of graduates, and consequently they were not getting either the numbers or quality of people they needed (1972: 349).

The rise of employment after World War Two meant that the universities were expected to maintain their output of highly qualified students to support the expansion of British industry which soared in the 1950s. This period would herald a new discourse for the

⁴³ However, E. P. Thompson spent his time at the University of Leeds working in adult education in the Department of Extra-Mural Studies from 1948-1965. So the idea of a decline in local culture at this time in the Civic University’s history could be challenged, in this instance at least.

⁴⁴ Towards the end of World War II the Norwood Report was published (1943). This led to the tripartite system of secondary education, although this was not specified in the report, nor the act that followed it. The report was often used as a way to continue the class-system oriented model of the 19th century. This meant that it was the grammar schools that fed students into the university system, reinforcing class boundaries to HE.

university with new approaches to teaching (such as joint honours), new universities, and new buildings and major renovations for existing ones. Sanderson describes the 1960s as “the most marked watershed in the history of British universities since the rise of the Civic Colleges” (1972: 360). The ‘baby-boomer’ generation required an expansion of the school system to accommodate the increase in children. Those born just after the War were now about to enter the universities and available places needed to be addressed, and it was also considered that the balance of the social classes should be considered (1972: 360-361). However, in comparison with the early part of the twentieth century, Morse states, the difficulties that the established Civic University had to deal with in the 1950s and 1960s would be much more significant (1992: 199). She cites a number of reasons for this, including the situating of new universities in attractive cathedral cities (*ibid.*). Also, the rise of the technological colleges meant that new universities could concentrate on their liberal education portfolio and not be concerned with technical training (*ibid.*).⁴⁵

The history of the Redbrick denotes a particular type of Civic University, one that is orientated in Britain’s industrial past and influenced by a number of developments in the 20th century. Nevertheless, in order to understand the origins of the University of Leeds as case study for a Redbrick, its own particular history needs to be introduced in order to elucidate its idiosyncrasies and ground it in a sense of time and place that will enable a critique of campus development which connects it to local social history. This will demonstrate the value of a schizocartography of the University of Leeds.

A Proper Place for a University

All great universities have found their being in centres of trade and commerce: the geographical circumstances which have favoured the exchange of goods have been equally hospitable to education and liberal culture. The Universities Oxford and Cambridge established themselves among communities of traders, whose fairs and markets gave itinerant teachers their best chance of finding an audience and making a permanent settlement. . . . In a great commercial capital, the natural reservoir of the industrial energy of a wide area, our University finds its proper place. (Hamilton Thompson cited in Shimmin 1954: xiii)

⁴⁵ More recent moments in the history of the Civic Universities, and especially the Redbricks, highlights the forming of the Russell Group in 1994, which included all the Redbricks as members and was designed for the purpose of representing these universities on a parliamentary level (the Russell Group of universities accounts for the largest percentage of research funding for all universities). Also, there was the 1992 Education Act which converted the polytechnics to universities and, while concentrating on vocational degrees, ensuring they also offered academic degrees.

The history of Leeds tells a story of economic, political and social advancement not dissimilar to many other economic hubs that sprung up in England and whose history can be traced back to pre-Roman times. However, in the ‘Industrial North’ its significance as a prominent civic centre and profitable economic region became apparent in the 19th century. It is its civic attitude to education, coupled with the continual need for an improved technology to maintain the status of the region, which lends itself to becoming a city for a university. In the century leading up to the Leeds’s university Charter in 1904, David Thornton describes Leeds as expanding commercially because of the demand of local industry for building materials for engineering and for the improved transport required to move aggregate around (2002: 121-122).⁴⁶ The 1820s saw a large number of public buildings being built in the town, including commercial buildings and a number of markets (2002: 126). In 1851 the Great Exhibition came to the Hyde Park area of Leeds and “Leeds’s success was recognised when a substantial number of prizes were awarded to several of its cloth manufacturers” (2002: 142). The local coal industry was still doing well, despite the depression in the late part of the 19th century and Leeds became one of Britain’s largest urban agglomerations. In 1893 city status was given to Leeds. Endowed by the Crown this meant that it was now recognised as having a significant population with good governance.⁴⁷ The granting to Leeds its city status, became a precursor, nine years later, to the conferring of university status to the city’s colleges.

It was in the local newspaper, the *Leeds Mercury*, in 1826 that plans for a university in Leeds first appeared. However, its formation was also considered to be a reaction to the Paris Exhibition of 1867, when local businessmen became fearful of foreign competition (Jones 1984: 91; Sanderson 1972: 66; A.J. Taylor 1975: 3). Taylor further expands on this:

The evidence which the Exhibition provided of the emergence of the continental manufacturers threatening the virtual monopoly which the West Riding had hitherto enjoyed in the production of woollen cloth and textile machinery led entrepreneurs [...] to seek the support of the Yorkshire Board of Education in establishing a college expressly designed to promote scientific and technical education. (1975: 3)

However, it would not be until 1904 that the University of Leeds got its charter as an

⁴⁶ He says that the use of locally sourced wool for use in the factories, was beginning to be replaced by imported wool from Australia, with an increase of 167 lb being imported in 1810 to 49,209,000 lb in 1960 (2002: 121).

⁴⁷ Over time the criteria for receiving city status has changed, at one time being recognised as such because of having a cathedral. Today this endowment is complicated and is connected to the Local Government Act of 1972 defining whether an area is a Metropolitan Borough or not.

independent university.

The origins of the university lay in the philanthropic orientation of a number of the founders, including John Marshall, a local MP and pioneer in the area of flax-based textiles. In the 19th century, Marshall, inspired by the education system in London, recommended a range of cultural and educational subjects that would be offered to boys in Leeds, enabling them to remain at home and reduce the cost of travel and accommodation. This dream of Marshall's eventually manifested in the form of the Yorkshire College in 1874. This was not a college in the usual sense, but a secondary school with similar aims to that of HE (Shimmin 1954: 3). The college was a response to the need for an improved technological education to support local industry: primarily textiles, clothworking and mining. A. J. Taylor says that the Yorkshire College was part of a "second generation" of colleges that came about as a challenge to the privileges enjoyed by those who could afford Oxford and Cambridge (1975: 1).⁴⁸ This charitable aspect is not only important in relation to the ideology behind the forming of the colleges, but also because it highlights some tensions, and even contradictions, behind the philosophical intentions that were behind their creation. For example, while the Yorkshire College was educating the sons of the middle-class factory owners, some of these factories were enforcing harsh working conditions and long working hours on their workers. During the same period as the Yorkshire College, the medical school grew out of Leeds General Infirmary (formed in 1767). Its principle promoter, the surgeon Charles Turner Thackrah, became a specialist in the treatment of illnesses produced by poor living conditions and industry-related disease. The Medical School was founded in 1831. Its formation stemmed, in part, from the Apothecaries Act of 1815, which meant surgeons needed formal qualifications. Doctors taught in their spare time, often in the evenings at the end of their day working in the infirmary. Thackrah thought it was important that students got a well-rounded education, so he included the classics on the curriculum alongside medical subjects.

The Yorkshire College and the Medical School did not amalgamate until 1883-84. Over the next few decades expansion was supported by funding, for example from the Clothworkers' Company who maintained a textile department at the college (Shimmin 1954: 3-13). At the point the colleges became one, the administration of the college was taken over by the College Council (Shimmin 1954: 10). In 1887 the college in Leeds

⁴⁸ It is also important to note that while the forming of the Yorkshire College was a reaction against an exclusive further education for just the upper classes, the college was providing education for the middle-classes only, in the form of an education for the sons of local merchants in the fields of science and the arts.

became part of the Victoria University, which had already existed jointly as Manchester and Liverpool colleges. This meant that finally the Yorkshire College received university status and could now endow degrees. But it was not until 1904, following a generous gift of £70,000 from the Clothworkers' Company, that full university status was secured (Shimmin 1954: 28).⁴⁹

While the university had to drop some of their courses in 1904 in order to be competitive, a post-War run on courses before the 1921-23 market slump, followed by economic problems in Japan that benefited the British textile industry, meant that the university expanded rapidly leading up to World War Two (Shimmin 1954: 30-39). This growth pertained not only to students and staff, but also to campus expansion. During Michael Sadler's administration (1911-1923) proposals were laid out for a new Student's Union Building and Library, and also more accommodation and sports grounds (Shimmin 1954: 39).⁵⁰ Nevertheless, many of the plans for the post-war development of the university were scuppered by World War Two. For example, the Parkinson Building (an Art Deco, neo-classical building that was designed as the entrance hall to the Brotherton Library) was designed in the 1930s but was not completed till 1951 due to a suspension in building during the war period.

We can see from Houldsworth's vision for an outreach programme above that the university was beholden to forge a cultural and educational relationship with the city in which it was formed. This relationship was not just one-sided: the Redbrick Universities were meant to be an expression of civic pride and a symbol of national identity to local citizens because of their origins in the Civic University model. Nevertheless, much attention was given to benefits to the university by way of funding from local industry, because historically it is these endowments that built the Redbrick University.⁵¹

Jones opens his chapter 'Founders and Benefactors' with the remark: "The Civic Universities were built upon charity" (1984: 164). While this statement is a problematic one, it is, nevertheless, clear that without endowments these universities would have not been able to develop and grow. Jones's remark implies a number of things. Amongst them it sets up a dialectical position of a bestower/bestowee where the latter is placed in

⁴⁹ One of the conditions of university status was that the college had to raise £100,000 (Shimmin 1954: 28).

⁵⁰ The number of day students at the point the colleges amalgamated (1883-84) was 260. This had increased to 663 by 1913-14 (Shimmin 1954: 213).

⁵¹ A salient reminder of the importance of the relationship that the institution has with industry is apparent upon opening a copy of *The University of Leeds Review* from this period: the first six pages, before there is any text relating to the review itself, are advertisements for local firms. Four of the six are for chemicals and scientific apparatus and one is for textile dyes. At the back of the review there are six more adverts, including one for Brotherton and Company Ltd, producers of chemicals and benefactors to the University of Leeds, apparent in the form of the Brotherton Library.

an inferior position in their gratitude. It also implies that the benefactors were doing it for purely philanthropic reasons, without any gain to themselves. Nevertheless, were it not for the Clothworkers' generous endowment when Leeds was working towards its university charter, it would not have been granted.⁵² Truscot's remark that the university's responsibility to industry should be secondary to its pedagogic one does not reflect the blurred boundaries between these two areas, as is clear when it comes to the subjects taught historically at the University of Leeds. If the Redbrick University wished to provide a good education to its local bourgeoisie, enabling them to become successful businessmen, then educating the sons of local middle-class merchants is both an obligation to local industry and a pedagogic undertaking.

At the time of the Yorkshire College benefactors included industrialists like Titus Salt, engineers such as Sir Andrew Fairburn and local businesses such as Beckett and Company (banking), and Hargreave and Nussey (wool manufacturers) (Sanderson 1972: 66). Michael Sanderson also discusses the success of the university in its early days in specialising in areas of study which enabled them to create alliances with industry, such as industrial chemistry: coal, gas and fuel, tinctorial chemistry for textiles, and textiles and material (1972: 85-86). Most of Shimmin's discussion on industry appears under his chapter 'The Faculty of Technology'. Broken down into sections on agriculture, mining, textile industries, colour chemistry and dyeing, engineering and leather (which all make up separate departments within the faculty), it becomes apparent how significant for the university this faculty was at the time of his text. These departments still existed in 1954, however today the faculty no longer remains, with those departments that still do exist, being made parts of other faculties. It is quite likely that this shift heralds the information age with its impact on jobs, of globalised workforces and the consequent effects of a refocus on a different type of commerce in a post-industrial period with its de-emphasis on regional industry.

While the Redbrick's strong relationship with local business does not mean that that it could be described as corporate in the same way the postmodern university is, it nevertheless demonstrates a relationship with commerce that is a long-standing one. It also means that the corporatised university did not spring up at a specific moment in time, but developed gradually by responding to the industry of the region, in forming

⁵² Throughout this chapter Jones tends to use the terms 'charity' or 'gift' rather than endowment or donation. I am not implying that Jones does not know the difference between these terms, however I think it should be made clear that, especially with regard to local trade and industry, these donations should be considered rather more as a form of transaction, arrangement or deal, because agreements like this tend to come with certain stipulations.

relationships with local businessmen, as well as a reaction to educational reform. This has influenced not only a particular aesthetics of space, but also forged the path leading to the University of Leeds's relationship with businesses today, whereby a Business Enterprise team currently provides consultancy to not only local but international organisations. The historical relationship the university has had with trade and industry appears in both the legacy of subjects taught, and also the buildings arising in campus topography.

The location of the Redbrick University in an industrial hub and the transport routes that support it, has made it readily accessible for students within the UK when student intake was extended following World War Two. The Redrick University was already well-adapted to change because of its response to the requirements of industry, which it was constantly expected to keep up with in supplying new skills. By World War Two the Civic Universities were already supplying the workforce with qualified lawyers and bankers. And following the War, with Britain becoming more globally aware because of new media like television, shifting from industry-based courses to those of computing (and later web design), means that the flexible Redbrick has been able to keep itself current. These centres of learning were able to encourage international students from abroad. And, as producers of talent, enable British graduates to become marketable abroad.

What was originally the ideal of the Civic University in providing good citizenship, in postmodernity has been translated into being one of a good consumer-producer. In order to see the spatial repercussions of a burgeoning British consumerism post World War Two, as it might be reflected in the educational response by the university to an increase in student numbers, it is essential to look at the development of the campus itself. While the campus may appear as a backdrop to the daily workings of the university, it is both a constant and changing space that foregrounds its development and history in such a way as to enable a critique in its very materiality. In the sense that history inscribes itself through topography, the everyday lives of people can be read off the landscape. At the University of Leeds the campus is a place where people study, work and socialise. The way the campus is formed, and the history behind the decision-making that informs its architecture, all have an influence on those who move about its space. But, not only does the campus have an effect on the individuals who use it, its effect can extend outside the campus boundaries. In order to concentrate on a significant period of campus development and demonstrate how related financial, social and political

decisions can have repercussions on the lives of individuals, I shall briefly summarise the architectural development and the aesthetics of campus space leading up to the 1960s.

At the point the Yorkshire College became part of the Victoria University it was comprised of the Clothworkers' Buildings, the Baines Wing, an engineering building and some administrative offices, which were set apart from each other (Shimmin 1954: 18). In 1894 the Great Hall and the Library were completed in the space between these sets of buildings, but Shimmin states that "No attention seems to have been given to planning; block after block rose in response to the pressure of successive needs and the architecture naturally lacked coherence" (ibid.). The university inherited these red brick buildings, although some of the college's original buildings were located in the city centre, and no longer belong to the university. The university still continued to use the terracotta bricks on occasion, as can be seen in the Beaux-Arts style Brotherton Library, completed in 1936.⁵³

The campus site was redeveloped in the 1920s with Art Deco influenced buildings, often containing neo-classical elements like the Parkinson Building, and mostly made in Portland Stone (an interesting looking Jurassic stone which reveals fossils in its surface), although not exclusively. Portland Stone was often used in royal, religious and public buildings from the 11th the 20th century. As a material it makes a statement about public life and civic pride. Not only can this often be seen in buildings such as Buckingham Palace, but also in British Town Halls. While some of the previously planned buildings were not actually finished until after World War Two, it is clear from their style they emanate from the 1920s and 1930s, rather than their period of completion, sometimes the 1950s, as is the case with the Parkinson Building, the entrance to the Brotherton Library.

By the time the Brotherton Library was finished in 1936, the demand for book space had increased again and the new space was already fully utilised. Shimmin dedicates a whole chapter to the library: "An adequate library is not only the basis of all teaching and study; it is the essential condition of research, without which additions cannot be made to the sum of human knowledge" (1954: 117). The first library building for the university was opened in 1895. Today there exists alongside the Brotherton Library (a red brick building but with an entrance built later in Portland Stone), the Edward Boyle

⁵³ Beaux-Arts architecture reflects a neo-classical style popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The architectural design often included elements from ancient Greek and Roman building styles.

Library (from the 1960s concrete-based architectural period), the Health Sciences Library (located at the Worsley Building, 1960s built), the St James University Hospital Library (a very recent building near the hospital), the university archive which is located in the Baines Wing (red brick period) and the new library (under construction as of August 2013). It is clear from just introducing this one university function as an example (book provision), how university processes are actualised spatially – in this case architecturally – and how the aesthetics attached to these buildings is complex because of the differing architectural periods which have different ideologies attached to them.

Beresford states that it is the long-standing relationship that the university had with the city council that enabled the clearing of areas of terraces for both the campus buildings built in Portland Stone and the later concrete Brutalist buildings in the early 1960s, a significant period of development.⁵⁴ The period of Portland Stone was associated with the Vice-Chancellor James Baillie in the time leading up to World War Two. Portland Stone campus buildings include the Old Mining Building (opened in 1930) and the Chemistry Building (opened in 1934), located next to each other on the Woodhouse Lane side of the campus. Up until the 1960s, the campus development by CPB was the fourth of four main periods of development for the University of Leeds. Each period had different architects (both in-house and hired ones), with distinctly diverse architectural styles, both in design and often in the material used.

It is not my intention to provide an in depth history of the architecture of the University of Leeds campus, but to select some significant periods in campus expansion or building construction that enable a reading that forestalls the postmodern university in its corporate incarnation. One meaningful stage of Leeds's campus growth is the 1960s. A detailed tracing of development plans from this period will help to form a spatial inscription of university space that enables the later discussion on spatial explorations to be better understood. This will also provide the ground for the personal accounts of place that follow. These plans, often appearing in map form, enable a cartographic reading and textual critique in the sense of a semiological analysis. This helps to reveal the political decision-making of the university and the ideals of the architects, which go to form how the university is physically structured and, by association, influences the

⁵⁴ The features of Brutalist architecture, while far-ranging, might include a number of qualities, for example, the expression of raw materials in the completed building. They were often concrete (but also steel and glass) and were usually large buildings revealing their structure in their design. The buildings tending to be block-like (rather than rounded), although not exclusively. Their appearance can often be considered to be austere and cold-looking.

behaviour and response of those using campus space.

The Space of Higher Education

Postwar Expansion and the Campus

In order to be able to effectively analyse the campus development plans from the modernist moment at the University of Leeds, this period of development needs to be situated within the policy of HE at this time. The 1960s was a period when students had their fees paid for by the government (and consequently the taxpayer) and the student demographic was still predominantly that of middle-class students.⁵⁵ This was despite a more democratic approach to schooling that had come about in the 1950s (Weiner 1997). However, the reform of the secondary education system that followed the end of World War Two meant that an expansion of the university system would need to be considered. While this was originally discussed at government level as early as 1946, in 1959 the Minister of Education produced a report, presented to the Cabinet, which “provoke[ed] speculation about the need for further expansion of the facilities for university education and about the effect of university requirements on school curricula” (The National Archives 1959: 3). This resulted in commissioning Lord Robbins to produce a report in 1963. While not all the details of Robbins’s report were supported, the government did agree to accept “the objective of providing 390,000 places in higher education by 1973-74, of which 218,000 should be in universities” (The National Archives 1965: 46). This was part of the more democratic approach to education which came out of the Robbins Report. Despite the fact there were many dissenters to the idea of opening up HE for ‘everyone’ – it would lower academic standards, they said – many approved of the way it challenged the previous hierarchical class approach to university education which was only really open to upper and middle-class students up until this point.

The boom in campus expansion from 1960 to 1970 was the largest ever undertaken in Britain, with students increasing from 100,000 to 200,000 by the end of the 1970s and the number of universities almost doubling, with 46 reached in total by the end of the decade (Birks 1972: 9). This was a monumental task for in-house university architects, bursars and estate administrators alike. Thus the undertaking of CPB as Master

⁵⁵ The government funding of HE included tuition fees and generous maintenance grants for students. (Wyness 2010: 6)

Planners,⁵⁶ rather than architects *per se*, enabled an outside influence to oversee the plan and provide time and skill in an attempt to work within the existing campus space, and provide solutions to the potential problems attached to the expansion of that space.

Whyte describes how the modernist architectural designs of CPB were not only aspirational for the University of Leeds, but also British universities in general: “Not only did its Development Plan pioneer new approaches to architectural design, it was also formative for other institutions’ own redevelopment. It led the way in rethinking the nature of university architecture, and in employing a younger generation of designers to build it” (2008: 171). This demonstrates the import of the case study of the University of Leeds. As a model of a modernist university campus it signalled a new standard that opened up discussion at home and internationally.

While the University of Leeds was not the first to embark on a rebuilding effort during this period, it was the first to deal with the campus in a holistic way (Whyte 2008: 172). Many architectural plans were made by different firms along with the ones from CPB. Much of the work in the CPB plan was oriented towards a section of the campus that is referred to as “the precinct”. The Precinct area included plans for a number of very large buildings and vast car parking zones. It was to be the biggest surge of development the campus had ever seen. The legacy of this modernist period remains in the form of the pedestrianised area, and buildings such as the Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre (finished in 1970), which in June 2010 became a Grade II listed building (Figure 2).

⁵⁶ Master Planners provide a holistic design and oversee the project without necessarily undertaking all of the architectural work.



Figure 2: Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre

CC Tina Richardson

The Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre epitomises the architectural achievement of CBP's new University of Leeds Campus, but it is also a good example of what became known as Brutalist architecture. The final design of the theatre differs greatly from the one that appeared in the architectural plan. The original design was considered too grand and, therefore, expensive. (Harwood 2011: 92)

The initial 1960s report produced by CPB was considered by them to be “a record of enquiry and research”, rather than “a final pattern of development which must be accepted or rejected *in toto*” (CPB 1960: 7).⁵⁷ It set out their original aspirations for the new university and contained images of Venetian plazas in order to suggest what an inspirational “civilized environment” for a university should look like (CPB 1960: 40). This original plan also included a proposal for a circular reading room influenced by the style of the ruins of Nymphaeum in Tivoli, Italy and an additional great hall redolent of the Galleria in Milan, neither of which became manifest or even made it to the next plan which came out in 1963.⁵⁸

The conclusion of the 1960s plan states the underlying *raison d'être* of the plan itself: “what is the problem? how can it be solved? how much and what type of building will be needed? how much land will be needed for this building? how long will it take? how much will it cost?” [sic] (CPB 1960: 97). These questions highlight the functional and utilitarian aspect of modernist design proposed by the architects. The final paragraph of the plan stresses the town and gown aspect of the university and how it should be more connected to the town, and finishes by saying: “For it is no exaggeration to say that the

⁵⁷ However, often when it came down to the plan being challenged, Chamberlain was not as flexible as this quote leads us to believe.

⁵⁸ It is not apparent why many of the original designs of plazas and Italian-inspired buildings were dropped, but continual revisions of the budget and a refocusing on more accommodation provision may have been the reason.

confidence of a civilisation in itself may be judged by the value of its investment of energy and wealth in the widening of educational opportunities for the coming generations” (ibid.). Here CPB reiterate the democratisation of education highlighted in the Robbins Report. It would be another two years before the next plan appeared, although work had begun on stage one of the actual campus development in that interim period.

The 1960s and 1970s development, overseen by the in-house architect Geoffrey Wilson in conjunction with CPB, introduced what is considered by many to be Brutalist architecture, a term coined by the education building architects Alison and Peter Smithson, although its ideas are oriented in the work of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris (Le Corbusier). At the University of Leeds the Brutalist architecture is manifest in the typical materials of concrete, glass and steel. On the campus itself, differing architectural periods are buffered up to each other, creating both an interesting and aesthetically challenging dynamic which makes the space have a heterogeneous feel in its representation. The challenge for the university and CPB, then, was manifold and included such problems as creating a holistic and cohesive campus, offering a look and feel that would signify the vision of a contemporary university, and to do this within the scope and limitations set by both the university and the city itself.⁵⁹

The second Development Plan concentrated on the area around what came to be known as Chancellor’s Court and its surrounding Precinct. This included departments for mathematics, science, administration buildings and lecture theatres. Such was the significance of the hiring of CPB for this project that the two Development Plans became significant documents in their own right and on an international level, too. Whyte mentions these plans, stating: “The Development Plan also highlights the way in which architects of the British modern movement used universities as laboratories in which to experiment with ideas about community and proper urban design” (2008: 169). Having previously completed the Golden Lane Estate, along with the nearby Barbican complex in London (which included a school) and also two other schools, CPB themselves were seen as the architects *du jour*, and these development plans became a kind of ‘blueprint’ for the modern university. On another level the plans also reveal the social production of space as it is for the University of Leeds and its surrounding area. The impact of spatial development on social history can be read

⁵⁹ This holistic approach to the space and architecture is one of the qualities that CBP were known for, and ultimately became one of the functional aspects of the new university campus at Leeds: “A university should have a sense of wholeness which is not fostered by segregated planning”. (Chamberlin 1969: 3)

through the text and images in the plans.

David C. Perry states “We should think about planning spatially” (1995: 213), although this is not as obvious as it first appears. What he means is that in the Foucauldian sense, thinking about planning ‘spatially’ enables politics and the technicalities of planning to be considered in a larger context: “They become examples of particular relations of power that constitute conditions of freedom and dominance in the socially produced urban space” and therefore become “part of the production and reproduction of the social relations of power” (ibid.). What this type of examination does is bring to the fore the structures that support the ideological composition of the plan and that enable particular forces to become dominant. Lefebvre discusses how ideology works in conjunction with space: “what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production” and “Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space” (1991: 44). The power of the plan is contingent on the embedding of an ideology within it of the model of the future university as it was to be for the University of Leeds. The plan – its contents and its message – then become part of the discourse of the university.

While the 1960s CPB development is on the cusp of the periods of modernity and Postmodernity, the designs are considered modernist and would fall within the period of late modernity in style. So as to foreshadow the spatial methodology which will follow later, a detailed look at one of the plans – its form, discourse and some of the figures contained therein – will help to demonstrate how creative ideas are informed and how they become translated into actual space.

The 1963 Development Plan contains approximately 130 pages of text, drawings and maps, some in colour (Figure 3). It has chapters on residential and teaching buildings, the circulation of people and vehicles, the problems of car parking and also recommendations on the upgrade of the existing infrastructure (gas, water, and electricity).

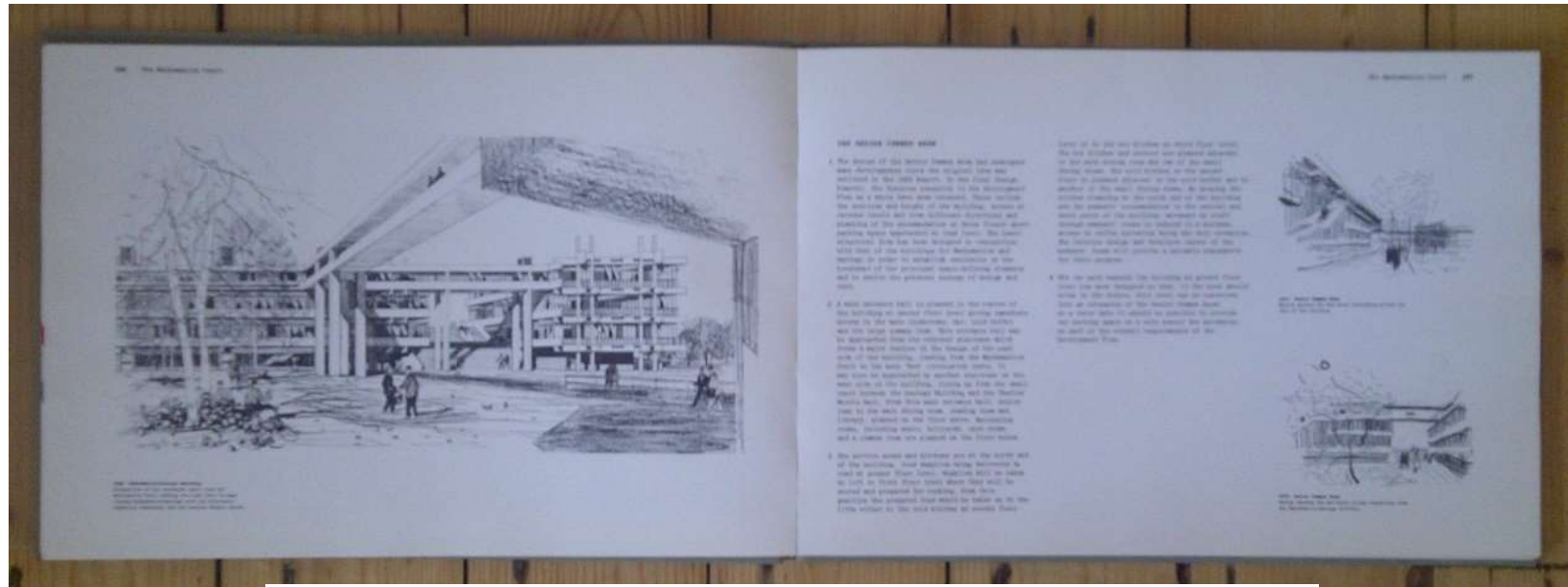


Figure 3: Leeds Development Plan 1963

CC Tina Richardson

This plan continues where the 1960 plan left off, using a numbering system that follows on. The drawings are reproduced in black and white, with the plans (maps) mostly in full colour. The book measures 36cm x 25cm.

Within the text of the plan we see a particular discourse emerging, one that supports the model for a new university which is more spatially embedded in the city itself. As a case study, the University of Leeds is especially pertinent in this regard because this phase of development was directly tied in with the construction of new local transport routes for the city itself. This related discourse appears in anything from the rationale of the architects, to the vision of the then Vice-Chancellor Charles Morris in the introduction to the plan, where he calls the University of Leeds “The University of the future” (CPC 1963: 154).⁶⁰ Commenting on the plan retrospectively, Chamberlin said: “An early task in evolving a Development Plan was to establish valid principles of design calculated to meet the ascertainable needs of the university and to invent a vocabulary of design which could be relied on to meet a whole variety of situations and problems” (1969: 4). Here the architect mentions the introduction of a new lexicon that was required in order to accommodate the planning of the new university.

De Certeau says that in the attempt to organise space efficiently, it actually becomes subsumed under the aegis of time, and then space becomes sidelined: “the functionalist organization, by privileging progress (i.e., time), causes the condition of its own possibility – space itself – to be forgotten; space thus becomes the blind spot in a scientific and political technology” (1988: 95). Lefebvre describes it this way: “What is being covered up here is a moral and political order: the specific power that organizes these conditions, with its specific socio-economic allegiance, *seems* to form directly from the Logos – that is, from a ‘consensual’ embrace of the rational” (1991: 317). The logic behind the Leeds plan created the concept of what became known as the ‘ten-minute university’, the distance that could be saved moving from A to B through a rational organisation of space.

In his series of lectures on biopolitics, Michel Foucault defines what an economic plan does. While it might not initially be apparent that the Leeds Development Plan is an economic one, it actually is. This is so because the need for more buildings incorporates the idea of an expanding university responding to a greater intake of students. This requires more investment from the government (and business) and therefore a corresponding output in the form of more degrees and graduates. It dictates a plan of performativity (in the sense of input and output as set out by Lyotard). One way this was done at Leeds during this time was by looking at the circulation of bodies through

⁶⁰ The conclusion of the 1963 plan even comments on the awaited Robbins Report. Nevertheless, it became apparent during the development of the university and the arrival of the completed Robbins Report that the plan would need to accommodate even more students than initially anticipated, a rise from 7,500 to 10,000. (Chamberlin 1969: 6)

space and providing designs on modular furnishings which make the best use of inside space and are “uniform for economy” (CPB 1963: 218). For Foucault an economic plan is one which “has an aim: the explicit pursuit of growth, for example, or the attempt to develop a certain type of consumption or a certain type of investment”; “a plan means the adoption of precise and definite economic ends” (2008: 172). He goes on to explain that it is often the case that public bodies are involved in the decision-making process because they are themselves economic agents. In fact, they are “the universal subject of knowledge in the order of the economy” (ibid.). CPB and the university worked in conjunction with Leeds City Council in order to negotiate and facilitate the strategy set out in the plan.

In his essay on planning as world making, Raphaël Fischler describes how the images in maps and plans “are representations as abstraction” because they “simplif[y] the complex and continuous stream of perception into discrete symbols and remove chosen elements from the context” (1995: 40). He states that these symbols form our ideas of reality and go towards contextualising our knowledge of the world and, hence, how we solve problems (ibid.). Mullins and Jones state the importance of research in university campuses in helping to make visible what has remained hidden. (2011: 251). Since the Leeds Development Plan is the university improvement programme in representative form, I have selected one of the maps contained therein – a future projection of the campus space – in order to demonstrate the power inherent in the plan, even outside of any textual discourse analysis/deconstruction that could be provided on just the text therein. Fischler states that the analysis of planning documents helps to reveal the “culture of planners” in relation to economics and the social repercussions of their actions (1995: 22).



Figure 4: Future University Campus

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This image, taken from the 1963 plan, provides a vision for the university post-development. It appears in the form of a map, attaching some degree of gravitas to it, since maps are often representations of places that already exist. This helps concretise the future university in the present moment. The empty space surrounding the university is not actual empty space but a cartographic convention to help the viewer concentrate on what is considered important by the cartographer.

Figure 4 is the first image in the plan, appearing just after the Preface. It is a drawing of the campus in the bird's eye view format of a map. It is a projection into the future of the university campus because it contains existing elements, alongside ones that are under design and with some possible ones. The map is in colour, predominantly pale green (gardens and landscaping), beige (pedestrian hard surface areas) and grey (existing buildings). The image is a picture of the future campus as it appears in the 'mind's eye' of the architects. The key on the left highlights what the colours stand for and the numbers over the top of the buildings refer to a long list of named buildings which appear on the next page of the plan. Some of the map elements, specifically those in the landscaped area, represent trees and shrubs. It is assumed we understand what this overall image represents, based on the map format presented to us and the additional data provided in the keys. This assumption is a normal design effect of maps inasmuch as they produce a naturalising effect on the space which subtly says to the viewer 'this is how things are'. Lefebvre clarifies how this type of representation has a culturally constructivist dynamic, thus ultimately working towards forming particular identities:

The area where ideology and knowledge are barely distinguishable is subsumed under the broader notion of *representation*, which thus supplants the concept of ideology and becomes a serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces, as of those societies which have given rise to them and recognized themselves in them. (1991: 45)

The planners who produce these plans want us to identify with the image and see it as a genuine representation: "The drawing serves the purpose, albeit unconsciously, of influencing the way in which the viewers [...] 'frame the picture'; in effect, it propagates a [...] perspective" (Fischler 1995: 27). The map is selective, it shows the phenomena it chooses to in this theoretical future campus, and leaves some things out. One of the most significant elements it excludes are multiple rows of terraced housing which can be seen on a later map contained in the plan. Figure 5 (page 91) shows "the relationship between the new development and the existing street pattern" (CPB 1963: 167). It appears as a palimpsest projection that demonstrates a proposed action on existing space.

The idea of palimpsest urban space is taken from the palimpsest style manuscript that enables a rewriting on a surface where content could be rubbed off and then written over again, for example, a wax tablet. Today the word is used by people from many different fields describe the complexity of places that have gradually built up over time:

All places are palimpsests. Among other things, places are layers of brick, steel, concrete, memory, history, and legend [...]. The countless layers of any place come together in specific times and spaces and have bearing on the cultural, economic, and political characteristics, interpretations, and meanings of place. (Graham 2010: 422)

Postmodern geographical spaces, which historically have been used over and over again (especially since the beginning of industrialisation), means that most spaces today can be considered such. Old photographs of place enable these multiple layers to be revealed.

Much of Tagg's *The Burden of Representation* (1988) is concerned with how institutions enable certain photographic images to gain status when representing particular aspects of history, but his analysis is just as valid when applied to other types of images. Tagg dovetails the theories of Foucault and Althusser when analysing power structures and ideological apparatuses in regard to the implications of representations of history. He states that cultural practices belong to "a field of power effects in which they are articulated with economic and political practices, representations and relations" (1988: 30). He says that it is "systems of representation" that actually operate on identities, constructing rather than expressing them (ibid.). Tagg states: "it is in the representational practices of these apparatuses themselves that the ideological level is constituted" (1988: 69). What is not represented (and what is) is both a cause and effect of ideology. Lefebvre describes what the architect does with his/her plan (their specific representation of space): "This *conceived* space is thought by those who make use of it to be *true*, despite the fact – or perhaps because of the fact – that it is geometrical: because it is a medium for objects, an object itself, and a locus of the objectification of plans" (1991: 361).

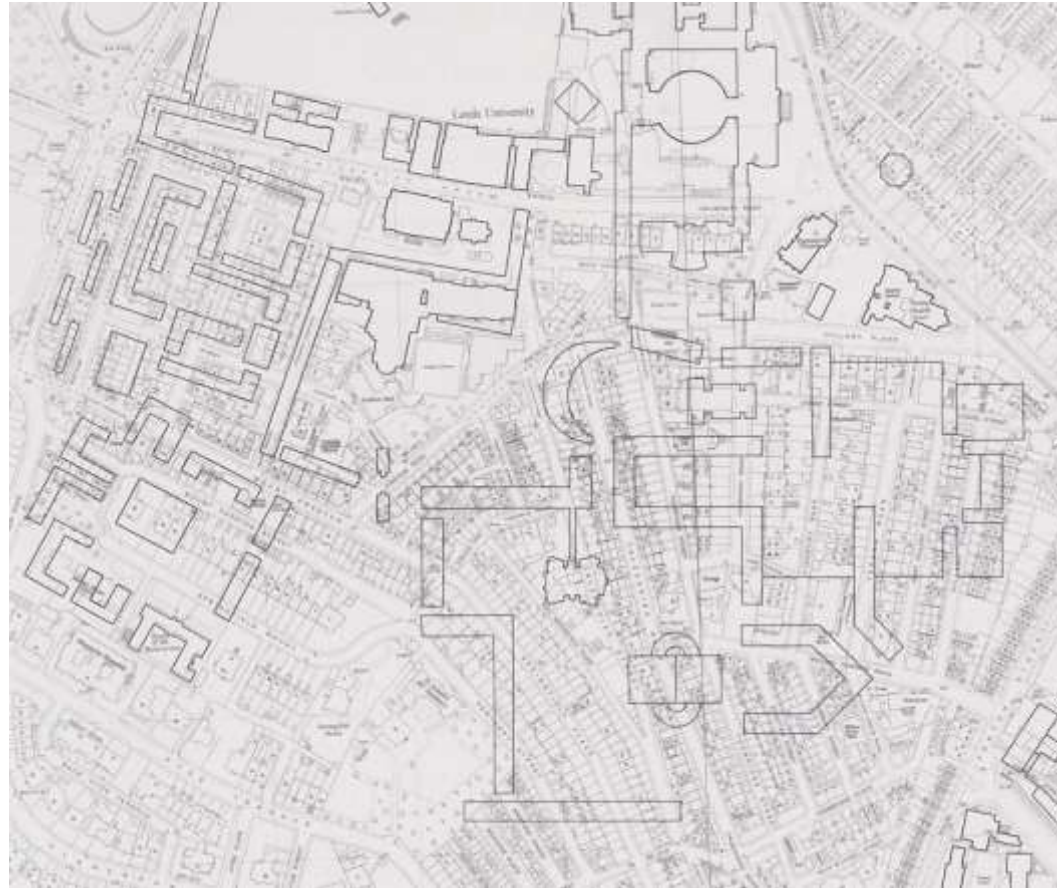


Figure 5: Map Showing Existing Buildings Superimposed Over Old Ones

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This is a section of the map from page 167 of the plan showing the potential buildings in thicker darker lines superimposed over the terrain as it was at that time which appears as a lighter background image.

Figure 4 (page 88) does not show the terraced housing that the plan in Figure 5 shows. The first map chooses to show a vision of how the university will be in an idealised future, a future envisioned by the architects. In a way Figure 5 is more fully representative. It shows the past and future superimposed on top of each other. Actually, it shows the future over the top of the past, because the thicker/darker lines make the proposed buildings come to the foreground. But, in fact the already existing university buildings are also in these darker lines. Thus all existing and proposed university buildings have darker lines representing them. Therefore it is the present and future university that is given prominence. This is a map from the standpoint of the university, or those representing it (the architects, in this case). The priority here is the university's future as it is manifest in urban space. Other priorities – such as the effect on the local residents of removing the terraced houses – are, literally, put in the background.

The wider discourses here, while of a social context, appear in tension with each other. There is a dichotomy between widening participation in HE in an expanded campus which can take more students, and the destruction of an existing place, the homes of local people, even if this does appear under the aegis of improved modern housing for them. However, while there may be tensions highlighted in the reading of the plan, further metanarratives are usually quite able to deal with these contradictions successfully enough, at least as they appear to those groups or individuals who may not directly be involved in the development work. This is how anti-production works and one way it operates is through the mode of representation.

What does this map not show? To find out one needs to look further than the plan itself, to supporting documentation. The following plan (from the university archives) is dated 1966 and shows existing university buildings outlined in red and, in blue, the Leeds Corporation buildings (Figure 6, page 93).⁶¹ What it shows bordered in yellow are those buildings designated for demolition under a rather innocuous term called 'Compulsory Purchase Order'. Fischler says that the ideologies and practices behind institutional development appear in the form of programmes which have specific material and social effects in regard to what will be carried out (1995: 22).

⁶¹ The Leeds Corporation, started in the 17th century, was the municipal body that owned and ran the Leeds city infrastructure and services, such as waterworks and public baths. It was set up in 1626 when Leeds became classified as a city. It was superseded by Leeds City Council in 1974.



Figure 6: University of Leeds – Main Precinct

© The University of Leeds

The areas demarcated in yellow are the regions subjected to Compulsory Purchase Orders. They contain terraced housing which were the homes of local people living near the university.

While a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) is a complex legal procedure, put simply it instigates a legal power allowing a specific body to obtain land already owned by someone else, usually enforced by a local Council on someone else's behalf. It is designated as improvement for a particular geographical district and is seen as being something benefiting the public.⁶² Those owning the land are compensated, but the land can be obtained by force. The area designated CPO on the above map is consistent with those areas drawn over on the previous map. What is surprising in relation to what was described as the "slum clearance" that followed, is that there was little opposition to it (Whyte 2008: 190).⁶³ This general lack of opposition might be because the power of the plan was working effectively through what Phil Allmendinger and Michael Gunder call the 'dark side' of planning: "how illusion plays a central role in shaping social reality and obscuring strife so as to create a false sense of consensual harmony" (2005: 92). It also might be because the alternatives offered to those who were rehoused, was preferable. Not all the terraced houses in the area were demolished, some were kept for university buildings (Figure 7, page 95).

⁶² In the 1980s there was a shift from justifying large-scale development as being a benefit to the public, to stating clearly that they were for economic ends. This meant CPOs could be used more freely. This is often associated with the Thatcher era of government in Britain.

⁶³ 'Slum clearance' is a term used in the clearing of what were working class terraces across Britain from the late 19th century. J.A. Yelling says slum clearance is a "discourse of politics" (2007: 1) and a strategy aimed at "[s]ocial and environmental deterioration" (2007: 2). He explains that "the slum might be regarded as a moral and sanitary problem, and those within its borders [...] depicted as distinct from their counterparts in the rest of society" (ibid.). It often enabled councils to make 'rash' decisions about condemning properties that perhaps were not technically slums, even by the government's own criteria. On occasions, some 'slum clearance' projects were halted halfway, when councils reconsidered earlier decisions and began to attach value to some of these properties. The term later became abandoned and in the 1960s 'urban renewal' was adopted as a way of often disguising a continuation of the same practice.



Figure 7: Precinct Area of the Campus After CPOs and Clearance

© Les Childs

This photo, taken by the university photographer in 1967, shows the extent of the demolition that resulted from the CPOs. The landscape has been transformed into a kind of dystopia reminiscent of the bombing raids on major European cities in World War Two.

Mullins and Jones consider the implications of house clearance for university use.

While they actually discuss American universities in their essay on urban renewal and urban universities, much of what they say can be applied to the development of the University of Leeds campus, including a comment they make on how the communities surrounding the universities looked like German cities following the end of World War Two (2011: 250). Mullins and Jones state:

Today hundreds of acres of homes that stood in the neighborhood in 1960 are all gone, their heritage is often completely unrecognized, and the vast scope of the transformation and the university's complicity in that transformation is ignored or inelegantly remembered. (2011: 251)

Mullins and Jones remark on how time and/or history has meant that Indiana University has been able to separate itself from the act of dramatically altering this neighbourhood in the USA. While it is not possible to directly compare the impact of the local region of Indiana University and that of the University of Leeds during the period under discussion, nevertheless I would suggest that the University of Leeds has been selective in making this data readily available. Only the archives have revealed this information.

The published texts on the university show little mention of it. Beresford provides an account of the development of campus space in regard to the response encountered with local residents to the appropriation of private housing for the university, but Shimmin's text shows no mention of this issue when he discusses university building projects.

While the University of Leeds CPOs could be considered part of a modernisation project for new housing for local people who would be moved from old Victorian terraces to modern housing estates in the suburbs, the project was not carried out with this in mind. It was brought about through an arrangement between the University of Leeds and the Council, whose *modus operandi* was one of mutual benefit. For the university it resulted in a deal involving new university space and more buildings attached to the main campus. For the Council it provided an integrated university/city centre through an improved infrastructure in the form of a new ring road, as will be discussed below.

The Culture of Planning

While the above demonstrates how maps and plans can be analysed in their representational form, the university and planners' perspective on the space itself is also apparent in the actual text of the development plan. This is what a section of the conclusion of the report says:

No effort has been spared in Leeds on the part of the City Authorities, the Hospital Board and the Council of the University to make the planned expansion possible despite the extreme difficulties inherent in the comprehensive re-planning and redevelopment of the old City sites which have hitherto rested in many ownerships and were laid out between a network of streets obsolete for any present purposes. (CPB 1963: 269)

Above we can see the direction of focus set out by the architects. It is from the perspective of the three public bodies concerned (the university, the hospital and the Council). Other groups are not considered here. Even to the extent that the mention of the section of properties cleared by the power of the CPOs – the rows of terraced houses which were people's homes – are referred to as “a network of streets obsolete for any present purposes”. The above quote is presented as a statement of fact, but fails to make clear that these streets are only to be considered obsolete by the agencies behind the plan. The “present purposes” discussed are solely those of the planners and the aforementioned agencies. The sentence describes the desires of the university in the form of a future projection which, in a way, is anticipating the clearance shown in

Figure 7, page 95. The university campus is already becoming transformed by the plan itself, even before any actual work might have taken place. The imagined modern university of the future is almost already built in the minds of those working with, and on, the plan. Fischler says that planners set “norms” that allow particular situations to be assessed within a particular framework (1995: 19). A professional space is carved out which contains specific phenomena, enabling various judgements to be made about a given situation (1995: 20). This is what Foucault refers to as a “regime of rationality”. De Certeau states: “rational organization must thus repress all the physical, mental and political pollutions that would compromise it” (1988: 94).

It is contingent on the plan that its objectives are evaluated in the light of the mission supporting the plan, this is its mandate. While this might sound simple – fulfilling a mission which is clearly set out – it is far from it, since there are many components that have to be considered, influenced, negotiated and, where necessary, dominated. Lefebvre says that in the institution “bureaucratic space [...] is at loggerheads with its own determinants and its own effects: though occupied by, controlled by, and oriented towards the reproducible, it finds itself surrounded by the non-reproducible – by nature, by specific locations, by the local, the regional, the national and even the worldwide” (1991: 349-50). This is where it becomes clear how power has to be continually renegotiated in order for plans to be put into action. Lefebvre states this eloquently when demonstrating the fluidity of space and how really it does not have a straightforward phenomenological manifestation: “space is neither a ‘subject’ nor an ‘object’ but rather a social reality – that is to say, a set of relations and forms” (1991: 116).

Lefebvre discusses how the practice of zoning carried out by local authorities is an example of rationality at its best. Zoning is used by urban planners to delineate sections of land for selected purposes. It is in this way that we have residential, industrial, commercial and educational areas of our towns and cities, which then contribute to a particular architectural aesthetic in those specific areas. There are also areas in towns and cities that are awaiting development, often brownfield sites (previously used for commerce or industry). These areas can be in a period of transition for many years and depend on Council or private funding to become available for redevelopment to occur.

The *Leeds Development Plan* does not use zoning in quite this way in order to formulate the new university, though. In a way it challenges some of the ideas of

distinct spaces for separate functions, for example in something termed ‘joker’ floors which existed on the top of teaching buildings. These floors could be turned to administrative, teaching or residential use with little effort. In fact, some of them existed as residential floors until the last few years, for example in the Social Sciences building. Nevertheless, the plan did use the principal of zoning in order to control the circulation of bodies.



Figure 8: Diagram Showing the Circulation of Pedestrians and Cars

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The pedestrian routes are shown with dots and the other lines are for cars. The colours denote the level of the ground. Colour-coding is used to designate routes as they pertained to land height.

Figure 8 shows the proposed routes for cars and pedestrians on a map in the 1963 university plan. It was proposed by the architects using a system of colour-coding relating to the ground level (ground height). The text supporting this diagram says:

It will be noted that the motor vehicle circulation is always segmented from those parts of the precinct specifically designated as pedestrian areas. This is generally achieved either by buildings forming a barrier between the two circulation routes or by the routes being on different levels. (CPB 1963: 165)

The rationale laid out here describes the system used to keep people and cars separate in order to attain a smooth running campus space and to move bodies around efficiently (also to reduce accidents). Entrances and exits onto and off the campus are shown on the diagram, and the architects have made it clear that barriers will be inserted at relevant points if deemed necessary. The plan shown in Figure 8 was based on research on the movement of individuals between departments on campus. This heralded a more scientific approach to space that, for Whyte, allowed “architects to design truly contemporary, authentically metropolitan buildings” (2008: 181). They would be considered more like towns in their own right and planned along similar lines.

While CPB dealt with the circulation of pedestrians by doing a functional analysis of the movement of people on the campus, and offering a solution of new walkways that responded to this exercise (materialising in the form of a colour-coded system), the vehicular issue was going to pose a greater problem. In both the 1960 and 1963 plans there are sections dedicated to the circulation of vehicles on campus, the movement of vehicles in the local area, and to car parking. Organising the new university around the concept of a pedestrian precinct automatically precluded the use of cars in a large area of the campus. This meant that the planners had to come up with new solutions to parking that maximised the use of space, while keeping in mind the vision for a new campus:

If the intention is to create a precinct within which the buildings are disposed in the landscape in such a way as to be both convenient and delightful to those who move about in it [...] then the access and circulation problem must be kept in perspective as part of the whole picture but not as its dominating feature. (CPB 1960: 41)

The intention was that those driving to the campus would only have a short walk to the building in which they worked or studied. CPB anticipated up to 3,500 car parking spaces might be needed on campus by the end of the decade (ibid.). The 1960 plan shows photographs of what 3,500 cars all parked together would look like and CPB

comment on the rapid growth of the private ownership of cars at that time.⁶⁴ Figure 9 (page 102) shows an initial drawing looking at vehicular access to and from the campus, the major road junctions surrounding it, and also parking spaces. In the bottom right-hand corner there is a calculation on parking spaces, with a total of 1,500. The areas in yellow show where the parking already is, or would be. It is not apparent from this diagram at what point in the 1960s it was drawn as it is not dated. However, whether it is looking at current parking, or working out future needs, the 1500 total does not reach the 3,500 anticipated by CPB by 1970.

⁶⁴ While in this example of campus development the University of Leeds were given local powers to acquire land through the CPOs, there are instances where campus expansion is not granted. For example, in August 2011 York St. John University was refused campus expansion when hoping to take over a Union Terrace Car Park in York, UK. Due to a campaign led by local people and businesses, the bid was refused and the council required to come up with a choice of new plans for the site (Stead 2011). This might reflect the increased focus on cultural heritage and environmentalism inherent in postmodernity.

The issue of cars and parking was also a major concern for the Situationists during the 1960s. Debord wrote an essay 'Situationist Positions on Traffic' where he describes how new buildings are compromised because of the consideration for the car:

Wanting to remake architecture in step with the current massive, parasitical existence of personal cars shifts the problem with a serious unrealism. Architecture must be remade in step with the whole development of society, by criticizing all transitory values linked to doomed forms of social relations[.] (2009: 142)

While the discourse of the university development plan does not explicitly negate social relations – in fact it does the opposite in many ways by attempting to form the architecture around concepts such as 'community' – CPB, nevertheless, acknowledge the issue of the increase of automobile use. The architects were expected to build this into the plan, whether they saw it as a compromise to their architectural vision or not. In relation to the car, it was the prominence it was given over all other urban planning decisions that Debord disliked. And CPB clearly see it as something intrinsic to the new university campus because it is discussed over two pages in the 1960 plan. Instead CPB propose an innovative, cost-effective solution that enabled a way around what they saw as the unsightly multi-storey parking that was prevalent at this time. By the time the 1963 plan was published, CPB included a paragraph on how they were planning on ameliorating the look of an open-plan car park: "In order to provide an 'umbrella' over the uncovered car park it is proposed that trees should be planted [...] in order to counter the visual bleakness familiar in car parks" (CPB 1963: 166).

In fact the car parking issue, and the entrances and exits on campus, were not the only vehicular matter CPB had to work on. The 1960 plan has a section proposing a plan involving the circulation of traffic on the periphery of the campus. This involved tying in the development at the university with the City development plan that was also taking place, a new ring road (Figure 10, page 104). CPB were concerned that this new ring road would "split the University site from the Infirmary and the Civic Centre of Leeds including the Civic Hall, the Town Hall, the Law Courts and the new College of Technology" (1960: 39). They were especially concerned with the Medical School being "divorced" from the hospital and felt that a new ring road would be "a brusque dismissal of the opportunity to express a close union between 'town and gown'" (ibid.). CPB also stated that the new precinct area of the campus should be "open to the public" and the ring road would not encourage this (1960: 41). By 1960 various discussions had taken place between CPB and the City Engineer about this problem. The solution settled

upon was to bring the ring road near the university, building over it at the point where the university and hospital space join, creating an underpass for the cars.



Figure 10: The Ring Road Between the University and Leeds City

© Chris Marshall

The piece of land in question can be seen in the distance, appearing as a bridge across the road. It became a contested piece of land, negotiated over by the university and the hospital. It links the university and Medical School to the hospital.

A university memorandum dated 1961 discusses the various bodies that would be expected to share the cost of this cutting and underpass. Initially it was to be the Ministry of Transport that at that time dealt with road maintenance in the UK. But this memo suggests that if the Ministry saw both the city and university benefiting from the use of the land over the planned underpass, that the university might be expected to contribute also (Wilson 1961: 1). In regard to the university's own position on this piece of land, Geoffrey Wilson says: "I suggested that the University had assumed that in view of the facts that we were providing the money to make the land over the ring road usable, the City would be prepared to give us a licence in perpetuity to build over the road without any cost" (ibid.). The "land over the ring road" under discussion is a path, road and piece of land that appears as a bridge over the ring road (Figure 10).

Memos from 1968 show that after a few years of further discussions and a 'stand-off' with the hospital, the cost was eventually shared between the hospital and university (The Bursar 1968: 1-2). This involved, in March 1968, an agreement that the hospital would contribute £190,000 to the cost of the sunken part of the ring road, but at this stage the decision as to whether the university or the hospital would have the rights to

build on the land over the ring road was still being fought over (ibid.). A later memo (undated and without a named author) states that the deed involving this transaction was drawn up in July 1969 and the use of the land would be shared.

This battle over a relatively small piece of land demonstrates the exchange-value of space under the aegis of 'land'. Smith says that space is seen as a commodity, not just in the way we think of property/land as commodities today, but even in the most basic Marxist sense. He says that the properties of space are explicit in use-value, because in transporting people or commodities the function, and therefore value, of the space used to do so is changed (1990: 81). The section of land joining the university to the hospital, appearing as a roof over the underpass below it, while initially built for the functional purpose of keeping these two institutions connected, has the simultaneous effect of providing a new piece of land that was considered to have value attached to it, to the extent that this land was fought over for a number of years. Not only is there now a monetary value attached to this newly created piece of land, but it also becomes part of the space of production in moving vehicles and bodies between spaces.

The university becomes reconnected to the city through the bridge over the underpass which is part of the ring road designed by the city to improve its access routes. In this way the university is part of the space of production of the city itself, enabling medical students and staff to pass from the university campus to the hospital, their place of 'work': "The expansion of urban space [...] is not just a matter of increased centralization of the productive forces or the expansion of the scale at which the daily system of concrete labour takes place. It should be construed, rather, as the expansion of the daily aggregated sphere of abstract labour" (Smith 1990: 137). Smith is referring to the movement of labour as it pertains to going to and from work. He further comments on how space is often under the threat of fragmentation (ibid.), this would have occurred to the university campus if the bridge has not been built. The effects of production on urban space is also discussed by Lefebvre under the subject of zoning when discussing the administration of space. Lefebvre states:

A classical (Cartesian) rationality thus appears to underpin various spatial distinctions and divisions. [...] The assignment of functions, and the way functions are actually distributed 'on the ground', becomes indistinguishable from the kind of analytical activity that discerns differences. [...] The unity of reason (or of *raison d'état*) is thus draped effectively over the plethora of juxtaposed and superimposed administrative divisions, each of which corresponds to a particular 'operation'. (1991: 317-18)

Lefebvre's reference to Descartes, in his description of the effects of zoning, demonstrates what he believes to be an approach by planners that means they see spatial objects and processes as simply mechanical. Cutting up the space, attaching different purposes to the resulting spaces and administering them in such a way as they become mechanical parts, means that an assumption is made that this is the only solution to the problem at hand. A rational approach is provided as the solution and the language used implies that the only other choice is an 'irrational' one. The discourse of the University of Leeds development plan promotes this rational approach:

It is only by working concurrently from the general down to the particular, and the particular up to the general, that the full potentiality of a three-dimensional composition as a whole can be realised involving, as it does, the differing requirements of many buildings which should not only function well but, beyond that, collectively constitute an environment calculated to be appropriate for, and expressive of, the University of Leeds. (CPB 1963: 169)

The use of terms that lend themselves to dichotomies, such as 'rational', enable the opposite ('negative') term to be suggested even when it is not explicitly stated. 'Irrational', or the 'non-rational', often has the implication of being emotive or subjective and would hence not be considered a wise approach to the planning process. Allmendinger and Gunder's Lacanian analysis raises the problem of

the weakness in logic created when an argument is predicated on the use of a simplified dichotomy with an unchallengeable desirable preference, particularly when it overlooks the existence of undecidable states existing between the two polar binaries. [sic] (2005: 97)

An example of how the plan became paramount in the architects' visions is apparent in an argument between the university, the Council and Chamberlin (of CBP), referred to on campus as 'The Springfield House Saga'. This involved a building, dating back to 1792, that Chamberlin wanted demolishing because it was located in an area where he wished to build new buildings. In 1974 it was reported "that Springfield House was not of outstanding architectural merit and it obstructed Mr. Chamberlin's design for the Biological Sciences Block. It was felt that any change in this design would be detrimental to the long term development plan as a whole" (House and Estates Committee 1974: 4). The City Council eventually put a stop to the demolition because of the architectural value attributed to the building and Springfield House later became

a listed building (Figure 11).⁶⁵



Figure 11: Springfield House 2012

© Ruth Baumburg

Springfield House is now a listed building meriting architectural and historical interest. As shown above, extensions to the building have been added either side which have a glass frontage.

The general approach to demolition on campus began to change in the early 1970s, with older buildings that had been considered not worthy of saving being reconsidered in a new light. By the time the new Leeds campus had been completed (circa 1974),

there was a completely different view about architecture, and conservation architecture, so whereas previously the city had quite happily demolished rows and rows of housing to make way for the university campus, suddenly in 1973 they would not demolish one Victorian house. So everything came to a halt. (Curtis 2013)

This may have heralded the end of the rationalist modernist moment for Leeds, signalling a more postmodern approach to a campus that reflected its history in the many architectural moments, and attempting to embrace this aesthetically. This recognition of the value of historical buildings and architectural styles for the University of Leeds campus was acknowledged in 2009 in Leeds itself in an event about the modernist moment in the history of the Leeds campus.

The Identyscape of the New Campus

In the summer of 2009 the Henry Moore Institute in Leeds organised an event called

⁶⁵ Although it remained a university building for a while, it now belongs to the pharmaceutical and biotechnology company Covance. It is a clinical research unit that has a relationship with the university's dental school and carries out drug trials on campus, recruiting volunteers in the student population.

The New Monumentality. It was comprised of a half day seminar supporting an exhibition which showed artists' responses to campus spaces, exploring the architectural modernity of the 1950s and 60s. Two out of the three artists included work that had been influenced by the University of Leeds campus. The seminar was called *Building the Future* and examined modernist campus architecture in the context of cultural theory and architectural aesthetics. Part of the seminar discussion hinged around the rational approach to campus planning employed by CPB, for example in their attempt to enable students to get from A to B in no more than ten minutes, through the use of walkways, extended corridors and colour-coded routes.

This efficiency, in terms of organising space, is apparent when viewing the development plans of CPB for the University of Leeds. One of the maps in the plan shows the proposed pathways for pedestrians on the campus. These new routes also included covered walkways that helped students move from one teaching building to another protecting them from the elements. The intention of the architects was to encourage students to 'commune', but despite how altruistic it might appear this is how the movement of individuals through space can be subtly controlled: "Stones can make people docile and knowable" (Foucault 1991b: 172). By creating pathways through space – and not just the clearly defined ones that are formed from paths, but also those that appear as spaces between buildings – people are encouraged to take particular routes and discouraged from taking other ones. Although this might appear to be just a side-effect of urban planning, it is part of an ideology built into the very fabric of urban space. The pedestrian is made to feel they are taking a 'natural' path from A to B. After a time, and with repeated use, the path taken becomes unconsciously ingrained and it is then difficult to alter one's route. The walkways also discouraged the forming of desire paths (those paths that are created by people that are counter to the intended ones). Also, the concrete surface of the Precinct area prevents any desire paths being seen, as is not the case on grassed areas. This originates from the discourse of campus planning and development, but in practice it becomes the anatomy of the socio-spatial arena. The subject becomes knowable through their predictability.

It is the supporting structures in the form of the educational apparatus, the discourse of the university and the abstract and concrete space of HE that helps form the subjectivity and identity of university students and staff. In their article 'Academic Architecture and the Constitution of the New Model Worker', Hancock and Spicer consider how campus spaces orient the identity of students "towards the production of economically viable

modes of identity conducive to the demands of a post-industrial economy” (2011: 91).⁶⁶ Hancock and Spicer use the term “*identityscape*” to refer to the influence that space has on the individual. One way that this can be seen at the Leeds campus is through the rationally organised walkways and colour coded routes that encourage specific walking patterns for individuals. Hancock and Spicer highlight the “material constraints” of academic architecture and discuss how particular identities can be formed by influencing agency (2011: 93), (Hancock and Spicer’s italics). While they mostly discuss the inside of the Saltire Centre at Glasgow Caledonian University in relation to organising space, what they say is also relevant to outside space. They introduce the term ‘enactment’ used by the organisation theorists K. Dale and Gibson Burrell, to describe the way that the organisation of space effects the body and actions of individuals:

It refers to the manner in which various spatial encounters, and the responses we have to them, are habituated onto the body and the ways we come to favour particular forms of identity over others. Both of which we might, and very often do, take with us into other spaces and environments. Enactment, therefore, might serve to both challenge and confirm prevalent forms of spatial ordering, dependant on the possible intersections of experience, power and ways of seeing and doing that inhabit the individual at any given moment. (Hancock and Spicer 2011: 95-6)

This demonstrates the possibility for alternative ways of moving about campus, via an individualised enactment that might be counter to the expected one.

In regard to spatial ordering Foucault describes how the modern factories of the 18th century were organised in terms of “disciplinary space” (1991b: 143). The layout of the factory was designed so that individuals were kept in their own physical space and movement was controlled in order to prevent groups of people collecting together: “Its aim was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual” (ibid.). In his discussion on the new approach to education in the classical period, Foucault describes how the model that is applied to the factory is also applied to the school. Space is organised in such a way as to make processes as efficient as possible: “The disciplines, which analyse space, break up and rearrange activities, must also be understood as machinery for

⁶⁶ Universities are increasingly using Radio Frequency Identification cards at lecture theatres so that students can be tracked on attendance. While this relates to internal architecture, rather than outside space, it denotes a performative aspect in regard to monitoring behaviour. Attendance and better grades are placed in an input/output relationship.

adding up and capitalizing time” (Foucault 1991b: 157).

At the University of Leeds one way that this manifested in the new CPB university was through the design of the pedestrianised routes that are suggested in the colour-coding of the plan shown in Figure 3, page 85. The colours referring to the level of ground, became manifest as colour-coded routes that enabled students and staff to efficiently move around campus, sometimes in high-level covered-in walkways like those shown in Figure 12.

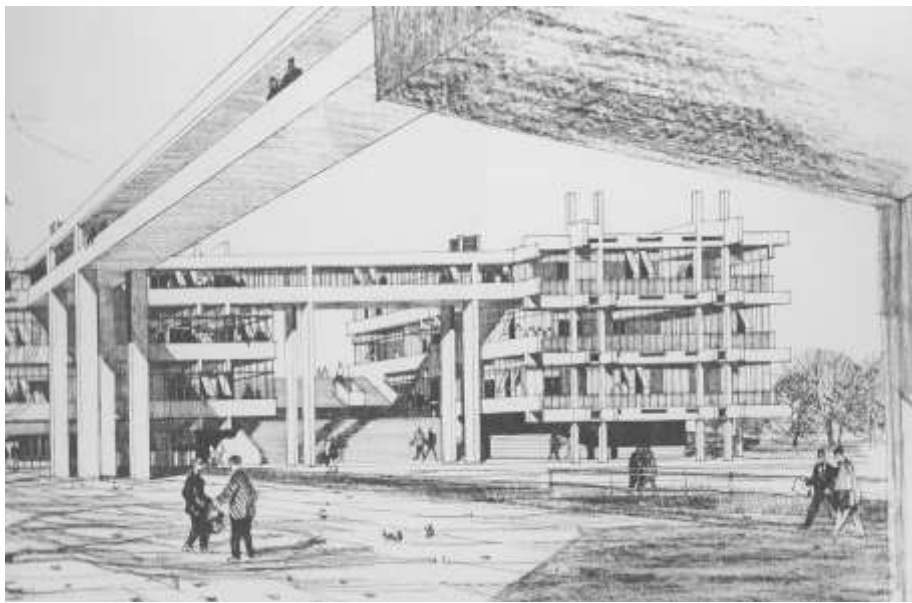


Figure 12: Campus Walkways

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Walkways became a recognisable feature in university architecture in the 1960s. While practical ways of moving around space and being protected from the elements, they were also meant to encourage students to 'bump into each other' in a communal sense.

These routes become a form of spatial ordering that has the effect of making the individuals operating in that space knowable in regard to their movements through that space. The student recognises her/himself as a student operating in that space, moving between various teaching buildings, or from her/his halls to a teaching block. They become interpellated. For Althusser, both the attitude of the individual, and the practices in which they are involved, are material (2006: 113). They are “actions inserted into *practices*” (Althusser 2006: 114). In HE this is apparent when students take up their place in the apparatus by carrying out certain actions expected of them – for example, turning up to lectures, completing assignments – but also it is manifest in their compliance to following the ‘rules’ set out in urban planning. It is in this way that

students, lecturers and all university staff become interpellated through spatial design.⁶⁷

By using these designated routes, the student recognises the ‘hail’ of the university, calling her/him to take up their place in campus life, and by so doing becoming compliant: ‘good’ student-citizens. This idea of citizenship, while not explicitly spelt out in the plan, is suggested within the text when discussing communal spaces. As Wright says: “when the components of a university are boiled down to their functional needs, you get a set of requirements which are very similar to those of an ‘ideal’ city community” (2009: 33). While the walkways connecting the teaching blocks are seen as both a practical and communal arrangement for route planning for students and staff, they also became part of the visual style of the ten minute university.⁶⁸

Hancock and Spicer explain that architectural design works in such a way that “buildings appear highly congruent with the missions and aspirations of an institution” and “it is this way that buildings interpellate individuals” (2011: 100-01). The opening paragraph of the preface of the 1963 Leeds Development Plan quotes the previous 1960 plan in order to make its mission clear, confirming that the plan itself serves as “a vehicle for the crystallisation of ideas” (CBP 1963: 157). So, the ideas set out in the plan become materialised in the architecture and layout of the new campus. And the students operating in that campus space become participants in the manifestation of that project. For Althusser this is actually a reflexive relationship: the student is expected to act in a particular way on campus, one concomitant with the idea of the university. Once interpellated as a student in that space, she/he sees her/himself as a student because she/he is carrying out the practices expected of her/himself, Althusser’s “double mirror-connection” (2006: 122). This ties in to how it is essential that the Ideological State Apparatus is able to get the subjects to “work by themselves”, which is done by making the subject think they are making a free choice, but also by “submitting them to a higher authority” and hence simultaneously requiring they relinquish that freedom (Althusser 2006: 123).

Mechanisms and processes within institutions become normalised as part of an exercise of power. They are manifest as discourses that support a specific ideology, but appear in material forms. What appears in the development plan as a wish for a well-functioning university space that supports the services and education of students, can produce other

⁶⁷ This idea of interpellation by spatial design may also extend beyond the university boundary. Students are encouraged to leave the campus and explore the city, where they may well be attracted to the shopping mall, or other structures that interpellate them in different ways.

⁶⁸ Other routes are discussed in the CPB plan, such as those for maintenance and catering staff in moving goods.

effects once the plan becomes manifest, for example, in the form of physical spatial dead-ends along specific routes on the university terrain. So, what appears as an architectural plan with certain priorities that reflect an expanding campus designed to house more students post World War Two, as well as effecting the neighbourhood and local people around the university, also manages (and influences) the behaviour of people moving about the campus. Providing a psychogeographical example of one of the buildings from the CPB period of development will help elucidate the effects of planning rationale when it comes to moving around architectural space.

Negotiating Brutalist Space



Figure 13: E C Stoner Building 1

CC Tina Richardson

The E C Stoner Building was named after Edmund Clifton Stoner (1899-1968) who was a theoretical physicist and taught at the University of Leeds until 1963. The building holds a blue plaque which is dedicated to him.

The 1960 and 1963 Development Plans of CPB do not have sections solely dedicated to one of the largest teaching blocks on the University of Leeds campus, even though there are provisions for it in the 1960 plan. Built in 1962, at that time the E C Stoner Building had the longest straight corridor in Europe, at over a fifth of a mile long (Figure 13). It became known as ‘Physics/Admin’, but now tends to be called ‘E C Stoner’ or just ‘Stoner’. The building received Grade II listed status in 2010 and still houses the Physics Department and administrative facilities, alongside Computing and offices for other departments.

Like many of the glass and concrete Brutalist buildings, the E C Stoner Building tends to polarise people in terms of its aesthetics. Appearing in the 1960 plan as one of many low-rise long buildings, in actual space it appears much longer than it does on the plan. Described by Owen Hatherley as “the aesthetics of hell” he places Brutalism within a long history going back to 18th century urban Britain and how industrialisation subjected workers bodies to the factories and foundries that hired them (2008: 19-20). Citing the Barbican of CPB and also the architects the Smithsons who coined the term (and who also designed educational spaces), Hatherley describes the paradox of

Brutalism as “the everyday style for the use of the proletariat [...] and at the same time creat[ing] avant garde shock images” (2008: 31). The following analysis of the E C Stoner Building will serve as a personal description of the building from the time of writing. At the same time as being a short psychogeographical exploration of the exterior and interior it will also provide an aesthetic account of the building from the perspective of someone in postmodernity negotiating a modernist space. This description is included as a reading of the structure and stands as a visual and somatic response to the actual construction of one of the buildings proposed in the CPB development plan. As David Prescott-Steed says in *The Psychogeography of Urban Architecture*: “It is in the context of the *dérive* that de-familiarisation not only fosters critical thinking but, furthermore, finds it manifest in the form of a creative negotiation” (2013: 75).



Figure 14: E C Stoner Building 2

CC Tina Richardson

On the South side of the E C Stoner Building is a large open gravelled space with trees and bike stands. This open area could be used as a piazza, rather than a short-cut to the Sports Centre. It might be the surface area discourages congregation – a mixture of sand and gravel which is very dusty and not pleasant underfoot.

The building has multiple entrances and an underpass which allows vehicles to move about the space uninterrupted. The two main entrances are from either a large set of

steps on the South side or a concrete slope on the North side. To appreciate its length and size the building is best viewed from one end (Figure 14). Horizontal lines of concrete separate the lines of glassed windows, which are unbroken in the absence of any vertical lines. The building extends into the horizon of one's view, disappearing into the surrounding cityscape. This is the outward face of the E C Stoner Building which overlooks the university Sports Centre, Leeds General Infirmary and Leeds city itself. Reyner Banham describes both the visual and functional aspect of Brutalist architecture as requiring "that the building should be an immediately apprehensible visual entity; and that the form grasped by the eye should be confirmed by experience of the building in use" (1955: 358). Outside of any surrounding campus space, the building would look like an office block, not untypical of many built in Britain around the same period, especially in the public sector.⁶⁹ The other side of the building is much more utilitarian-looking, with a car park attached to it and more teaching/office space atop the car park. On this side the length is lost by the breaking up of the building with the perpendicular car park/office extension, attached by a small glass covered walkway.

One does not get the true sense of how the building functions until one enters it. Appearing as a straight-forward and simple structure on the outside, once inside the corridors of the interior there is a closed-in sensation and one feels disoriented, especially once away from any sight of the outside. The room numbering system used to aid navigation reflects the rationalist approach of the architects. But, before discussing the aesthetics of the interior of the EC Stoner Buildings, the method of floor indexing applied by CPB needs to be introduced.

⁶⁹ The architecture designed by Edwin Maxwell Fry at the University of Liverpool between 1955 and 1960 also has a similar functionalist office block style, even though his buildings are not considered Brutalist but Formalist, and use brick rather than concrete. The Formalist style was thought to reflect some kind of nostalgia for factories and workshops.

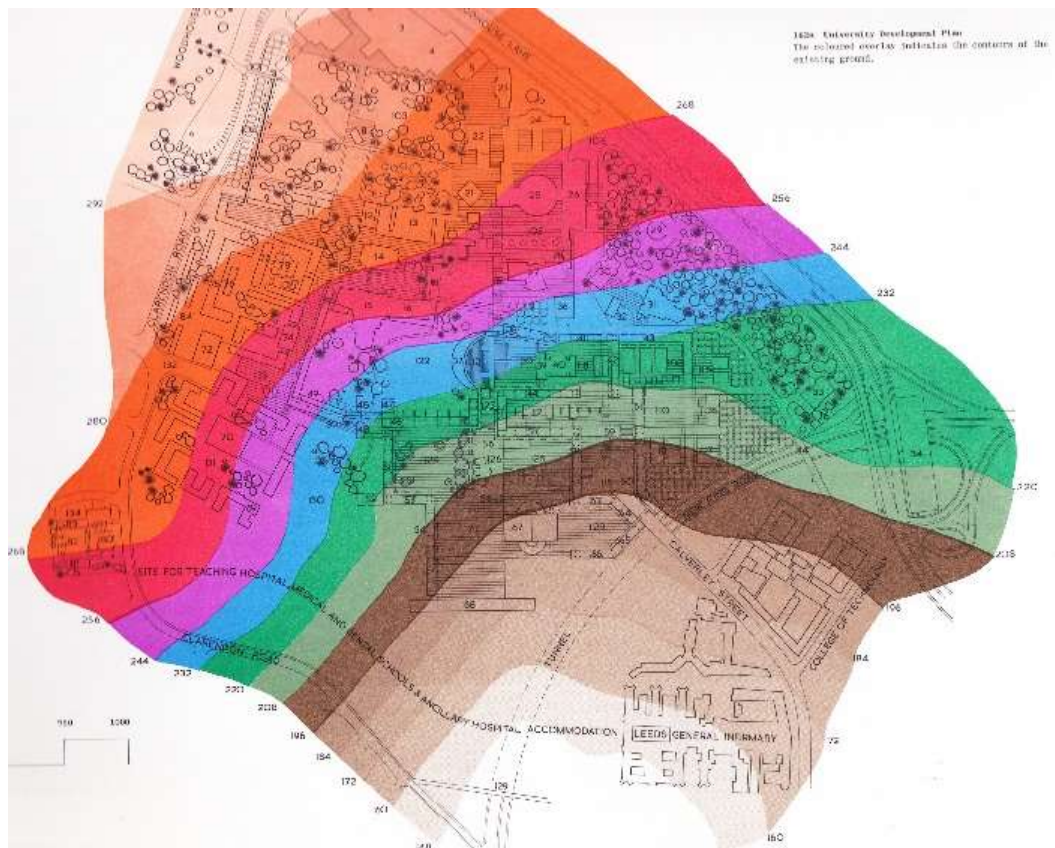


Figure 15: Plan Showing the Colour-Coded Contours of the Campus Space

© Chamberlin, Powell and Bon and the University of Leeds

This plan shows the colours that reflect the height of the ground, the steepest moving toward the north-west edge of the campus.

CPB attached colours to each level in the campus buildings (Figure 15). This colour-coding system was used in the Development Plans and also extended to the signs around the campus which appeared on signposts, corridor floors and the outside of buildings as small coloured square plaques.⁷⁰ A large section of the 1963 plan covers this use of colour-coding by ground level. CPB explain that there was a

difference of 216 feet in elevation between the highest level within existing buildings on Woodhouse Lane [...] and the ground level near the convergence of Clarendon Road and the Ring Road [...] This represents approximately eighteen storey levels of height within buildings. We propose that, in the future, each of these storey levels should be identified by a different colour". (1963: 164)

They go on to explain in detail the benefit of applying colour-coding to an area with the equivalent of eighteen storeys, summarising by saying "In a nutshell, the colour identification is intended as an aid to understanding the position of places in three dimensions instead of two" (ibid.). While I think the motive behind the colour-coding and unintuitive level numbering was probably one of being considerate to the user of

⁷⁰ Occasionally these small plaques can be seen around the campus today, although most of them are gone. They remain as a trace of a modernist, rationalist past.

that space, I am not convinced that the complex spatial ordering of the minds of the architects translated very well into the use of campus space for those concerned, in this regard at least.⁷¹ An example from inside the E C Stoner, will help elucidate this.

⁷¹ It is at times like this that urban planners and architects could do well to employ psychogeographers at the research period of planning.

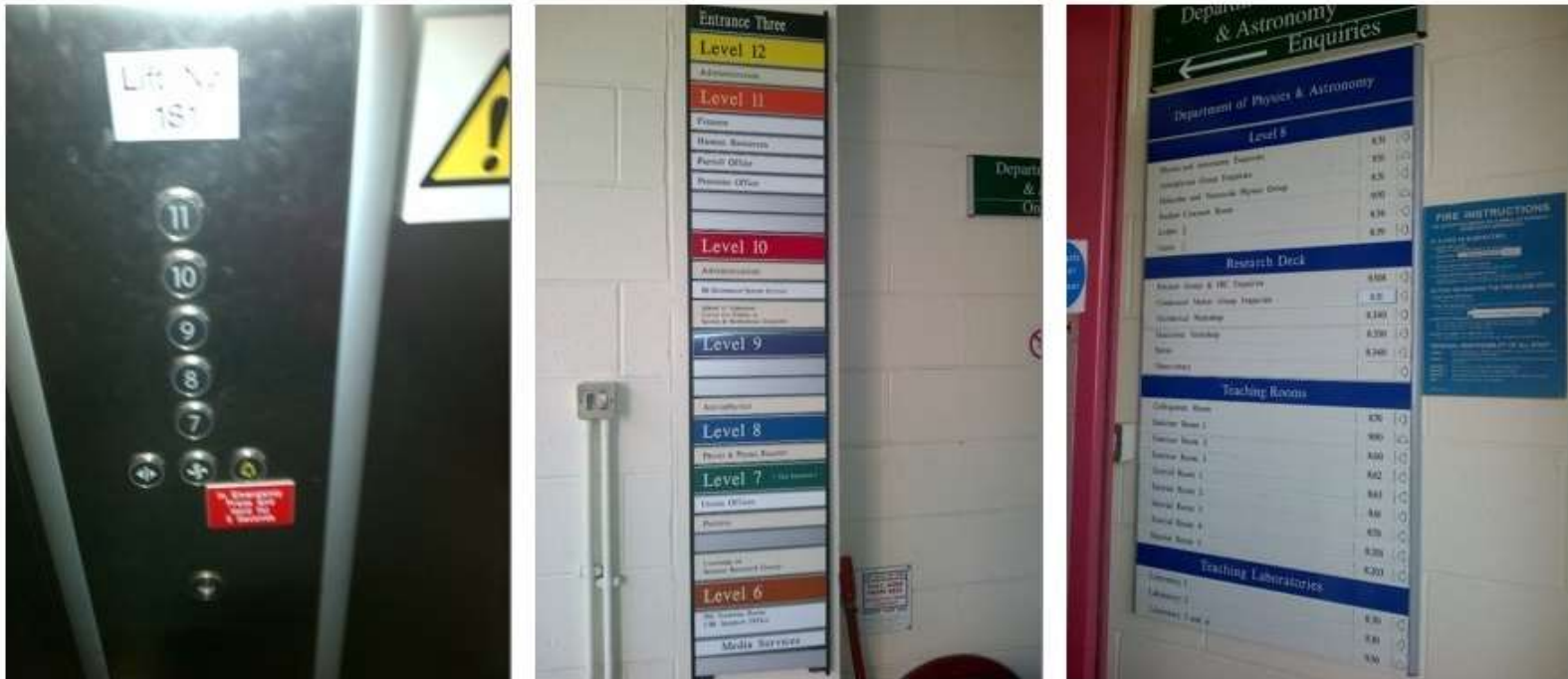


Figure 16: Direction Signs in the Interior of the E C Stoner Building

CC Tina Richardson

There are no large open foyers in the very functionalist interior of the E C Stoner Building. The Lanchester and Lodge period buildings on campus, such as the Houldsworth Building (a Beaux-Arts classicist design), has an open foyer which allows light in and enables people to orient themselves by keeping sight of the outside of the building.

The rooms in E C Stoner are categorised by function type (see the third image in Figure 16). For example, Level 8 has “Teaching Rooms” and “Teaching Laboratories” amongst other types of rooms. Within these categories the main room use is listed alongside the number of that room, which is the floor number followed by a full-stop and then the number of the room itself, for instance 8.51 is “Physics and Astronomy Enquiries”. Each room then has an arrow next to it pointing in the direction it is. This appears very organised and logical, but the arrows are not as clear as they might be in the direction they are pointing when you are actually occupying the space itself.⁷² Also, once inside the long closed-in corridors you can continue walking a long way in the wrong direction, in the hope of finding a specific room, before you give up and return to the signpost again for clarification.

The numbering of the floors in buildings has historically been a point of discussion, as it still is for new students or staff at the university. It is one of the issues raised when you go on the library tour as a new student. Ground level is not marked as ‘0’. CPB numbered the building levels in relation to the height of the land (Figure 15, page 116). What makes this idea complicated is that as a user of the campus, one is never exactly sure what level one is on, because the actual ground level is different in different parts of the campus. Therefore, while the entrance level in E C Stoner is level 7, the actual ground level is level 6, because on each of the entrances to the building you take stairs up before you enter it (I took the photo at a part of the building where level 6 was not accessible by that particular lift).⁷³ However, in, say, the Edward Boyle Library, ground level (and entrance level) is level 9, because it is on higher ground. While this may have seemed like a logical approach by CPB, especially because of the use of walkways linking all these spaces together and making them appear seamless, it does require an explanation from someone ‘in the know’ to actually understand the complex logic.

CPBs vision for the University of Leeds brought with it a new aesthetic for the campus, a modernist and Brutalist style along with a practical, flexible and rational approach to the use of space for buildings and the movement of people (even if the rationale did not always translate into practice). CPB connected the university with its city in a way that not only impacted the surrounding area as it was for the rehousing effort, it also

⁷² However, one might ask why there are some rooms on Level 8 that begin with the prefix ‘9’, which denotes a Level 9 room. It then becomes apparent, that the up arrow next to these ‘9’ prefixed numbers means upstairs to the next level (I am not convinced that without knowing the logic of the prefix number, as a visitor would not, that I would understand that I need to go up a level).

⁷³ If you are already familiar with the way that the different geographical land height was dealt with by CPB, then a lift that only goes from floors 7 to 11 might not be too much of a surprise (see the first image in Figure 16).

influenced the wider transport links to the city.

The Sphere of Production

The 1960s expansion of the University of Leeds campus and the further integration of it with the city came about as a response to a greater need for student places meaning that “the consumption of existing space is intensified, or parts of that space are reproduced, restructured, to fulfil new needs” (Smith 1990: 136). The new campus, then, became further embedded in what Lefebvre refers to as “the spatial economy” (1991: 56). This meant not only did it signify a more focused politico-economic outlook for the university, but also involved a greater consideration over property and land which became part of the university’s portfolio during this period. The campus also became a distinct space in an aesthetic sense, defining it even more starkly from the surrounding area than had been the case before the development. It now fitted neatly between three main roads that bounded it (Woodhouse Lane, Clarendon Road and the new Rind Road). This is because the demolition and redevelopment expanded the campus by such a large amount, but also it became joined to the city itself, with the campus now extending down to the hospital, connected via the bridge. Except for the Southern-most tip bordering the hospital, the new larger campus sat amidst private homes, terraced housing and a local public park to its North:

Human landscapes of geographical difference are thus created in which social relations and production systems, daily lifestyles, technologies and organisational forms and distinctive relations to nature come together with institutional arrangements to produce distinctive places of different qualities. (Harvey 2011: 147-49)

The geographical landscape is transformed, but once established also has the effect of appearing to have been that way ‘forever’.

It was the case that the CPB development plan, originally begun in 1958, became manifest in the new campus over the next decade or so in response to the government’s strategy for expanding HE. This involved the university, the architects and the city working together despite their competing agendas. Eventually this monumental development project enabled the university to accommodate more students, but also supported its vision and sense of place as summarised by Charles Morris here: “The University of the future must be worthy to be a central precinct in a redesigned city of

the future” (CPB 1963: 154).⁷⁴

The project of CPB received international acclaim in educational and architectural circles at the time of its inception. And even on a local level it was praised, as can be seen in a *Yorkshire Post* article entitled ‘Inspiring University Plans’ dated 21 May 1960 (cited in Whyte 2008: 191). However, by 1970 the same journalist, Moultrie Kelsall, criticised it in the same newspaper, describing it as “grandiose”, “a passing fashion of the sixties” and for having “obliterated” “large areas of pleasant architecture” (ibid.). The tagline for an article in the *Yorkshire Post Magazine* in 2009 described it as “a utopian vision that turned more concrete-monster” (Russell 2009: 11). It goes on to quote one contemporary student describing the Edward Boyle Library as uncomfortable, with heating problems and bad design, but another as saying she really liked it and while the architecture was “hard” the place was also “quite peaceful” (ibid.). The article also describes it as being cut-off from the city, which in a sense is because of the Inner Ring Road, although this was the opposite of the intentions of CPB. The article goes on to say: “Leeds University’s 1960’s campus is something of a lost world so far as the ordinary citizen is concerned” (ibid.).

In a BBC Radio 4 interview Penelope Curtis, the Director of Tate Britain, said of the unpopularity of Brutalist architecture, and in particular the work of CBP: “the Barbican, which is by the same architects, has become liked, finally, by at least a cultural elite, if not everybody. But I think the University of Leeds campus is still not even known” (Curtis 2013). She goes on to say of the Leeds project that

when the buildings were opened in the early 70s, they had a very good reception, largely from the press, internationally and nationally, and it was seen as one of the biggest campus sites in Europe and it was thought to have been really well addressed by the architects. Actually, I would say that it wasn’t at the time [that] it was difficult for Leeds, it was, more, later. And the university has increasingly not appreciated it, demolished bits of it, added things, so the original purity has very much been spoilt. (ibid.)

While this ‘University of the Future’ eventually became less warmly greeted, as did many Brutalist buildings in later decades, the legacy of CPB at Leeds proved to be architecturally worthy of the contract given to them by the university when in 2010 a number of the campus buildings were given listed status. This is what the university’s

⁷⁴ Chamberlin’s vision was never completely met due to funding being cut by 90% to the university in 1973. (Harwood 2011: 96)

alumni magazine *LEEDS* said at the time:

Some of the University's best-known landmarks are now official national treasures, according to Department of Culture, Media and Sport. The Roger Stevens lecture block, the Edward Boyle Library and Henry Price Flats have all been recognised as Grade II listed buildings on the recommendation of English Heritage. (University of Leeds 2010: 22)

This demonstrates that over time, and with the fresh eye of architectural appreciation, we have reconsidered some of the Brutalist architecture of this period.⁷⁵ The value of past architectural styles can often come about with the passing of a number of decades when buildings are looked back on with a new critical approval. It might be that a particular architectural project has gained significance because the design has been retrospectively recognised as representing a specific cultural moment, or that the building styles and techniques used have become acknowledged as being groundbreaking. Both of these could be applied to the work of CPB at the University of Leeds, in attributing heritage status to their work. For example, the Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre listing by English Heritage states it has been classified as Grade II listed because of "special architectural or historic interest" (English Heritage 2010). English Heritage go on to provide reasons for this designation:

Architecture: the building is an outstanding and individual design with bold external shapes and carefully designed interiors. Planning: the internal spaces are the result of extensive research on the requirements of the university and introduce innovative and influential features such as individual doors into the lecture theatres, and external links intimately with other buildings on the campus by means of multi-level walkways. Intactness: despite the changing requirements of universities, the building has remained largely unchanged, proving the success of its design. Group Value: the building provides a fitting centrepiece to the group of university buildings on the South Campus at Leeds. (ibid.)

While the campus of CPB may have had a particular agenda attached to it, what this particular space of HE production actually became is the ground for the postmodern university to follow. Despite the fact that the modernist university created by CPB cannot be described as explicitly consumerist, as is the business leaning of today's postmodern corporatised university, it nevertheless is contingent in putting in place much of the ideological structure of what we can see in the contemporary university. What we see now as the neoliberalist approach to economics and capital came about in

⁷⁵ The classification criteria by English Heritage for listed buildings are vast and includes such factors as all buildings built before a certain time, and all buildings built in certain specified periods of history. It also includes such criteria as "nationally important" and of "exceptional interest".

the 1970s. And a late capitalist orientation can certainly be seen in the rationale behind the planning of the campus in the 1960s, especially in regard to the movement of bodies and cars: “Inherent in capital is the desire to reduce the time and costs of circulation so that the expanded capital can be returned more quickly to the sphere of production” (Smith 1990: 93).

Thus the use, and therefore influence, of HE urban space has the effect of producing a student capable of producing. In this case that would not only be a student that moves around the campus efficiently in order to meet the goals set out by the architects, but also one that meets the ultimate requirements of the new university – the completion of the course, good grades and the transition to a graduate job in the workplace. This in turn attracts more students in the future and then the new campus becomes justified in terms of the huge financial outlay invested in campus development. What appears initially as just a development plan, becomes an actual space in architectural form which is imbued with the wishes and desires of those in power. The individuals operating in that space then become influenced by the space and are supposed to fulfil those ideological expectations set out by the university. When discussing the modernist buildings at the University of Leeds, Whyte states that it is actually the intention of the university to express particular identities in its discourse and see its buildings as more than just the spatial manifestation of the institution (2008: 171). But even this does not really address what is occurring in these redeveloped spaces. This is what De Certeau says about the effects of re-development:

Every urban ‘renovation’ nonetheless prefers a *tabula rasa* on which to write in cement the composition created in the laboratory on the basis of discrete ‘needs’ to which functional responses are to be made. The system also produces need, the primary ‘substance’ of this composition. (1988: 200-01)

At the university this is the *raison d’être* of the plan. As Whyte states, the Development Plan “exemplified the functional planning of the period – and influenced the form of every subsequent university development” (2008: 182). The resulting campus becomes taken up in the discourse of the university (and HE in general), producing a desire in potential students to be offered a place there, at the ‘University of the Future’. This discourse is particularly relevant in regard to a part of the university campus that was included in the development work of CPB, a local cemetery located on the boundary of the campus.

Finding St George's Field

Where is the Cemetery?



Figure 17: St George's Field in 2011

CC Tina Richardson

This photo shows the East side of the landscaped park at the University of Leeds that was at one time a cemetery. The original cemetery wall is visible between the buildings and the trees.

At the University of Leeds there is a landscaped piece of ground located at the North edge of the campus known as St George's Field which belongs to the university (Figure 17). This 'field' – referred to as a 'garden' on the notices located at all entrances to the field (Figure 18, page 125) – can be seen on the campus maps provided by the university under the label 'St Georges Field'. On the university map this space takes up approximately 10% of the surface area of the campus (Figure 19, page 125).



Figure 18: St George's Field Notices

CC Tina Richardson

There are a number of these notices at the entrances of the park. While it is a University of Leeds sign, the prohibitions are similar to those that local Councils attribute to public parks.

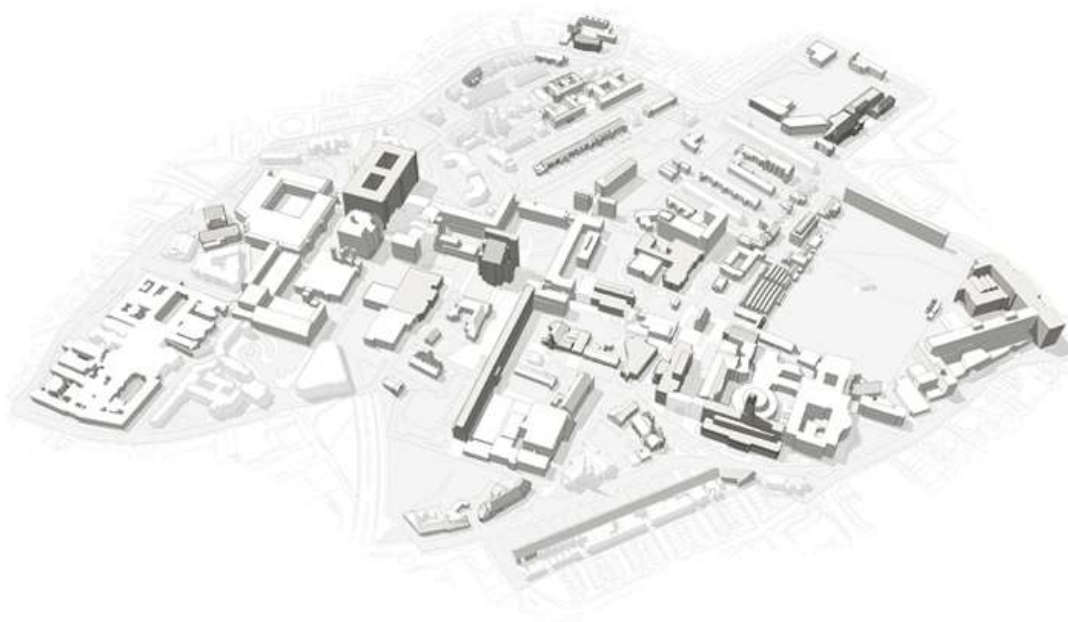


Figure 19: Interactive Campus Map

© The University of Leeds

The above map appears on the university website and when you click on it it launches an interactive map. The large white rectangular area on the far right (actually North as the map has been rotated clockwise by about 90 degrees) is St George's Field.

Until the 1960s, St George's Field was a cemetery. Prior to it becoming a cemetery in 1833 it was known as St George's Field. As a cemetery it has been known as Woodhouse Cemetery and later Leeds General Cemetery. Figure 20 shows a retrospective map of the area in 1830, prior to the university and the original cemetery. In 1969, when its function as a working cemetery was officially terminated, it reverted back to its original name. All the university maps refer to this space as St George's Field and there is very little historical information about it on the university website.⁷⁶ However, in the 1960s during the campus development, the cemetery became a place of tension, controversy and a politico-legal battle in regard to the existing burial space involving the University of Leeds and the relatives of the dead.

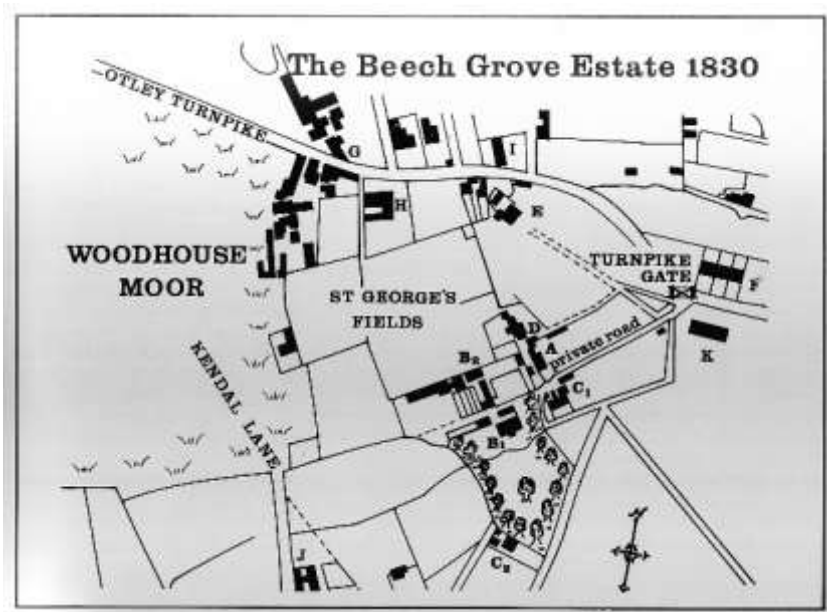


Figure 20: Retrospective Map of the Area of St George's Field

© Duncan Osborne

This map was commissioned by Beresford for his book *Walks Round Red Brick*. It shows the area of the Beech Grove Estate, much of which became the university campus. The Turnpike Gate was approximately at the area which is now the Parkinson Steps.

This discussion on St George's Field appears here as a specific case study within the overarching case study of the University of Leeds. Its particular worth as part of this schizocartography is because it sits within the CPB period of development above, it highlights the relationship between the university and local citizens, and it introduces a historical lineage to university space that predates the actual university itself. In addition to this, and in regard to its spatial extension, the cemetery opens discussion on

⁷⁶ St George's Field is also known for being the burial place of Pablo Fanque (the first black circus owner in Britain, who died in 1871 and is buried there along with his wife). Pablo Fanque is referred to in the song by the Beatles 'Being For the Benefit of Mr. Kite' on their album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1968). It is also the burial place of the landscape artist John Atkinson Grimshaw (1896-1893), who was commemorated with a Blue Plaque in St George's Field in April 2014.

the space/place distinction and introduces such concepts as what is and what is not university space and where does public and private land begin and end.

In order to situate the space geographically, a brief description of the general layout of St George's Field and its proximity to current university buildings is provided so as to demonstrate the look of the field and to indicate how difficult it is to see from outside the area itself. St George's Field is surrounded on all sides by walls or metal railings. At some places on the outside of the cemetery the wall is quite high, but because parts of the cemetery topography are higher than the surrounding land the walls can appear low from the inside. The most Northern side of the ground is bordered by the Henry Price Halls of Residence which sits in a cantilever-effect on the original wall of the cemetery, overlooking the now landscaped park. These halls are on the uppermost edge of the campus, facing Clarendon Road and across from Woodhouse Moor. The East-most side of the field is bordered primarily by the Faculty of Engineering buildings, but also a road which includes a pedestrian path for only part of its length. While this is where the cemetery gatehouse is located (Figure 21), there are no signposts to the field here or anywhere on campus, only the small notices (Figure 18, page 125) and a blue plaque outside stating that it was a cemetery (Figure 22, page 128).



Figure 21: St George's Field Gatehouse 2011

CC Tina Richardson

The above photo shows the gatehouse and the path that leads to the chapel (the low surrounding wall which you can see in the lower right of the image is the base of the chapel).



Figure 22: Blue Plaque at St George's Field

CC Tina Richardson

The plaque, located at the gatehouse entrance, says: "LEEDS GENERAL CEMETERY/Alarmed by the insanitary and overcrowded state of the Parish Church graveyard and body snatching, the Leeds elite bought £25 shares in the Leeds General Cemetery Company. It acquired St George's Fields and created this fine private cemetery, where many Leeds worthies lie./Architect: John Clarke/Opened 1835".

Once in St George's Field the area is presented as a well-kept, landscaped park-like space. In the centre is the original chapel, now storage space for the University Library. A main path leads to the chapel between the gatehouse and the back of the School of Geography. The chapel is located in the middle of the field.⁷⁷ As well as the gravestones which are located in pockets, there are a few large monument-type memorials. Also, there are a number of small memorials dotted about the area which appear in the form of small wooden plaques located close to the ground, where gravestones appear to be either absent or never existed in the first place. The area is open to both university staff, students and the public, nevertheless most of the time it is very much empty of people, even in good weather. However, it is a shortcut, so it is used by those who know about it to head south across campus.

The most significant piece of information that can be found on the university website about St George's Field is a link from the Equality Services Department to the BBC's website. It takes you to a BBC article dated 25 April 2006 under a section on Leeds Local History. The article is entitled 'Life and Death in Leeds' and links to four images of the cemetery and two sound files which are recordings from the event of the

⁷⁷ At least as far back as 1967 there was also a greenhouse located right near the chapel. This is indicated on a plan of the original burial plots which can be accessed in the University Library.

unveiling of the blue plaque on the gatehouse in 2006. The sound files feature Dr. Kevin Grady from Leeds Civic Trust who attended the unveiling, who remarks on this “hidden” space at the university. The article begins: “Now hidden within the campus of the university the Leeds General Cemetery Company’s site at St George’s Field is an important piece of Leeds’ Victorian history” (BBC 2006). While it might be a stretch to accuse the University of deliberately hiding the cemetery, what is apparent is that the university does not ‘advertise’ it. While the university has a section on its listed buildings under ‘Estate Planning and Information’, the cemetery is not mentioned here.⁷⁸ Also, if one clicks on ‘About’ on the homepage of the university website there is a section entitled ‘Heritage’, but it really only describes the events that led up to the charter for the University of Leeds in 1904.



Figure 23: Aerial Photo of the University of Leeds 1953

© Aerofilms

The cemetery is on the right edge of the above image. You can just see the original gravestones lined up. This was taken prior to the Henry Price Halls of Residence being built, which would be off the right of this photo. This photos shows the rows of terraces before many of them were demolished following the CPOs.

It is important to note that it was not many decades ago that the cemetery appeared to be separate from the university, or at the very least on the edge of it. This is apparent from the aerial photo in Figure 23, which was taken before the major development of the university campus and the landscaping of the field. This landscaping also signalled the

⁷⁸ A number of university websites in the United Kingdom celebrate the history of their campuses. For example, the University of Reading has a section of their website entitled ‘Overview and History’ with one of the sub-pages entitled ‘History of the University’s Estates’. Here they openly discuss the acquisition of land for the university and present it in a historical timeline: they discuss the Victorian and the 1960s architecture and comment on their listed buildings (University of Reading 2012).

change of use from a cemetery to a park, which involved different stakeholders and an engagement with local people who had a family history connected to the cemetery.

Robert Frederick Fletcher's doctoral thesis 'The History of the Leeds General Cemetery Company 1833-1965' begins:

Few Leeds undergraduates in the post-war years can have been unaware of the General Cemetery. For many it represented a tiresome diversion on the way to another faculty or to the bus home. For some the giant's causeway of obelisks and monuments hiding behind high sooty walls and wrought-iron gates evoked some interest if only as an enclave of peace within so much bustle and activity. (1975: ii)

Fletcher opens his thesis with this aesthetic and empirical description of the cemetery (his thesis is a study on the Leeds General Cemetery Company, the operations and practices of the organisation and the history leading up to its inception).⁷⁹ His supervisor was Beresford, who had recommended that he pursue this as an avenue of research. What is apparent from the above description, is that at one time the cemetery was, apparently, not 'hidden'.

Fletcher's thesis includes another section on his own aesthetic response to the then newly renovated St George's Field. I include it in full because part of the project of this thesis is the aesthetic and affective response of people to university space, but also because this thesis is attempting to provide an alternative history of the campus, one that is counter to the dominant discourse and includes the first-person response of individuals.⁸⁰ This paragraph of Fletcher's shows that he is not fully in support of the work carried out by the university on the cemetery at the point they acquired it:

It seems a pity however that despite the very thorough and imaginative work done in various quarters the result is so barren. Far too few of the better stones were retained with the result that those that do remain cower on the margins of the ground, yielding the central space to large areas of unrelieved grass. Pathways constructed from gravestones and, what is even worse, imitation gravestones, are in poor taste and look cheap. Additionally the current condition of the fabric of the chapel leaves much to be desired, and it surely deserves of a better fate than that which it is meeting at the present. It is difficult to believe that more care and a more imaginative execution would not have been worth the marginally increased expenditure involved. (Fletcher 1975: 108)

In *Walks Round Redbrick* (1980), Beresford dedicates a chapter to the cemetery which

⁷⁹ The handlist also makes reference to Fletcher's thesis by indexing some of its items with both the libraries own coding system and also those used in Fletcher's thesis.

⁸⁰ Generally academic historical accounts do not include 'subjective' responses, or at the very least personal reactions are discouraged as they are considered to take away from the academic rigour applied to the historical phenomena under observation.

contains a brief history, but also a response to the space written in respect of his own walks around the cemetery:

Today the most comprehensive view of the cemetery is from the Engineering buildings which overlook the gate-house, the main drive and the porticos of the Greek temple that stands among the lawns and ornamental trees, a landscape designed by Mr Chamberlin after the majority of the monuments had been removed in 1968. A few of special interest went to the City Museum: a limited number were allowed to remain, in rather sad clusters; and the rest were used to create the mounds and hillocks that now give variety and contours to the landscape. (1980: 51)

Beresford uses the term ‘sad’ to describe the collections of gravestones within the area of trees and shrubbery which could be considered a valid reaction for a number of reasons. Not just because gravestones are physical signifiers of death, but because he is aware of the history of the landscaping period of the field, having commented on it in his aforementioned 1975 essay.

The Acquisition of the Cemetery

It was during the major development of the campus in the 1960s that the University became the Trustee for the cemetery and brought it within the campus boundary. CPB include a chapter on it in the *1960 Development Plan* entitled ‘The Quick and the Dead’. The university had acquired the cemetery by this time, through the transfer of shares from those who owned the burial plots.⁸¹ While a transfer of shares initially appears a purely bureaucratic procedure, the ramifications, as they were for the cemetery, became a transfer of rights in relation to territory (property).

Fletcher states that the university declared an interest in acquiring the site as far back as 1922, anticipating its closure as a cemetery and the possibility of being future caretakers of the space (1975: 100). According to Fletcher, in 1956 in a letter to the university’s solicitors the Bursar of the university describes the possibility of the university acquiring the cemetery land as “a real acquisition” (1975: 102). While a draft letter to be sent to shareholders at the same time stated that there were plans for it to be “a quiet cloister”, apparently this was removed from the final circular (ibid.) The issue of cemetery acquisition was raised again in 1947 and also 1953, but it was not until 1955

⁸¹ A ‘Record of Those Buried in Woodhouse Cemetery, Leeds (1970)’ is available in the University of Leeds library. This document is a computer printout described as a ‘handlist’. The abstract attached to this entry acknowledges the controversy between the university and local people (University of Leeds 2011c). It also explains that a “photographic record of the inscriptions on tomb-stones in the cemetery was made before it was landscaped”, but that “[u]nfortunately the copy held by the University architects was destroyed by fire in the 1970s, while the set of negatives deposited with the Registrar General in London cannot currently be located” (ibid.).

that discussions began in earnest, when it was revealed that the cemetery company was having financial difficulties (*ibid.*).

James Smedley, a chartered surveyor for the cemetery, but also its director and secretary, stated that the financial difficulties were in part because of gossip surrounding a potential takeover of the cemetery by the university, meaning that plots were being found, instead, in nearby Leeds cemeteries (*ibid.*). Fletcher added that despite this idealised vision of a cemetery becoming part of the university, even a deteriorating cemetery might be better for the university than letting the space become acquired by another organisation (*ibid.*). Soon after this the university offered to buy the cemetery company shares at £1.50 for every £10.00, with a requirement that three quarters of those with shares took up the offer (*ibid.*). Thus began the process of acquiring the land.

Fletcher says that by 1957 all but sixteen of those with shares had transferred them to the university (although this number was made up of fourteen people whose addresses were not known) (1975: 102). So, it appears, two people (or families) were resistant to the transfer of cemetery space to the university. Nevertheless, the transfer went ahead by invoking article 11(b), meaning that despite not everyone assenting, because they were not contactable, the conveyance could proceed (*ibid.*).⁸² Once the university became the Trustee for the cemetery, it then became apparent that the task they had set themselves was far greater than expected, especially with the budget they had allowed: £45,000 in 1964 (Fletcher 1975: 104). What started out as a project that involved no graves being disturbed, ended up being one whereby most would be removed to create an open space, rather than the enormous task of maintaining individual burial plots. It was at this point that the university – whose previous two dissenters had posed no serious threat at the time of the share transfer – realised that local opposition could be a problem and that an Act of Parliament was the only logical route.

CPB noted the poor state of the cemetery prior to development: “something drastic should be done – to cultivate an environment which will more accurately reflect people’s attitude to their dead, than does Woodhouse cemetery as it now exists” (1960: 37). They went on to say that “monuments have been erected in discordant disarray, and the whole has a depressing appearance of neglect” (*ibid.*). They advised that the graves should remain but the gravestones and monuments should be “removed elsewhere” (1960: 38). CPB had initially wanted to keep many of the gravestones and also add a

⁸² It is not apparent what article ‘11(b)’ in Fletcher’s thesis refers to as it predates the University of Leeds Act 1965.

lake and stage in the centre of the cemetery. However, unfortunately, a body in a plastic bag was discovered, which also put the university off fully maintaining the graves, as had been originally planned (Harwood 2011: 89). So, despite the original condition “that the graves will not be disturbed [...] and that the rights of existing grave owners would be in no way affected” (University of Leeds, cited in Fletcher 1975: 101), the university set about finding a way to have more control over how the cemetery could be redeveloped.

A letter from the London Necropolis Company Limited to the University of Leeds, dated 23 May 1967, provided advice on how the university should technically carry out the planned work, but also expressed caution in the university’s approach to the whole landscaping project: “Experience has shown that the treatment of burial grounds is one of those subjects which in the press and local gossip is ‘dynamite’” (Richardson 1967: 3). CPB recommend an Act of Parliament for the purposes of changing the use of the land and for gaining more power over how it could be altered: “for it is not reasonable for the dead to inhibit the growth and development of the living” (1960: 38).

Fletcher said many people were in support of the newly outlined project, but there were also “Many bitter and some pathetic letters [...] sent to the University, to the press and to the local Members of parliament” (1975: 104). He cites a letter sent by a Miss Ottley where she expressed concern that once the project was finished, people would forget about the current issue of local opposition, and the reasons behind it, and the university would eventually be able to use the space as they saw fit (1975: 105). What is evident about Ottley’s comments is that they reflect how history and space works in this regard, through a process of hiding and forgetting.

During this period the local Leeds objectors to the cemetery landscaping formed themselves into an oppositional group called the Woodhouse Cemetery Defence Organisation. The group was led by Mr. A.H. Rowley who wrote to *The Guardian* newspaper and the local clergy, pointing out how the university had reneged on their original condition of not disturbing the graves (Fletcher 1975: 105). This dispute was anticipated by E. Williamson writing in the *University of Leeds Review* in 1960: “Indeed, it is obvious that difficulties of many kinds would lie in the way any proposal to build on a disused burial ground and even to close, level and turf it would require prolonged negotiation and parliamentary sanction” (1960: 29).⁸³

⁸³ E. Williamson was an administrative officer at the university at this time.

Further reason for concern for the redevelopment project followed when the building of the new halls of residence, the Henry Price Building, meant that some monuments were damaged, with the result that the Woodhouse Cemetery Defence Organisation appearing on television (Fletcher 1975: 105). Nevertheless the University of Leeds Act went through later in 1965, meaning that gravestones and memorials could then be removed. It should be stated that the new act had written into it a compensation clause, and compensation was paid out to those who were unhappy about how the new project was impacting their previous rights (Fletcher 1975: 107). However, there are letters that exist in the university archives that contest the amount recommended for compensation, such as one from Mrs. M. J. Chapman to the university bursar. Chapman stated that if one wanted to provide a new grave place “you would have to pay more for the same” and that the £40 was not “true compensation” (1973: 1-2).

The Act itself opens with the following, included here in order to introduce its main intentions:

An Act to transfer the Leeds General Cemetery to The University of Leeds, to make provision for the improvement and maintenance thereof by The University of Leeds as a garden and open space within the University precincts, to enact provisions with regard to The University of Leeds; and for other purposes. (Acts of Parliament 1966: CH. xix, 1)

What is telling, though, is the wording of some of the individual clauses, which are both vague and seemingly innocuous. While the Act is a legal document bestowing rights to the University of Leeds, when viewed by an interested party, for instance a related family member, the text appears in a different light. It is this lack of clarity that provides a space for interpretation and, hence, bestows an authority that enables the administering of certain actions in a way that the university sees fit.

The completed project resulted in the removal of most of the gravestones, with the still living relatives unable to exactly locate their deceased family members.⁸⁴ The architects misjudged the response of many of the relatives when they stated: “the response of surviving relatives might reasonably be expected to be one of welcome rather than opposition” (1960: 38).⁸⁵ While, it is possible that the university could argue that the graves had not been disturbed (if one chooses to call the grave the space below ground,

⁸⁴ In the university library there exists a large map of the cemetery with every burial space indexed and marked. However, in a practical sense it would require that a visitor attempting to locate a grave be able to translate the measurements into real space.

⁸⁵ In *The University of Leeds Review* (May 1969) in an article about the campus development of that period, Chamberlin makes reference to the work in St George’s Field in a very pragmatic and factual way, making no note of the controversy attached to the cemetery redevelopment.

a purely semantic argument), it is the case that those visiting the graves were still allowed to visit the cemetery. Nevertheless, there is clearly some transfer of territory taking place, not just in the sense that the university became responsible for the cemetery as a whole – therefore a transfer of care, or ownership – but because the gravestone, the marker of the body, had been removed in nearly all cases. While this may not be equated to the types of dispossession that has occurred on the level of colonialism (or more recently in larger neoliberalist practices appearing under the aegis of urban regeneration), for those individuals involved, dispossession is quite likely the effect of this territorial transfer. Mullins and Lewis remark on a similar exercise carried out by the Indiana University Medical Centre in 1921, whereby plans to extend the area involved graves in the garden of one of the oldest homes in Indianapolis. While the university hospital at Indiana was initially unwilling to destroy this historical place, eventually a bulldozer was used and the home and graves replaced with a memorial boulder (Mullins and Lewis 2011: 253).

As well as general clauses contained in the University of Leeds Act 1965 that enable much breadth of interpretation, other clauses are very specific in defining the powers that the university has with regard to the cemetery. Clause 5.-(2) (a) states: “the University may [...] enclose it or any part thereof or keep it or any part thereof enclosed by walls, railings or fences, and gates” (1966: CH. xix, 4). This has involved the closing and moving of the original entrance arches. Even though they remain, the arches have been closed to the extent that they no longer provide entrances to the space (one is blocked in with bricks and the other is placed within the actual cemetery boundary for decorative purposes), consequently adding to the hiding of the cemetery (Figure 24 and Figure 25).



Figure 24: Free-Standing Arch in St George's Field

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This arch is close to the Henry Price Building. At the top on the left you can see under the overhang of the building and directly on the left is the original wall of the cemetery.



Figure 25: Filled-In Arch in St George's Field

CC Tina Richardson

This arch forms part of the cemetery wall and faces onto Clarendon Road where there is also an exit from the university via Cemetery Road.

This phenomenon of hiddenness is often a side-effect of rationalist spatial organisation and planning. St George's Field is what Lefebvre describes as an abstract space of social and political significance whereby "*The space of a (social) order is hidden in the order of space*" (1991: 289), (Lefebvre's italics). Lefebvre goes on to explain how some people are advantaged by certain spaces and others are omitted from them, with this bringing about a "violence" through arrangements that are deemed "rational" (ibid.). In acquiring the cemetery the university has changed the space of the past, while at the same time making it part of its future plans by rationally integrating it into institutional space.

The landscaping of the cemetery carried out by the university, with the help of the relevant Parliamentary Act, involved a process of hiding involving material forces, capital processes and shifting social relations. Gary Genosko states that "Capital decodes or deterritorializes existing populations, traditions and organizations, and recodes and reterritorializes them on a socio-economic system of production" (2002: 222). Enfolding the cemetery within campus space was part of the portfolio-building project of the university on the cusp of postmodernity, thus demonstrating its new neo-liberal direction: capital "decodes all determinations of value and recodes them as quantities against the general equivalent of money; it operates on a deterritorialized plane of immanence" (ibid.).

In 1960 the cemetery was an enclave within the university territory itself, open to the 'outside' only on the Clarendon Road edge. After the project was completed, the cemetery was surrounded on all sides by university space, becoming an aesthetically attractive park-like space, with most of the signs of its past having been removed. The transferral of cemetery space to that of university park is part of the project of the university of excellence and it behoves it to both include the cemetery space in its portfolio and to 'hide' the consequences of that acquisition. What is not represented (and what is) is both a cause and effect of ideology. This hiding creates a problem – which has already been touched on in regard to Miss Ottley's comments about how once the project was finished the university could do what it wished with the cemetery – because many of the visual signs are, literally, removed from the surface of the terrain. But, the powers enabling these processes to take effect are not easy to see. They exist in legal documents that require effort and knowledge to discover and/or challenge, such as the University of Leeds Act of 1965.

In the opening to her essay on the regeneration project at Grand Central Station in New York during the 1990s, Cindi Katz states: “The hidden city is itself an outcome and a representation of what might be understood as ‘postmodern geographical praxis’, but so too is the project of its un hiding” (2001: 93). Commenting on the complexity of heterotopic spaces, and their implicit heterogeneity, she discusses the partitioning of space through “domination and privilege” (2001: 94). This is done by looking at particular neighbourhoods, the relationship particular minority groups have with specific spaces and the process of hiding (in public policy) and un hiding (in this case a deconstructive form of revealing produced through critique). Katz states: “it is clear that the spatial forms associated with increasingly globalized capitalist production are indeed masterful at hiding the consequences and contradictions of the social relations associated with it” (2001: 96).

Katz discusses how the process of privatizing space is at the heart of the postmodern neoliberalist project such that this raises important issues in relation to place and meaning. This is also remarked upon by Foucault. When commenting on the “human site” he says that it is a function of our times that a certain type of knowledge is required when examining space, such as “knowing what relations of propinquity, what type of storage, circulation, marking, and classification of human elements should be adopted in a given situation in order to achieve a given end” (2001: 238). This becomes pertinent when applied to the process of capital accumulation inasmuch as when the “given end” is the project of acquiring space in order to pre-empt any contravening use, then a knowledge of how processes such as “circulation” and “marking” operate become useful in altering the appearance of spaces so that they manifest in a new way, occluding their socio-historical origins. For the new St George’s Field, the circulation of living human bodies through the cemetery has been controlled in the same way that local town Councils control the movement of people, with the use of urban décor (for example, paths and walls). Also, the un-marking of the graves has been part of the process of turning a graveyard into a garden, and at the same time re-writing the landscape in order for it to be less ‘cemetery-like’, suggesting a different space which expects different actions from its actors.⁸⁶

While the acquisition of cemetery land by the university is in no way on the scale of the privatization of Grand Central Terminal space in New York and the process of hiding

⁸⁶ The term ‘actor’ is used here in relation to Actor-Network Theory, whereby people and things in space become part of a material-based semiotic network. But this concept can also be related to the term ‘habitus’ where individuals and groups understand (or not) the cultural expectations of their behaviour in particular spaces.

therein (for example, the removal of the homeless), the university has engineered the situation such that it has invoked power and money in order to fulfil its particular agenda. These powers are written into the very Act itself. Another two examples demonstrate this: “the University may [...] remove and if they see fit use or dispose of any memorial in the cemetery [and] move any memorial in the cemetery to a different position” (1966: CH. xix, 4). The implementation of these clauses is apparent in Figure 26, which shows that some gravestones and memorials have been left in groups for the purposes of the aesthetics of the park. There are open spaces in between these clusters of graves that used to bear both the original paupers’ gravestones and more recent graves of those whose gravestones were not deemed worth saving.



Figure 26: Gravestones in the North of St George’s Field 2011

CC Tina Richardson

There are a number of the more ‘impressive’ memorial located in this area, which is accessible by one of the paths from Cemetery Road. This part of the field has a much more cemetery-like feel than if one walked through the field via the central path from the gatehouse.

Some of the paths have been made from the paupers’ gravestones of the cemetery. These gravestones list a number of people located in one burial plot (Figure 27, page 140). The paupers’ gravestones, and others, can just be seen lined up in their original location in Figure 23 (page 129). Figure 21 (page 127) shows these paupers’ gravestones in their current location, as paving stones for the path, as can be seen today. In the development plan, CPB state: “Old gravestones used as pavings in pedestrian areas not only continue to serve as memorials but are also richly decorative” (1960: 38). While CPB’s intention was to create an attractive landscaped space while attempting to conserve some of the heritage of the original cemetery and keep in mind respect for the dead, this has repercussions that extend to judgements about what is worthy and not

worthy of preserving. These decisions have an impact on the lives of those whose relatives are buried in the cemetery.



Figure 27: Original Pauper's Gravestone

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The above gravestone is one of many that are now placed as paving stones which wind their way across the garden. When CPB ran out of existing grave/paving stones like this one, they created some faux stones engraved with nebulous, unreadable text.

Katz says that power appears in the form of a “visible monumentality [that] is built on rendering invisible those who are on the losing end of the great and growing divide between rich and poor” (2001: 103). Guattari comments on this process of concealment in a similar way, making particular note of the university as a body of power:

“universities and other such bodies develop an entire ideology and set of phantasies of repression in order to counter processes of social creation in every sphere” (1984: 34).



Figure 28: Cluster of Gravestones

CC Tina Richardson

I discovered these gravestones had been fenced off on a visit to St George's Field in January 2012. This is part of ongoing work carried out by the Estates Services in order to keep the gravestones from falling over. Also, from time to time, to test the stability of the ground, a small tractor with a heavy weight on the back is dragged across the ground to see which areas may be nearing subsidence levels. It seems, over time cemetery maintenance has moved from the tending of burial spaces to health and safety issues concerning collapsed masonry.

Foucault touches upon the binary elements – such as visible/invisible – as they relate to heterotopia. He discusses how, in a deconstructive way, the act of creating a space forms partitions that define both sides of these boundaries, for example defining an illusory space also has the effect of reaffirming a real space (2001: 243). He continues: “Or [...] creat[ing] a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled” (ibid.). Foucault describes these two types of spaces as heterotopias of “illusion” (the former) and “compensation” (the latter) (ibid.). He offers up colonial space as an example of a heterotopia of compensation. The cemetery could be considered to be a colonially occupied space: a dilapidated space requiring organisation (order versus chaos) and cultivation (culture versus nature).⁸⁷

At one time cemeteries were the centre of the village, town or city, reflecting a religious

⁸⁷ In her essay Katz discusses the Broken Window Theory – broken windows being a sign of crime, vandalism and social disorder, with a removal of those signs improving the area – adopted by the mayor of New York, Rudy Giuliani. A move from a state of disorder to that of order.

community spirit. A more secular attitude, and a greater awareness of disease, in Victorian times meant cemeteries were moved to the suburbs. St George's Field also confirms Foucault's second principle of the heterotopia, a historical place that has a determined position within culture, which can then be superseded by another function at a later time (ibid.): the change of use from cemetery to garden. St George's Field not only holds true of the basic principles of what classifies a heterotopic space, it also has further qualities that a 'regular' cemetery might not. These further heterotopic qualities have come about because of its condition of reuse set out in the 1960s. For example, as Foucault states in his third principle: "The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several places, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (ibid.). Is it possible for the cemetery to also be a garden? Can it comfortably be a sanctified place of rest for the dead and also a park-like area, open to all and contained within the boundaries and administrative structure of a university campus? These questions are posed not because I intend to answer them, but so as to highlight the tensions inherent in the place, these very tensions being what creates a heterotopia in the first place. Foucault describes these simultaneous places as being "foreign to one another" and while the example of the cemetery as a heterotopia is apparent enough (ibid.), he also provides the garden as an example of a heterotopia, because in antiquity gardens were originally created to represent a small version of the world (2001: 238).

Foucault uses the mirror to explain the relationship between utopias (sites without places) and heterotopias. He describes the mirror as a type of utopia, by his own definition "a placeless place" (2001: 239). The mirror projects us into a place where we are not. However, the mirror is also a heterotopia in the sense that it does exist as a real object in space, enabling us to "discover [our] absence from the place where [we are]", since we can see we are located elsewhere (ibid.). This has the effect whereby the gaze, as it is located in the ground of the reflection, can be traced back towards us as the viewer, via the glass, and back into ourselves through our eyes, where we become restructured (ibid.). As Foucault states, this makes the location of the individual conjured in the act of looking at the glass both "absolutely real" and "absolutely unreal" (ibid.). For a heterotopia such as a cemetery, this mirroring effect might also be evoked by the surface of the ground and the gravestones locating 'loved ones'.

Katz describes the work of the Grand Central Partnership, in its "cleaning up" of the area, as a heterotopia of compensation (2001: 102). She uses terms such as "reordering", "regulation" and "sanitation" when discussing the rhetoric attached to the

project (ibid.). She states that this compensatory function has the effect of organising space and the lived experience, such that it fits into a specific agenda (ibid.). Harvey discusses how some theorists cite Foucault's heterotopias as being "protected spaces" that are outside of the grasp of "capital accumulation, market relations and state power" (2006: 81). However, it is apparent in the case of Woodhouse Cemetery, that the space, once it became the responsibility of the university, was not necessarily protected in the way that many had hoped.

Debord remarks on aesthetics and signs in a similar way to both Katz and Foucault. He states: "What is false creates taste, and reinforces itself by knowingly eliminating any possible reference to the authentic" (1998: 50). Therefore, in a Debordian sense, the attractive landscaped St George's Field could be considered to be the falsification of the original cemetery such that it hides the signs of its authenticity as a graveyard. At the same time the landscaped garden places the cemetery under the label of something genuine, it looks like an 'old' rather than a 'modern' space. Debord states: "Today [...] the tendency to replace the real with the artificial is ubiquitous [...] Everything will be more beautiful than before, for the tourists' cameras" (1998: 51).

These tensions inherent in St George's Field reflect the dichotomies that are often present in postmodern space, such as old/modern, real/inauthentic, open/closed, absent/present and visible/invisible. This highlights the complexity of the space and lends it to being described as palimpsest. St George's Field could be described as palimpsest, not least because it has a history that can be traced back over nearly two hundred years, but also because of the history held in the ground in the form of the bodies still interred there, especially those that no longer have the gravestones that appear on the surface. The physical index to the location of the body is now absent: one could say it has been wiped off the surface off the land. As a palimpsest heterotopic space St George's Field reflects a "set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another" (Foucault 2001: 239). While the paupers' graveyard has utopian origins in attempting to provide a burial place for everyone, these have become superseded in a culture where space not only has a high monetary value attached to it, but also can be acquired by others under the title of public benefit. However the resulting controversy for the university has led to the cemetery becoming a repressed phenomenon.

In Loving Memory of a Dear Sister

The Situationist Marcel Mariën had a form of an irreverent ‘game’ which involved swapping the crosses on gravestones around in a cemetery as a way of getting visitors to experience the graveyard differently (Mariën 2009: 57). The results of this experiment are not made clear in Mariën’s text, but it appears to be a form of naive tomfoolery rather than something malicious, although it depends on one’s perspective. By all accounts, though, many of the SI did not consider graveyards to be sacred places, as this extract from the Lettrist International demonstrates: “Cemeteries should be eliminated. All corpses and related memorials should be totally destroyed, leaving no ashes and no remains. (It should be noted that these hideous remnants of an alienated past constitute a subliminal reactionary propaganda [...])” (2006: 13). Despite their argument for the demolition of graveyards, not many people would support this approach to political activism. My first psychogeographical expedition of St George’s Field in the summer of 2009, was rather more exploratory than activist. It led me to a small wooden memorial under a tree (Figure 29).



Figure 29: Memorial for Pauline Mavis White

CC Tina Richardson

Christine Bairstow received permission from the university to place this memorial in memory of her twin sister. It is located near the North-West border of the cemetery, not far from the entrance to the garden that borders the Schools of Geography and Design.

The memorial says:

In memory of

Pauline Mavis White

Died 1946 ages 6 months

Will be forever in our Hearts

R.I.P

In the flower container underneath, it states: “In Loving Memory Of A Dear SISTER”. As the above image shows, someone still visits the grave, leaving flowers at the memorial that the university sanctioned, along with a tree.

At the university library there are four forms of documentation on the burials in the cemetery: *The Leeds General Cemetery Company Alphabetical Index to Plot Registers* (a set of handwritten ledgers), *The Leeds General Cemetery Burial Register* (another set of handwritten ledgers), *Record of Those Buried in Woodhouse Cemetery, Leeds* (a single computer printout from 1970) and *Leeds General Cemetery: Grave Record Plan* (a 1967 architectural drawing of the space allocating grave indexes per grave plot). One of the letters in the university archives makes reference to the indexing of the graves once the gravestones had been removed. The letter, from the relatives of a number of people buried in the cemetery, said that university’s grave records “where a fragment of what we know should be recorded” (Wolstencroft [year unknown]:2).⁸⁸ Pauline Mavis White’s death only appears in the burial register.⁸⁹

Where the most available information exists on Pauline Mavis White’s death is in a *Yorkshire Evening Post* newspaper article published in 15 October 2008. The article is entitled ‘Leeds Pensioner Begs University to Mark Sister’s Grave’ and is written from the perspective of Pauline’s twin sister, Christine Bairstow. The article states that “the University of Leeds is refusing to help Mrs Bairstow in her quest to discover the exact location of her sister’s body” (McTaggart 2008). It does not say whether Christine has been shown the plot which should, in theory, enable her to pinpoint the rough area of ground where her sister is buried. The article relates that Bairstow still feels connected to her twin sister, visiting the grave once a week, and would like to have a place to leave flowers on their birthday. The article goes on to say that the university had written in reply to her and also met her at some point, although it is apparent that Bairstow has not felt any resolution in regard to these communications. This might be because the original photographic records were destroyed and mislaid, but also because, as is stated

⁸⁸ It appears that the Wolstencrofts had moved away at some point and when later visiting the cemetery were distressed to find that their relatives’ gravestones had gone. They did, however, praise the university staff, who on their visit attempted to help as much as possible, even escorting them to the cemetery (Wolstencroft [year unknown]:3).

⁸⁹ Historically the deaths of babies have often been dealt with differently than those of older children and adults. For example, in the past stillborns, or babies that only survive a few hours, have been simply referred to as ‘Baby So-and-So’ (‘Baby’ and the surname of the parents or just the mother). Also, it is the case that often many stillbirth babies were interred in the same plot (often arriving from the hospital to the cemetery in one ‘delivery’, and, sometimes, not named at all).

in the article by the university:

Although the university has comprehensive records of all people interred there and a map exists of the gravesites, it would be nigh impossible to pinpoint the exact position of each individual. When the site was used as a cemetery, many of the plots were unmarked. (University of Leeds, cited in McTaggart 2008)⁹⁰

The article also raises Bairstow's complaints of the lack of respect shown by students to the area: the article says that on one occasion Bairstow saw two students having sex during daylight near her sister's grave site (*ibid.*). From the perspective of a heterotopia this is commented on by Foucault, where he states that these spaces require certain behaviours, in the form of "gestures" (2001: 243). Following a blog I wrote about the cemetery, although not the blog I had written mentioning Bairstow's memorial and the newspaper article, I received an anonymous comment stating: "My twin sister is buried in what we used to call Woodhouse Cemetery, we was just 6 months old when she was buried there. She was not buried in a paupers grave but the higher ups at Leeds university do not stop the students desecrating the graves" [*sic*]. I replied saying if I could help them with further information they could get in touch, but there was no further comment.

Most individuals, especially those with relatives in a specific graveyard, would feel sympathetic to Bairstow. While it is understandable that she is distressed by the action of students that she deems as disrespectful of a cemetery, it should be stated that students might not consider it to be a cemetery, especially since it is referred to as a garden by the university itself, and, also, it looks more like a municipal park than a graveyard. Unless you have been informed otherwise, it is not clear that bodies are still located under the whole of the grassed area.

As it appears today, St George's Field does not reflect the initial vision laid out by the university and CPB whereby it would remain as a maintained cemetery space that would not accept any more burials but would still include all the gravestones. Despite this the site has survived as a partial cemetery inasmuch as the bodies are still interred there, and some gravestones remain as a reminder of what the space once was. The clearance of most of the gravestones in the 1960s may seem transgressive from a contemporary perspective. Not involving local residents in the final stages of development would probably not happen today in Britain. Rather than negotiate with

⁹⁰ The article also cites another family in a similar predicament, the Claughtons, but no further information is available in any other newspaper articles. It is not clear whether Christine Bairstow and the Claughtons are the dissenters mentioned in regard to those challenging the landscaping of the cemetery in the 1960s.

local residents, though, the university applied for an Act of Parliament that gave them the rights to have power over the land. Local campaign groups have more input in socio-political decisions now than they did in the 1960s. While the concept of advocacy groups and social movements took off post World War Two, it has taken time for apparatuses of power (governments and organisations) to incorporate these groups in the democratic decision-making processes that effect specific groups or individuals.

It might not initially be apparent that the eventual procurement of the cemetery land by the university is one oriented towards a capitalist agenda, but as Guattari states, “capitalistic modes of production” do not necessarily manifest in obviously capitalist-oriented procedures (2008a: 21). I argue that while the cemetery acquisition, on a superficial examination, appears to have little to do with capital, it is a function of the agenda of the new university, the neoliberalist, posthistoric model.⁹¹ The social history of the cemetery is problematic for the university. Nevertheless, the capitalist agenda is one that is capable of eventually dealing with these conjunctions because it can both organise time and space in a way where incongruities become unproblematic: “The power sign’s polyvocality enables it to tolerate these structural alliances perfectly well” (Guattari 2006: 228). Polyvocality is capitalism’s recuperation of heterogeneity. It reformulates and repackages it and presents it back to us in an attractive, seemingly innocuous, form, to be further consumed. Thus, the cemetery is now consumed as a public garden.

In one sense St George’s Field, as a postmodern space located within an institutional setting, has become a reconciled space when situated within the larger project of capitalism. Its renaming, back to its original name, creates a form of distance from its ‘real’ function (it still is a graveyard after all) and its controversial recent history. St George’s Field, hence, becomes a new space making it easier to forget a past that is not attached to it via the proper noun (Woodhouse Cemetery or Leeds General Cemetery).⁹² St George’s Field is at odds with itself, in being both a cemetery and at the same time a public park of sorts. Can it simultaneously reconcile itself as a place of leisure and a sacred burial space? What is apparent is that changing its name has changed its function and this has enabled both a type of cultural forgetting to take place and also the availability of a whole new set of powers to both the Council and university in how they

⁹¹ When it comes to capital accumulation, land is one of the many objects of value that form part of the stock portfolio of companies and organisations today. Even though land can depreciate in the short-term, in the long-term this is rare.

⁹² In a similar way to how the controversial British nuclear plant Windscale became Sellafield.

control, market and manage the space.

Beresford remarks on the opposition to the University of Leeds Act of 1965, using some revealing language in his description:

[T]here was never any intention of building over the burials, although this fear was certainly behind the local opposition to the University of Leeds Bill (1965) by which the area was eventually closed for landscaping, reverting back to its original name of St George's Field; fallow again after the clearance orders and demolitions, they became part of a true campus. (1975: 145)⁹³

The use of the word 'fallow' becomes a useful term to apply to the cemetery because it means both 'uncultivated' and 'not in use'. During the period of closure for the purposes of landscaping its use as a graveyard was terminated. Nevertheless, it did then become cultivated in another way, as a landscaped garden. Since 'cultivated' in Raymond Williams *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, also means 'cultured', the new space created by the application of the University of Leeds Act meant it became an altered cultural object (from cemetery to park). But, also, it was transformed into a material signifier of a new cultural direction for the university, a concrete acknowledgement of its serious engagement in the neoliberalist project. The remodelling of the University of Leeds in the 1960s as a physical space, also reflected an ideological restructuring that would promote the university as a capital entity – a core engagement in a political programme to promote the university as an enterprise – whilst simultaneously occluding a particular social history that might be counter to its project. As Beresford commented above, the act of converting the cemetery meant that the field "became part of a true campus". While he does not state what he means by "true", it is apparent that the official incorporation of the cemetery space into the university – while expanding the campus topography and drawing into its boundaries a newly defined landscaped garden – reflected the desire for the fulfilment of a model of an aspirational future university.

The potential university appearing in the plans of CPB became manifest in what we see on the campus today in the area known as the Precinct. The only building from their legacy which has been demolished is the Charles Morris Halls of Residence, and that is only partially. Modernist buildings appear side-by-side with the buildings that preceded them and amongst the buildings that are attributed to postmodernity. Even though the

⁹³ Despite the University of Leeds Act of 1965 often being referred to as a Bill, it became an Act of Parliament in 1965. The term Bill is applied to the draft version of the Act. The University of Leeds Act is a private act, meaning it is locally applied, providing special powers to, in this case, the university.

architecture of modernity cannot be distinctly separated from that of postmodernity, looking at how the space is approached today in terms of design and planning will help historically contextualise the culture of university planning.

The Fabric of the Postmodern University



Figure 30: Estates Strategy 2009

CC Tina Richardson

This is the current Estates Strategy which sets out the university's aims and objectives for future campus development. It also includes tables of information on academic space allocation, property costs per square meter and energy emissions. The cover image is of The Edge, the new sports centre at the university.

The Selling and Branding of Place

While the seeds of the corporatised university are apparent in the modern university expansion programme that occurred after World War Two, the signs that form the postmodern university's discourse bring its corporate bearing to a new level. This can be seen when looking at the university's website, which has a Faculty of Business for degree courses in related subjects (such as economics, accounting and business management), but also offers services to business in the form of research-based relationships, knowledge-transfer partnerships and consultancy services, while also supplying venue space and corporate facilities. The corporate focus is also apparent when looking at the signs that make up the narrative of contemporary campus development, as can be seen in the university's *Estate Strategy 2009*, which now appears as a corporate brochure (Figure 30). This professionally produced brochure looks like a corporate strategy or end of year profits publication that you would see on a table in the reception area of any business. The cover could have reflected any number of buildings on campus, but it shows the new sports and leisure facility. This choice could be interpreted in a number of ways. Some of these might be: promoting physical

performance, health and well-being over learning and education, and/or demonstrating the significance attached to providing excellent services for students who, now paying a high price for their degrees, might attach more value to student facilities (resulting in good feedback for the university in student satisfaction surveys).

Since today's university now has to sell itself on the global stage, it is necessary that it produces marketing material that reflects its intent to engage internationally and at home. It needs to have a website that effectively advertises all it has to offer, and its corporate material needs to be as 'slick' as anything produced not only by its competitors, but also by anyone engaging with the university from potential students to potential business customers. The postmodern individual has high expectations of image and brand, and nowadays most consumers are highly attuned to the aesthetics of branding, even without any professional training in that area. This marketing material reflects the discourse of the university today and appears in anything from downloadable course brochures to the Estates Strategy.

Marketing and PR is an integral part of the university's strategy in the same way that accounting, capital investment and property management are. Products must be sold in order to gain funding, whether that is in the form of government grants or business investment. All expenditure needs to be justified and all funding tracked and monitored – like any other business organisation. This is what Readings says about the university's business functions as it appears in regard to profit and loss, investment and return:

Like the stock exchange, the University is a point of capital's self-knowledge, of capital's ability not just to manage risk or diversity but to extract surplus value from the management. In the case of the University this extraction occurs as a result of speculation on differentials in information. (1999: 40)

The *Annual Accounts and Report for 2010/11* states the University of Leeds's aim in its opening gambit: "By 2015 our distinctive ability to integrate world-class research, scholarship and education will have secured us a place among the top 50 universities in the world" (University of Leeds 2011d: 2). Even though this may not appear to be intrinsically linked to the university as it appears spatially, it actually is.⁹⁴ The campus is sold in the same way as any other sign that the university has at its disposal. Harvey discusses how this works: "The selling and branding of place, and the burnishing of the

⁹⁴ In the Key Performance Indicator section of the report, research grant income is also attached to square meter of university space. (University of Leeds 2011d: 70)

image of place [...], becomes integral to how capitalist competition works” (2011: 203). While the University of Leeds may have many of the saleable qualities that other Russell Group Universities do, the campus and the surrounding area – the concentrated campus space and facilities, the multicultural city of Leeds and the West Yorkshire countryside, for instance – are also used as a way of differentiating the university from its competition, by using geographical difference.

Receptors of Visual Effects

In 1999 the British Prime Minister Tony Blair announced his aim that 50% of school-leavers would enter HE by 2010 as part of widening participation. Universities were expected to respond to this new target, but by 2008 the increase in uptake was less than 1% (Wyness 2010). In February 2006 the University of Leeds announced a new healthcare and bioscience initiative involving a major development plan funded jointly by themselves and the, now inoperative, Yorkshire Forward Development Fund (University of Leeds 2006a). This would involve two areas of the campus: refurbished laboratory space in the existing Garstang Building and new development on the area known as the Western Campus (the area of the existing Business School) (ibid.). It would have “a variety of business-oriented uses, including formal and informal training, seminar programmes and workshops for NHS staff; events and conferences associated with regional and national innovation programmes; and hosting international visits” (ibid.).

The architects for this project were Carey Jones (based in Leeds and London) and the work would take a year. Now known as Careyjones Chapmantolcher, the architects produced an overall plan, in conjunction with Whitelaw + Turkington (landscape architects), for the university in 2008 called *The University of Leeds Strategic Development Framework*. This plan, and the approach by the architects, was similar to that instigated by CPB in the 1960s. However, the decisions made by the university based on any development work recommended by the architects would not necessarily mean that Careyjones Chapmantolcher or Whitelaw + Turkington would get the contracts for the actual work to be done, nor would they be ‘master planners’ in the way that CPB were. Unlike the 1960s, today the University of Leeds does not have ‘university architects’ *per se*, but appoints architects by project.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ In March of 2012 Careyjones Chapmantolcher’s Leeds office went into administration (Fulcher 2008), meaning that

In the plan the architects allude to the complex space that is the postmodern campus of 2012, with its different periods of architecture placed side-by-side.⁹⁶ They sum up the appearance of the campus today:

The Campus has evolved into a diverse range of character areas: some with clear boundaries and some less so, ranging from Gothic Victorian to 1960's modernism. The diverse character changes, both architectural and spatially, give the overall Campus a visual richness which, although at times confusing and lacking legibility, nevertheless offers delight through exploration, hidden spaces and routes. (Carey Jones and Whitelaw + Turkington 2008: 7)

The architects make reference to how the campus user might want to investigate the campuses "hidden spaces and routes". While they do not spell out the areas they are alluding to, this signals an acknowledgement that there are spaces that might be less well known on the campus. The term "legibility" describes how the postmodern campus might lack any coherent means to be read. Poststructuralist theory provides methods for reading cultural objects, which can be viewed as texts. In urban theory it is not uncommon for the city to be read in this way. In the plan the architects use the term "townscape" when referring to the campus and any human activity that might take place on it (2008: 14). They provide a method called "Townscape and Visual Analysis", an established strategy used today that encompasses factors such as historical style, mixtures of land-use, appearance and cultural qualities (ibid.). The complexity of postmodern space has brought with it new approaches to land assessment, development and restructuring that were not considered during modernist development, when space was relatively easy to come by and other factors were less relevant.

the university would now be serviced by the London office only.

⁹⁶ The strategic development document does not have the visual impact that the plans of CPB do. It takes the form of a spiral-bound, photocopied publication with a plastic cover, and has been published 'in-house', although it is unclear if the actual hard copy itself is produced by the architects or the university (however, the university Estates Services state that the content is produced by the architects). The formatting has no sense of style, there is no formal design and there are many typos and spelling mistakes.

One of the significant divergences between Carey Jones and Whitelaw + Turkington's (CJWT) plan and CPB's is their differing ways of analysing the space and in presenting that information. For instance, CPB focused considerably on the land height, even producing a colour-coded system to represent it, while CJWT colour-code the campus by spatial characteristics (architectural and functional) (Figure 31).

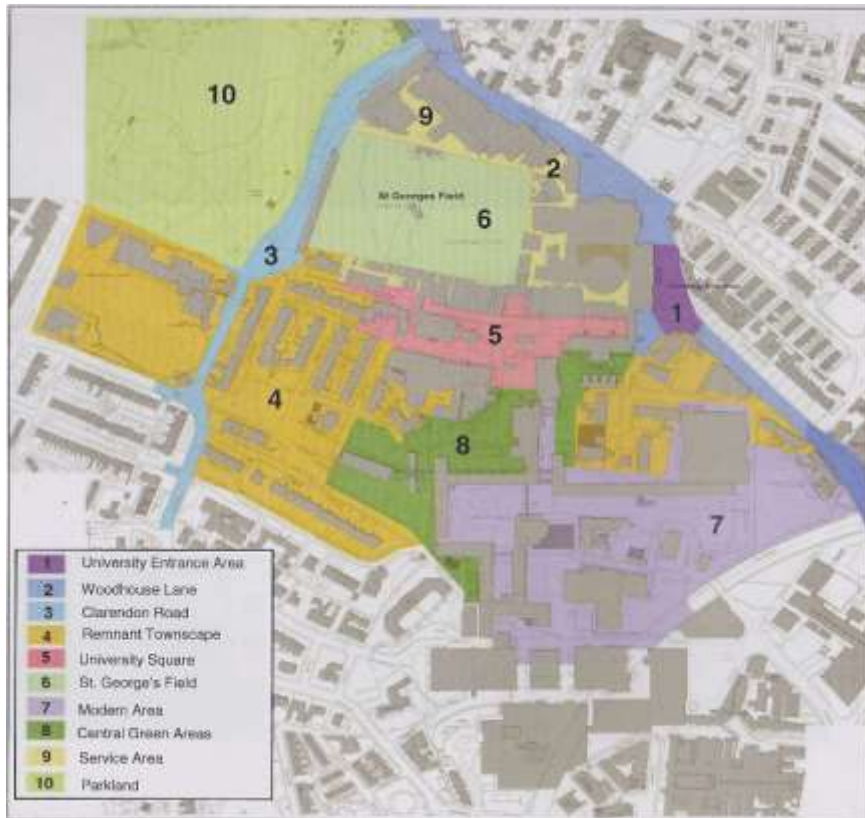


Figure 31: Character Areas Displayed by Colour-Coding

© Carey Jones and Whitelaw + Turkington, and the University of Leeds

This map analyses the campus by distinguishing particular styles of architecture, periods of development and also by some services. No demolitions appear in this plan like they did in the modernist period on campus. Also, the different styles are embraced in a way they were not by CPB, who often felt that the different architectural styles competed against their own modernist vision.

Figure 31 demonstrates not only the heterogeneity of space as it pertains to different moments in history, but also highlights the complexity of their relationships with each other via boundaries and routes. Despite this initially appearing as a spatial problem, it actually turns into a constructivist one of social relations: “the built environment is both the product of and mediator between social relations” (Dear 2000: 39). This takes place whereby social relations become written into material space via spatial structures, but then proceed to affect future relations in a dynamic way.

In his article 'Postmodernism and Planning', Michael J. Dear provides a chronology of planning knowledge from the end of World War Two up to the 1980s. He discusses how the immediate post-War development differs from that of postmodernity. Of the 1960s, he says that a "new scientism" took hold which involved using a systems theory type approach coupled with a populist bent which was growing out of a new democratic focus on the lived experience (1986: 377). This can be seen in the analytical and rational view of CPB, but also in their attempts to create a sense of community, too. Postmodern planning is different, Dear says, and "appears as a *pastiche of practices*" which "serves to legitimize the actions of capital" (1986: 379), (Dear's italics). This demonstrates a shift from a democratic to a post-democratic one reflecting a change of interest to one that supports the functions of late capitalism.

It is not my intention to present a modernist period of campus development in a dialectical relationship to a postmodern one, because that would deny the complexity of a space that has developed gradually over time. Campus development did continue after the CPB period, although not to the same scale, and still continues today (also not to the same degree), although this is as much an issue of lack of space as it is of funding. On today's campus we often find recent buildings 'shoe-horned' into small 'leftover' spaces, much like the Marjorie and Arnold Ziff Building which was opened for business in January 2009 and operates as an administration centre (Figure 32, page 156).⁹⁷ It appears squeezed in between the end of a Victorian terrace and one of the lecture blocks, the Michael Sadler Building.

⁹⁷ Israel Arnold Ziff was a businessman who donated to the university. He died in 2004 and the family provided money from their charitable funds to finance the new building. While donations of this size from philanthropists are not as common as they were in the 19th century and the 20th century, they still have a significant place in university campus development, as this building demonstrates.



Figure 32: Marjorie and Arnold Ziff Building

CC Tina Richardson

This building contains administration for students in areas such as accommodation, scholarships, finance, timetables and room bookings. On the upper floor there are offices for senior management. It is located near to the periphery of the campus and not far from the Parkinson Building.

Despite the architectural differences between the Ziff Building and those either side – one of Portland Stone and the other a red brick terrace – urban space operates such that it naturalises the very space that it forms, hiding these types of differences. Postmodern space is complex because of the history on which it sits, yet there is a type of homogeneity also operating which smoothes that space and presents it to the viewer as if it has always been that way. This is one of postmodernism’s paradoxes well noted by Jameson. He says the notion of a dialectic opposition is not something that appears in the analysis of postmodern society in the same way that it did in modernity (2009: 344). Differences operate on a more “abstract level” where a “distinction [...] is everything but ‘the same’ as an opposition that depends on its opposite in its very being”, because in postmodernity “difference disperses phenomena in a random and ‘heterogeneous’ way” (ibid.). He goes on to say that cultural objects considered under postmodernism often seem to “fold back into each other” (ibid.).

The way that Jameson describes postmodernism is redolent of Readings’s description of the posthistoric university, one which has now moved past being a centre for cultural dissemination. Jameson says: “Postmodernism is what you have when the modernization process is complete and nature is gone for good. It is a more fully human

world than the older one, but one in which ‘culture’ has become a veritable ‘second nature’” (2009: ix). His use of the term ‘second nature’ could be read in the sense of something becoming formed through habit, but it is also used in geography and urban theory to refer to land that has already been worked on – for instance, arable land – despite being what most people today would simply call ‘nature’.

Because it is the case that part of the postmodern (posthistoric) university’s ‘brand’ also includes its campus, then the students and staff operating in the space will be psychically responding to the complex fabric of the university. While the discourse of the university will have the effect of naturalising campus space, this also means it can be contested through analysis and/or other means.

Dematteis suggests a way we might critique urban space by looking at it as language:

A first step [...] is to recognize that ‘geographical space’ is not a real entity, but a simple logical operator. In this way, what is commonly thought of as geographical (or ‘spatial’) causality becomes a simple semiological relationship, enabling us to put together a great variety of phenomena within a single metaphorical representation[.] (2001: 120)

Dematteis is using an expression of formal logic (“logical operator”), and programming language, which is used to perform decision making procedures and often decides whether a statement is true or false. He is also suggesting that this method enables us to look at the cause and effects inherent in space by looking at the signs that are manifest in that space: a reading of the landscape. What he suggests is that a “deconstructive” methodology would help researchers analyse the city in its representative form (2001: 123). However, he goes on to say it is important that not just a causal relationship be considered because space appears as “*metaphors* which, by drawing upon the complexity of the world, allow for the falsification of theories – and enrichment and critique” (ibid.). This enables an analysis which reads the space as a sign like any other – by examining the signifier/signified/referent relationship – but also by exploring the relative relationship that we have with space, which is often reflected in Barthes’s discussions on the connotative semiological processes (or what he would call ‘myth’). The idea of city as sign is also one used by Dear: “The city is an exceedingly complex ensemble of signs and signatures: architectural decoration is one key to decoding; so is the structure of city systems over time and space” (2000: 39). He uses the term “inscribed” to explain how social relations become written into space in the first place (2000: 54). This implies that space is in a sense ‘written’, and if this is the case then the implications are that it can also be read.

What this might mean for the University of Leeds campus, then, is that a semiological analysis may reveal something about how the campus arises in representative form in the way that it appears today, and the effects this has on meaning-making for those who move about that space. Also, if it is the case that planners today use the ‘Townscape and Visual Analysis’ approach used by CJWT on the Leeds campus to plan the space, then a representational type of analysis might be useful in order to unpick it. Part of this visual analysis approach acknowledges how space appears to those using it and considers the parts of that space that people value. Landscape assessment also considers the ‘sense of place’ as it is for those who not only inhabit the area under development and pass through it when going from one place to another, but also those who might view it from a distance (an actual physical viewpoint of some sort). These individuals – who could be considered ‘stakeholders’ (whether they are included in the assessment process or not) – are known as “receptors of visual effects” and are meant to be considered in any planning that uses this methodology (The Landscape Institute of Environmental Management and Assessment 2002: 73).

The Random Play of Signifiers

In his book *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Thomas A. Gaines attempts to analyse what the qualities are that might make a campus such. He bemoans the campus as an under-considered art form, explaining that the “well-planned campus belongs among the most idyllic of man-made environments and deserves to be evaluated by the same criteria applied to these other works of art” (1991: i). He goes on to say: “A good campus consists of a group of harmonious buildings related by various means [...] that create well-proportioned and diverse urban spaces containing appropriate furnishings” (1991: 1-2). It could be argued that “harmonious buildings” and “diverse urban spaces” may be in conflict with each other. However, postmodern aesthetics is more sympathetic to the multiplicity of different designs periods being within the same space.

The aesthetic focus Gaines’s text directs at the campus is a useful one inasmuch as it opens up the space of the campus to a different theoretical perspective. Most texts available on campus critique take an architectural approach to the campus.⁹⁸ Gaines is interested as much in the gaps between buildings as in the architectural critique of the buildings themselves, explaining that “it is attractive urban space that a campus must

⁹⁸ For example, Richard P. Dober’s *Campus Planning* and Paul Venable Turner’s *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. However, Sharon Haar takes a more sociological approach in *The City as Campus*.

have to succeed as a work of art” (1991: 3).

One of the references Gaines makes is to the campus as a kind of textile or fabric by entitling one of his chapters ‘Contemporary: The Whole-Cloth Campus’. This term “whole-cloth campus” refers to the modern campuses that have been tailored out of a single piece of material, rather than developed over time in a more piecemeal fashion, like the University of Leeds has. Viewing the campus as a type of cloth enables other aesthetic qualities to enter into the analysis, such as texture, weave, finish, fibre and thread.

In order to provide a first-person reading of the fabric of the University of Leeds campus, this section offers my own description of one of the recent university buildings, the Marjorie and Arnold Ziff Building. It provides a semiology of a part of the postmodern campus space at Leeds. The personal interpretation that follows the theoretical introduction is included for the purposes of demonstrating the importance of the accounts of individuals to the aesthetics of urban space and is written in the second-person, as if I/you were describing the building to someone who was about to visit it for the first time. These descriptions are valuable because they add to the experience of a sense of place.

Barthes begins his essay ‘Semiology and Urbanism’ with the following statement: “whoever would outline a semiotics of the city needs to be at the same time semiologist (a specialist in signs), geographer, historian, planner, architect and probably psychoanalyst” (1997: 166), thereby including all the disciplines he believes to involve a reading of the city. He also describes the city as a type of material (cloth): “a city is a tissue formed not of equal elements whose functions we can enumerate, but of strong and neutral elements or [...] or marked and unmarked elements” (1997: 167).⁹⁹ Barthes also provides us with an analysis of a specific space using the terminology of fabric. In ‘From Work to Text’ he describes the effects of plurality on the individual, using the term “Text” to define cultural texts that enable the reader to become the author. These Texts can be differentiated from “works” because the original author (creator) of them does not take up the position of “the father”, hence the concept of hierarchy breaks down. Barthes describes Text in a number of ways: as a “methodological field”, existing only in the “activity of production” and with its “constitutive movement” being that of “cutting across” (1977: 157). He provides the example of a stroll in an *oued* (usually

⁹⁹ In the original text, Barthes uses the French “*tissu*” which appears in other translations of the essay as ‘fabric’.

translated as a ‘dry valley’), which inspired him to develop the term ‘Text’. He uses terms relating to fabric in his analysis of the effects of the polysemy inherent not only in place, but also within the individual whose response becomes part of the process which unfolds in the moment. This implies a materiality from both the perspective of a textile (textuality) and as something concrete and spatial. This textual approach is something that Jameson refers to as responding to “the aesthetics of difference” (2009: 344).



Figure 33: Westin Bonaventure

CC Tina Richardson

Completed in 1976, the architect was John C. Portman. The hotel complex has five glass-covered columns, with lifts both inside and outside the building. The entrances and exits are concealed and are on different levels. The inside is so complex to negotiate that there is a colour-coded system to enable people to move about it.

Barthes’s reference to strolling is relevant from both a psychogeographical and poststructural (and psychoanalytical) perspective as an action carried out in a space. His spatial analysis is not opposed to that of Jameson’s which also allows for the opportunity of individuals to interpret the space beyond the dominant referent imposed by capital. In Jameson’s most well-known architectural analysis, that of the Westin Bonaventure in Los Angeles (a self-contained hotel, business and shopping centre, the analysis of which covers seven pages – Figure 33), he presents the structure as a postmodern building *par excellence*, noting a number of features the building has that correspond to its postmodern qualities. The Westin Bonaventure Hotel consists of five mirrored columns which reflect the surrounding area of Los Angeles back to itself. Jameson speaks of the multiple exits from different levels – none of which, from the outside, are obviously the main entrance – which he describes as having “been imposed by some category of closure governing the inner space of the hotel itself” (2009: 39-40).

Jameson believes this is one of the architectural features that enables it to become “a complete world, a miniature city” encouraging “a new and historically original kind of hypercrowd” (2009: 40). Jameson does not fully explain what he means by the term “hypercrowd”, however ‘hyper’ implies something beyond the usual dimensions of space, and it is a common postmodern prefix – such as in ‘hyperreality’, which is a simulation of reality. Therefore, perhaps we can assume that it is the ‘ultimate’ crowd consciousness that operates on a collective level, not recognising the individual or monad. A crowd that is subjected to the ideological ‘logic’ of the space. Jameson also discusses “the reflective glass skin” which “repels the city outside” (2009: 42).

After describing the interior of the hotel Jameson then comes to his main point, the fact that the individual is disconnected from postmodern space because of their inability to form a corresponding mental map in the “decentered communicational network in which we find ourselves caught” (2009: 44). His criticism of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel is that it prohibits a personalised and fluid aesthetic journey (2009: 42).



Figure 34: Main Entrance to Marjorie and Arnold Ziff Building

CC Tina Richardson

This is not in clear view when approaching the university on the main road, Woodhouse Lane. The most iconic building, and that which is apparent to a visitor, is still the Parkinson Building.

While it would not be possible to describe the Marjorie and Arnold Ziff Building at the University of Leeds with the same intensity that Jameson describes the Westin Bonaventure – it is not exactly a postmodern hyperspace – it does share some of its

qualities, to varying degrees. There are two entrances to the Ziff Building. The entrance in Figure 34 is encountered via the main university entrance. Here you are taken in to the queuing area that students who require administrative assistance would use. There is also a staircase straight ahead that takes you up to the café on the floor above which, once you are a few feet into the foyer, you can see opening up at the top of the stairs and overlooking the administration area. However, from the other end of the building there is a much smaller, less obvious entrance which takes you on to a level which is between these two floors, requiring you go down a few steps to enter the student services area, and up a few steps to enter the café. This is slightly disorienting if you have previously only ever entered the main entrance before, as you are not necessarily aware of the slight incline on which the building is built, even if you regularly walk that slight uphill path on your way elsewhere. Figure 35 shows nearly the full length of the building on that side, which is not a great distance. However, it is enough to mean this smaller entrance cannot take you directly onto the ground floor of the building inside.



Figure 35: North Side of the Ziff Building

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It is not apparent from this photograph, nor very obvious from walking along this side of the building, that you are walking up an incline. When entering the student administration area at the main entrance, there are no steps into it, but the smaller entrance requires taking some steps down to access it.

Once just inside this other entrance, while you can work out where the administration area is in space (it is still visible from outside these windows you see in Figure 35), the café has suddenly disappeared from view. It is closed in at this end and it requires a moment for you to realise that you are entering the building on a different level and that

since there is only one other staircase that goes up, it must be that direction you need to take to the café.

You can see the sheath-like glass face of this side of the building, reflecting the Michael Sadler Building next to it, a building from another period and made of Portland Stone on this side. When one passes this side of the Ziff Building one sees the Michael Sadler Building doubled, in both its real self on one side of you, and its reflection on the other side. This reminds us that while the University of Leeds is a contemporary university (we have, and can afford, a brand new postmodern building like ‘the Ziff’), it also has historic civic origins which add gravitas to the perception of it as an established university. This is what a university press release said about the Ziff Building at the point the building work was planned:

The Marjorie and Arnold Ziff Building [...] will present a world-class face to the community it serves – the University’s past, present and future students, its partners and the region. The building will also represent, more visibly than any other project, the ambitious plan for Leeds to rank among the world’s top 50 universities by 2015. (University of Leeds 2006b)

While the mirror-like quality of glass has the effect of opening up space – the Ziff Building fits snugly into what was a relatively small ‘vacant plot’ – it also reflects the university back onto itself in the same way the Westin Bonaventure does with downtown Los Angeles. The Ziff Building presents both a “word class face” yet also, in the same moment, reaffirms its past.

Reinhold Martin explains the effects of this mirroring quality so prevalent in postmodern architecture. He describes it as forming “feedback loops” which constantly repeats binary structures such as: “inside outside inside outside”, “vertical horizontal vertical horizontal” or “right left right left” (2010: 106). The effects of this may be more apparent in a photograph of the South side of the Ziff building, which shows more clearly the curved glass and steel structure (Figure 36).



Figure 36: South Side of the Ziff Building

CC Tina Richardson

This side of the building is a wall of curved glass and steel. The mesh-like steel decoration, while part of the building, is also reflected in the building itself. The steel is seen twice, creating this complex matrix you can see here.

You cannot only see the surrounding area reflected in the face of the building, but also the steel embellishment (the building reflects itself). Martin says these mirrored architectural styles are “less oppositional or complementary than they are redundant, a doubling back of the surface onto itself” (ibid.). He goes on to say that the mirror is a function belonging to postmodernism as it appears as late capitalism, agreeing with both Harvey and Jameson’s dialectical critiques of how capital operates in urban space. He says it is the “point at which what is culture and what is capital cannot be distinguished in any useful way” (ibid.).¹⁰⁰ Architecture “appears as a cipher in which is encoded a virtual universe of production and consumption, as well as a material unit, a piece of that universe that helps to keep it going” (Martin 2010: xi)

This mirroring is a potential problem for the individual who might see these superimpositions in actual space, say, in the reflection of mirrored buildings. They may be unable to situate themselves via a sense of place because they are thrown into a mirrored vortex, as might be the case because of the reflections of the surrounding buildings in the Ziff Building itself. This would create the type of decentring effect discussed by Jameson. Martin says that how we need to respond to this type of postmodern architecture is to look at the mirror itself rather than at our own reflections

¹⁰⁰ This is a relevant point when it comes to postmodern artworks such as Anish Kapoor’s mirrored public sculptures, like his 2010 artwork *Turning the World Upside Down* and, especially, *Cloud Gate* (2006) which reflects Chicago back onto itself. The \$23 million it cost to fund *Cloud Gate* came from donations from individuals and corporations.

which appear misshapen, because “[d]oing so gives us a better chance of looking beyond the screen or, really, behind it, into possible futures and possible pasts that may yet escape the entropy of reflection and rereflection that is approached by postmodernity’s self-reflexive feedback loops” (2010: 114).

Guattari remarks on postmodern architecture when he says “besides stone being hidden behind steel, concrete and glass, it is above all in terms of speeds of communication and the mastery of information that the divisions of powers is played out” (2013: 231). For Jameson what appears behind the mirror is the fully integrated structure of power as in the form of capitalism itself. I would suggest that on an unconscious level there might be something else occurring. This is connected to the concept of space as it pertains to a sense of place and how this doubling and reflection might be problematic. While there are many definitions of the terms ‘space’ and ‘place’, I will offer a simple difference, based on that provided by De Certeau, in order to expedite these concepts. One of the main differences between the two terms is that ‘place’ prohibits the superimposition of particular phenomena, while ‘space’ is able to cope with the contradictions of multiple and differing actors/actions, systems and agendas (1988).

Matus and Talburt provided a discourse analysis on two university plans in an attempt to compare the differences between the ideas of ‘place’ and ‘space’ as they pertain to a university’s discourse.¹⁰¹ They see ‘place’ as referring to the local and ‘space’ as meaning the ‘global’ and look at how the contemporary university internationalises itself in order to sell its courses on the global market. What they offered was a feminist geography which provided a deconstruction of the binary oppositions used in university texts. Their interest was in how “the production of imaginary spatialities” produced a particular type of subjected individual (2009: 516). Matus and Talburt found that because universities concentrate on the neoliberal economics of globalisation, they deemphasise the importance of multiplicities that encourage alternative politics and methods (2009: 525). While their analysis was concerned with the ideas of the local and global conjured up by postmodern university discourse and the way this applied to students, their process of discourse analysis attempted to disrupt the linear logic of how the discourse operates. This concept of ‘place’ as it pertains to spatial critique highlights the importance of a sense of place. It also demonstrates that while there may be some features that people may share in their judgements about a particular place, everyone’s

¹⁰¹ These were not the architectural plans but the strategic development plans of the university.

experience will be different.

‘Space’ and ‘place’ are complex and fluid terms and depend a lot on the disciplines in which they are used. While space and place could be considered to be the basis of the study of geography *per se*, different theorists might use the term in very specific and individual ways. In general terms ‘place’ refers to the individualised parts of ‘space’ (real or not) that are experientially perceived. Place cannot exist without space. Space is homogeneous and generic, whereas place is personal, emotional and, therefore, heterogeneous. This idea of a sense of place was one of Jameson’s major considerations: how as postmodern individuals we were to fit into the culture and space of contemporary society when it appeared to us in such a way that its *modus operandi* was one of throwing us off course. He called for a new cognitive map which was to provide us with this sense of place. Martin also suggests the need for an “interpretative model” to help explain the relationships between “discursive constructions, urban imaginaries, and new politico-economic configurations” (2010: 4). He sees this as significant in working with both representation and the materiality of production (ibid.). Guattari believes that the work of architects should be to expose the “virtual desires of spaces, places trajectories and territories” (2013: 232). Genosko says of Guattari’s analysis of architects and urbanists, that while he does criticise their work for “embody[ing] consensual public taste” they are also capable of “engag[ing] in creative aesthetic processes from which singular work exists” (2002: 134).

Amy Scott Metcalfe discusses the significance of visual sociology in the area of campus imagery, the way that the campus appears visually and the aesthetics of that for individuals. Metcalfe says: “The look and feel of a campus [...] is part of the cultural milieu in which students and faculty co-construct their spatial aspirations for the campus and academic life” (2012: 519). She goes on to explain how specific landmarks on campus (such as significant buildings) become part of the ‘brand’ of the university, as we can see in the Ziff Building (and indeed the Parkinson Building which is used in the university logo). This idea of visual cues as they pertain to space is part of what makes up the individual’s sense of place.¹⁰² It is this sense of place that forms an integral part of the schizocartography which follows and makes up the individual accounts, map analyses and campus explorations that appear as a kind of temporal and

¹⁰² Kevin Lynch states how “[d]ifferent environments resist or facilitate the process of image-making” and that “[e]ach individual creates and bears his own image, but there seems to be substantial agreement among members of the same group”. (1960: 7)

spatial journey of the University of Leeds campus:

[T]he historian should be a traveller, like the pedestrian; he or she should be a marginal figure, someone who transgresses the boundaries of tradition as well as of time and place, not in search of wholeness, but of strange new worlds, new trajectories to follow, even if this requires trespassing on the memories and histories of others. (Reynolds and Fitzpatrick 1999: 77)

A Schizocartography of the University of Leeds

Mapping the Campus

Maps Transform History Into Nature

The objective is to suggest that an alternative epistemology, rooted in social theory rather than in scientific positivism, is more appropriate to the history of cartography. (Harley 1989: 2)

Not only is it easy to lie with maps, it's essential. (Monmonier 1996: 1)

This naturalization of the map takes place at the level of the sign system in which it is inscribed. [...] No sooner is a sign created than it is put to the service of a myth. (Wood 1997: 2)

The idea that maps are selective in the information they provide is eloquently explained by Jean Baudrillard in the opening to 'The Precession of Simulacra', where he refers to Jorge Luis Borges's fable involving a map with so much detail that it completely covers the space it is mapping (1994: 1). Baudrillard goes on to state that in hyperreal postmodernity, replete with its self-reflective sign systems, "[t]he territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory" (ibid.). There are some contemporary cartographers who disagree with Baudrillard's assessment of postmodern space, nevertheless the constructivist idea about the map versus the territory is also reflected in the manifestation of urban space itself, in the way that it is both formed by us and forms us. For Debord, "The spectacle is the map of this new world, a map which exactly covers its territory" (2005: 31).

The map, the territory and our view of both are intrinsically linked. To think that our assessment of actual space is not clouded by the map that we hold in our hands is folly. Even if that space may be one we have seen for the first time, the map we use to negotiate it will lead us to operate within it in a particular way. It will also orient us to think about and view that space in a specific manner: "Every map intends not simply to serve us but to influence us" (Turchi 2004: 88). As Denis Wood says in the opening quote above: this process of "naturalization" is one by which the map as sign is taken up into discourse and then becomes reproduced (1997: 2). Wood says "we have forgotten this is a picture someone has arranged for us" (1997: 7). It is in this way that the map precedes the territory. Most of the time it serves us not to see the process of cartography as a disguised form of deceit, but rather as a vehicle that conveys a communication for a particular use (whether we agree with that message, or that use, is another matter). "A good map tells a multitude of little white lies; it suppresses truth to help the user see what needs to be seen" (Monmonier 1996: 25). In other words, the map has a message it

wishes to convey to its audience, and the map that appears in the form of this message will be selective in the information it provides, not least because it is impossible to convey all the information contained within physical space in a map.

J. B. Harley says that maps are cultural texts like any other and can be analysed or deconstructed in the same way. Both Harley and Wood see maps as semiological systems. Wood says: “The interest unavoidably embodied in the map is thus disguised . . . as natural; it is passed off as . . . Nature itself” (1997: 76), (Wood’s ellipses). The maps made by the SI were concerned with challenging the way the spectacle appeared in urban space as something that was ‘natural’. Since the SI were critiquing the city’s topography, it could be argued that they were not creating representations of cognitive maps at all.

While Jameson dedicates *Postmodernism: The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* to the cognitive map problem, he does not provide a definitive answer on how to proceed. However, he does offer his analysis on the concept of cognitive mapping as it appears within postmodern theory:

These are, then, not really theories, but rather themselves unconscious structures and so many afterimages and secondary effects of some properly postmodern cognitive mapping, whose indispensable media term now passes itself off as this or that philosophical reflection on language, communication, and the media, rather than the manipulation of its figure (2009: 417).

He highlights the problem at its most fundamental level: if the system itself does not change, then all we are able to do is contemplate it within its system of effects (and with the tools) it produces. This is not a new problem for theory – the inside/outside dichotomy of language – but, it does leave us with the perennial problem of where to go. Readings believes the place to begin in attempting to create a cognitive map of postmodern higher educational space is where academics are currently located, within the materiality of the university itself. It is also in this way that a cognitive map could become “an epistemology for living amid uncertainty” (Barnett 2000: 409). The concepts highlighted above – such as the need for tools to navigate the environment, and the materiality of space and its system of effects – lend themselves to discussion within the field of psychogeography and under the umbrella of cognitive maps, also. Because of this it would be useful to consider some of the other texts on cognitive mapping in order to ground further discussion on the broader area of maps, campus maps and the schizocartography which follows.

Roger M. Downs and David Stea's *Maps in Minds: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping* (1977) is an extensive geo-psychological study of cognitive mapping, although it does not deal with mental and physical space in any political sense. It offers a concise study of psychogeographical cognitive effects and provides definitions of cognitive mapping: "Cognitive mapping is an abstraction covering those cognitive or mental abilities that enable us to collect, organize, store, recall and manipulate information about the spatial environment" (1977: 6). They explain that cognitive maps are not just visual images contained in our minds but are also connected to our other senses (1977: 23). While they acknowledge 'the social' as one part of what influences our cognitive maps, they do not deal with the complexities of postmodernity as it pertains to culture and/or capitalism. However, since their text was published in 1977, it may have been too early to take a retroactive position on postmodern space.

In his essay 'Cognitive Mapping the Dispersed City', Stephen Cairns cites Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* as his own influence. While Lynch provides an analysis by form – looking at various urban elements such as paths, landmarks and edges – he adopts a post-war narrative, the book being written in 1960. Cairns's critique is in the way that Lynch's cognitive mapping may be further used to decentre the subject in the form of how they appear as "'the user', 'the community' and 'the people'" (2006: 193). This could be seen as both positive and negative, depending on differing perspectives attached to 'where you stand'. Decentring is considered a common position for the individual to take up in the postmodern text (such as in deconstruction). When that text is the city landscape, this may enable an opening up of other views of the city, such as its edgelands. It encourages differing perspectives with regard to a sense of place. However, the concept of decentring may be considered as a devaluing of the citizen in the centre of public life (as it pertains to the city as civic centre).

Cairns is concerned with what is not representable in and of the city. Citing Harvey, Jameson, Baudrillard and Debord, he discusses the material reality of the city with its postmodern problems of wayfinding, while seeking out its 'blind spots' in an attempt to answer some questions about cognitive mapping. These "blind spots" appear on "a refined spectrum between social space and architectural space such that conventional representational logics simply cannot register them" (2006: 203). Cairns is using Jakarta as his case study, but this is a problem for any postmodern city. It appears as the difference between 'official' representations of space and the place itself. Joe Gerlach's article on vernacular mapping looks at micropolitical actions in relation to cartography.

He states: “Vernacular mapping inheres in the material co-production of cartographies by humans and non-humans alike whereby the underlying ethos remains intensely political, but in a tenor distinct from the representational politics allied traditionally to maps” (2013: 2). He summarises it as “the co-production of knowledges, materials and spaces” (2013: 10).

It is important to state that none of these alternative spatial representations should be considered definitive in any way. Nicholson’s protagonist in the novel *Bleeding London* (Stuart London, a psychogeographer and urban tour guide) sums this up well: “The city, it seems to me, must always be a palimpsest, a series of erasures, of new beginnings, obliterations, of temporary preservations and misguided reconstructions. Much of it is guesswork. There is no authorized text” (1997: 194). We need to understand that other representations are available, even if they might have to be constructed by ourselves. Dominant representations created by those in power lend themselves to being ‘detoured’ (rerouted, reused, reformulated) for the purposes of subversion, and turn this process into a political act. The schizocartographies included below represent the multiplicity of alternative voices that respond to the campus terrain. They appear in the form of maps, walks, performances and critiques of the campus that go towards building a picture of university space that might not be included in representations of the university of excellence. These schizocartographies may not all be politically subversive, but they become the “producible zones of semiotization” that form new “collections of plurivocal correspondence” (Guattari 2013: 35). They work against dominant capitalist subjectivities through a process of neutralisation, while simultaneously operating on the possible homogenising effect of campus development. As they appear here, they represent “an open map with rhizomic feathers [...] focusing on the unconscious [...] by means of a critique of language and signification” (Genosko 2002: 164). In order to further explore the idea of cognitive maps as they appear under the concept of schizocartography, it would be helpful to look at cartography as it is for the University of Leeds campus.

The University of Leeds has created a number of different campus maps over time, not least in the period it has had its own website, where the maps serving different purposes can easily be downloaded. At present, in addition to the main university interactive map (Figure 19, page 125), there are maps that show facilities like catering outlets, and routes such as those for cycling and walking. The campus maps produced by the University of Leeds – and its schools, faculties, administration and service departments

– are designed to help the users of the space to negotiate the terrain of the campus.¹⁰³

The inclusion/exclusion of spatial elements is an intentional one that is a function of all maps and, along with the actual manifest routes demarcated in the space itself, influences our view of that space and our behaviour in it. Lefebvre states:

Representations of space are certainly abstract, but they also play a part in social and political practice: established relations between objects and people represented in space are subordinate to a logic which will sooner or later break them up because of their lack of consistency. (1991: 41)

This means that we should not take the map ‘as read’, but read the map like we would any other text.

In Beresford’s *Walks Round Red Brick* there are a number of maps, for instance, one which shows the space that is now the campus circa 1800 (Figure 37, page 173). This is not an old map from 1800, but was designed for Beresford’s book, published in 1980. What this map shows is a retrospective space based on the research that was done for the book. The purpose of the map is to show the reader what the campus terrain had looked like at a particular historical moment. It shows some of the basic topographical elements such as roads, buildings, and a moor to the North, in order to help the viewer imagine the space of the past. It is a very basic map, providing – one assumes – historic information only.

¹⁰³ A number of these maps have been appropriated for making new maps on campus space. They are included in the section entitled ‘Walking and Mapping the University of Leeds Campus’.



Figure 37: Topography Prior to the University Campus

© Duncan Osborne

The building marked 'B' is the Pack Horse Inn and still exists. During Victorian times, on a Sunday local people used to park their horses nearby and walk to the churches that still exist on campus (although they are now mostly used for teaching and administration). Because Woodhouse Lane was a turnpike, this meant that church-goers could avoid the toll-bar that existed approximately where Parkinson Court is today.

Figure 37 shows the space eventually occupied by the University of Leeds. There are some significant local buildings highlighted. The main road shown going diagonally from the top to the lower right of the image is Woodhouse Lane and still exists today. The outline of what became the campus can be seen within the boundaries of the main roads, an outline that is familiar from the CPB Development Plan. This map shows the area prior to the Victorian terraces being built – those that were shown on the CPB plan (Figure 5, page 91) and later demolished for the Precinct area of the campus. In ‘Deconstructing the Map’ Harley encourages us to “read between the lines of the map [...] and through its tropes to discover silences and contradictions that challenge the apparent honesty of the image” (1989: 3). However, Osborne’s representation of 1800 pre-campus space should not be taken out of the context of the book in which it appears. On its own it shows an uncomplicated space of fields along with some buildings. A space not only prior to the 1960s campus development, but also one prior to the Victorian housing projects that took place. However, Beresford’s caption for the images

states: “A plan of the campus c1800, after the wealthier members of Leeds society had built detached villas in the fields of Little Woodhouse and before speculation in the form of short terraces had started” (1980: 10). Without this caption it would not be clear that the buildings were owned by wealthy local people. Nor does Osborne’s map in any way indicate the future terraces to come, even though it is a retrospective map.

Comparing maps over time enables a process of revealing to take place that helps break through the outwardly ‘naturalised’ space that appears before us today in the form of the campus: the map “hides and denies its social dimensions at the same time as it legitimates” (Harley 1989: 7).

It is because of the *modus operandi* of the map discussed above that it is incumbent on this project to include a semiological analysis of a current university map in order to reveal its underlying discourse and demonstrate how maps operate unconsciously on the reader/user. This analysis also provides a schizocartography in that it is a challenge to a specific representation of campus space. While map analysis does not necessarily involve the psychogeographical exploration of the space also, it can be used as a way to work towards forming counter-maps. Since schizocartography is a process rather than simply an urban walk or a critique of a planning document, all the factors that go towards representing a particular space more fully (or indeed evaluating an image of that space), could all be described as schizocartography.



Figure 38: "Great Food at Leeds"

© University of Leeds

This map highlights the food outlets on the campus. It includes images of food and brand names. It appears in the form of an A5 flyer in full colour, the reverse of which encourages the purchase of a discount card called "Refresh".

The map shown in Figure 38 was distributed around the University of Leeds campus in the winter of 2012/13. The predominant colour on the map is green, with most buildings appearing in this colour. Only the buildings containing the food outlets and selected for the key are in orange.¹⁰⁴ Grassed areas are in a paler green, the 1960s Precinct is in beige, the other hard surfaces are in blue and grey (but it is unclear why they are differentiated). Green is also the main colour used in the brand of the Refresh Card itself (see logo, bottom corner right). Rather than highlight the buildings in which the discount card can be used in green, the other buildings are green (there are more ‘other’ buildings than those where the card can be used). ‘Greening’ the map creates a ‘fresh’ appearance and ecologically orients the Refresh brand: “University maps are not surprisingly often quite lovely expanses of green that eliminate all the objectionables of real life and underscore the campus’ placement in nature” (Mullins 2012: 3). Around the edge of the campus area are images with additional keys that tell the reader where particular types of food or brands can be found. The two main brands which are given prominence, and whose logos appear separately to the food images, are Costa and Starbucks.

These two coffee retailers have been brought in as concessions in the last few years to supply some of the university food outlets. They signify the postmodern concept of ‘café culture’, but also the gentrification of the High Street.¹⁰⁵ In towns and cities gentrification highlights a shift in demographic to that of a wealthier resident and more expensive retail outlets. It signifies a migration of richer individuals in, and poorer individuals out, of a particular region. It often results in local people being unable to buy property in areas where they may have grown up and also have existing family. On a socio-political level gentrification ties class and consumption together. While the label of ‘gentrification’ could not be readily applied to the university campus, the inclusion of these concessions at the university demonstrates how anywhere where people commune can become places of consumption. Bonnett comments on how the individual is now considered to be a place of consumption rather than an individual (1989: 134).

The focus on consumption in the map, alongside the ‘greening’ of the map, are actually

¹⁰⁴ Only one other building has been named which is not a recognised food outlet: it is Springfield House, shown in green on the map near the ‘meal deal’ images. This is Covance’s medical centre which is located on the campus. Covance has had animal rights protesters at some of their medical laboratories in recent times. For example, in 2012 protesters from the National Anti-Vivisection Society demonstrated outside Covance’s Otley Road laboratory in Harrogate in the UK. Might this be a way of directing visitors to Springfield House without using the sensitive name Covance?

¹⁰⁵ Since 2008 there has been an ongoing campaign in Brighton, UK, to prevent any more Starbucks appearing in the town.

part of the same code even though they appear as separate elements. The green areas that appear as indicators of particular spaces on campus are not used as a wayfinding device but to add weight and emphasis (in the form of the colour green) to the ‘fresh’ and ‘ecological’ aesthetic of the Refresh brand. When an individual is consuming a coffee in one of the highlighted outlets on campus, they are consuming both a Starbucks/Costa coffee and the Refresh brand, simultaneously.

So, what does the university food outlet map contend? I suggest that the message, while appearing to direct people towards places of food sustenance, is also saying something along the lines of: ‘multiple food outlets are provided to increase your enjoyment of the campus experience’, ‘fresh food is available to nourish you on our fresh-looking campus’ and ‘discounted and package deals of food mean you can save money’.¹⁰⁶ So, what appears as an innocuous wayfinding device – a map – becomes both a statement about the how the university wishes to be seen in regard to its food policy and also a device for profit-making.

The university wants to be seen as providing good-value healthy food, but it needs to sell that food and make a profit first and foremost. However, there are contradictions in regard to food consumption when it comes to the types of food (healthy/unhealthy) and also in the amount of time students spend consuming: there may be inconsistencies between leisure/consumption and time spent studying when it comes to grades. But there are also more subtle contradictory signs on the map itself. We have a green coloured brand with the Refresh Card, and a predominantly green map, which in the marketing of products is associated with nature in most cultures, and with concepts attributed to health and vitality. Nevertheless, there are brands like Coca Cola on display in the image. These soda-based sweetened drinks are not considered to be healthy drinks. Also, in October 2012 Starbucks were associated with claims of tax avoidance in the UK and while, according to their website, they support ecological practices such as recycling, the greening of their business did not stop protests directed at the organisation, along with the boycotting of the coffee franchise over this particular tax issue.

While it is easy to make an argument that the University of Leeds knew nothing about Starbucks tax policies, this is highlighted for two reasons. Firstly, to demonstrate how an apparently ‘innocent’ image is actually a complex semiological system when it is

¹⁰⁶ On a section of the University of Leeds website for potential students called *Why Leeds?*, the university is described as having “endless opportunities for shopping, eating and drinking” (University of Leeds, *Why Leeds?* 2011b).

opened up to analysis. And secondly, to remind us that the University of Leeds is run like a business: making deals with other businesses in order to sell their popular products on campus, while seamlessly incorporating these brands not only into the map, but into the space of the campus itself. Thus the university's interests become apparent through an investigation of the map. The campus is a place of consumption. The gaps in this map – literally any potential white space – is filled with the signs of capitalist consumption. These symbols fill the lack – absence, reprieves, rests – with spaces of consumption. This might suggest that outside of any study or teaching time, consuming is the recommended pursuit that might make up for something that might be lacking in the academic experience. While being part of the process of representing university culture – for example, the contemporary café culture appearing in the food outlet map – maps are also party to forming that culture. Thus it is impossible to say where ideology ends and the aesthetics of the café experience begins: “The aesthetics of consumption and the aesthetics of creation are merely one and the same” (Althusser 1971: 230). This demonstrates the self-reflexivity of the ideological aesthetic relationship, what Althusser describes as “the mirror-reflection of the subjectivity of consumption” (1971: 231).

In his analysis of the cover of *Paris-Match*, Barthes says the elements can be decoded and interpreted within a cultural context which presents the sign as already formed: “The meaning is *already* complete, it postulates a kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts” (2000: 117), (Barthes's italics). Wood describes how the maps form, its *raison d'être*, enables us to use it easily as a cultural tool (1997: 144). In a similar way to Barthes, Wood says: “Because the history of the map is *our* history we are already up and running (in coming to grips with the making of maps we recapitulate history); because the connections from the map to the rest of culture radiate from *every* part of it, we can commence with *any* part of it [...] Any thread unravels everything” (ibid.), (Wood's italics). The above example indicates how cartography imposes a ‘natural’ order onto the world that gets taken up into discourse. In a similar way to how urban planning maps have a proactive effect by creating a future space in the minds of those viewing the plans of the projected terrain – because the energy invested in the planning process forestalls any alternative use for that space to the extent that, in a way, the proposed buildings are already in place – maps, too, have the effect of pronouncing the use of the spaces shown on the map. While they may appear to be guides on how to use the space – to find places or follow a route – their purpose closes off alternative, counter or challenging uses of that space, thus reaffirming the map's reason and

function.

Claudio Minca says that since the metaphysics of representation is constructivist in nature: “The certainty of representation thus confirms the existence of a reality which is revealed to us *only* through the conceptual cages that *our* system of representations has constructed in order to narrate that reality!” (2001: 207), (Minca’s italics). Minca describes how representation works so as to order our consciousness in regard to reality: “disordered space [...] only confirms, in the negative, the existence of order” (2001: 207). He goes on to say:

[I]f no other reality exists outside of that which is representable within our categories, all that which has not yet been included in our classifications or traced upon our maps *simply does not exist*, or *appears to our eyes as disorder, chaos, as an order waiting to be uncovered, to be ‘put in order’*. (ibid.), (Minca’s italics)



Figure 39: The Periphery of St George's Field

CC Tina Richardson

“No scrap or refuse to be placed in this area” the sign says. This is the most hidden entrance to the cemetery and is located on the South side near the chemistry department.



Figure 40: Demolition and Construction on Campus

CC Phill Harding

The sign says: "Japanese Knotweed Contaminated Area/Do Not Disturb/Please keep Out". This photo was taken when part of the Charles Morris Halls of Residence was being demolished and later rebuilt. It features in the *Miniature Boulder Dérive* blog dated 3 August 2009.

The 'official' university campus maps do not show disordered space: for instance, they do not reflect the disordered space under St George's Field, the space that is the material reality of the hundreds of buried bodies hidden under the surface of the neatly landscaped gardens. Also they do not show more chaotic spaces on campus, such as where discarded rubbish is awaiting removal for recycling (Figure 39) or areas where demolition/construction is being undertaken (Figure 40). These places do not appear on the map because they do not serve its purpose. As Minca says: "having rejected the logic of the metaphysics of representation and having 'opened' its spaces, can we formulate genuinely 'other' discourses, able to transcend this logic which are not reducible to analogies of the past 'order'?" (2001: 208). Nevertheless, I suggest that these "'other' discourses" are very often in play upon further examination. And with some research we are able to discover them, introduce them into circulation and thereby challenge the hierarchy of representations of these spaces. The examples in the sections below appear as ludic interventions and exercises that enable participants to engage in the campus in alternative ways, also as artworks and performances inspired by or responding to the campus, and psychogeographical campus walks and their outcomes as they appear as maps, films, blogs or analyses. They show how individuals can make a claim to spaces by operating in them in alternative ways and demonstrate how a multitude of subjectivities are already in operation on the campus at Leeds.

The following schizocartographies will be presented in the form of pedagogic counter-maps that represent university campuses from the perspective of the students and staff

who move about institutional space on a daily basis. Because of the nature of what, as individuals, we give our attention to when moving about space, it is not possible to provide fully representative examples. The ones included here are offered up as illustrations of what an individual or group might be interested in within the space of their campus and they are representative of those individuals and groups under discussion only.

The Pedagogic Counter-Map as an Assemblage of Enunciation

Recent technology has improved the interface of the map used for moving about campus. Online campus wayfinding devices can now offer features such as additional maps that also show the inside of the buildings themselves, such as that provided by the University of Alberta. Also, the University of California Los Angeles online campus map utilises technology that enables computer users to point at the map and identify the features which appear on it, bringing up a photograph of the space itself.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, it is the self-made cartography that proves most useful in terms of demonstrating people's aesthetic, critical, subversive and psychogeographical responses to campus space. Some examples of projects that have been carried out in the UK and US are useful for exploring the value of campus cartography for informing perceptions on spaces that we regularly occupy.

At Ohio Wesleyan University students carried out a psychogeographical project over a week, culminating in a map which reflected the texture, smell and sound of the campus (Figure 41, page 182). They acknowledge the Situationists in the title – *Guide Psychogéographique de OWU* – and provide a detailed map that includes the aesthetics of their walk. They chose a random route, in line with a Situationist walk, by using the outline of one of the participant's hands drawn over an existing campus map. They have used photos, drawings and text to express their own aesthetic and affective response to the walk and emoticons to show pleasure or displeasure at certain elements, like the sound of trucks or the smell of wood.

¹⁰⁷ Indeed, there are cartography companies who specialise in campus cartography, from the hard copy format through to downloadable mobile telephone applications.

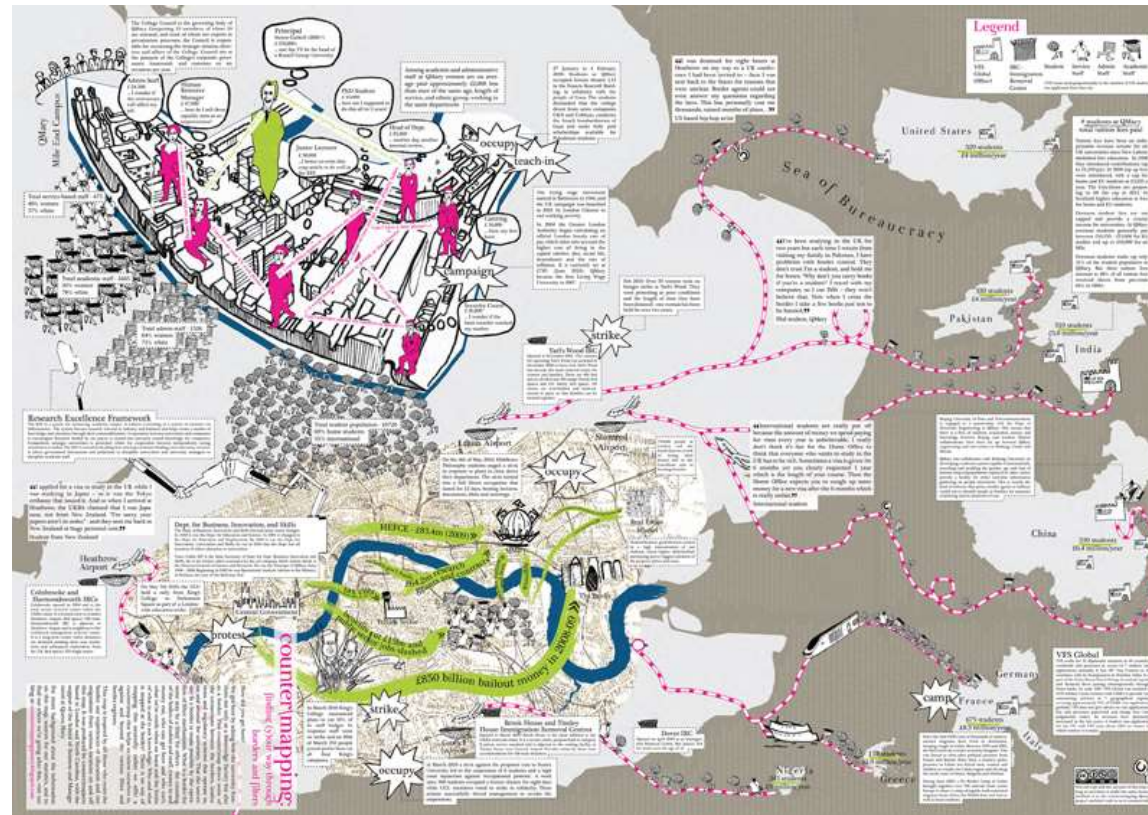


Figure 42: Queen Mary Counter Collective Map
 CC Counter Cartographies Collective

This map shows Britain on the left, disproportionately large in comparison with the other countries shown (not in their correct geographical place).

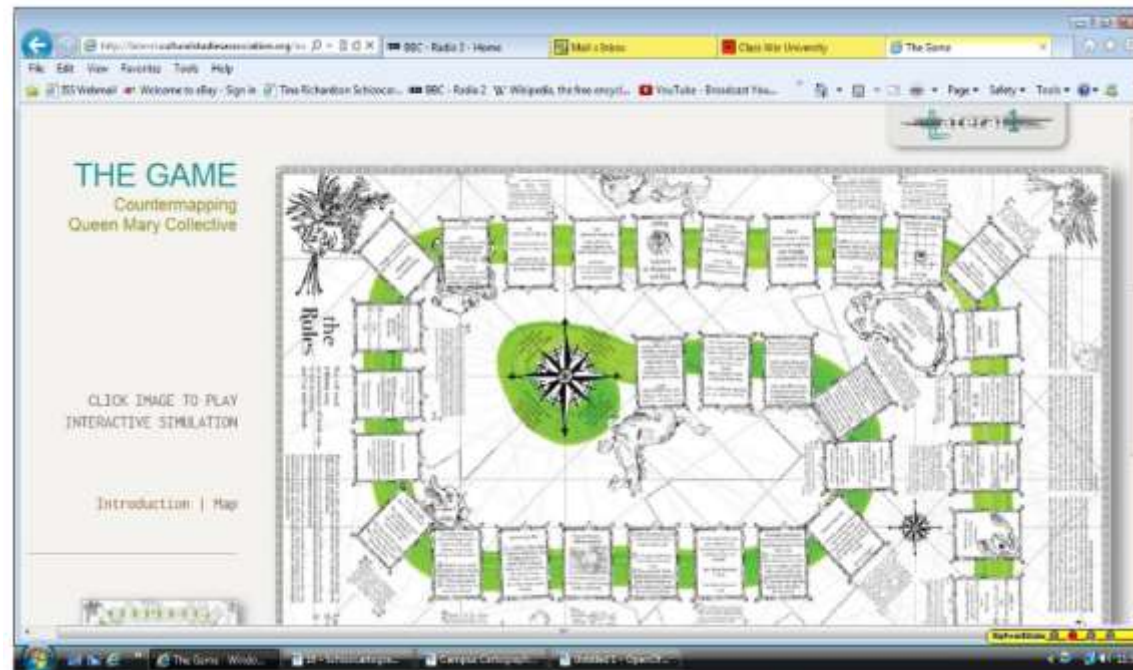


Figure 43: Queen Mary Counter Collective Online Game

CC Counter Cartographies Collective

The interactive online board game can be played by anyone with access to the web address. The rules say it requires at least four people to play.

At Queen Mary, University of London and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, what began as a group of graduate students who disliked the ‘official’ campus map and so decided to make their own, turned in to a bigger project with the formation of Counter Cartographies Collective (also known as 3CS) and a passionate critique of the neoliberalist university at the same time. Culminating in a map (Figure 42, page 183) and a game (Figure 43, page 184). The map shows the position of the university within a globalised world, distorting the size of the countries shown. The UK (the focus of the project), is disproportionately large, with only the countries that the Queen Mary students partaking in the project have a relationship with being shown. The map makes reference to the REF and shows a “Sea of Bureaucracy” flowing from the UK to the US. The online board game can be played by one or multiple players, uses the flip of a dice and asks pertinent questions which need to be answered before you can move around the board. The ‘character’ you adopt is based on critical definitions of who does and does not have certain rights to a university place or to having their fees paid. The success of the player also depends on their country or origin. The game proceeds along similar lines, for instance: “Do you hold a qualification taught in English?” and includes ‘rest places’ such as a “Deportation Limbo”. The game demonstrates the difficulty, especially when it comes to bureaucracy, for international students attempting to get a study place in the UK.

Bruce Burgett says of the project, in an introduction to an interview with the collective:

At once serious and playful, the work of this counter-mapping opens a range of political and pedagogical timbres through which the apparent fixity of the present is rendered fungible and the tone of response multiple. [...] At once strategic and tactical, practical and conceptual, focused and elastic, the composite map and game provide a political technology by which the boundaries that define the present limits of the possible might be redrawn. (2012: 1)

The interview with 3CS that followed this introduction in *Lateral* opened with the collective’s articulation of the question that formed the genesis of the project: “What is the university?” The project began with two months of collecting data, including statistics and qualitative data from staff and student questionnaires, followed by looking at map design, counter-mapping and carrying out campus *dérives*.

In explaining their project 3CS describe it as having “different intensities and configurations of research and work” and “collectively dealing with desires, pleasures and limitations” (cited in Burgett 2012: 2). This provides a good example of an

assemblage working towards a collective goal, but at the same time not being closed off to individual subjectivities. They also use Guattarian terms such as “intensities” and “desires”. For Guattari it is desire that enables creativity to be expressed and challenge the accepted, dominant logic of a given situation and also the productive and constructive force of life. It is also intensities that the SI believed disrupted the spectacle. Subjectivities are also expressed when the 3CS collective says:

[W]e wanted the map to speak transversally across a range of levels. We therefore conceived of it as based around a number of key layers: a subjective one, mainly constituted by the narratives and of course drawings; an institutional one, constituted by an anatomy of the campus; a display of flows, actors and institutions also on the level of the city (London); and a layer speaking to global flows, borders and actors. (cited in Burgett 2012: 3)

3CS express the significance of Queen Mary in its location within London itself and, hence, its connection to the world market. They highlight how they have attempted to negotiate these borders and how the university is part of the wider process of the flow of money, people and policy. They say of the map and game design: “the aesthetic is designed to mock the techno-baroque nature of the current power dispositifs, and to convey the idea that systems of security and control produce their own monsters, imaginary as well as real” (ibid.).¹⁰⁸ It is also apparent in their interview with Burgett how 3CS are keen to stress the anti-authoritarian aspect of their work:

We were not trying to fulfil certain expectations and criteria of so-called ‘neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’. Instead, it has been a practical process in which our mode of working has been formed dialogically by the group and the problems at hand, rather than in reference to tradition or authority. (cited in Burgett 2012: 3)

Guattari best sums this up when explaining how the type of critique that runs against an authoritarian grain produces a displacement of a seemingly rigid scenario by “making it drift from systems of *statement* and preformed subjective *structures* towards *assemblages of enunciation* able to forge new coordinates for reading and to ‘bring into existence’ new representations and propositions” (2013: 17), (Guattari’s italics). 3CS attempt to be radical in their approach to institutional space, at the same time focusing on agency and autonomy in the use of those spaces.

In his blog *Archaeology and Material Culture* Mullins has included a post about a

108 They attach the term “techno-baroque” to manifestations of power: “techno” referring to the bureaucratic nature of performativity and “baroque” referring to the paranoia attached to the “monstrously deformed [...] foreigner” in the context of excess. (cited in Burgett 2012: 3)

project he often carries out with his students on the campus at Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI). Mullins’s case study is the area surrounding, and now occupied by, the IUPUI campus. His own particular interest is in the changes within this space between 1850 and 1960, and the resulting erasure of archaeological history which occurred upon the founding of the university in 1969 (2012: 2). Mullins told the students to “Think of your map as a representation of a complex piece of material culture: you are compelled to select particular features, experiment with the area of coverage, and establish a set of symbols that makes sense to you and the people who look at your map” (2013: 2).

Of this campus cartography exercise that Mullins assigned his students, he says:

One objective of this particular exercise is to remind students that unseen urban spaces – the parking lots, interstates, and scattered vacant spaces left behind by urban renewal – have a genuine history masked by their prosaic contemporary faces. Many University campuses have obvious heritage, invoking the institution’s historical depth through architecture and landscape aesthetics. (ibid.)

This quote evokes the hidden cemetery at the University of Leeds with its “contemporary face” as a landscaped garden. It also demonstrates how valuable psychogeographical and cartographical exercises are for examining space in order to reveal its underlying heritage.

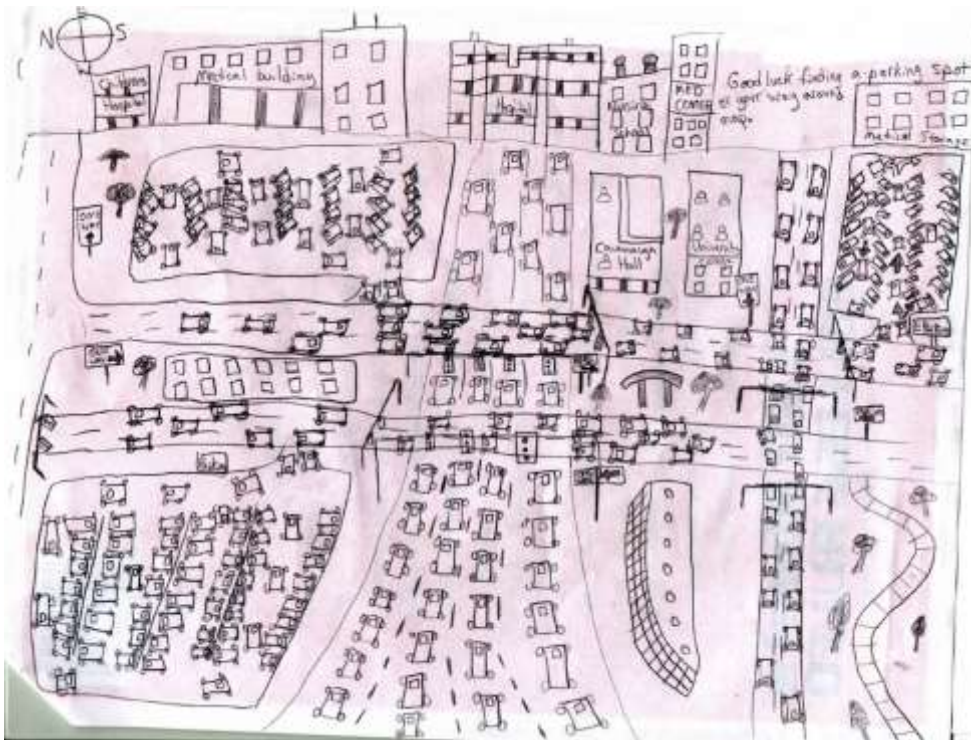


Figure 44: Student Map Focusing on Car Parking at IUPUI

CC Paul Mullins

Campus car parking proves to be such a problem at IUPUI that this student's representation of the campus shows little else but cars and an apparent shortage of space for parking them. It even states "Good luck in finding a parking space or your way around map".

One of the student maps that appears in Mullins's blog focuses on cars and car parking (Figure 44). It is not clear whether this student is a driver and is therefore aware of how hard it is to find a parking space on campus, or whether s/he is just responding to the aesthetics of the campus which appears to be largely oriented around parking. The 'official' IUPUI campus map shows vast areas dedicated to parking by visitors, staff and students.¹⁰⁹

At present the University of Leeds has a page dedicated to car parking under the Facilities Directorate, where they encourage visitors and staff to use public transport. It also provides access to a map of the car parks, which is colour-coded. Apart from the car parking areas above the underpass and nearest to the city, most car parks are small and appear to be squeezed in between buildings. The overall percentage given over to

¹⁰⁹ At the University of Leeds one does not get the same feeling when walking around the campus. In general, Europe does not have the same car culture as the US. Nevertheless, there are complaints by staff to Estates Services about the lack of parking space on campus at Leeds. The university has to weigh up many factors when giving over space to more parking, such as the cost of that space when compared to its use for another function, the logistics of more cars/traffic on campus and on its periphery, ecological issues, and the aesthetics of the campus itself.

car parking is under 10%. There is no student parking on campus other than for blue badge holders (disabled drivers). However, parking is free on campus after 16.00 weekdays and all weekends for staff and students. This issue of car parking was apparent to CPB when re-designing the University of Leeds campus in the 1960s. So, too, it was a constant consideration for the SI, especially Debord: “Isolation underpins technology, and technology isolates in its turn; all goods proposed by the spectacular system, from cars to televisions, also serve as weapons for that system as it strives to reinforce the isolation of ‘the lonely crowd.’” (2005: 28). Readings also highlights car parking as a problem for the posthistoric university. Providing an amusing anecdote that ties in with the concept of excellence, he cites an example of the parking services department at Cornell University in receiving an award for “excellence in parking” (1999: 24). However, what this actually meant was “they had achieved a remarkable level of efficiency in *restricting* motor vehicle access” (ibid.), (Readings’s italics). Readings goes on to explain that this example demonstrates the flexibility of the ‘excellence’ label: “excellence can function equally well as an evaluative criterion on either side of what constitutes ‘excellence in parking’, because excellence has no content to call its own” (ibid.).

What Mullins’s student has highlighted above is a particular campus aesthetic, based on her/his own response to the space, at the same time reminding us of the “story of the commuting campus [which] inevitably revolves around parking, and nothing is a more common focus of my map-makers than their apparently endless and universally futile search for convenient, inexpensive, and spacious parking” (Mullins 2012: 3). Mullins recognises the common thread of car parking in the maps produced by his students. He goes on to note: “nevertheless, there are more options than many students wish to concede, and few see parking as a privilege or recognize it was won by the historical displacement of a community to make way for asphalt expanses” (ibid.).

view from a top the \$\$ garage” where he took his ex-girlfriend once and “got ‘lucky’” (ibid.).

The extent of the students’ references to the issue of car parking was so great in the project Mullins carried out with them, that one of his own presentations on the students’ work focuses on this. In his presentation on the project he says: “Virtually all student maps are dominated by streets and buildings: the campus is entirely concrete on most maps. [...] Parking is the most common articulated concern: commuting itself appears to be the heart of University identity. [...] Car culture appears either inescapable or unmovable to many of us”.¹¹⁰

We can see from the above two examples how, despite the fact they are personal responses to the space, the student-cartographers are at the same time responding to dominant features of the university campus. This demonstrates how urban space affects our spatial experience and how ‘official’ representations of space may sideline particular spatial features in order to present a particular face to the reader of the map. As Mullins states:

Universities aspire to fashion some sort of consistent experience, and spatial planning is often as critical to that as reflective pedagogy, stellar faculty, and wired classrooms. Universities attempt to focus perceptions of campus space through representations like maps and pictures, campus tours, coordinated architectural styles, and spatial mechanisms like decorative features (e.g., fountains), sidewalk layout, or signs. Inevitably, though, members of a campus community have many different perceptions of the same objective space, and those often-conflicting perceptions of an objective material thing illuminate how and why we see things in a wide range of ways. (2012: 1)

Mullins is highlighting the importance of individual perception and aesthetics when it comes to space. He recognises that there is an attempt by the university (its planners and Estates Department) to present a “consistent experience”, but that this may be at odds with that of individuals. Having looked at some examples of self-made cartography carried out at other universities, I will provide examples for the University of Leeds. These cartographies offer alternative perceptions of space to those proffered by the university in its maps and representations that appear on the university website.

In December 2011 I gave a small group of first year University of Leeds undergraduates (on an ‘Introduction to Cultural Analysis’ module) an exercise called *Emotionally Mapping the Campus*. So as not to be too prescriptive, I gave them little guidance to

¹¹⁰ These quotes are taken from a presentation emailed to me by Mullins.

what they should or should not include on their own map (it was to be their own reaction to the space). Since the module that the students were on was not a cartography one, or even a geography-based module, the only knowledge they were likely to have of maps was as general users.



Figure 46: University Campus as Book

© Amy Dawson

Amy Dawson situates the places that are important to her on campus within the covers of a book. She also uses a title, key and colour coding (some of the traditional map elements). Her map is ordered, clear and has some good detail.

Figure 46 shows the map created by Amy Dawson entitled *Leeds Uni: The Book of Life*. The form of the map is that of a book outline, containing places that are significant to her, roughly placed correctly geographically (except for no. 6), with a key explaining what they are. These include two different halls of residence, the sports centre, a student pub on the edge of the campus and the Student Union, which she has placed in a heart-shape and called “the heart of campus”. She has assigned the Parkinson Building as the centre of knowledge for the university (although little teaching is carried out there). It houses the Brotherton Library, Special Collections and the Stanley and Audrey Burton Gallery art collection. The Parkinson Building is the emblem of the university, part of the brand logo, and the building one sees on arriving at the university via the main entrance. In its elevated position on a hill, the clock tower of the building can be seen from many vantage points around Leeds.

Dawson has also included two grassed areas, one is St George’s Field, of which she has drawn the two main paths (good detail from memory) and one crucifix. Instead of making comments next to it in the key, she has put two emoticons (bemused and surprised). Dawson’s map shows places that have a direct meaning to her, and she has even expressed their emotional significance on the map itself. The book form that the map takes represents knowledge, but also the university itself, in that in her image it encompasses all the other elements. She appears to see the university as having an overarching purpose to her as a place of learning, but also containing other significant factors, such as those of leisure (the gym and a pub). Dawson’s reference to *The Book of Life* also indicates that the whole university experience could be educational outside of the knowledge gained on her degree course. She is possibly making reference to the ‘rite of passage’ that attending university can be and the life experience she will gain from her years there. Also, in her locating of the Leeds University Union in the spine of the book and in a heart-shape, Dawson has expressed the core of her emotional connection with the university in being located in a place where she can relax and enjoy the community and social interaction with her fellow students.

BOB PALMER

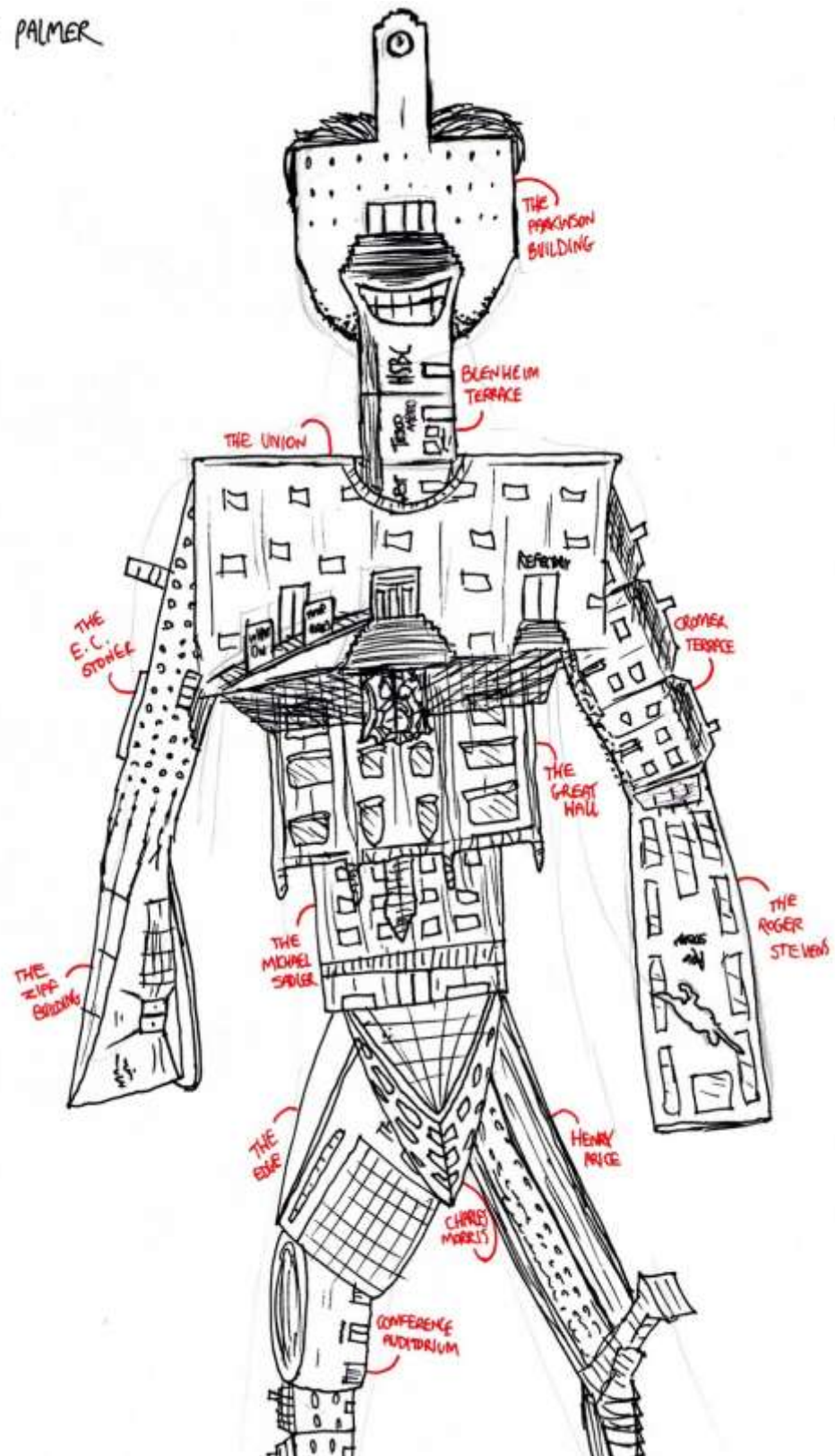


Figure 47: Anthropomorphic University Campus

© Bob Palmer

Bob Palmer's map takes human form, showing the campus architecture on the parts of the body. The building designs are taken from memory. The anthropomorphic form seems to be smiling.

Bob Palmer's contribution (above) shows the university buildings in humanoid form (although the look is also robotic). As an aesthetic response to campus architecture, Palmer's account of the buildings' forms has been well remembered, since these maps were all drawn in the seminar room and not based on notes or sketches made earlier. Even without the labelling, anyone who knows the campus could work out at least some of the buildings. This is a 'response' to the request to create an emotional map of the campus, but is also a rather 'objective' way of responding to the exercise. The image invokes the drawings of Giovanni Battista Bracelli – a baroque artist who designed engravings and drawings of figures that were made of inanimate things, such as boxes, cabinets, furniture and household objects.

The machine-like form Palmer's drawing takes gives the impression of lacking emotion. Since there are no additional comments that would express preferences for particular buildings, like there are with Dawson's map, we would need to make assumptions based on the buildings that represent specific parts of the body. The Parkinson Building appears as the face (head) and is smiling. As already discussed, the Parkinson Building is the 'figurehead' of the university in that it represents the university brand and stands in for the name of the university, in the same way a ship's figurehead might. It is also situated at the 'front' of the university, the bow of the ship. Placing the Parkinson Building in the head of the humanoid could represent Palmer's objective (practical, rather than emotional) approach to knowledge and learning. Since the chest (and heart) are the Student Union and Refectory, this might reflect a more emotional attachment to these buildings. Also, while the Refectory is mostly where food is made available, it is also a music venue.

Since the architecture is oriented in bodily form, it could be considered to be emotional in a somatic sense, therefore still about feelings, although rather more physiological ones. Instead of creating a map that shows places of significance on a background that represents the campus outline, the buildings themselves form the whole campus. There is no white space inside the body outline. The humanoid/campus is an autonomous, three-dimensional, functioning body in its own right.



Figure 48: Heart-Shaped University Campus

© Katerina Lee

Katerina Lee prioritises the elements that she places in her map and even includes directions to towns located elsewhere in the UK. Lee's style is less ordered than the other two. Perhaps it could be considered more 'emotional' in the sense it appears more expressionist.

Katerina Lee's map (Figure 48) shows the university campus in a heart shape, divided into three sections based on how significant they are to her, the top being least important and the middle being the most. In the least important category she includes the Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre, St George's Field, the Parkinson Building and the sports centre are assigned as being "Of 2nd most importance". In "most important" she includes one of the campus libraries, two halls of residence, her department building, The Faversham and also places which are not on campus: The Cockpit (a nightclub) and The Nation of Shopkeepers (a bar and venue), both located in Leeds city centre. "At the centre of the heart" Lee situates her most 'loved' places. It is also the only part of the heart where she has included people and animals, "Lexi[?], Adam and the cats". Unlike Dawson and Palmer, Lee places everything in the heart, although within the heart itself she orders the elements.

These three maps were chosen out of all those submitted in class because they show how emotional preferences are made in relation to work (education) versus leisure. While the maps do not necessarily set these two activities up in a dichotomous way (for instance, the campus libraries are often included in places the students attach high significance to), the students nevertheless place these activities in specific places (buildings) on campus and then prioritise them.

One of the differences between Paul Mullins's students' projects and my own is the lack of the issue of car parking and also that of the spaces outside the campus being represented. It is clear from my small sample of students' maps that cars do not feature at all. This might be because most students do not drive to the University of Leeds campus, but also it is to do with the percentage of space given over to parking on campus at universities in the US as opposed to the UK. Mullins comments on how his students do not seem to include any spaces outside the campus boundaries on their maps. He also makes reference to the fact that the students participating in his project do not seem to show the university libraries on their own maps, while at least one of the above three students in my own exercise shows the library, one student recognising it as a place that is important to her.

These responses by students to institutional space draw their attention to the places they might only unconsciously think about from day-to-day. They provide cues to what students might consider significant (for example Dawson's and Lee's map), or irksome (the issue of car parking as it was for Mullins's students). They also offer examples of

reactions to what Mullins has termed “material culture” in its manifestation in the urban phenomenon that appears in university space, thus making them psychogeographical responses. However, these examples do not demonstrate the endless cartographic possibilities that can be expressed when using uploaded data that is available on the internet and that can be mapped.

Figure 49 (page 200), while not a counter- or emotional map, shows how geographical data can be used to create alternative maps of space that can be subjective in their selection of the data used to produce the maps themselves. These types of online maps may be created by anyone (an individual or organisation) with specific interests, or can be a culmination of data uploaded by a number of people. Figure 49 shows the GPS trails of people who have walked around the campus area and have then loaded their data onto OpenStreetMap. OpenStreetMap is open source software by the OpenStreetMap Foundation and is a collaboration by its contributors providing free geographical data and mapping. Anyone can contribute by signing-up online. The data in this map shows the walks made by people around campus who at the same time logged their route using GPS software on their smartphone. They have subsequently loaded this information onto OpenStreetMap.¹¹¹

Some of the data on this map goes back to the campus *dérives* I did with Leeds Psychogeography Group in 2009 and our walks actually appear within the consolidation of trails you can see on this map. The trails appear as traces on white space that resemble a drawing, even though they are made up of dots. It is the GPS signals, appearing as trails, that creates the map. Even though there is no pre-existing map outline on which these traces are placed, a map is formed out of them. One can see the circumference of the campus, the main roads and, in one place, a zig-zag route taken in between a row of buildings. St George’s Field can be seen, and its paths are shown clearly, with a circle appearing around the chapel in the centre.

¹¹¹ Open source/data software is often supported by individuals who tend towards left-wing politics, are against the surveillance of individuals by government bodies and have an antipathy towards large monopolies of technology.



Figure 49: GPS Trails Showing Walks on Campus

© OpenStreetMap Contributors and CC Tim Waters

These lines are made up of tiny dots which are overlaid in places. The dots make up a trail by an individual, which can be seen when zooming into the map online. Each dot represents the moment when the GPS picked up a signal of that individual's location. The darker the line, the more people have carried out this process while walking that particular route. Speed is indicated by a greater gap between dots. Pauses appear as a density of dots. The GPS device might indicate a route taken on a cycle or, also, in a car.

This spontaneous (and remote) form of collaboration enabled walks to be woven across campus space, in a labyrinthine way, which were counter to the established paths. The participants (quite likely unknowingly) produced a rhizomatic space which responded to their own desires, but came together in the assemblage in the moment of making the online map, thus remapping the space itself. This process of de/reterritorialization – disengaging from the dominant routes through space and then reformulating new ones – “mixes heterogeneous axiological dimensions” (Genosko 2002: 26) that work towards creatively attempting to understand the complexity of space.

This digital and satellite way of creating maps enables a synthesis with the older peripatetic method of simply talking and writing about walks. It allows the psychogeographer to include more tools for tracking their walks, presenting the information and making it available for others to access. These types of maps show the

infinite possibility for cartographies and walkers to present personal and qualitative information. They offer a large degree of control of the mapping process and end result to the user/cartographer. The open source software that is often used for these types of collaborations to a large extent disengages the data from capitalist production and, hence, provides more freedom of expression, production and distribution. This enables their use in creating mapping-oriented art for use in the exploration of space for pleasure or for a variety of community-based projects.

The Charles Morris Halls of Residence

The Return of the Repressed and the Uncanny

In 2010 the University of Leeds opened the new Charles Morris Halls of Residence, replacing the original ones dating back to 1963 built on the same site (Figure 50, page 202). In 2007 the old Charles Morris Halls were not considered fit for purpose and proposals for its demolition were drawn up. The demise of the old halls could be seen as an attempt to move beyond the modernist ideas of a past university by creating new halls better suited to postmodern student living. The Commercial Development Manager, David Meli, said the following at the announcement of the development project:

We needed to bring the facilities right up to date. Not only will this enhance students' experience of life at Leeds, it is also extremely welcome from a commercial perspective. The summer conference season plays a major part in generating income, so we'll be able to offer these exceptional campus-based facilities to delegates at conferences and other summer events. (University of Leeds 2007)

Meli sets out the university's objectives in his expression of an improved "student experience", but also highlights their business intentions in relation to how the new halls will be able to play a part in the commercial success of the campus when used for other purposes when vacated by students in the summer. At the point of this press release the proposed figure for the project was £27.6 million (ibid.). The construction contract went to Sheppard Robson and Morgan Ashurst, who were given the project for the Colour Science Laboratory refurbishment at the same time.



Figure 50: Old Charles Morris Halls

© Betty Longbottom

The university thought the old halls were not considered to resemble the best efforts of the legacy left from the Chamberlin, Powell and Bon period of campus architecture at the University of Leeds.



Figure 51: Design for the New Charles Morris Halls

© University of Leeds

This elevation shows an idealised version of what the new Charles Morris Halls would look like. It contains open spaces, a central courtyard and grassy areas with trees.

The new halls, built in red and cream brick, have windows which include sections of red and green glass (Figure 51 and Figure 52, page 204). The site consists of two main buildings (but three houses) situated around a large open space of concrete, glass, low-

level fencing, paved paths, and outdoor seating. The houses are Whetton House, Dobree House and Storm Jameson Court.¹¹² Whetton and Dobree are refurbished buildings belonging to the original Charles Morris Halls, with Storm Jameson Court being a new addition. Mary Ogilvie House was part of the initial configuration too, but no longer exists. It is not clear why the halls continue to use the same name now that it has been rebuilt, since the funding for it was not bequeathed by Charles Morris or any Trustees of his legacy. Estates Services say its name remains because “it was simply continuity with the past, being the same site location as before, but simply no one asked for a change as Charles Morris was a well-known location” (Estates Services 2014). This might imply that the university cannot completely shake off its 1960s self, in creating a new hall that simply reappears as a postmodern ‘noughties’ version of itself.

By keeping the name the same this development then becomes a semi-resurrection of the first Charles Morris Halls and could be considered to be a return of the repressed in the sense that the university has been unable to totally move on to the new project that is required of it: the repressed past self continues its attempt to be acknowledged and seeks avenues that enable it to be gratified in the present. For Freud “*the essence of repression lies simply in turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious*” (2007: 569) (Freud’s italics). The return of the repressed refers to how some of this repressed material reappears in alternative forms. It is as if the old halls of the university’s modernist past have somehow reappeared in the shape of the new (postmodern) halls, especially since not all of the original halls were demolished, rendering them at least momentarily ‘indestructible’: “What is repressed is always destined to return – even if only in distorted fashion and in the form of a compromise” (Oring 1993: 290).

¹¹² Margaret Storm Jameson (1891-1986) was a Yorkshire-born novelist who studied at the University of Leeds. She was part of the suffrage movement.



Figure 52: Entrance to the New Charles Morris Halls 1

CC Tina Richardson

The new Charles Morris Halls has open spaces with sections of concrete paving and grass. A seating area can be seen on the right of this photo.

While I do not believe the new building could be described as overtly uncanny (in the Freudian sense of something that is both familiar and unfamiliar), but since the return of the repressed is a common theme in the uncanny it is worth exploring. Freud's theory of the uncanny provides a number of motifs which could be applied to the Charles Morris Halls, such as doubling, the raising of the dead, the hidden, and the compulsion to repeat. Freud states that "the recurrence of the same thing can be derived from infantile psychology" and our "unconscious mind [...] recognize[s] the dominance of a *compulsion to repeat*, which proceeds from instinctual responses" (2003: 145), (Freud's italics). This is manifest in the return of the repressed, which can often appear in the form of something fearful. Freud says that this process works as such because "every affect arising from an emotional impulse [...] is converted into fear by being repressed" and repressed experiences have the need to return in other forms (2003: 147). When discussing Jacques Derrida's theory on hauntology in conjunction with the history contained in urban space, Hsu says: "The return of the repressed is to indict how the present [...] betrays us by parading the false illusion of ontological transcendence" (2004: 561).

In *Specters of Marx* (1993), Derrida deconstructs the nebulous figure of the ghost in its multifarious forms. Using it as a vehicle for exploring the ghost of communism as it pertains to 20th century Western capitalism, he asks the reader: "How do you recognize a ghost?" and answers: "By the fact that it does not recognize itself in the mirror"

(2006: 195). The Charles Morris Halls, as it is for the university, represents its engagement in the neoliberal project, at the same time as the old halls hover over their new self in a ghostly fashion. Derrida explains that exchange-value works through this process of haunting, providing the example Marx uses of how a piece of wood can be turned into a table, thus becoming a commodity that can be taken to market (2006: 184-210). What is particularly relevant to the process of turning the table into the commodity, through what Derrida calls the “mysticism” of capital (2006: 1184), is the lasting effect of the haunted object (the table), or the building as it is for the campus. The Charles Morris Halls “phantomizes because it naturalizes” (Derrida 2006: 195). Walking around the space today shows that nothing seems to be awry. The spectre of the old halls has, as Derrida says, “magically” been “chase[d] away” in order to “exorcise, the possible return” (2006: 120). In relation to the return, Hsu says histories should not be left behind because they make up society’s “collective unconscious” (ibid.). And Fisher explains that the compulsion to repeat is an effect of the “*no longer*” that, nevertheless, “*remains*” (2014: 19), (Fisher’s italics).

The Charles Morris Halls may not appear as an uncanny experience for the individuals living and moving about the space, rather it has uncanny qualities for the university itself, as a body or organisation.¹¹³ This is especially the case when we look at the contradictions inherent in the term uncanny, such as “familiar and comfortable” and “concealed and hidden” (Freud 2003: 132). The Charles Morris Halls, while keeping its name despite being a, mostly, new building and really only having the site in common, creates a familiarity and provides a sense that things have not completely changed. Safeguarding the name also disguises the past of the previous Charles Morris incarnation. The *new* Charles Morris Halls will become *the* Charles Morris Halls. In future discussions, which one will we be talking about? Will we remember the old building?

Perhaps we cannot even say that the old halls are dead and gone, but have simply become resurrected, another theme of the uncanny (2003: 153). Or maybe, instead, it is a double. The theme of the double is tied into the idea of death in Freud’s discussion of the uncanny. He states: “The double was originally an insurance against extinction of the self” (2003: 142). The new halls have certainly insured the continuation of the Charles Morris name, even if their appearance has changed. However, this changed

¹¹³ The ‘acid test’ would be a past student who had resided in the old halls, coming back to re-visit the old site and finding a new hall built there that carries the same name. This is especially pertinent in relation to the homely and un-homely references to the uncanny: the returning student’s past home has suddenly become unfamiliar/unhomely.

‘other’ that appears in the form of the double is also part of its uncanniness. Freud says that what eventually develops into the conscience forms a kind of authority which enables the old concept of the double – that which belongs to childhood “primordial narcissism” – to become something else (2003: 142). What the conscience does is “imbue the old idea of the double with a new content and attribute a number of features to it” (2003: 142-3). So, while one might question why the Charles Morris Halls has not got a different name – by asking such questions as why is it not looking forward, but rather to the past – what we find with the double is actually what Freud describes as the “embodiment in the double [...] all the possibilities which, had they been realized, might have shaped our destiny, and to which our imagination still clings” (2003: 143). The double becomes the projection of a possible future self. The new Charles Morris Halls thus become a repressed version of the future university, but a representation of a future university nevertheless.

Freud qualifies the origins of the uncanny response as being that of aesthetics and affect, “the qualities of a feeling” (2003: 123). He does not restrict himself to literature, though, and provides an example of his own psychogeographical experience of walking around the red light district of an Italian town, of which he ‘accidentally’ encounters on three occasions (2003: 144).

A Barthesian Walk



Figure 53: Entrance to the New Charles Morris Halls 2

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The Buildings have a number of entrances and gateways and an outside seating area.

In November 2012 a small group of students volunteered to walk around the Charles Morris Halls for this project and answer questions on their own response to the area. If we want to understand how the campus appears, we could do worse than ask those whose home/workplace it becomes for at least three years: “When we visit a campus, we want to lock step with the students on their hurried way to class [...] We want to scan the panoply of campus structures and warp through architectural time” (Gaines 1991: x). The purpose of the exercise was to engage a group of stakeholders who have investment in the space – be it emotional, educational and/or financial – with the aesthetics of the campus architecture. Students spend much of their time on campus and engage with many of its facilities as they appear in the form of different buildings. This made them an ideal group. Especially since they are the actual users of halls of residences, at least in the first year of study.

The two main objectives of the exercise were to find out about the sense of community imbued in the building design in relation to how ‘open’ the space was in encouraging/discouraging the freedom to commune. And, also, to explore the plurality of place in regard to signifiers that an individual might read in the space and connect to

other spaces that are familiar to them.

All the students taking part were undergraduates. None of them had ever lived at the Charles Morris Halls, although one had stayed there once. For all the students taking part, the new building had always been on the campus since their time at the university. Table 1 shows the questions asked of those participating. The questions were designed so as to engender aesthetic, affective and emotional responses to the space, without being too prescriptive. There was no formalised process or background behind the choosing of the questions.

1	Describe or list the parts of the space you walked around.
2	Does the building remind you of any other place you have been or building you have seen (please explain)?
3	Describe the building and related space in general material terms?
4	Do you live here or have you lived here? Would you like to live here? Please explain your answer?
5	Do you like or dislike the look of the building or do you not have a strong feeling either way? Please explain your thoughts in this regard.
6	Does the area produce a particular feeling in you? Please state and qualify if possible.
7	What can you say about this building and its periphery in relation to openness or enclosure, access (allowing or deterring entry) and/or in or out of sight (reveal/conceal)?
8	Can you describe the aesthetics of the building with one adjective?
9	Does the building 'fit in' with the rest of the campus?
10	Has this exercise made you look at the building (or the campus, or urban space in general) in a different way than you have in the past? Please explain.

Table 1: Student Survey Questions

When asked to choose one adjective to describe the halls some of them chose terms that described the physical look of the buildings, such as “geometric”, “angular” and “sleek”. However, one person chose “enclosed”, which also came up as part of a direct question asking if the area was enclosed or open. One student said: “[It] seems weirdly closed off from uni and from outside life, secretive”. Another said: “The green area creates a ‘false’ sense of openness. [...] the surrounding buildings and the limited access to the building creates a sense of it being closed off”. In answer to this question all the students suggested the building was not open, by using terms like “private” and “unfriendly”. In other questions the adjectives “enclosed”, “stand-offish” and “unwelcoming” also came up. Two of the students stated that on a cursory look it appeared to be “open”, but on further examination the high level of security challenged that initial appearance.

Three students liked the halls. One of the reasons why one student liked the buildings was the same as that for why one did not. One student who liked it described it as “glamorous”, while another said it felt like a “hotel”, explaining that it “looks a bit

fake”. The university itself sees the halls looking like a hotel as a positive quality, describing it as “hotel-style accommodation” (University of Leeds 2010). The concept of a hotel-style building is comparable with the integration of café culture on campus, in that it brings recognisable cues associated with city life and consumption into university space.

While all the above comments relate to the aesthetics of the space, students were also asked: Does the building remind you of any other places you have been or buildings you have seen (please explain)? One student said: “It kind of reminds me of some flats in the town centre of my home town [Daventry] that are fairly modern, it also slightly reminds me of a college in Leamington Spa”. Here we have a high degree of what Barthes describes as a response to the textual field: “All these incidents are half-identifiable: they come from codes which are known but their combination is unique, founds the stroll in a difference repeatable only as difference” (1997: 159). Barthes goes on to explain that these moments are singular and exist at a moment-in-time (ibid). Another student likened the building to “the postgraduate buildings for the University of Eindhoven”. She went on to say: “This brings back memories and makes the space quite nostalgic for me”. So one student is reminded of her home town and the county in which she lives, while another is reminded of a place abroad that she stayed at for a while. An international student said it reminded her of her old university in Canada. Three of the references mentioned here do refer to other educational buildings, while one appears as a reminder of a set of flats in the student’s home town.

These types of “citations” appearing in the answers from some of the students are for Barthes “references, echoes, cultural languages [...] antecedent or contemporary, which cut across it through and through in a vast stereophony” (1997: 160). He warns that we are not to confuse them with anything that exists in the original material – in this case the architectural design, the matter that makes up the halls and its surrounding urban space. Nevertheless, once the building appears in the environment as a sign, its meaning becomes part of a process whereby cultural significance is attached to it which changes from individual to individual through connotation. While we could say much about a particular aesthetic that is attached to institutional architecture, the similarities of which have been noted by the students, their own specific references are chiefly theirs. While these references are picked up seemingly from the space that appears as the Charles Morris Halls, they are moreover based on the plurality of the space that appears as a “weave of signifiers” (Barthes 1997: 159).

When asked to “Describe the building and related space in general material terms?”, four students gave a more general answer (only noting one or two features), but one student said: “This is a mixture of postmodern, modern and Edwardian architecture. A mixture of colours: red, stone, grey. A mixture of materials: metal, stone, brick. There are also trees and patches of grass”. In this description she elucidated a variety of qualities – including texture, colour and different architectural moments – while distinguishing the differences that are represented within those categories. This is what Barthes describes as a “heterogeneous variety of substances” that we do not necessarily notice on a general stroll (ibid.). The psychogeographical exercise meant that this particular student noted these “substances” and described them as difference, the “serial movement of disconnections, overlappings, variations [...] the activity of associations, contiguities, carryings-over coincidences with a liberation of symbolic energy” (Barthes 1997: 158). One student, the only one who mentioned sound, wrote: “I can hear a faint buzz from a generator somewhere”. When asked what feeling the space evoked, she stated: “Right now it feels quite peaceful”.

Three students in the survey made reference to the idea of ‘community’ when carrying out the exercise. One compared it to another University of Leeds halls of residence, stating: “It does not have the social feel of Bodington”. Another student commented on the lack of any students communing in the outside space of the halls: “there are no groups of people about socialising”. Yet another student, remarking on the standardised feel of the halls, said that the style of the Charles Morris Halls meant it had less of a “community feel” (although for students today, the concept of community also extends to virtual space). This might be because of the generic hotel-like aspect of the architecture, which can make it appear as a generalised space rather than a design that encourages something more organic to occur in the way of social interaction. Dear says that in postmodernity this social disconnect is the effect of the complexity of space:

Postmodernism is a political economy of social dislocation. Time and space are now ordered differently and no longer exert the influence to which we are accustomed. The diverse spaces which we inhabit no longer intersect neatly: social space, political space, economic space, and physical space are increasingly ‘out of fit’. (2000: 380)

The results of this questionnaire has provided an aesthetic and affective response to the newest building on the University of Leeds campus. The space itself has evoked specific reactions in the individuals partaking in the exercise that has revealed the plurality of the space, while at the same time demonstrating some architectural

similarities to other educational building elsewhere. It has also helped reveal how spatial openness can be an appearance that is written into the design of buildings, whereas in reality that space can actually appear closed-off.

Duncan and Duncan's own use of Barthes to analyse landscape highlights the intertextuality of place. Intertextuality is the plurality of meaning available within a text – in this case the text being a place – that exists because of the historical meaning attached to its signifiers and through what each individual brings to the table: the text is “woven out of numerous discourses and spun from already-existing meaning” (Allen 2005: 67). Duncan and Duncan demonstrate how useful a Barthesian analysis can be in helping to reveal the unseen or concealed, because it focuses “on silences and absences in texts, the hidden intertextual nature of a text” (1988: 120). Nevertheless, their article sidesteps the serious issue of who might be the originator of the authoritative discourse, especially in regard to who it might be for urban space. One of the side-effects of urban space is that it presents itself as ‘natural’, appearing in such a way that it conceals its authors – urban planners, property developers, architects – and the ideology behind it. The way urban space appears is not the least bit incidental. It is intentional, organised and authored. It is in this way that space can be read, as it would be for Barthes, as a Text (un-authored and available for a plurality of readings) rather than a Work (an authored text that is prescriptive in the logic of its content). Our own experience of these spaces, in relation to a sense of place, allows us to become the author of these places. Some agreement can be seen in the responses by the students, while individual reactions to the polysemy of the space also enabled a particular semiological interpretation that could only be their own.

The examples above show ways of examining, representing and critiquing the campus. Existing campus maps can be analysed in order to discover their underlying message and new maps can be created with digital software and geographical technology that responds to a multitude data available on the internet. Neither of these methods necessarily requires one to access the space bodily. However, in order to gain a more rounded perspective of a particular space, for example, in order to draw an emotional map or to formulate an aesthetics of the architecture, one needs to enter that space so as to be able to respond in such a way whereby the phenomenon can be viewed in its wider context and broader perspectives on reality offered up. This encourages an “interplay between the lived experience, texts or discourses and the social context” (Saukko 2003: 11). While the Leeds campus examples in this section so far have been exercises

organised by myself for the purposes of this project, these are by no means the only relevant events that have taken place during my time at the university. Below are some campus interventions that I have come across, been involved in, or found through research. They make up part of this schizocartography because they respond to the campus space in a critical way, they use the space itself to make a particular statement or they use the aesthetics of the space in order to create something new.

Campus Artworks, Performances and Events

Heads turning around – 180, 360 – micro-question motion. What is in the concrete, grass, trees; open fields, tower block, dark waters, secret passages, subterranean tunnels? What does this site make us think, feel, experience? What memories, affective economies and regimes come into play? What does this site allow us to think, and what does it exclude from thought? What are the counter-positions of thought opened up to by this space we're traversing? (C. Cred 2007: 120)

Cartography is only a part of the schizocartography of the University of Leeds campus. Since, for Guattari, cartographies involve any tracings, rewriting, journeys, articulations and assemblages, for this project at the University of Leeds campus they also involve the unconventional use of space. These uses may take many forms, such as artworks, overt challenges to space, public performances or spontaneous enactments. What these campus activities and projects have in common is a number of qualities that lend them to being described as schizocartography: they intervene in space, they draw attention to that space and they use that space in an alternative way. Some of them could also be described as performative in the sense Judith Butler uses the term, but only if/when they become a repetitive act that involves a shift in identity concomitant to what Guattari calls singularization, a process of connection and becoming (in other words they are not a 'performance' in the usual sense of the term, as a routine or a recital). For Butler,

material structures are sedimented through ritualised repetitions of conduct by embodied agents, but these agents, rather than being mere cultural dupes, possess a divided subjectivity that implies a standing potential for deviation from regulatory norms. From this perspective, the theory of performativity seeks to explain how the subversion of power emerges within a dialectical relation between constraint and agency. (Boucher 2006: 112-113)

The "deviation from regulatory norms" as an aspect of performativity (as the term is used here) also ties in with identity inasmuch as the acts themselves can also be disruptive in enabling different subject positions within a prevailing discourse: "subjectification is not something permanent or stable, but rather represents the

precarious assertion of identity through an always-ambiguous demarcation of mainstream subjectivity from marginalised alternatives” (Boucher 2006: 113). The ‘performances’ included below have been selected because of their psychogeographical emphasis, because they look at the aesthetic and sensorial nature of space and/or because they are interested in the subjectivity of the participants. The first example looks at a route on campus called the Red Route.

The University of Leeds Library has produced a film to help students negotiate the Red Route on campus. The Red Route is part of the CPB heritage. The colour-coding of the campus maps (discussed in ‘The Culture of Planning’) was also translated into the campus space itself, with popular paths and routes being colour-coded. The Red Route is still in place and many people still know of it as such. This film ‘walks’ the viewer from the Edward Boyle Library to the Health Sciences Library, along the Red Route (Skills@Library 2012). The film features a student who takes you on a walk. It is shot with a steadicam and speeded up, so that we see the student walking quickly, with jerky movements. The camera also focuses on the areas the student glances at, to help orient us. Occasionally she beckons to us to catch up, or points at things for us to see. The film is only two minutes long and is accompanied by banjo music. The student does not take the whole of the Red Route and cuts out a section, preferring to walk on the ground rather than some of the walkway. It is reminiscent of psychogeographical-oriented films (for instance, those made by John Rogers about Nick Papadimitriou) because we are in the place of the camera and are following behind her, also looking around the space. This creates something similar to a first-person viewpoint for us as the observer. We are drawn into the campus-scape and are taking the walk with the guide who is also directing us around the route. It sutures the viewer into the ‘story’, drawing them into the textuality of place.

The Red Route also inspired a performance tour in 2012. Described on the university website as a “site-specific performance” and “an unofficial guide to one of the university’s most notable architectural features. It is a story of grand architectural visions, funding cuts, and the persistence of trees” (University of Leeds 2012: 1). The film drew on the university archives to create an event that included both fact and the creator’s own impressions. *Red Route* was arranged by Steve Bottoms, who was Professor of Drama and Theatre Studies at the University of Leeds at that time. The event originally featured at Light Night in 2008 – a Leeds city annual event for the public – and was entitled *Line of Sight*. It involved visual projections and recitals along

the route, most of the projections being images from the CPB Development Plans. It took the form of instructions on how to take the route and what to look out for, and included university architecture, campus history, urban myth and the utopian vision of the campus architects.¹¹⁴

In the audio file of the tour, Bottoms describes the area as looking like Coronation Street before the CBP development. He uses phrases like “slum clearance” for the instigation of CPOs and demolitions that followed, and “displacement” for the moving of the families in the terraces to the new housing developments around Leeds. Bottoms takes the position that Chamberlin’s vision did not become manifest in the actual space itself. He says that the open spaces were intended to be full of students standing around chatting or moving between campus buildings. Bottoms points out to those on the tour that these spaces are now almost empty of students. He mentions the original lecture theatre design that appeared in the Development Plan, which is different from the one that finally became the Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre. Bottoms spends considerable time discussing the potential car-parking situation on campus and the proposed Ring Road, which he describes as “a dirty great dual-carriageway”, also raising the issue of the cutting and underpass.

The audio’s aesthetic is such that Bottoms voice is slightly soporific and when he is discussing something contentious, the tone remains even. When there are quotes from archived documents, for example a letter, a different speaker is used. This might be accompanied with a typewriter sound in the background. At the point where Bottoms wants us to move to the next area, we hear footsteps. The music that fills the ellipses is 1960s-influenced musak. The audio tour is factually and historically situated, yet on occasions interspersed with Bottoms’s own rhetoric, which has the effect of jolting you into the realisation that despite the agenda behind the university’s 1960s campus plan – and the wrangling over whether Chamberlin would get his way over this or that building – the Brutalist buildings, and the project behind them, impact on the aesthetics of the social space itself. Bottoms’s project provides a good example of a re-articulation of a territory in the sense of bringing the past into the present, and offering a creative response to that space as it is seen today. It also provides an unauthorised guide to the architecture of this period of the university’s history. The walk carried out by those participating in it becomes a psychogeographical experience of the campus itself and

¹¹⁴ The audio can be listened to on the university Special Collections archive (University of Leeds 2012).

Bottoms's retrospective has re-presented the CPB archive in a contemporary setting, interspersing this new semiotization with his own aesthetic response.

Some of the campus interventions have been more ludic in nature, offering individuals the opportunity to interact with the space in playful or amusing ways in order to bring a new experience to specific areas on the University of Leeds campus. Johan Huizinga's theory on the ludic nature of culture purports that while nature is played, it is nevertheless an important play that becomes a process of meaning-making for those involved. While, for Huizinga, play may appear not to have a goal outside of the play itself, it is, nevertheless, a culturally orienting experience which the Situationists also utilised in their *dérives* and *détournement* practices.

Recent walking events on campus include a project by a Fine Art undergraduate in 2012 who called himself E.W.D. Hurst for the purpose of his performance-intervention.

While Hurst did not describe his walk as a psychogeographical exercise, it had many of the qualities of a *dérive* in its playful construction, its encouraging of the participants to 'let go' while simultaneously being conscious of their surroundings, and in its singularly defined region, the university campus. The event was called *Explore: An Exploration into Exploring* and was Hurst's submission for the end of year degree show.

On the day of the event people met at a designated time on the Parkinson Steps at the university and were met by Hurst, provided with a badge with a quirky pseudonym on it (for example 'Curly'), a pack (containing a party popper, a party whistle, a map-like drawing, a tongue-in-cheek-quote, for example: "Modernity was great except for all the modernism") and a sheet of paper entitled "The Lobster Bible". Participants were also given a small handbook which contained a satellite photograph of the campus. Under the map the text said:

The tour is taking place throughout the Leeds University Campus, if at any point you get lost, wave your arms in the air and scream, someone will come to your aid. [...] in the unlikely event of being separated, make your way through the labyrinthine world of unstructured campus buildings towards the next area. (Hurst 2012: 4)

Hurst's handbook contains instructions on how to look at objects and décor on campus in an alternative way. These instructions, entitled 'Ways of Seeing' (perhaps alluding to John Berger's book of the same name), aimed to help the participant question what Hurst describes as being "trapped in the heart of Artness" (2012: 6). Guidance is along

the lines of: “Question if anything you see is Art. It is very important to understand a set of rigid, immovable definitions from which to live life” (2012: 8). It is with this methodology that Hurst carried out the campus walk that followed, questioning what might and might not be considered art in the form of objects that appeared on the campus, from a junction of plumbing pipes to a tray containing used coffee cups. The walk took place inside and outside campus buildings encouraging participants to look at campus phenomena in way that was different from their usual perception. Hurst challenged the conventional way of walking in and observing campus space. He asked participants to question the quotidian and unnoticed, while disguising the seriousness of the underlying project in a light-hearted and entertaining exercise: “Explore the problems of society, for instance, traffic lights. Why are they always red when you want them to be green? What exactly does amber mean?” (Hurst 2012: 10).

The above walks and tours offer different ways of moving through space, they provide information on alternative historical moments or offer atypical spatial cues than would normally be offered on a university-organised campus walk. They are psychogeographical in nature inasmuch as they involve walking, spatial aesthetics and/or architectural critique. These walks encourage individuals to engage with the campus actively and consciously, taking notice of their surroundings. They demonstrate the desires of people to move about campus in a freeform way which challenges the rational routes dictated by architecture and urban furniture.



Figure 54: Hoverflies

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One of the locations of *Hoverflies* was the Tetley Round Garden at the University of Leeds. The apparatus enabled those using the swings to set off digital sounds and vision in response to the action of their swinging.

In 2007 a collaborative project group with academics from the University of Leeds, the University of Huddersfield and BigDog Interactive Ltd presented a project called *Hoverflies* in an area on the Leeds campus known as the Tetley Round Garden, a round courtyard containing seating, trees and plants (Figure 54). The project was “an investigation into hyper-physical interfaces” and “explore[ed] how the traditional idea of ‘user’ might be supplanted by the notion of the ‘participant-performer’” (Bayliss, Hales, Palmer and Sheridan 2009: 5).¹¹⁵ The researchers examined the concept of play in the context of objects and technology. As it was related to the Tetley Round Garden, the performance involved an outdoor installation in the form of two swings that were technologically enhanced to generate digital sounds and vision (in the form of coloured light patterns) on being used by a participant: “the research group explored how Deleuze (1993) distinguishes between object as event and the objectile as occupying an in-between state in the dissolved nothingness of space and time” (Bayliss *et al.* 2009:

¹¹⁵ Scott Palmer was also involved in an interactive light project with Sita Popat that took place outside the Great Hall at the University of Leeds. It was displayed at the *Light Night* event in 2007. The project was called *Five Courts* and involved participants walking within the space, with light sensors responding to their movements and projecting coloured shapes onto the ground. A video can be watched here: <http://www.kma.co.uk/work/five-courts/>

8). The researchers looked at the space of the campus as a playground rather than just a space for learning. They describe the experiences of those taking part:

Words such as ‘exhilaration’, ‘fun’, ‘enjoyment’, ‘effort’ and ‘reward’ occurred frequently in participant comments. [...] Participants began to talk of feeling as though they were ‘part of a whole’, that the experience was ‘romantic/sweet’, that it reminded them of ‘lost childhood’ [...] the swings were also appropriated by fellow academics that were discovered playing on them early one morning. (Bayliss *et al* 2009: 14)

While this garden is usually a seating area (and a short-cut), it is possible that this is the first time the participants engaged with the actual space itself in any meaningful way. The temporary appropriation by the aforementioned academics also demonstrates the spontaneity of engaging with a location when it is altered in a way that it sets up an invite to interact. Bayliss *et al.* go on to explain the relational aspect of the project:

Hoverflies becomes a site where objects, places and relations are made traceable and searchable in location and time, becoming both narrative objects with a history and processual events that unfold in a field of electromagnetic interactions of wired and wireless network infrastructures. (2009: 16)

The language of Deleuze and Guattari is apparent in this description, and while the researchers do not mention the word ‘assemblage’ here, this is what their description alludes to. As is the case when they say: “In *Hoverflies*, boundaries between elements are changeable, become fluid and interdependent. [...] It is to this play of shifting realities, a transitional state” (2009: 18). What *Hoverflies* did was formulate a Guattarian “zone of semiotization” for its participants, while at the same time producing a transversal effect for those moving in the garden. Bayliss *et al.*, in drawing the participants’ notice to the campus space they feel so familiar with, have also brought it to their attention for the first time: “Architectural space is one concrete operator among many of the metabolism between the objects of the outside and the intensities of the inside” (Guattari 2013: 236).

These projects work towards opening the campus up to alternative uses and experiences for those taking part. Minca discusses this as a method of working towards challenging “‘fixed’ description[s] of space/territory”, describing them as “*post-modern*” readings of space (2001: 223), (Minca’s italics). He goes on to say that these territories (reterritorializations, as they would be for Guattari)

assume entirely novel meanings – no longer simply the material manifestations of some underlying essence, of some identity to be revealed, they become the

scenario and the product of infinite recontextualization; a context in continual evolution and transformation, guided by the multitude of descriptions that contribute to its narration and construction. (Minca 2001: 123-4)

The *Hoverflies* collaboration releases a singularization in those participating “which trigger[s] off processes capable of reappropriating subjective territories” (Guattari 2008a: 64). At the same time that the participants are changed, so too is the territory in play: “Desire is always extraterritorial it – deterritorialized-deterritorializing; it passes over and under all barriers” (Guattari 2009: 148).

The spaces will have become altered in the mind of the participants because of their conscious attention given to that space (possibly for the first time) and through what they brought to their experience as a partaker in the event. The spaces themselves become less rigid, less ordered around the intentions applied to them through rules that dictate particular behaviours in certain spaces. The areas become transformed in the same way the participants do. The campus becomes fluid.

Psychogeographical Campus Practice

Walking and Mapping the University of Leeds Campus

Since 2009 I have been writing a research-based blog called *Particulations: A Psychogeography and Cultural Theory Blog* which includes accounts of campus walks.¹¹⁶ The *dérives* took place from July 2009 to November 2012, often including members from Leeds Psychogeography Group. We employed Situationist psychogeographical techniques for creating random routes through space. The first three *dérives* took place in the summer of 2009 in conjunction with members of the recently formed Leeds Psychogeography Group. While all the individuals involved had their own agenda as to why they were participating in the walks, a joint desire was to explore the university campus in the fashion of a *dérive* (applying some of the SI techniques, dismissing others and inventing new ones). On each occasion the number of walkers in the group was four or five people. A GPS tracking device was used to map the route, this also enabled photos to be taken at stopping points (Figure 55).

¹¹⁶ All the psychogeography-oriented blogs that relate to this thesis are available in the appendix (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

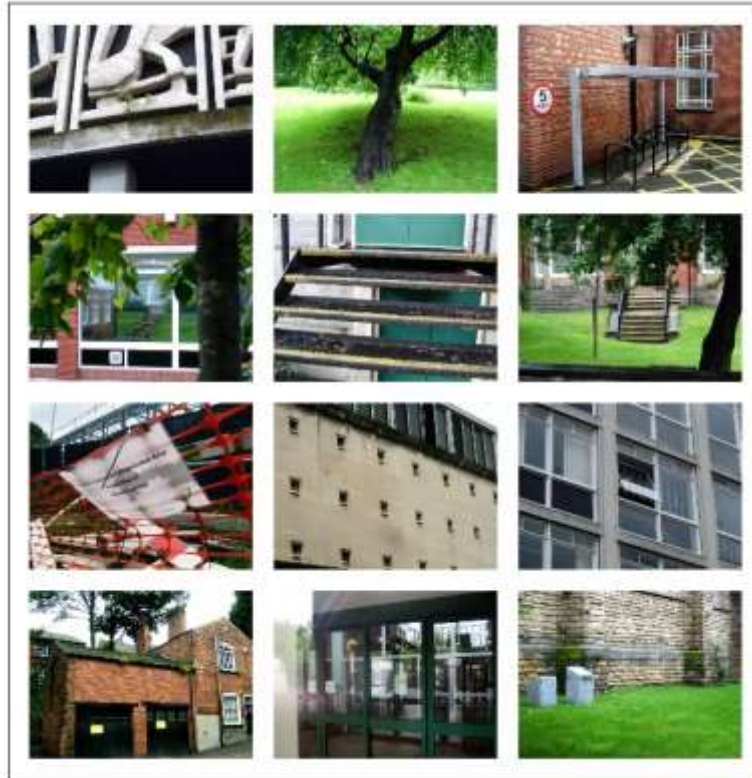


Figure 55: Montage of Photos of the University of Leeds

CC Phill Harding

These photographs were taken on the Miniature Boulder Derive in August 2009. They include images of St George's Field and a Barbara Hepworth frieze on the Houldsworth Building.

Before each *dérive* began, the method of choosing the chance element of the walk was decided upon. The *dérives* were of different durations, from two hours up to four. Each *dérive* produced the following output: a GPS digitised map which could be converted to a number of formats including being made available on Google Earth/Maps, two series of photos, one taken by an artist and the other by a geographer, and my own blog.

On the *White Horseman Dérive* we created our route by throwing dice to decide which building to visit (the buildings were numbered on the university campus map) and visited them in turn. For the *Miniature Boulder Dérive* we used a copy of the *Theory of the Dérive* by Debord, and with an elaborate process of tracing, used that to create a route through the campus.¹¹⁷ A less complex process was used on *The Pigeon Feather Dérive*, where we used two different methods to create a chance route. For one tool we

¹¹⁷ Using a piece of tracing paper, draw a dot over the first word on each line that begins with a 'p' (for 'psychogeography'). Make a separate note of the words you have highlighted. Lay the tracing paper over a map of the University of Leeds campus. Draw a line, moving from right to left which connects those dots that lay on top of the map. Ignore the dots that are outside of the map. The end result is a zigzag line on the tracing paper that is superimposed over the map. The line becomes the route (as much as possible that it can be followed), the dots become the stopping places. Each point of stopping would then have the relevant word attached to it. Also, the photographs attached to the map, would be a picture looking towards the next point that would be visited.

used a specially designed application which could be opened on a smartphone, called *Dérive App*. If that gave us instructions that seemed ambiguous in any way (for example, turn right, when there was no right turn available), we used a secondary tool called *Oblique Strategies* which is a set of cards used to help inspire creativity when you become blocked.¹¹⁸ These cards gave instructions which were open to interpretation and therefore gave us much more freedom to make individualised choices about where to go next.

The Situationist-oriented campus *dérives* carried out in groups employed different strategies to create the chance routes encouraged by the SI. However, the solo walks were often more about investigating particular phenomena in the spaces being explored, and chance routes were not created for these walks. On the occasions we used Google GPS software, this enabled the creation of digital maps. The route and related data was made available on Google Maps (Figure 56).

¹¹⁸ *Oblique Strategies* was invented by the musician Brian Eno and the artist Peter Schmidt in the 1970s. They contain aphorisms designed to encourage lateral thought and to help break blocks in thinking.

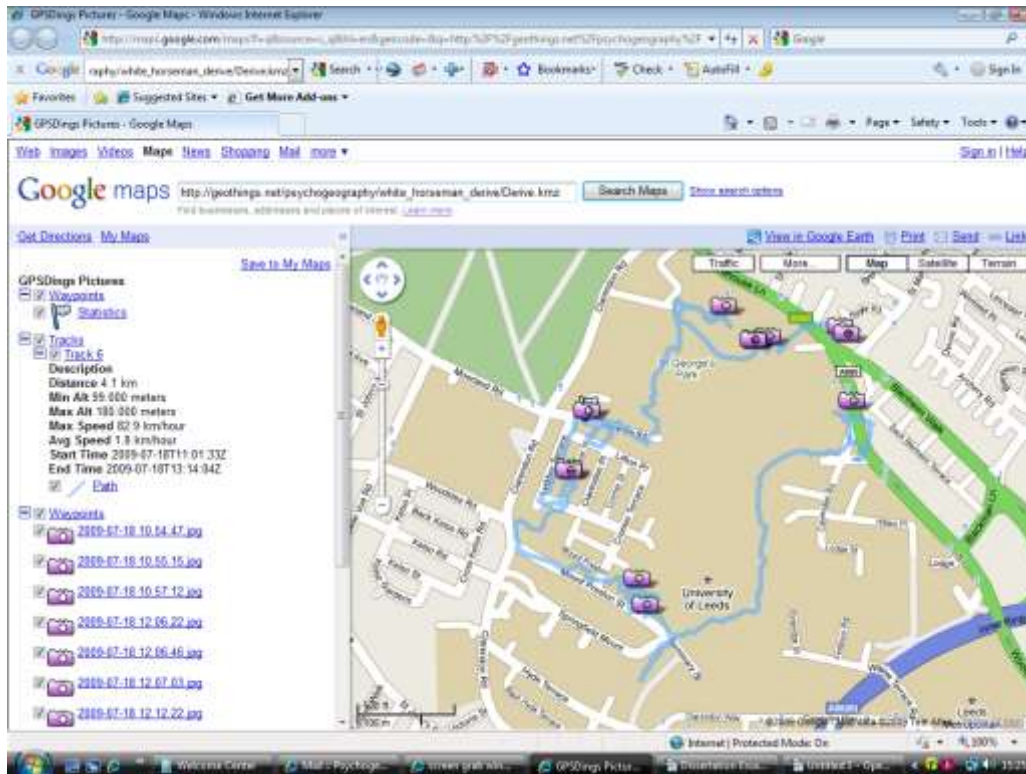


Figure 56: Digital Map of the White Horseman Dérive

CC Tim Waters

This Google Map shows the route of the walk as recorded on a smartphone. The purple camera icons showed where images were taken at the stopping points. Clicking on the camera icon opens the image, although they could also be accessed from the list on the bottom left of the screen.

Digital technology enables an additional method of drawing data from the walks that was not available to the Situationists. This means that the information can be made more readily available to others through sharing uploading information about specific (perhaps hidden) spaces, thus opening up discussion. But it also adds to the multidimensionality of space by creating another layer to the physical space now that geographical space can be accessed remotely, via virtual applications like Google Earth.

After initially using the Google Map facility to provide maps that supported the walks, I then began to create maps myself. The first one was called *Guide Psychogeographique de University of Leeds* (Figure 57) and was based on Debord's map *Guide Psychogeographique de Paris*. This map is a culmination of the data from these initial dérives.



Figure 57: Guide Psychogéographique de University of Leeds

CC Tina Richardson

This map attempts, as much as possible, to copy the format and colour of Debord's map *Guide Psychogéographique de Paris* (1957). The serendipitous routes the Situationists took through Paris inspired their own maps which challenged the grid system of conventional maps.

The selected regions are taken from an online university map which was printed and then the relevant areas cut out. The ‘quarters’ are approximately in the correct geographical region, but there are voids in between. The arrows suggest ways of walking around the campus, while the ‘X’ demonstrates the place where the Charles Morris Halls was being demolished at that time. I added another element to the map by attributing a key and attaching appropriate song titles to the key. These titles recalled the aesthetics of those particular spaces, the *ambience* of the quarters, by choosing a song that made reference to the space itself – for instance, *Warm Sound* refers to the hum of the many air conditioning fans in the area shown by ‘5’ on the key and the *Fletcher Memorial Home* is St George’s Field. My intention was to make this image instantly recognisable by anyone familiar with the Situationist maps and by using a similar name to that used by Debord I hoped that the image would be easily searchable when using internet search engines.¹¹⁹

While the Situationists’ attempts were to tear down the spectacle in an effort to reveal something more authentic underneath – for example in the way that in many of their maps they saved working class areas and deleted those dominated by capitalist power – my own endeavour was rather to provide examples of the different ways one can present campus space in a cartographic form. It was also my intention to produce an image that represented these campus walk(s) and to make the maps available online as alternatives to the prevailing representations of campus space circulated by the university.¹²⁰

The maps are offered up so as to proffer a plurality of place that might exist alongside any capitalist rationalist urban manifestation of that space. Like Minca (but unlike the Situationists), I too question whether there is an ‘authentic’ that is waiting to be revealed, at least in the case of some final ‘truth’. In the Guattarian vein, I present these outputs as one response amongst many possible ones. I do not simply wish to replace one totalising form with another, however egalitarian (or even proletariat) that form might appear to be. All of these outputs I propose as products of desires which challenge the most dominant desire of all, capitalist consumption and production.

¹¹⁹ A search for ‘Guide Psychogeographique’ carried out in April 2014 on Google places my own map on the first page of the search results.

¹²⁰ These maps have been made available on my blog, my academic page at www.academia.edu and my own website.

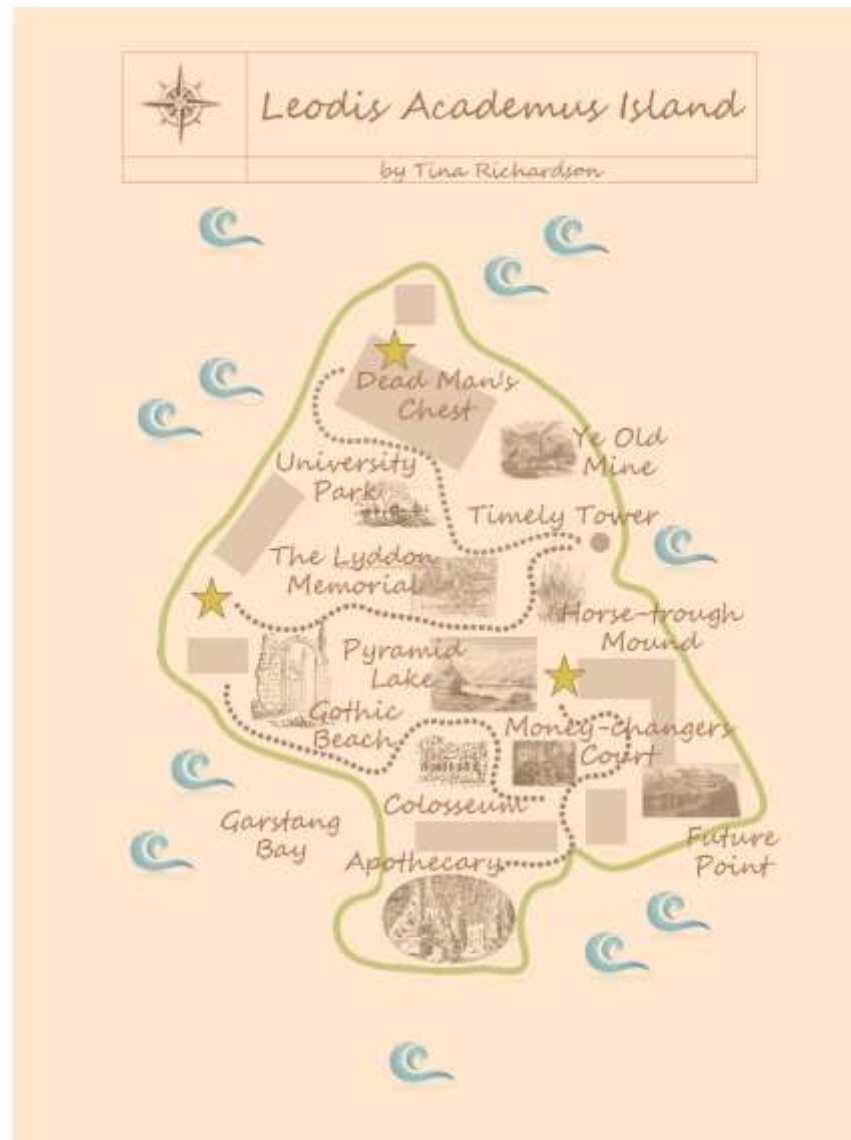


Figure 58: Leodis Academus Island

CC Tina Richardson

This map is based on a walk which took the periphery of the campus as its route. Maps often show the selected area as if they are not connected to anything surrounding them, rather like an island. This map includes fictitious and real places.

The map *Leodis Academus Island* (Figure 58) was made in response to *The Forgotten Solo Dérive*, a night-time campus walk carried out on my own. The purpose of the walk was to see how different the clearly delineated edges of the official campus maps were from the actual terrain itself. The question I was asking was: on walking around what appears to be the periphery of the campus as shown on the maps, does the actual space reflect this differentiation between campus space and other space (for instance private housing), or do campus buildings bleed into private (or public) space and vice versa? On walking around the fringe it is very apparent that this is the case. Not only are there campus buildings which do not appear on some maps, but also there are private buildings that are located within the campus ‘boundary’. For instance on the Central Catering map, Fairbairn House (located outside the Clarendon Road boundary), does not appear at all. Also, further down on Clarendon Road, towards the Worsley Building and within ‘campus space’, the private pharmaceutical research organisation Covance is located within the campus boundary. On the night of my walk somebody came out of Covance and enquired, in a rather hostile way, what I was doing outside this building, despite the fact I was standing on public ground. This is not an uncommon experience for psychogeographers and Beresford also comments on it in regard to the University of Leeds campus. While observing one of the campus buildings one day, an untrusting staff member found Beresford in the shrubbery. When Beresford attempted to defend himself, the other said to him: “You are no professor – you’re a thief” (Beresford 1980: 104).

It is a common format for cartography that the spaces mapped are often presented as ‘islands’, within clearly demarcated edges. The concept of the island presented in the above map may also present the university as an idealised, utopian space with a strong sense of community, such as that discussed by Thomas More in *Utopia* (1516). More’s fictional island is a place where people only have to work six hours a day and are encouraged to study in their spare time:

For if you suffer your people to be ill-educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them. (More 2010: 24)

While I am not suggesting that the university (or university life) is utopian, and it was not the intention behind the map, it is possible that the nearest one gets to believing in the possibility of a utopia is at the beginning of one’s adulthood. University is a transition stage between leaving home and going out to work (childhood and

adulthood), when an individual is about to embark on the next stage of life, with the hopes of becoming successful in the workplace, or having a meaningful job, a potential family, or any of the other cultural and social hopes and desires a young person might have.

However, it is the idea of where university space ends and ‘other’ space begins that lent itself to presenting the university campus as an island. But, also, it was a response to how a lot of maps show the selected area of interest, often leaving the surrounding region out of the map, as do many University of Leeds maps. Since a treasure island enabled me to add fictional elements to the map, I decided to make the campus map a space of both fiction and non-fiction. The map shows some places that exist (e.g. the apothecary is the School of Medicine), some that used to exist but no longer do (e.g. the horse trough, which was located approximately in the area that is now the Parkinson Building), and some that are fictitious. It is a map of a treasure island, the gold stars highlighting where the treasure is located. Some of the names of places allude to buildings that still exist: Ye Olde Mine refers to the Old Mining Building, roughly located in the correct place. Some places exist but have been renamed, for example Timely Tower refers to the Parkinson Clock Tower. This is included in the map because the Parkinson Building originates from the modernist period of architecture. The clock tower is a symbol of the time and motion studies in modernist manufacturing processes. Today it is a reminder that staff and students have a daily schedule operating around good time-keeping in order for the university to be efficient.

Where is the cemetery? (Figure 59) is a map created for the purposes of my presentations, talks, lectures and conference papers. The university map is no longer available on the website, but was until 2008. I appropriated it for the purposes of opening up discussions on the location of the cemetery at the University of Leeds, St George's Field. What is significant about this map is that the grassed areas on campus are shown in green against a predominantly grey and blue background. This enables the viewer to see quite clearly that the cemetery is a very large percentage of the overall campus – approximately 10% – and encourages discussion on why, since it has such a large surface area, little is known about it, and, as it is for some people, its entire existence is unknown.

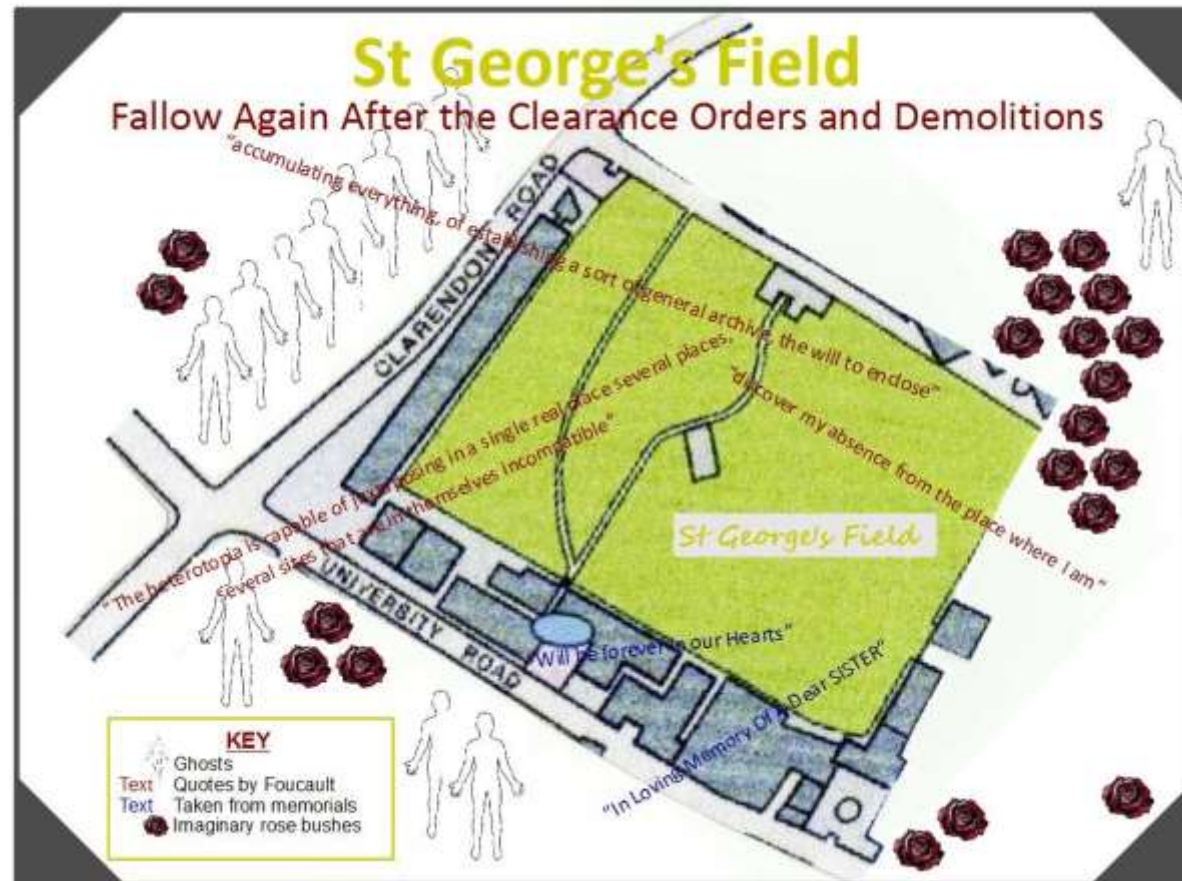


Figure 60: St George's Field: Fallow Again...

CC Tina Richardson

The centre of this map is cut out of an old university campus map and enlarged. The inclusion of elements – the human forms and the roses – on the outside of the cemetery boundary allude to the control of this area in the sense of what is and what is not permitted in the space.

The map shown in Figure 60 was produced as a response to my research in St George's Field. The subtitle of the map is a quote from Beresford, referring to the now landscaped cemetery. The map contains a key, so as to distinguish it as a map, rather than just an image. It attempts to reveal the palimpsest terrain of the field by showing what is not visible to the eye and alludes to the lack of gravestones demarcating the bodies below. The ghostly genderless figures look into the field: "I discover my absence from the place where I am, since I see myself over there" (Foucault 2001: 240). It is as if the ghosts have been pushed out of the space, even though their bodies still remain underneath it. The memorials in the form of rosebushes are also located outside the space. This represents the removal of the gravestones, although many of them were actually used as aggregate to make the undulating landscape of the park.

While the walks that enabled these maps to be produced could not be described as performance art, they are in the sense that Guattari discusses when he says they extricate the "a-temporal, a-spatial, a-signifying" from the everyday (1995: 90). The walks disassemble the dominant coding of space and formulate a (re)composition: "the creation and composition of mutant percepts and affects" (Guattari 1995: 91).

Film as a Form of Schizocartography

The above maps represent specific events or places on campus and respond to their aesthetics or history. They may appear as a trace of a specific walk on a particular day or as signifiers that attempt to rewrite those spaces. While film might not be described as cartography, inasmuch as it enables you to reread a space or trace a particular path through it I do classify it as schizocartography.

On 26 November 2011 I filmed an event organised on behalf of the Leeds Summat.¹²¹ This was a choreographed walk led by Turvey and filmed by myself called 'There's Summat Going on at Leeds' (Richardson 2011b). The walk used the same principles reflected in that discussed above. The film opens with an image of the university coat of arms.¹²² It shows those involved walking around the campus. Various styles of university architecture can be seen in the film: red brick teaching buildings, once privately owned terraced housing (now university buildings) and a privately owned halls of residence which was a priory at one time. But the film also shows the basic

¹²¹ Leeds Summat is an annual event held at the University of Leeds which involves activists, artists and performers who are interested in politics, community, capitalism, ecology, and so on.

¹²² The coat of arms' motto is "And knowledge will be increased".

matter on which we walk: pavements, roads, road markings and old cobbled streets.

One of the important aspects of the film is that it shows the body in space moving in unconventional ways – for instance, a long line of people following each other, someone playfully ‘dancing’ on a kerb – and it is this function that highlights the performance aspect of the event and film. The film also shows everyday campus activity: a student riding a bike, the movement of traffic. It is shot with a Kodak PlaySport videocam and is a jolting first-hand experience of the walk, from the first-hand position of one of those involved in the event.

While the above film is based on group activity, another film I made on campus was based on a solo walk around the Precinct area. It is an acoustic response to the Brutalist architecture of CPB and involves filming my own feet walking on the different surfaces in this area, and recording the sound made by the clicking of my heels on these differing surfaces (concrete, paving stones, gravel). The film is called ‘The Sound of the Sixties’ which references the BBC 2 radio series in the 1960s and uses the 1964 track by Manfred Mann called *54321* (Richardson 2011c). It is a moment-in-time representation of the architecture and music prevalent in that period. The song title provides a countdown to the walk, which was filmed in eight separate sequences and then edited together.

So as to avoid being distracted by the campus scenery only the feet were shot, they being the instrument used to tap out the sound on the surface topography of the Precinct. I considered just supplying the sound without the visuals of the walking feet, but I decided that the trace left by the feet became a form of cartography which had a number of functions that to me, as a psychogeographer, were important, and also supported the ‘tenets’ of schizocartography: they made a claim to that space, even though it was a momentary one, they attach an identity, however nebulous, to the walker, and by revealing the feet and the surface of the terrain, focus is directed towards part of the production process behind the sound-making. Even though the buildings are not seen, the viewer/listener can hear the echo of the feet on the surrounding surfaces. Also, the nearby environment can be heard at times: the faint sound of a water fountain and muffled conversations.

CPB were not considered to be very vocal architects, and there is little information on them and even less by them (other than their architectural work). This film is in part an *homage* and in part a challenge to the space of the Precinct in the sense that it might be

perceived as a spectacle. What I hoped to do with this film was give sound, if not voice, to the work of CPB at the University of Leeds, while simultaneously staying faithful to my own project of challenging anti-production through the process of schizocartography.

‘The University in Ruins’ film is an appropriation of the trailer for Patrick Keiller’s film *Robinson in Ruins* (Richardson 2012). It takes a (perhaps) fictional character at a (possibly) made-up university and situates her in a (maybe) fabricated place. The script is taken from Keiller’s trailer and is only changed when absolutely necessary, for instance, when reflecting place or persons. The script is as follows:

When a woman called Richardson was released from New Hall Prison she made her way to the nearest city university and looked for somewhere to haunt. The garden had once been a cemetery and was not far from the main road. For a few weeks she dared go no further than the university campus boundary. She believed that she could communicate with the network of ghostly beings that had sought refuge in this marginal and hidden space. They were determined to preserve the survival of their history and enlisted her to work on their behalf. From her location in the garden she surveyed the map of the island on which she was shipwrecked. ‘The location’, she wrote, ‘of a great malady that I shall dispel, in the manner of Guattari, by making picturesque views on journeys to sites of social and historic interest’.¹²³

All the images are photographs based on the research in the university cemetery. The memorial plaque near the end is a reminder of those who are unable to locate their ‘loved ones’ in the landscaped garden. Also, the rotting apples on the grassed surface allude to the decayed bodies that are mirrored under the surface, but are invisible to the eye.

Both my own film and Keiller’s make reference to haunting. When discussing haunting’s relationship with discourse, the practices of everyday life and capital Derrida states that haunting: “organizes the repression and thus the confirmation of haunting. Haunting belongs to the structure of every hegemony” (2006: 46). By providing the example of Europe’s late twentieth century post-communist narrative as a “dominant discourse” he says: “The incantation repeats and ritualizes itself [...] It says: long live capitalism, long live the market, here’s to the survival of economic and political liberalism!” (2006: 64). However, Fisher explains, the failed mourning for the past, a

¹²³ This is the original script by Keiller: When a man called Robinson was released from Edgely Wood open prison, he made his way to the nearest city and looked for somewhere to haunt. The house had once been a hotel and was not far from the river. For a few weeks he dared go no further than the city’s outskirts. He believed that he could communicate with the network of non-human intelligences that had sought refuge in marginal and hidden locations. They were determined to preserve the possibility of life’s survival on the planet and enlisted him to work on their behalf. From a nearby car park he surveyed the centre of the island on which he was shipwrecked. ‘The location’, he wrote, ‘of a great malady that I shall dispel, in the manner of Turner, by making picturesque views on journeys to sites of scientific and historic interest’.

refusal to “give up the ghost”, means that the spectre “will not allow us to settle into/for the mediocre satisfactions one can glean in a world governed by capitalist realism” (2014: 22). Keiller’s film about London, and my own about the university cemetery, present the ghostly figure to the viewer via the narrator. This is a reminder of, and a remainder of, a lost past that seems out of time with the present. In both cases the ‘socialist’ protagonist has returned to urban space after being in prison. Time stood still for them, while capital rolled inexorably on: “The ruins which Robinson walks through are partly the ruins of a neoliberal culture” (Fisher 2014: 227).

Derrida explains, when analysing Marx’s ‘The Metamorphosis of Commodities’ from *Capital: Volume 1* (1867), that the process of turning gold into paper money is like ‘magic’ (2006: 56). Comparing commerce with the “theatre of gravediggers” he states that the magic of commodifying the earth’s resources:

always busies itself with ghosts, it does business with them, it manipulates or busies itself, it becomes a business, the business it does in the very element of haunting. And this business attracts the undertakers, those who deal with cadavers but so as to steal them, to make the departed disappear (ibid.).

This can be compared to the disappearance of the signs of the bodies in the cemetery by the more business-oriented 1960s university: “the cadaver is perhaps not as dead, as simply dead as the conjuration deludes us into believing” (Derrida 2006: 120). The seemingly innocent appearance of a landscaped garden cannot completely hide its secret past, because “The one who has disappeared appears still to be there” (ibid.). As Derrida later says, when discussing the multifarious and innumerable nature of the ghost, that it is impossible to classify or quantify, however he goes on to say that “[f]or the Singular ghost, the ghost that generated this incalculable multiplicity, the arch-specter, is a father or else it is capital. These two abstract bodies are both visible-invisible” (2006: 173). Years after the landscaping, capital continues to haunt the garden with its rationalist decision-making, urban policy and Act of Parliament.

‘The University in Ruins’ film is an acknowledgement of the larger field of psychogeographical film-making. Keiller’s series of “Robinson” films could be considered to be along a nostalgic vein, with a protagonist bemoaning the erasure of the places of his past. However, my own film is intended as an ironic *homage* to Keiller’s film. The title of Keiller’s film also enabled the use of it in appropriation via Readings’s book *The University in Ruins*. The film directly situates me in the cemetery space as an observer of that space and a critic of it (even though I present myself as a, kind of,

anonymous third-person). It offers the information in a fictional way, although it does require prior knowledge of Keiller's film to be able to understand the appropriation.

The final film is based on a little known Situationist map by Debord called *Axis of Exploration and Failure in the Search for a Situationist "Great Passage"*. My own animated map is called *Axis of Exploration and Failure in the Search for a Situationist "Great Strike"* and is a response to the public strikes that universities were involved in in 2010 and 2011, J30 and N30. This thesis, and the accompanying project, has coincided with the effects of the British government's austerity measures on HE. The economic cutbacks that were proposed led to a number of public strikes and student strikes during this period. At the University of Leeds these initial strikes were responding to the recommended cutbacks at the university in 2009, 700 job losses and a government funding cut of £35m.

The animated map takes the basic elements of Debord's map and replaces them with relevant university ones. The film-map shows an unfolding of these elements that make up a sequence of consequences. The characters, in the first box are myself standing in front of a red brick wall at the end of a residential terrace in Holbeck, Leeds (looking at an A-Z of Leeds), Debord and the, then, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, Michael Arthur. The falling pieces, directed by arrows, are cut-out sections of old University of Leeds campus maps, which lead to the final result, an image of the previous J30 strike. The film-map is intended to be a causal, overly simplistic statement about political pedagogic decisions and activism. The music is taken from the opening of *The Voice* by the Moody Blues.

These films and maps are attempts at a *détournement* which tries to challenge the usual perspective of campus space and campus representations. While they are not at the level of a 'shock tactic' employed by some of the Situationists, they do use already existing forms and styles and offer a different perspective on university discourse and campus topography which is then made available for further discussion.

A Schizocartography of St George's Field

The Psychogeography of Other Spaces

The psychogeographical expeditions that have involved exploring the cemetery over the past three years have led to some discoveries that would not have been likely through just a historical and archival analysis. Not only is it necessary that one knows the

cemetery exists in order to research and explore it, but some of the socially significant findings are not written about to the extent that, say, Pablo Fanque's gravestone is, or, even, the firemen's memorial which is located near the gatehouse entrance to cemetery. This memorial is dedicated to seven Leeds firemen who died in the course of duty between the periods of 1892 and 1930 (Figure 61). It is still possible that one would not know of its existence in the absence of taking a walk into the actual space of the existing field (what the university deemed historically significant, it has protected).



Figure 61: Leeds Firemen Memorial

CC Tina Richardson

This carving of a helmet on the top of the memorial is dedicated to fireman James Potter Schofield who died in 1892 while tackling the fire at the Dark Arches near Leeds Train Station.

The published timeline of the cemetery, which appears in the form of the library handlist, is the most ‘official’ document available listing the historic milestones for the cemetery up to 1969. Nevertheless, this timeline does not include recent milestones nor any activity which might be counter to its general function as a cemetery, or even as a garden. While not all these events are necessarily of a radical nature, they do challenge the use of the cemetery-garden space and most of them respond to individual/group desire to question the assumption that the space is designed for a fixed and given end. Guattari uses the term “singularization” as the process by which these desires are expressed in a given moment. Singularization is a process of becoming which has a restorative effect by reconnecting previously disconnected elements or systems (1995: 19-20). Guattari says that what happens in these processes of singularization, what he calls “the experience of the subject-group”,¹²⁴ is that the person or group of persons “captures the elements of the situation, it constructs its own types of practical and theoretical references, without remaining dependant in relation to global power”

¹²⁴ “Subject-groups” are the opposite of subjected individuals or groups, in that they are groups or individuals who are not taken over by dominant systems of power, for example, the super-ego, or political power such as capitalism (2008a: 471).

(2008a: 62). The Situationists also express desire in a similar way to Guattari: “The really experimental direction of Situationist activity consists in setting up, on the basis of more or less clearly recognized desires, a temporary field of activity favourable to these desires” (Situationist International 2006a: 49)

Following an appeal to the university community to provide information on events that had taken place in St George’s Field over time, I received a number of replies. One series of events went back to the 1970s, not long after the garden reopened. It consisted of a number of meetings organised by the Student Union in response to the IRA bombings that took place in 1974-75. Apparently there were so many students who wanted to attend that the meetings were held in St George’s Field.¹²⁵ In more recent times, in 2007 and 2010, the cemetery was featured as part of the Leeds Light Night event. And in February 2011 there was at least three art-based events that took place: a workshop, an interview and an intervention. In February 2011 the artist Simon Warner ran a workshop called *Landscapes on a Plate*. It was an art-education event in conjunction with the Stanley and Audrey Burton Gallery at the University. After a guided trip around the cemetery, participants created a landscape on a plate inspired by their walk. In the same month an architecture student carried out public interviews with students in the cemetery about the space and whether anything should be built on it. The film can be viewed on YouTube (Musa 2011). Also some art students staged an intervention in the field by using tape to fence off areas of the garden and create pathways. The film can be viewed on YouTube (Endofpassage 2011).¹²⁶

For the purposes of schizocartography, many of the above proceedings express a tendency to attempt to see and use the space in an alternative way from its intended use. By degree, these types of praxes mentioned above satisfy Guattari’s *Three Ecologies*: the environment, social relations and human subjectivity.

Ecological praxes strive to scout out the potential vectors of subjectification and singularization at each partial existential locus. They generally seek something that runs counter to the ‘normal’ order of things, a counter-repetition, an intensive given which invokes other intensities to form new existential materials. (Guattari 2008: 30)

The events momentarily create a new space in response to the subject-group currently in attendance in that space, accounting for their collective *modus operandi*, but also through their individual affective reactions. For example, the art intervention which

¹²⁵ Information supplied by John Whale, Professor of Romantic Literature.

¹²⁶ This is not an exhaustive list of all the replies I received. Some of the others will be discussed in more depth later.

used tape to partition the garden changed the logistics of the territory for those who regularly use the garden as a short-cut (February 2011). Accounts from the art students on the behaviour of the visitors state that almost everyone did not question the tape-fencing and followed the routes that were suggested to them by the temporary structure. This had the effect of both demonstrating how we generally do not question the routes suggested to us by intentionally placed urban décor (for instance, in our towns and cities), but also opened the garden up to the visitors in a new way, perhaps for the first time. Guattari calls this process “transversality”, which is a particular form of communication which forms a bridge that takes unconventional routes between systems (1995: 23-24).

Gary Genosko describes Guattari’s transversality as “the tool used to open hitherto closed logics and hierarchies” (2008: 54). When discussing urban space and walking Genosko states that a “transversal territory” which operates within unconventional power structures “is the site of pure potentiality and marked by such valorized terms as ‘transgress’ – ‘deviate’ – ‘defy’ – ‘cut across’ – ‘disorganize’ – ‘smooth space’” (Genosko 2002: 57)¹²⁷ He says that this mode of operating in space offers an alternative form of articulation, providing one with a different self to that which is expected by the dominant powers in the capitalistic city (2002: 58).

The act of traversing is a good example of a physical act of transversality. In mountaineering, traversing is the term used to describe how one moves sideways across a rock face. The image below shows a student who is traversing the old wall of the cemetery which now forms part of the base of the Henry Price Halls of Residence on the Northern border of St George’s Field (Figure 62 and Figure 63).

¹²⁷ Genosko says Guattari’s term “transversality” is complex and has changed over time and was developed out of the term “transference” used in psychoanalysis (Genosko 2008: 46-49).



Figure 62: A Student Traversing in St George's Field

CC Tina Richardson

This wall is located under the Henry Price Building and the beams of the building can be seen in the top of the image. It is made from the original bricks of the cemetery wall and follows the original line of the wall.



Figure 63: Henry Price Building – Path and Wall

CC Tina Richardson

This photo demonstrates the length the Henry Price Building and that of St George's Field. The free-standing arch, once part of the cemetery wall, can be seen in the distance.

Traverse is described in the Oxford English Dictionary as: “to pass or journey across, over, or through; to pass through (a region) from side to side, or from end to end”. It is

further described as a type of writing: “To trace [...] continuously without lifting the pen or pencil”, as a way of negotiation life: “To ‘go through’ life (life, time or anything figured as extended space or region)” and a form of reading: “to read through or consider thoroughly”. This act of traversing in the cemetery also satisfies Genosko’s list of verbs above in cutting across and deviating from the usual paths through the space. It is also an act of defiance, and while the notices on the outside of the cemetery only forbid ball games, it is possible that traversing may also be considered a transgressive act. While the traversing student may not intentionally be acting defiantly, he does challenge the use of the space and also provides a new route that is inspired by his own desire to respond to the environment in an unconventional way: “Transversality in the group is a dimension opposite and complementary to the structures that generate pyramidal hierarchization and sterile ways of transmitting messages” (Guattari 1984: 22).

The student might think he is crawling along the walls of the old cemetery, merely the wall of a modern building. Nevertheless, the very act itself questions both the permissions and power attached to allowing, and preventing, certain behaviours in particular places. It also enables one to question the underlying logoi of the space in the sense that individuals have certain ‘common sense’ actions expected of them. Desire finds a route through transversality, allowing it to be released from overriding social forms that attempt to regulate the subjectivity of the individual and their behaviour within specific settings.

For her BA project in the School of Design, Charlotte Depono took casts of the gravestones in St George’s Field and rather than making further sculptures from these casts, the casts themselves were presented as the actual sculptures (Figure 64).



Figure 64: Charlotte Deponeo's Sculpture

© Deborah Gardner

The sculpture was placed such that it could be stumbled across by accident, as occurred when Leeds Psychogeography Group came across it on an organised walk one day.

This process of spatially decontextualising the gravestones in the form of the cast (which looks like a kind of tomb), it being placed elsewhere, becomes part of a process of deterritorialization in the opening up of the (en)closed space of the cemetery to the outside. Guattari says that subjectivity is attached to territories, spatial and otherwise, which are ascertained in many ways, for example, through social and cultural determinations (2008a: 471:2). However “Territory can be deterritorialized, that is, it can open up, engage in lines of flight, and even move off course” (2008a: 472). The words on the gravestone have also been decontextualized and reappropriated. Instead of only existing on their separate gravestones *in situ* in the cemetery, individual parts of the text of particular gravestones have been taken and placed together on the inside of the sculpture. This means they have been formed into a new semiotic assemblage: “*Schizoanalysis [...] is interested in a diversification of the means of semiotization. [...] [I]t abandons the terrain of signifying interpretation for that of the exploring of assemblages of enunciation*” (2008a: 395), (Guattari’s italics). Deponeo has created an assemblage of enunciation in the form of her sculpture, by re-presenting the cemetery back to the university (and, in a sense, back to itself), by placing it in a different context, both spatially and materially: “The work of art, for those who use it, is an activity of unframing, of rupturing sense” (Guattari 1995: 131).

Guattari says that this process of “recomposition” enables “a different metabolism of past-future where eternity will coexist with the present moment” (1995: 90). The

schizoanalytic process involved in the making of the sculpture also has the function of bringing the past into the present and, in a sense, de-mythologizing it. Guattari explains what is happening in these situations: “Existential Territories become diversified, heterogenised. The event is no longer enclosed in myth: it becomes a nucleus of processual relay” (1995: 105-106). The dominant order of the institution becomes momentarily translucent, its image fades away and other histories are momentarily made available. The concept of myth was also significant to the SI. In their critique of consumer culture they saw the city as being a mythologised space representing the hollow sign that appeared in the form of the spectacle. This meant that the city could then become a place where private desires were then played out in the public domain in a consumerist form (McDonough 1994: 76). Guattari’s schizoanalytic cartography helps reveal the myth of controlling aesthetic(s) and enables a space for desire to come into play. Debord sees the powers employed by capitalism in urban design as applying processes to space in such a way as it become homogenised (2005: 165 and 171). The landscaping of the cemetery could be considered to have resulted in a homogenised space, losing (hiding) its ‘real’ character and separating it from its origins.

The Undercroft and Gravestones

The Leeds Psychogeography Group walk in June 2011, also took the group to St George’s Field. During the walk-performance entrance to the undercroft beneath the chapel in St George’s Field was accessible because the outside wall had fallen down in one place, revealing the inside.¹²⁸ The undercroft had previously been closed off from both the inside of the chapel and outside in the garden itself. Near the entrance, on the inside, was a plaque. I did not photograph the plaque or record a dictation of the text appearing on it at the time, hoping to return at a later date with the appropriate equipment. However, when I returned it had been closed up, by replacing the bricks with new mortar (Figure 65 and Figure 66).¹²⁹

¹²⁸ While the university uses the term ‘undercroft’ for this area (in other words a vaulted storage space), it is also called a columbarium on various archived plans, a place for storing the cremated remains of the dead.

¹²⁹ An architectural drawing referring to the undercroft was supplied to me by Estates Services. The description on it says: “Proposed walling up of archways in the columbarium” (Cant 1969), and appears to be the only document remaining which indicates how this part of the chapel used to look. At one time there were six exposed archways. They were bricked up individually, then the level of the ground was altered in this part of the cemetery, leaving only part of five of the filled-in archways visible from the outside, as it is today.



Figure 65: Old Entrance to the Undercroft

CC Tina Richardson

It appears that at one time these arches enabled access to the undercroft which the chapel sits upon. The arch in the centre of the image is the one discovered 'open' in June 2011.



Figure 66: The Undercroft Showing the Chapel Above

CC Tina Richardson

The entrance to undercroft sits forward from the chapel. There is a paved space in front of the windows of the chapel, and before the top of the undercroft structure shown here.

I contacted Andy Turner Geography Research Fellow, the member of Leeds Psychogeography Group who read out the plaque to us on the walk. This is what he recalled:

The plaque, just in from the hole, mentioned a woman from Potternewton who died as a young mother. I think she was the wife of someone and they had an infant child that died some time shortly afterwards (this was mentioned lower down on the plaque). I can't quite recall the name of the woman at present or the dates or ages that I think were mentioned. (Turner 2012)¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Andy Turner later remembered that the plaque said something like "Sarah and her infant child.." and there were more than one, possibly three, plaques in view at the entrance.

We were offered a momentary glance into a part of the history of the chapel and cemetery that appeared as this temporary window into the undercroft. For that short time its inside was opened to the outside and those of us present were given a *Brigadoon*-esque glimpse into the forbidden space before it disappeared forever. In a deconstructive sense, the historical text of the plaque is now literally ‘on the inside’ and unavailable for interpretation, it is ‘outside the text’ and beyond our grasp.

A reply to my email to the Estates Services about the plaque therein and the closing up of the entrance, stated:

Mystery solved. Our maintenance guys have blocked off the undercroft in recent months with stonework and railings to prevent access from outside by ‘undesirables’. They confirm there is no access from inside the chapel and thus there is now no access in to the undercroft. They did take photographs of the plaques in the undercroft before they closed up BUT they were of such poor quality they didn’t keep them. Sorry but it seems the plaques are locked up forever! (Estates Services 2012)



Figure 67: Plaque in the Undercroft

CC Malcolm Morris

Here Andy Turner is reading out the text on the plaque to the members of Leeds Psychogeography Group who attended the walk on campus in June 2011.

The above quote is an example of how hiding works in postmodern space in a response to administrative decisions (however, it is important to say that the original bricking-up of the undercroft goes back to the 1960s). But, also it is apparent that there are certain ‘types’ of people that are not welcome in the garden (the scare quotes surrounding ‘undesirables’ is part of the original email), in the way that Katz discusses in Grand

Central Terminal.¹³¹ One of the most troubling aspects of the closing of the undercroft is that it is now a piece of lost social history, since neither Estates Services nor Leeds Psychogeography Group have the full information from the plaque. However, a chance meeting in April 2012 between Andy Turner and Malcolm Morris (both on the walk when the inside of the undercroft was open to view) resulted in the discovery of the existence of some photos taken by Morris on the day (Figure 67, page 245).

Debord describes certain spaces in society as being “shielded from public gaze” in order to hide an authoritarian agenda which also conceals aspects of itself that it is in denial of (1998: 52-3). While the above decision to increase passage through the cemetery might not have been rejected for that reason, the choice to reduce availability to it as a public space is one of keeping it, in part, ‘secret’: keeping certain people out at the cost of keeping most people out. Leeds City Council has opted to keep St George’s Field ‘hidden’. And while it is technically open to the public (it has four entrances/exits and the public has permission to enter), it is also an (en)closed space.

Much of public-privatized postmodern space appears to be open, and has permeable boundaries, but this does not mean that the space is not controlled. The contemporary panopticon form of self-surveillance (engendered by not necessarily knowing where CCTV cameras are located, or whether they are looking at you or not) creates a different form of boundary. Guattari remarks on how the neoliberalist agenda puts processes in place so as to avoid people congregating: “Capitalism fears large-scale movements of crowds. Its goal is to have automatic systems of regulation at its command. This regulatory role is given to the State and to the mechanisms of contractualization between ‘social partners’” (2009: 169). While the garden is considered to be a public space, it is unclear how many individuals could collect there in order to become a crowd to the degree that might concern the university security department. Guattari, writing with Toni Negri, states: “Self-surveillance and doubt prevent any intimations of escape, and preempt any questioning of the political, legal or moral legitimacy of the system [...] every action helps to solidify the hierarchies of value and authority” (1990: 8). However, since the removal of the gravestones it is possible that people are more likely to congregate in St George’s Field now that it looks less like a cemetery.

Of the gravestones that remain there is one belonging to the grave of Ellis Pollard.

¹³¹ There is an account of a student once committing arson in the chapel and causing much damage to it.

Odette Dewhurst, an academic and photographer at the University of Leeds, has taken a number of photographs of St George's Field, in particular of the gravestones, and posted them on the daily photo journal website *Blipfoto*.



Figure 68: Memorial to Ellis Pollard

© Odette Dewhurst

Blipfoto subscribers are encouraged to post one image a day to their online journal page. The site has been going since 2004.

The posting of the above photo of Ellis Pollard's gravestone (Figure 68) by Dewhurst engendered a particularly useful comment by another Blipfoto user, MikeBN. I include it in full here for two reasons. Firstly, I would like to demonstrate how the internet has enabled family history narratives to be networked, and shared, in a way that was not possible before. Secondly, and related to this, it is one of the aims of this project to trace the histories that are revealed through the materiality of the cemetery, in order that they are not sidestepped by greater, more authoritative, projects and/or structures. Below I have included the history provided by MikeBN on Ellis Pollard, such that it forms part of the schizocartography of St George's Field. Here MikeBN is addressing Dewhurst:

Did you ever wonder while you were standing there looking through your lens?

Ellis POLLARD born Greatbrough, Leeds on 26 November 1828 and christened in the Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul Leeds on the 21 December 1828. By the time he was 12 his mother Hannah had died and he was at home living at No. 1 Deep Pit with his father George, a coal miner, and his brothers Johnathan and Charly.

Ellis went to work as an iron founder and could probably have worked at the

railway foundry which helped produce some of the first railway engines. This foundry was taken over by the Boyne Engine Works who continued to produce some 2000 steam railway engines for the United Kingdom.

In 1847 Ellis Married Emma THORNSWORTH born 1827 at Broadgate Rotherham, and they had children Charles in 1849 and Arthur in 1851, when they were living at Parkfield Street, Hunslett Leeds. By 1861 they were living at Ward Street, Hunslett, Leeds.

Ellis died in 1866 aged 39 and is buried where your picture found him but his name lived on in his grandson born after his death and in your random picture.

Emma lived on and was living with her son Charles in 1871, as head of the family at 74 Moor Crescent Road, Hunslett, Leeds, along with Charles' wife Jane and babies Ellis A. aged 1 and Emma T. in her first year. And it was your Twirl that brought me to your Blips, what a nice result. [sic] (MikeBN 2010)

It is not apparent where MikeBN got his information from, although he may be a relative. However, some of the dates coincide with census dates – 1851, 1861 and 1871 – so the source of some of this information may be the Census Records. While the account is not cited, and therefore would not satisfy an academic publication, it does highlight how historical family narratives are still at work despite the demise of narrative knowledge as discussed by Lyotard:

In a sense, the people are only that which actualizes the narratives: once again, they do this by recounting them, but also by listening to them and recounting themselves through them; in other words, in putting them into 'play' in their institutions – thus by assigning themselves the posts of narratee and diegesis as well as the post of narrator. (2004: 23)

MikeBN provides us with a family history of a worker from Leeds, living and dying in the Victorian period. Ellis Pollard is not a historically significant person, therefore not warranting space in a history book. The internet enables the proliferation of these narratives, forming a virtual network of the traces of people's lives and raising them to a level where they become available when they were not before, producing new assemblages of enunciation. Lyotard's concern with the legitimation of knowledge was in the processes that validated it within a second-level discourse that functioned as a method of authentication. This means that personal accounts of historical events can often be considered 'unscientific' within the framework they are presented in when they cannot be verified. However, at one time these stories would have formed the narrative knowledge of a group and been handed down through families via storytelling. With the information now available on the internet, marginalised histories can be viewed in a new light in relation to the position of narrator and the representation of social history.

Guattari acknowledges the problems attached to the representation of social history

when it is considered to be “the site of the unconscious”:

It is, in fact, impossible to systematize the real discourse of history, the circumstance that causes a particular phase or a particular signifier to be represented by a particular event or social group, by the emergence of an individual or a discovery, or whatever. (1984: 118)

He says that the complexity of historical events, in regard to cause and effect, are so complex that providing a full account is impossible. This, no doubt, needs to be recognised more widely and is accepted as a difficulty which is impossible to surmount within this thesis. Personal narratives can often be the only accounts available and, indeed, at one time they were the only markers of history, today making up parts of historical documents that have been enshrined as ‘the truth’. In discussing the history of knowledge and its validation, Foucault explains that there is no truth that can be accounted for outside of its own historical *episteme*. He shows us these influences in the form of discursive formations that give rise to these epochs. ‘Truth’ is a function of a whole network of factors which form a specific utterance in the propagation of an individual statement. Statements exist in their moment of utterance, defined by their enunciative domain, materialised by their specific formalised mode of power, and supported in the materiality of this institution or that.

The other photograph Dewhurst sent me was of a gravestone with a recent drawing of a phoenix on it. She took it on 17 August 2011 and it was still there in February 2012, when I took my own photograph (Figure 69).



Figure 69: Phoenix Drawing on Gravestone

CC Tina Richardson

This drawing was first noticed by Dewhurst in August 2011. Upon receiving an email from Dewhurst about the drawing, I went to locate it myself.

I eventually found the grave in a cluster of gravestones of a similar style. Of a plain design, it displays the words “IN MEMORY OF/ JAMES ROBINSON MASON OF LEEDS/who died March 15th 1840/aged 45 Years”. There is little funerary text on the gravestone, lending itself to being a suitable ‘blank canvas’. With yellow and red chalk or pastel someone has drawn an expressionist-style flying, or rising, bird in such a way that it looks like it is taking off. Dewhurst called it a phoenix and the context (a graveyard, death, pyre) implies it is and suggest concepts such as rebirth and resurrection, along with other phoenix-related symbols like the sun and ashes. This drawing is temporary: if it was not removed by anyone at the university (by Estates Services staff or students), it will eventually be worn down by the elements. The artwork serves as a schizoanalytical action in that it incorporates both an “aesthetic production” and a “micro-political act” (Guattari 1998: 433).

The creative instance of the drawing is something that cannot temporally be tied down since it is not known when the phoenix drawing was created, nor who the artist is. However, we can pose some questions around its intention and reception. For example, is it a rebellious work of art? Is the artwork meant to challenge the idea of a conventional graveyard? It might be that the *tabula rasa* effect of the homogenisation of the space through the landscaping effort has the side effect of making the park into a canvas where individuals, who might not realise it is a graveyard, feel free to creatively express themselves. However, it is possible, since the gravestone is not in clear view, that the act was somewhat transgressive. In the place where the gravestone is located, the artist could momentarily hide in order to draw the bird. Also, for it to be found, a viewer would need to be intentionally walking around this cluster of gravestones and looking at them out of interest. Perhaps the drawing is not subversive at all and is intended as a gift for the occasional adventurous individual who chooses to enter that space.

Could the phoenix be considered as graffiti? And, if there were relatives of the deceased still living, and they liked the artwork, would that matter? Since the garden is a public space, the council and the university would be the organisations involved in deciding what is considered graffiti in regard to public policy. However, the gravestone itself was probably purchased by the family of the deceased. So their view on whether the drawing is graffiti or art, would be a consideration. Since the term ‘graffiti’ is often considered to be quite contentious it is difficult to find a definite answer to the question. Nevertheless, the drawing does not seem overtly political, even if it could be

saying something about the demise of the cemetery itself. The phoenix might not actually be a comment on the resurrection of the deceased, but the resurrection of the cemetery itself.

These events become transactions (transversalities), what Guattari describes as "machinic propositions" (1995: 138). For Guattari the machine can appear as the force of capitalism, but also subjectivizing machines can exist which sidetrack capitalist oriented production. Guattari explains how capitalism produces a "face" that presents its authority to the world (1984: 156). It is essential that this face represents the dominant elements of society in order for it to be endowed with the power that it needs for its continued existence:

Establishing these concrete authority machines is the only means whereby a capitalistic system can tolerate, and turn to its own advantage, the lines of escape inherent in the development of productive forces and the de-territorialization of production relationship. (ibid).

Space is one of the methods capitalism uses to control its *imago*. Nevertheless, other machines in the form of momentary assemblages are able to prevent desires being taken up into the greater order. They "elude the ordinary games of discursivity and the structural coordinates of energy, time and space" (Guattari 1995: 138).

Transformers of Signification

The observations, interventions and artworks in St George's Field, discussed above, form part of this critique of the postmodern university. They constitute the schizocartography of the redbrick because they challenge the hierarchy of dominant histories, open discussion on this hidden part of the university and question the spatial setting of the cemetery itself. The institutional setting critiqued by Guattari was the psychiatric one, oriented in its 1960s and 70s Oedipal moorings. Genosko says that while for Guattari this started off as a challenge to the "Mommy-Daddy-Me" triad, it turned into a criticism of the abstract space of the institution with the "mediating object" being the dynamics of the group setting (2008: 50). If for Guattari the institutional object was power relationships in the way that they are played out in the psychoanalytic space of La Borde, at the university cemetery the focus has been on how these authoritarian structures and processes are manifest in concrete space, and the repercussions of these administrative decisions on the lives and affect of others. The individual subjectivities discussed (the subject-groups) – in both the overt challenges to

the institutional voice (for example, the dissenters to the University of Leeds Bill), but also in the creative flows manifest in the cemetery, appearing as events and/or challenges to the use of that space – have all contributed to demonstrating that there are always alternative voices and desires at work in material space: “Subjectivity involves [...] non-predetermined interrelations, non-linear and non-logical ‘evolution’, and the production of differences” (Genosko 2008: 51). While not all of the examples discussed in the context of St George’s Field have necessarily been creative acts – the Woodhouse Cemetery Defence Organisation took the regular molar route in standing up to the institution directly, rather than the molecular ones of Guattari – they have all challenged what Genosko describes as “bureaucratic sclerosis” (2008: 68), either intentionally or not.¹³²

Guattari states that more dominant groups and associations tend to speak on the behalf of those with less power. While we appear to have the power to vote certain groups into power, once there our desires are homogenised and get taken up into other structures, within other agendas. Anti-production is employed to reroute contrary desires that do not conform to the prevailing ideology. Guattari says: “The question of schizo-analysis is to introduce these agents into the production process, and to pull them out of anti-production” (2006: 31). These acts and events appear in the form of situations that arise momentarily and dissipate before anti-production can take hold of them, as with the example of the student intervention with tape in St George’s Field. Guattari describes these types of experiments as “experimental signified[s]” and he uses the analogy of a city to explain how they appear: “The experimental signified is just an explorable suburb of a forbidden city” (2006: 230). So, what appears spatially as the cemetery – a forb(h)idden city – becomes a ludic place of exploration and investigation.

The area that is now St George’s Field – while it is convenient to describe in heterotopic terms, because it fits so well into Foucault’s model – offers much more as a postmodern space of cultural import than a ‘regular’ cemetery. In a way it is a cemetery of a cemetery. The garden has become a monument (a graveyard) to itself, to a past self. The, now, postmodern space has come to represent contemporary culture in the sense that “Culture can be defined as the ensemble of means through which a society thinks of itself and shows itself to itself, and thus decides on all aspects of the use of its available surplus-value” (Canjuers and Debord 2006: 387). Culturally the cemetery no longer

¹³² In chemistry ‘mole’ refers to a specific aggregate of molecules and is used as a unit of measurement. For Guattari, and Deleuze and Guattari, molar forms exist in dominant structures, while molecular ones proliferate in heterogeneity within individual and group subjectivities.

serves its original purpose. The semi-defunct (dead) cemetery has been ‘put to better use’.

St George’s Field might also be described in Situationist terms as a “ruin”. When describing the Situationist city, Tom McDonough says: “its history is put back into play in a harmless form as entertainment in, for example, tourist attractions where ‘public’ space is commodified as ‘private’ consumption” (1994: 76). While the garden is not a tourist attraction in the common use of the term, the public/private dichotomy mentioned by McDonough could be applied to it because of the multiple tensions between these oppositions. St George’s Field is now a space open to the public and it was a public cemetery at one time. Yet it is also privately owned by the university and has been presented back to the public as a private space because of its ‘hidden’ nature. Also, since there are still people who do actually visit the space as a cemetery where their relatives lie (it is still a place of *memoria* for some), it remains a place for private contemplation.

These antagonisms are not necessarily apparent on a casual walk through the garden, or without any foreknowledge of the social history of the space. It is the process of urban walking, psychogeography and schizocartography that help reveal the complexity of the place and reappropriate it “from the realms of the myth” (McDonough 1994: 77). The bodies still exist unmarked under the grassy areas and people are very often surprised to discover this. Through the surface topography this information is not presented to the visitor. Nothing seems to be amiss. But, really, the garden is presenting a new face which is concomitant with the model of the new university which was planned in the 1950s and 60s. And it was necessary for the university that this space was acquired as part of that programme of major campus development. However, the landscaping effort has created a *tabula rasa* effect, which Guattari sees as “the goal of the production of capitalist subjectivity” (2008a: 276). The cemetery has become an erased slate in its new homogenised form. Despite this, personal histories attest to its recalcitrance, what Bonnett describes as modernity’s “troubling refusal” to “erase places and pasts” (2006: 41).

Nevertheless, the university cannot change the past of the cemetery, it can only change the face it presents to the world. This means it becomes the repressed Real (Lacan) in its “visible freezing of life” (Debord 2005: 170), or rather death. It is not a living cemetery – one that is still used, maintained as a cemetery, and visited as a cemetery – but a

frozen moment-in-time where the bodies have been buried twice: once upon their initial internment, and then again when the gravestones were removed from the scene. Debord describes these administrative processes as “*authoritarian decision[s]*” which “organizes territory into territory of abstraction” (2005: 173), (Debord’s italics). McDonough says that abstracted space is full of opposing schemas and “it not only conceals difference, its acts of division and exclusion are productive of difference. Distinctions and differences are not eradicated, they are only hidden in the homogeneous space of the ‘Plan’” (1994: 65). At St George’s Field this has manifest in the political decision-making of the university that led to the Act of Parliament and the physical repercussions that that had on the space itself. The territory then became the abstracted cemetery that now appears as a public park and has the effect of hiding the prior controversy (difference) and the marginalisation of those who opposed the gravestone removal (exclusion).

Henri Lefebvre actually describes cemeteries in their original incarnation as “absolute” spaces in their representation of the city-state, in the way they connect the living to the dead and the overseeing of them by priestly powers (1991: 235-6). Despite this, with the multiple layering attached to St George’s Field in its postmodern palimpsest embodiment, it probably now comes under his description of abstract space:

[A]bstraction’s *modus operandi* is devastation, destruction. [...] The violence involved does not stem from some force intervening aside from rationality, outside or beyond it. Rather, it manifests itself from the moment any action introduces the rational into the real, from the outside, by means of tools which strike, slice and cut[.] (Lefebvre 1991: 289)

Debord, Lefebvre and McDonough are all describing how intervening power structures change the way space is manifest, and at the same time manage to hide the consequences of that hiding as they relate to social reproduction.

St George’s Field, as with many of the urban spaces described by the SI, is manifest in such a way that its space is, in the most part, concealed. It has high buildings blocking it on most sides, it has a wall all the way around it and three small entrances, plus the gatehouse. It is also not signposted in any intentional way that highlights it as ‘a place of interest’ which is open to the public. This is what makes up its “psychogeographical contours” (Debord 2006b: 62), which the SI set out to question. Those spaces with “fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones” (ibid.). These types of controlling routes (and routines) need to be challenged by inserting the physical body into the space. Historically, this has been done by groups

ranging from the Ramblers to Reclaim the Streets. The artworks carried out in the cemetery space have contributed to Guattari's schizoanalysis by being "insert[ed] into [the] social network" (1995: 130) of St George's Field through the physical act of the artists operating in those spaces and often leaving a trace of their operations in the form of the work itself, such as with the phoenix drawing.

These ecological praxes help reveal both the social history hidden in the terrain and also the suppressed voices contain therein and hence form this schizocartography of the cemetery. They enable an-other history, one that is not dominated by the capitalist machine but a machine of desire which presents a more open history, one that "constantly remains open to singularity traits and creative initiatives" (Guattari 2011: 194). Thus the unconscious, of both those actively operating in St George's Field and the unconscious that is the suppressed socio-historic space of the garden itself, can remain accessible. These unconsciouss then become connected in the physical space of the garden, creating new connections: "If we understand the unconscious as the place where territories of existence, their cartographies and micropolitics, are produced by the operations of desire, then the enigma dissolves" (Guattari 2008a: 15).

The university's representation of the cemetery as a specific territory under its control requires that it manages its appearance (spatially and abstractly) in a specific way in order that its incongruences are not left open to criticism. It does this through the management of what Guattari calls "transformers of signification – concrete machines" (1984: 156). However, despite its attempts to do this, schizocartography, which opposes dominant histories, creates avenues which can be opened, revealing the voice of the other. It is in this way that psychogeography, as a part of schizocartography, enables discoveries to be made (historical, creative, or otherwise) through the act of losing oneself in the spaces under exploration. And the process of mapping those spaces, whether with actual maps or through traces in the forms of reading and rewriting them, opens up the possibility for new directions to be taken.

Harley's 'Deconstructing the Map' opens with a quote by Beryl Markham: "A map says to you, 'Read me carefully, follow me closely, doubt me not.' It says, 'I am the earth in the palm of your hand. Without me, you are alone and lost'" (cited in Harley 1989: 1). However, it was the intention of the Situationists that they got lost in their cities, in order to rediscover them anew. They did this by not only deconstructing conventional maps but by destroying them and, through a process of *détournement*, reforming them

into something that they understood to be more authentic. It was Harley's intention to take a semiological look at maps in order to investigate a new way forward for them: "The objective is to suggest that an alternative epistemology, rooted in social theory rather than in scientific positivism, is more appropriate to the history of cartography" (1989: 2).

I would like to suggest that schizocartography – in its broadest sense – attempts to do this through a process of psychogeographical investigation which challenges the dominant discourse of a specific place. It enables an opening up of space that challenges the official maps: "In the map itself, social structures are often disguised beneath an abstract, instrumental space, or incarcerated in the coordinates of computer mapping" (Harley 1989: 5). This can be seen in the university's representation of St George's Field. Schizocartography highlights the tensions in space that occur when authorised narratives betray the terrain on which they rest. This is the deconstructive aspect of schizocartography in its analysis of topography and representations of space, such that a specific rhetorical hierarchy may be subverted. "Maps are authoritarian images. Without our being aware of it, maps can reinforce and legitimate the *status quo*. Sometimes agents of change they can equally become conservative documents. But in either case the map is never neutral" (Harley 1989: 14).

In his 1957 *Mythologies* Barthes stated only one language is not mythical, that of "man as producer" (2000: 146). In this regard he is talking about the proletariat and provides the example of revolutionary language, which is political (ibid.). He states: "wherever man speaks in order to transform reality and no longer to preserve it as an image, wherever he links his language to the making of things [...] myth is impossible" (ibid.). Because space, and representations of space, are shrouded in myth, the process of schizocartography enables it to be decoded: "What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?" (Lefebvre 1991: 44).

Lefebvre makes reference to the significance of the experience of the body in social space in relation to the senses, describing it as the "realm of the *perceived*" (1991: 40). The gestures and actions carried out in space provide a corporeal sensory feedback that situates the body in a very material way. The process of walking in space and connecting with it sensorially challenges that space in a way that cannot be done remotely. Alex John Bridger describes this in regard to his own psychogeographical

expeditions in Manchester, UK: “Walking should be construed as a type of ‘dwelling’ where individuals are located in context in their lived experiences” (2014: 79).

Schizocartography – as a form of psychogeography, urban critique and *détournement* – challenges the *status quo* in order to question a “capitalist subjectivity [that] always leans in the same direction, that of the neutralization and expulsion of processual singularities” (Guattari 2013: 44). The body, in its act of walking, can then trace a new map, one that escapes the rigid hierarchies of an imposed order: “Freed from a pretense of objectivity that reduced it to the passivity of observation, the map can be restored to the instrumentality of the body as a whole” (Wood 1997: 183). These maps become cognitive maps in their revealing of conditions of existence. Jameson describes this in Althusserian terms: “this is exactly what the cognitive map is called upon to do in the narrower framework of daily life in the physical city” (2009: 51).

“What do maps *do* when they work?” Woods asks in his introduction (1997: 1), (Woods’s italics). He replies: “They make present – they *represent* – the accumulated thought and labor of the past [...] In so doing they enable the past to become part of our living...*now...here*” (ibid.), (Woods’s italics). While the schizocartographies discussed here are still serving interests, they nevertheless add to the body of representations of a specific space – the campus at the University of Leeds – and enable that archive to become more fully rounded and less partial. By bringing a possibly sidelined history into the present, they contribute to the “accumulated thought” on specific matters of socio-political difference while also offering other narratives of space, other subjectivities:

Geographical praxis [...] becomes, rather, an instrument through which we can both narrate the world as well as construct it – in its continual process of negotiation and articulation. [...] Reality can thus only be ‘encountered’ in its lived experience; in the fleeting moments within which we contribute to its narration – and thus to its transformation, to its continual recontextualization within a cartography that we have chosen to adopt at that particular moment in time. A *post*-modern geographical praxis [...] could thus lead us into a new exploration of the world, leaving inevitable traces of our passage in an infinite game of negotiation of meaning with multiple other discourses, multiple other geographies. (Minca 2001: 224), (Minca’s italics)

The notion of recontextualization highlighted by Minca ties in with the Situationist concept of *détournement* in its reworking of past ideas. Also a word used by Readings as a way of resituating the past in the present, the Situationists used it as an attempt to subvert capitalism, although it can be used within any form of production, such as

artistic and/or political arenas: “Short for: détournement of preexisting aesthetic elements. The integration of present and past artistic production into a superior milieu” (Situationist International 1996: 70).

In the sense that the Situationists did not believe individuals were separate from the urban space they occupied, this schizocartography of the Redbrick also challenges the spectacular university as it appears in the form of images: “The situationists insist that people are not *outside* the landscape but inside its commodified reification and that these reifications form an interdependent chain of alienating image-meanings” (Bonnett 1989: 138), (Bonnett’s italics). When moving about the campus on a day-to-day level, students, lecturers and other university staff can be forgiven for not considering how and why the campus appears the way it does. A deliberate and conscious act of openly challenging the appearance of the campus – by asking pertinent questions and by the physical act of moving about the space as a form of interrogation – needs to be employed in order to query it as a spectacular object which is ideologically situated.

Conclusion

Pedagogy and the University Model

On 12 February 1968 a group of artists, writers and intellectuals started the Antiuniversity of London. The free university was led by people such as the ‘anti-psychiatrists’ Joseph Berke and R. D. Laing, the sociologist Stuart Hall and the Situationist Alexander Trocchi.¹³³ Run at 49 Rivington Street in Shoreditch, the group advertised education in the area of “Music, Art, Poetry, Black Power, Madness, Revolution”. A fee was charged to cover costs, £5 or £8. The aim of the university was to open up education to more people in an effort to deinstitutionalise it (hence R. D. Laing’s involvement, since he was attempting to do something similar in the institution of psychiatry).¹³⁴ Teachers at the Antiuniversity included Herbert Marcuse and Gregory Bateson. It was to be “a meeting ground for discussion, discovery, rediscovery and revelation. It [was] intended as an on-going experiment in the development of consciousness and [was] related to other revolutionary experiments in universities” (cited in Jakobson 2012). But, however, even at the opening event there were arguments between the committee, students and teachers about press coverage. The Antiuniversity did not last long.

In response to the public funding cuts that began in 2010, The Really Open University was set up in the UK “to change the expectations that people have of higher education” and to challenge the current phase of “accelerated process of privatisation and expansion” (Really Open University 2013a). Run mostly by postgraduate students, part of the project involved a week-long series of events in Leeds, Reimagining the University, and a longer project in Leeds called The Space Project. An online journal was produced. Their tagline is: “We don’t want to defend the university. We want to transform it!” (ibid.). Part of the reforms called for are the abolition of the REF and the NSS:

In reality, rather than guaranteeing or improving the ‘quality’ of universities, these quantitative assessments lead to a short-circuiting, as research and teaching becomes geared towards the generation and massaging of ‘representations’ rather than towards the research or teaching itself. It matters less and less *how well* you teach or *what* you research, only that you are able to

¹³³ Definitions for what a free university is differ depending on the organisation. However, generally they mean that the education is free inasmuch as there is no course fee, although sometimes administration charges can be applied.

¹³⁴ There had previously been a free university in New York which Berke had been involved in, so there was a model that could be readily translated to the London Antiuniversity. There were also a number of existing free universities around the world at this time, for instance, in Denmark and Holland.

meet-or-beat your performance indicators. (Really Open University 2013b), (Really Open University's italics)

Mike Neary, who was involved in the Really Open University, is the Project Director on a programme at the University of Lincoln called Student as Producer. It takes up some of the theories of Walter Benjamin from his lecture 'Author as Producer', which are applied to the principles of student learning. Neary says that for Benjamin "it is not enough that a progressive intellectual declares their commitment to progressive social transformation, but that their work reflects the ways in which the social relations of capitalist society might be transformed" (2011: 38). In relation to the Student as Producer, Neary says that

the student is restored as an ideal, i.e. to the role of creative subject within an academic enterprise. [...] The purpose is to get to a point where the student recognises themselves as a key contributor to the production of knowledge and meaning within the institution. [...] By creating alternative models for higher education Student as Producer is experimenting with the history of the idea of university[.] (2011: 42)

There is a website and blog for the programme and there has also been a conference. A manifesto also exists stating: "The capacity for Student as Producer is grounded in the human attributes of creativity and desire, so that students can recognise themselves in a world of their own design" (Student as Producer 2013). While Neary is not making reference to Guattari in any way, in this quote he demonstrates the relationship between production, creativity and desire and what is possible when traditional hierarchical models are questioned.

The Antiuniversity, the Really Open University and Student as Producer demonstrate the ongoing struggle that educators and learners have with various aspects of the institution. From the utopian origins of the Antiuniversity and its de-hierarchisation of the university model of the 1960s to a contemporary response to the bureaucratic posthistoric university, these models attempt to offer a trans-university of sorts, one that broadens access to education and circumvents the inexorable march towards the full corporatisation that concern them.

In August 2012 it was announced by *The Independent* newspaper that a business publisher was the first FTSE 100 company to offer its own degrees (Garner 2012). In 2013 the education company Pearson PLC offered two BSc degrees and two other business-related short courses. Their degrees are validated by Royal Holloway and

Bedford New College and students study at the company's London offices. Pearson endorses their own books on their courses and also owns Edexcel (one of the outsourced exam boards in the UK for secondary education). This model of the corporate university has been common for a number of decades in the USA. The Walt Disney Company have their own college and offer programmes such as Corporate Communications and Hospitality Management, although these are courses and not degrees. McDonald's have a Hamburger University which includes 13 teaching rooms and a 30-seat auditorium (McDonalds 2012). These courses or degrees are aimed at supporting the goals of the parent organisation. However, Pearson's degrees have actually been inserted into the HE system because of their validation through the university system in the UK. As Lyotard states: "Knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold, it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production" (2004: 4). Pearson's degrees shows how postmodernity effectively co-opts existing systems and turns them to profit-making organisations.

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) have become popular, especially in the United States, but also increasingly in the UK. On 18 September 2013 a BBC News headline read: 'UK Enters Global Online University Race'. Also, aired on the television news that day, the online article says:

Students will be able to follow courses on mobile phones as well as computers. The UK's project, called FutureLearn, sees UK universities entering the global market in so-called Moocs [...] It could 'revolutionise conventional models of formal education', says universities minister David Willetts. (BBC 2013)

These courses do not lead to the award of a degree, and the article goes on to state that they are largely intended for the international market (ibid.). The University of Leeds is also contributing to this project which is run by FutureLearn Ltd, a company privately owned by the Open University. While these courses are free, they are being run by a company which, one assumes, will be making money or receiving funding from somewhere (the current funding plan is not clear on this).

It is possible the recently established Global Centre for Advanced Studies (GCAS) may go towards addressing some of the issues highlighted above, and also respond to the capital-oriented criticisms levelled at the neo-liberalist university model. GCAS offers low-cost (potentially free) online postdoctoral programmes and is headed up by high-profile academics such as Alan Badiou, Simon Critchley and Slavoj Žižek (GCAS 2014). GCAS is currently seeking non-profit charitable status and runs on donations at

present. The mission on their website states:

It is our quest to create a transformative institution of higher education unlike anything the world has yet seen. In doing this we want to create a community of scholars, farmers, workers, and students who can add to this conversation – a conversation that is itself an act in the belief of the humanities, political economy, philosophy, literature, art, science, architecture, and poetry. We need each other to do this believing that banks and corporate interests should not continue to dictate the terms on which ‘education’ is determined. We want to create an education that is inclusive, democratic, and committed to justice for the oppressed. (ibid.)

The above examples of alternative university models, historic and contemporary, demonstrate that reactions to the post-War model of HE are continually being reconsidered and evaluated in a new light. These reformulations become especially relevant in times of economic hardship, when public services are impacted, lecturers’ salaries/pensions/jobs are threatened and students have to consider whether they are prepared to take on many years of debt in order to get the better job so that they can pay back that debt.

It is at these historic moments in the life of a university that the gradual creep from the post-War desire for everyone to go to university who was educationally qualified to, has become one that involves that of how primed the student is to get into debt. This shift is cultural and incremental such that it becomes ‘normalised’ in a system that prioritises financial profit. The move towards a degree-as-financial-contract and away from knowledge-based learning is not only a concern for academics today, but was also a worry for intellectuals in the 1960s. However, Readings thought that the issue of knowledge and education was not something that should be seen in nostalgic terms (in a return to the Enlightenment project), but rather that “the scene of teaching can be better understood as a network of obligations”, that “teaching is a question of justice not a search for truth” and “pedagogy can hold open the temporality of questioning so as to resist being characterized as a transaction” (1999: 19).

While it is possible many academics feel this way about the teaching they provide to their students, it is difficult for the students themselves not to be influenced by the discourse of the university, and society at large, such that their course fee is seen as a business transaction. Not only that, but when a British student is expected to pay an annual tuition fee of £9,000 it is understandable they want something in return for their money: a good grade and a worthwhile, well-paid job. However, this business contract,

which the student feels they have entered, has the effect of de-prioritising the other factors that influence the attainment of the good grade/job. This occurs not only because the student is concerned with their potential debt, and may likely have to work while they are studying, which means they spend less time on actual study, but also because a business transaction implies a contract of sorts. When you purchase in the High Street, or elsewhere, you expect a certain standard of product or service, irrelevant of the effort you put into that purchase. As a consumer, you pay your money and receive your goods (or service). This does not translate to the lecture theatre, library or place of study. In the university you pay your money and then have to study just as hard as your 1960-70s equivalent who paid no course fees.

Pedagogy “has a specific chronotope that is radically alien to the notion of accountable time upon which the excellence of capitalist-bureaucratic management and bookkeeping depend” Readings says (1999: 151). Readings situates pedagogy within three frames: the administration as it appears in the form of production, the lecturer who is struggling to see the parity between their own teaching objectives and the financial cost-benefit analysis they are expected to use in measuring that teaching, and the student situated within the hierarchical processes that they feel, literally, ‘subjected’ to, and that also has to be justified within a future consumerist framework (ibid.).

This consumer-oriented structure is supported by the bureaucratic surveillance of academic life that appears in the form of today’s university: the subjection of academics to the REF and also the quality control from the other direction (students measuring the teaching experience via the NSS). This was mooted in a future university discussed by Lyotard as far back as 1979. He explained how “the knower” (in this case the university) could decide its own performative measures, formed by its own principles, when it came to the dissemination of knowledge (2004: 18-19). It could decide what was “good” based on what “conformed to the relevant criteria” (Lyotard 2004: 19). These measures of ‘good’ have become enshrined in the REF and the NSS and get taken up into the narrative of the institution, appearing in rankings and league tables, and becoming circulated in society as a whole.

Readings says that these HE surveys enable institutions to reaffirm their own ideas and measure themselves against their contemporaries (1999: 27). And because this measure appears as a recognisable unit known as excellence, it can readily be converted to “value-for-money”, with the student being seen as the “*consumer*” and a degree being

viewed as “another consumer durable” (ibid.), (Reading’s italics). Because these systems of measurement actually reaffirm the system of measurement itself, they become self-justified in the process. They are circular because as “a part of that culture, they are legitimated by the simple fact that they do what they do” (Lyotard 2004: 23), because “since performativity increases the ability to produce proof, it also increases the ability to be right” (Lyotard 2004: 46). What Lyotard describes as the “speculative apparatus” used to measure performativity is legitimised because of how it cites “its own statements in a second-level discourse” (2004: 38).

For Readings this creates a centre where the administrator, lecturer and student is oriented and in which they often have conflicting positions (ibid.). When it comes to “authority and autonomy” Readings thinks it is impossible to reconcile these three areas under one aim and that “We must seek to do justice to teaching rather than know what it is” (1999: 154). Providing a pragmatic linguistic argument of how this could come about, he suggests that what connects the teacher and student is “Thought”, and while it is rather like excellence in having no intrinsic value it nevertheless “does not bracket the question of value” (1999: 159) and “since it has no content, cannot be invoked as an *alibi* that might excuse us from the necessity of thinking about what we are saying, when or from where we are saying it” (1999: 160), (Reading’s italics).

Doing justice to teaching through invoking ‘thought’ is something that can be imbued within the everyday teaching practice itself. It does not necessarily need to be explicitly spelled out to students – although it could be introduced as a matter for discussion where relevant – but, rather, can become a part of the way teaching is carried out, be introduced within the interpersonal communication of the lecturer and be encouraged in the critical thought processes that are already taught to the student. I appreciate this is more likely to be effective in some degree courses more than others (in the same way that some lecturers are more open to critical discussions, even about their own ideas and views, than others are). Subjects that lend themselves to evaluating their own discourse within systems of power – such as Sociology, Politics and Cultural Studies – are already places where second-order observation are encouraged and metacognition is part of what is expected of students. These places, people and processes – the class-room, the group in attendance and the system of higher education itself – are perfect places to ask such questions as: Why does the lecture theatre take the form it does in regard to the student/teacher? What impact do you think the NSS has on the knowledge you gain at university? Do you think you will have ‘earned’ a job at the end of your degree? Or

even more philosophical questions such as, ‘Why are we all here?’ These types of questions can be framed in such a way that discussion is opened up on how discourse operates within the institution.

The Culture of Excellence and the Haunted University

It is no coincidence that the Antiuniversity was set up in 1968, the year of the May student occupations and protests in Europe and the United States (and especially in France), with the dissatisfaction of students and academics reaching critical mass. With periods of relative quiet from the perspective of British students in regard to their education in the interim, it has since changed following the initial educational cutbacks brought in in 2010 by the British Coalition government (involving redundancies in HE), and the student fee rise of 2011 (by approximately 300%). Readings believes it is the university’s reaction to 1968 that brought about the “replacement of culture by the discourse of excellence” (1999: 150), hence sowing the seed of the corporatised university we have today.



Figure 70: Hoardings at the New Library Site

CC Tina Richardson

Photographed in 2014, the university has used the term excellence and incorporated it in the design on the hoardings situated next to a bus stop on Woodhouse Lane.

However, challenges to the ‘system’ in the form of student protests or academic strikes is, Readings says, something that the corporatised university is perfectly able to incorporate within its discourse of excellence (1999: 150). Figure 70, showing

hoardings at the university covering building work, demonstrates how translatable the term is. On the University of Leeds website a search for the term ‘excellence’ provides 1,950 results (12 April 2014). The first search result takes you to a section of the website ‘Research and Innovation’ to a page that lists data about the university in relation to the Research Assessment Exercise of 2008 (now replaced by the REF). The second result takes you to a section ‘What is Green Impact Excellence?’, which is the university’s ecological project geared towards university staff teams. And the third result is for ‘Reach for Excellence’, a programme run by the university to raise the aims of young people from under-privileged background who have the potential to do well at a top university. These three examples show how adaptable the term is in whatever situation it is applied. Even without any criteria being set, or data being supplied, the recipient of the message believes they have an idea what excellence is.

Discourse analysis and poststructural theory offer a way of looking beyond the mediated surface of the university to what lies beneath its manufactured image. In looking at the contradictions between what the university says and how it is actually manifest we are able to build a more encompassing picture of not only its past, but also how it reproduces itself within the model of the globalised postmodern university of today. The individual analyses, within the larger case study of the University of Leeds, have provided instances where statements as part of the greater discourse can be analysed via the institution’s representation of itself. This might be anything from the text that appears in the form of the narrative on its website to the historic archived plans and documentation on the campus.

All dominant power requires a consensual viewpoint to take place in order for the *status quo* to be maintained. The university presents a particular outward face. This face is a consciously structured one that supports its specific messages. But, in the same way that a business would not, the university does not say everything about itself, because it would not be ‘good practice’. This practice of representation is a mediated one in which the university attempts to foster a like-minded view in the recipients of its representational medium, whether it be the university website, or how its campus looks. One of the most important aspects of this process is that the university does not appear incongruent in what it is attempting to say about itself, therefore it behaves the ‘ruined university’ that not everything is said.

The cover of the 1999 printing of Reading’s *The University in Ruins* does not show a

romanticist style ruin as one might expect; something like that of the baroque artist Claude Lorrain, which the SI were fond of discussing.¹³⁵ It shows a 1984 image by the artists Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid called *Scenes from the Future Museum: Museum of Modern Art*. The foreground of the image does have a romantic Constable-esque look, with arching trees and a cluster of sheep, but the building in the background is a modernist ruin, the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The image collapses two pasts of the university, its original romantic ideal of a community of thinkers, and its modernist version of an education for all. If this image represented the University of Leeds it would be showing in the foreground the Redbrick University with its concept of an expanding education for the local middle-classes that also supported regional commerce and, in the middle distance, the modernist moment of campus expansion that produced the rational ten-minute-university. There is also a ray of sun which extends beyond the ruin onto an empty space in the far distance that awaits the future university, the one beyond the posthistoric university of which Readings writes. This image forms a historical lineage that depicts the haunting of the present by the past.

In ‘The Haunting of the University: Phantomenology and the House of Learning’ Gray Kochhar-Lindgren’s deconstruction of HE evokes the ghostly spectre of the past university still appearing in its contemporary form, in the same way that Readings does in his ‘ruined’ posthistoric university. What I have mooted as being the unconscious of the university, could be what Kochhar-Lindgren is describing in his haunted institution: “perhaps these inscribed memories and unloved potentialities of Romanticism are now coming to haunt us in the very depths of our self-conceptions, our attempt to absolutely privilege a capitalized *ratio* over all forms of the phantasm” (2009: 9), (Kochhar-Lindgren’s italics). Kochhar-Lindgren’s article is a deconstruction on the place of teaching, rather than the physical place of the university as it is for this project, however the two cannot be separated. He expresses the relationship between them as it has been for this thesis: “Phantomenology will come and go in its own rhythms along the folded edge between manifest and seeming, what has sometimes been called ‘truth’ and ‘falsehood’, ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’, but the two are always inseparabl[e]” (2009: 8).

For this project haunting takes the spectral form of the conjuring up of university ghosts through the schizocartography carried out there: “The loiterly subject is a spectral subject who seeks to confront those ghosts, instead of dispelling them.” (Hsu 2004:

¹³⁵ In the SI’s map *Axis of Exploration and Failure in the Search for a Situationist ‘Great Passage’*, on which I based my own version, the SI used Claude Lorrain’s *Seaport with the Embarkation of Saint Ursula* of 1641.

551). Derrida explains that Marx believes that one should reappropriat[e] all the empirico-technical detours that ha[ve] produced the initial ghosts”, which would “give life back to the spectres” (2006: 161). Derrida himself sees this reduction as simply producing a “supplementary spectralization” (2006: 162). And this relates to my own subjective position, because it is unclear to what extent the “loiterly subject” of this text haunts the text itself: the familiar haunted space “signifies both the dwelling-place, the domestic scene and that which invades or disturbs it” (Fisher 2014: 125). In this sense this campus-based thesis has perhaps been performative in the way Derrida uses the word: “An interpretation that transforms what it interprets” (2006: 63).

While Readings and Kochhar-Lindgren are talking about the contemporary university model being haunted by its past form, I maintain that other hauntings, less generic and more ‘personal’, are of just as much concern: the hauntings that are specific to particular universities. Those that, if the university was an individual, are situated within the unconscious and would require psychoanalysis in order to be fully integrated. It is the repressed parts of the university that will continue to haunt it, will arise as dissonant elements and appear as contradictions in the way it portrays itself. These discordant components may be something as innocuous as being unable to relinquish the name of an old halls of residence, but they may be as significant as placing the university before the community in which it is situated. These hauntings, I argue, are in part because the past has not been put to rest in any acknowledged way, as it might be in the case of personal trauma. St George’s Field is an example of this inasmuch as other than the University Library archives on the cemetery, Fletcher’s unpublished thesis and some links to the BBC website, there is no readily available information on this conflicted space. It is as if the university would prefer for it to have always been the landscaped park that it manifests as today. The university ‘turned its back’ on the cemetery even before its conversion to a park: “[T]he existing buildings literally huddle round three sides of the Woodhouse cemetery” (CPB 1960: 37). Not because it does not care for it (it tends the lawns and maintains the remaining gravestones), but because it hides the cemetery. It hides its history and it hides the actual cemetery. The history of St George’s Field requires determination and research skills in order to be discovered. The cemetery itself is disguised under the grassy surface and situated in an enclave surrounded by buildings on all sides. The concealing is so skilful as to utilise the original cemetery wall as an architectural engineering component on which to balance the Henry Price Halls. But the cemetery speaks of something other than the ‘Quick and the Dead’ of the

CBP period of development, as the case of Christine Bairstow attests to.

It is the case that with the power structure of governing systems, in order for them to carry out policy, that consent is the ideal reaction rather than opposition. Alternative voices are not encouraged, revolutionary ones need to be crushed or at the very least assuaged through hegemonic means. Or, post event, they can be ignored entirely by being ‘written out of history’. However, these other voices and histories are still part of the body that makes up the institution as it appears today, even if they might be sidelined, for strategic reasons or otherwise. If the university is not conscious of its past, if it does not acknowledge its shadow,¹³⁶ it would be difficult for it to think of itself as a place of community, of consensus or belonging. In order to confront its unconscious the university needs to come to terms with its past and present relationships, especially those that reveal some dissonance. I would like to suggest that this can be done by looking for the hidden university, the one that is behind the veil of the manufactured image. It is the one that appears in the darkest part of the university, in its archives and in its lost or forgotten places. It can be found through a bottom-up method of psychogeographical exploration and archival research which reveals a more complete university, one that can be traced in the palimpsest layers that form its spatial manifestation, and in its archival attempts at a de-prioritisation of data or even a camouflaging.

The Psychogeography of Place

While we are still dwelling in the ruins of this university, a *détournement* of it as a place (in regard to the concept of a sense of place), has proven a revealing one. It has prompted an engagement that attempts to seek the very ground of the overarching issues already discussed, in observable concrete space itself: the location of power through the signs incorporated at specific sites, the analysis of physical structures that discourage or encourage particular behaviours and the effects these ideological moorings have on the subjectivity of those utilising these spaces.

This research reveals the naked university: the hidden parts of the university that do not appear in intentional representations and are not readily available in published histories. These ‘silenced’ stories and histories are as much a part of the university as the

¹³⁶ This is a Jungian term which is applied to those aspects of ourselves we find hard to accept. These rejected qualities are usually negative aspects of our personality.

narratives that the university perpetuates about itself. In addition to providing a counter-history, this approach has enabled an understanding of the university as it has existed in particular moments in time and has revealed the specific organisations of power as they operated in those moments. This thesis offers an alternative history of the university, which at the same time highlights the investment the institution has in creating specific and engineered representations of itself.

These findings have been mapped textually, spatially and analytically in such a way that what is hidden has been recontextualised and brought from the past into the present, thus enabling a contemporary re-examination of past university actions in a new light (*détournement*). This has provided a new body of knowledge on the university which also offers up a specific methodology for examining institutional histories. This detour of academia has also gone towards providing a cognitive map of the posthistoric university that could be used as a starting point for discussions on an institution that is open to a more collective approach to the decision-making process, even if it might be counter to the dominant mode of capital's discourse. This will, in turn, "offer a different metabolism of past-future" (Guattari 1995: 90) and will form bridges between territories that have not previously existed.

This case study of the University of Leeds has taken its *détournement* to be a mostly material, archaeological and psychogeographical one, rather than one based on attempts to provide a new model for the university. In her book on urbanism and HE, Sharon Haar states: "Readings's trope of 'ruin' is particularly apt, in my opinion, because it can refer not only to the status of the *work* of the academic community but also to its physical *place*, [...] the campus itself" (2011: 197), (Haar's italics). This thesis offers a response to some of the issues posed by Readings, and suggests that something other may already be at work, consciously or not, at the university. While the institution itself may still be under continual threat of the return of the repressed, there are individuals and communities within HE who work towards challenging institutional regimes of power, who question the discourse of authority, who attempt to reveal the social history of campus spaces, and who allow their desires to be expressed as a way of defying totalising structures. Fred Inglis recommended this in his article on retaining tradition in the institute of HE. While Readings would have balked at Inglis's suggestion that the public university should still be a representation of the nation-state, Inglis also says that it should "join in a collective act of storytelling" in an effort to "make the future emerge more or less decently and coherently from the past" (2013: 46). While these disparate

(storytelling) individuals and groups may not be directly connected in the arboreal sense, or on a macro level of organisation, their rhizomatic underpinnings enable the emergence of new thought and discussion on the university as a place where people can openly respond to the aesthetics and affective reactions they have to living, studying and working on campus. As Inglis goes on to say: “the collective life of a university, by way of its buildings, its trees and lawns [...] may form and reform itself into a work of art” (2013: 47). Haar states: “In the university, the past resides in the present in the form of knowledge, but also through its buildings” (2011: 197). It is the campus itself, in the way that it appears in the form of its buildings and their relationship to the spaces in between (and to the space ‘outside’), that gives the university its concrete form: “Today’s campuses are memory-traces of the transformation of higher education and the city in relationship to one another over time” (Haar 2011: 198). And the form the university takes is what influences a sense of place and, therefore, the aesthetics of that space.

Aesthetic and affective responses to place are intrinsically tied up with desire inasmuch as they often illicit the need for some form of expression. This can range from anything from a smile produced by stumbling upon an undergraduate sculpture placed on the campus to an organised walk in the form of a chance route which explores the university’s paths, urban décor and lesser-known architecture, its “angularities and winding passages” (Readings 1999: 129). Wark thinks what is important is “the remaking of counter-strategies that do not necessary reveal the real behind the symbolic curtain, but rather attempt to produce a different kind of social practice for expressing the encounter of desire and necessity, outside of power as representation and desire as the commodity form” (2013: 47). With its focus on activist, counter strategies and a Marxist geography coupled with neo-Marxist poststructural themes, this thesis has taken what would be considered a ‘leftist’ approach to the space of Higher Education. What this has allowed is an exploration into the social reproduction contained within structures of power and how they manifest in social space. It has enabled differences and inequalities to be revealed through the contradictions that arise between discourses of power and the narrative of lesser-known social histories.

While this schizocartography of the University of Leeds does not propose to be the authority on the social history of the university (nor does it provide every counter-strategy/mapping event that has occurred there), it does offer a methodology that goes further than an archival exploration, in offering a psychogeography of place which can

add something that might be undiscovered were it not for the act of placing the physical body in space as a form of critique. This idea of attempting to find something ‘real’ under the postmodern terrain mentioned by Wark echoes Minca’s comments that there is no ‘real’ as such. There is no final answer to the history of the space of the university that will satisfy every faction, there are only *histories* that are more or less available to be read.

It is psychogeography (as a component part of schizocartography) that has enabled the uncovering of some of the unseen aspects of the university campus and provided many of the responses to the campus architecture, as was the case with the students’ survey of the new Charles Morris Halls and the student exercise in emotionally mapping the campus. I do not want to separate psychogeography from schizocartography, as much as anything because I see it as an integral part of the process of schizocartography which cannot be separated out of it as a discrete unit. I would, however, like to emphasise that what differentiates schizocartography from ‘psychogeography’ as it appears in its most nebulous form (for example, in the criticisms of it as they appear in the national media) is that the walking entails a conscious and critical act of enquiry. Walking, Coverley says, “has proved itself capable of inspiring not merely an act of remembrance, but of initiating, in those who know how to look, a means of reading the landscape anew, exposing a vision of our local environment entirely at odds with that of the accepted or promoted version” (2012: 225-6). Coverley describes the psychogeography of the SI to be “the point where psychology and geography intersect” (2012: 1193). He says that “Gone are the romantic notions of an artistic practice; here we have an experiment to be concluded under scientific conditions and whose results are to be rigorously analysed” (ibid.). The walking critique carried out on the campus have gone as far as examining how the level of the terrain has been translated into the internal aesthetics of the modernist E C Stoner Building, and exploring the postmodern architecture of the Charles Morris Halls through an affective account by students.

Massumi discusses the significance of the relationship between affect, walking, situations and capitalism in an interview, ‘Navigating Movements’. In discussing Spinoza he says: “What a body is, he says, is what it can *do* as it *goes* along” (2013), (Massumi’s italics). He sees walking as being a kind of doubling because “A body doesn’t coincide with itself. It’s not present to itself. It is already on the move to a *next*, at the same time as it is doubling over on itself” (ibid.), (Massumi’s italics). Of affect, in regard to walking and the body, he states:

You can think of affect in the broadest sense as what remains of the potential after each or every thing a body says or does – as a perpetual bodily remainder. Looked at from a different angle, this perpetual remainder is an *excess*. It's like a reserve of potential or newness or creativity that is experienced alongside every actual production of meaning in language[.] (ibid.), (Massumi's italics)

It is the affective and aesthetic accounts that form a sense of place and require the presence of the body. And it is the psychogeographical methods that have provided these accounts as they appear in this thesis and form part of the critique of the university, something that might be discouraged in a conventional history. The psychogeographical methods, and spatial responses and outputs, took a multitude of forms so as to demonstrate the vast possibilities of the act of moving through and critiquing space, and to show how the practice needs to be continually reworked.

The SI described their own form of psychogeography-as-method as being one that needed to be frequently re-examined: “The research that we are thus led to undertake on the arrangement of the elements of the urban setting, in close relation with the sensation they provoke, entails bold hypotheses that must be constantly corrected in the light of experience, by critique and self-critique” (Debord 2006c: 10). While it is important to state that aesthetics and affect by their definition are individualised responses, they should also not be set up as an apology, as something ‘unscientific’, because of their subjective-ness, as if this means they have less value when appearing in a critical format (such as an academic text). The situations that the Situationists were attempting to create were meant to be transformative and be of a “passional quality” (Debord 2006a: 28). At the same time they were a critique of the spectacle as it appeared in the form of capital's image: “The logic of the commodity system, sustained by alienated practice, must be answered with the practice immediately implied by the social logic of desires” (Vaneigem 2006: 369). One way that the SI proposed this be done was through creative activity, in the same way that it was for Guattari's work at the institution of psychiatry and his work in Brazil.

Guattari's schizoanalysis, in its application to the territory under examination, becomes “a matter of exploring and of rendering produceable zones of semiotization that no longer only have at their task articulation” but also become “a supplement to [...] classical functions of *representation* and *denotation* [...] in deploying and putting into intensive concatenation specific existential qualities” (2013: 35), (Guattari's italics). This schizocartography of the Redbrick has challenged the classical (dominant) representation of the university – for example, the one that we assume by looking at the

university website or by taking a casual glance at university marketing material – and has produced a new cartography for orienting oneself in campus space. This type of aesthetic approach is recommended by Massumi in proposing a new politics that challenges the negative effects of globalisation. He says:

In some basic way it would be an *aesthetic* politics, because its aim would be to expand the range of affective potential – which is what aesthetic practice has always been about. It's also the way I talked about ethics earlier. Félix Guattari liked to hyphenate the two – towards an 'ethico-aesthetic politics'. (2013), (Massumi's italics)

The Unseen Campus

As well as the psychogeographically oriented walks (or related performances), the product of many of the campus events have appeared in the form of accounts, images, blogs and maps. These outputs exist as part of an attempt to explore the urban archaeology of university space that appears in the form of the campus in an effort to momentarily re-appropriate it and are classified as schizocartography. But they are also part of the methodology used to examine the outward phenomenon of the corporatised university and provide an 'alternative' cartography to that supplied by the institution. What this project has produced is a supplementary history of the University of Leeds, what could perhaps be described in Foucauldian terms as the "never-said" that appears in the discourse of the institution: something that arises out of a disruption and allows for the possibility of a questioning of an unconsciously accepted discourse. This potential supplementary history has not been discovered by merely examining the explicit statements attached to university events, as if some certain truth or meaning is encapsulated in them, nor does it provide a body of knowledge that takes the place of a history of the university, as it may be traditionally or popularly known. It is concerned with the differences that are outwith dominant discourses, those that embody a multiplicity of potential voices that can be unearthed and traced back to what might be traditionally considered historical university events.

This University of Leeds schizocartography is not a classical cartography in the sense of a straightforward mapping of space, it is a series of tracings in the form of readings and writings on space. These readings appear as a reframing of the campus in an attempt to contest the dominant semiotic of the institution. The campus artworks and walks could be considered responses to "de-territorialized *jouissance*" (Guattari 1984: 95), where individuals react to the space as sign and allow meaning-making to run free, thus

enabling what Guattari describes as the releasing of transversality (Guattari 1984: 103). In regard to the SI's method of praxis, this campus cartography has "propos[ed] a geography of plural intensities that [is] explicitly designed to disrupt the spectacle" (Bonnett 1989: 137).

Gerlach says that micropolitical performances are "techniques of *addition*; of adding more to the world through abstraction" (ibid.), (Gerlach's italics). This thesis is proposed as a cartography in that vein. It is not an alternative to Shimmin's *The University of Leeds: The First Half Century* or Gosden and Taylor's *Studies in the History of a University*, but something else that can be added to the canon of works on the social history and philosophy of place as it is for the university campus at Leeds. Gerlach raises the issue of Deleuze and Guattari's discussion on cartography in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* and says that for them "maps and cartographies are in the business of generating immaterial geographies; affective and virtual spaces inflected by the afterlives of gestural lines, spaces that are under constant perturbation and modification" (2013: 8).

In the same way that Guattari discusses anti-production, Gerlach states that these molecular processes are always under the threat of being taken up into larger, overriding schemas (ibid.). They are momentary representations that need reweaving, retelling and reformulating continually. Offering vernacular mapping as a model that integrates other mapping practices such as counter maps and indigenous mapping practices, Gerlach sees them as assemblages of enunciation and valid expressions of affective responses to space (2013: 11-13). While this project has intentionally created some of these events on campus (such as the walks), many of the examples provided have been undertaken by others not directly connected to this project. This demonstrates that assemblages of enunciation are almost always underway in one form or other, even if they do not recognise themselves as such. For instance, the traversing student might not analyse his practice using Guattari's transversality, even though Bayliss *et al* applied a Deleuzo-Guattarian critique to their *Hoverflies*.

The idea of the vernacular, inasmuch as it can be translated as 'domestic' or 'local', is a vital one when discussing campus space in relation to the surrounding area. Haar says that in order for the university to have a relationship with the community outside its boundaries it needs to "understand [...] the community within" (2011: 197). When it comes to university campus expansion and planning, universities – as potential places of

community, activism, radical thought and philosophical insight – should not see themselves as separate from their surroundings, either as a group of individuals or spatially. The university is not an isolated entity. The individuals who move about its campus daily are also community members elsewhere, in other towns and cities (as it would be for students), but for staff, usually more locally. As Haar says “What is true of the city is also true of the campus; each contains diverse people, cultures, and uses that will always be in conflict over physical spaces” (2011: 201). The university, as an entity, is a community amongst and aside other communities, containing individuals who are trans-communal. This means that university space is networked in an extremely complex way, such that it becomes a fluid place, especially since globalisation and the genesis of the internet. The campus, then, should be viewed in terms of a responsibility, not just to the users of space within its borders, but to the local and outlying community. Mark Purcell suggests that the work of Deleuze and Guattari has long been overlooked in urban planning theory and practice. He says they “offer us a set of concepts that help us think more effectively about how the world actually works” (2013: 22). In the closing paragraph of *Chaosmosis* Guattari lists a number institutions, including architects and urban planners, saying that they should “combine their creativity to ward of barbarism” (1995:135).

Haar says it is how we view campus space itself that influences our relationship with it and its surrounding area: “If we begin to understand the organizing principle of the [...] campus not as a ‘landscape’ but as a number of fluid, overlapping, and irregular ‘scapes’, the ideal of the semi-isolated academical village and the reality of the fragmented, expanding, and boundaryless urban research university begin to coalesce” (2011: 201). Our relationship with the campus as a space in the wider context, our own sense of place in regard to it, and our awareness of its global reach, are incumbent on understanding its relationship with the community and the world, and also our relationship with it. While these concepts may seem nebulous, they manifest within the material matter which makes up the campus itself: the place where we congregate, whether students, staff, or academics. Our presence within the university as a concrete institute, or even when connecting with it remotely via the internet, situates us within the apparatus of the institution. This means we are more, or less, likely to take up the ideological discourse of the framework in which we are situated. It is the function of anti-production to “stym[y] the individual subjectivity from realizing human desires and from achieving social engagement” (Stivale 1998:36).

Nevertheless, the framework of the institution also enables assemblages whereby a network of communities is available to connect to: “When an element is deterritorialized, when it escapes from an apparatus of capture and begins to construct its line of flight, it does not have to do so alone. It has the potential to connect up with other lines of flight, to link up with other deterritorialized elements and remain distinct but move together in a shared project to evade recapture” (Purcell 2013: 27). It is this that Readings might have hoped for when he said “we should recognize that the loss of the University’s cultural function opens up a space in which it is possible to think the notion of community otherwise” (Readings 1999: 20). The assemblages of community that can be formed out of joined-up lines of flight, enable a cartography to appear that can become vernacular in its response: “these cartographic lines *perform*. Likewise, in their unfolding effects and affects, lines are performative” (Gerlach 2013: 5), (Gerlach’s italics). The lines of flight are performative inasmuch as they are both transversal – taking untraditional routes – and execute actions. The schizocartographies highlighted here are what Gerlach would describe as “cartographic articulations” and it is this that makes them performative (2013: 13). They operate against the grain, counter to the well-trodden urban path, while at the same time recognising the dominant structure for what it is, what it does and what it represents.

This Schizocartography of a Redbrick has provided a narrative on space, the campus of the University of Leeds. It has demonstrated that space is a kind of discourse because, as Lefebvre states, “Every language is located in space. Every discourse says something about a place [...]; and every discourse is emitted from space” (1991: 132). De Certeau says that it is stories “that constantly transform [...] places into spaces or spaces into places [and] organize the play of changing relationships between places and spaces” (1988: 118).

This thesis situates itself not just as a historical supplement to the existing histories on the University of Leeds, but also as a story about the University of Leeds campus, a psychogeographical account and a narrative. I believe it has provided something other about the University of Leeds, something that shows that “Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or pleasure of the body” (De Certeau 1988: 108).

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