THE NEW UNIVERSITY:
SPACE, PLACE AND IDENTITY

P D WHITTON

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PETER DAVID WHITTON

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Abstract

Over the last two decades, campus redevelopment in the UK and worldwide has accelerated. University building activity is frequently justified by architects and managers as responding to 'market forces'. These claims are reflected in institutional discourses about campus redesign and a growing academic and media interest in the organisational space of universities. Discourses often emphasise the positive transformative effects of redevelopment without considering the wider impact on the everyday life of the university.

This thesis explores the relationship between institutional space and the construction of individual, social and professional identities, using a case study describing a ten-year campus transformation project at Manchester Metropolitan University. Over this period, the university aimed to: consolidate the number of individual campuses from seven to two; provide new 'world-class' facilities for staff and students; create opportunities for 'improved' teaching and research activity; and develop the university brand. In real terms, this meant closing existing campus locations and relocating staff and students to an 'iconic' new building containing open plan academic offices and flexible student pods. The management discourse around this ambitious building project revealed a deterministic stance, predicting a variety of 'improvements' to academic working practices, student satisfaction and efficiency as a result of these environmental changes. Viewed as a whole, these spatial manipulations were intended to influence internal and external perceptions of identity and act as an indicator of successful change management.

Three interpretive approaches are used to examine the social production of a new university space: thematic; visual; and dispositive analysis. The analysis uses the work of Lefebvre, Foucault, and de Certeau to argue that specific discursive, non-discursive and material/spatial techniques are bound together in the imaginations of university management. These techniques are then employed to dismantle 'outdated' working practices in an attempt to 'spatially fix' particular new conceptions of academic labour and professional identity that fit with the neo-liberal university project.

Lefebvre's spatial triad is used to structure the discussion around three research questions that focus on the creation of identities via the *conceived* space of institutional designers*,* the *perceived* space of work activities and the emotionally *lived* space of university life in the new building.

The research revealed a conceptual void apparent in the design of university buildings where spatial aesthetics are appropriated from other sectors to 'fix' the problems inherent in academic capitalism. The data show how particular spatial arrangements are used to discipline academic labour and encourage particular managerially sanctioned working practices. The thesis also demonstrates the lack of recognition given to physical artefacts and personalisation of space in the design of academic offices and the detrimental effect that this has on staff identity.

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1 Introduction

The study of the physical environment of the university is now – perhaps more than ever – an area in need of sustained academic enquiry. Over the past two decades there has been renewed theoretical interest in spatiality in general and in the design of educational buildings and learning spaces in particular (Boys, 2011; Calvo-Sotelo, 2001; Coulson, Roberts, & Taylor, 2010; Edwards, 2013; Harrison & Hutton, 2014; Neary et al., 2010; Temple, 2014). University spaces, in the form of architecture, campus planning and interior design, perform a versatile role, in addition to fulfilling the practical and functional requirements of housing the students, staff and facilities of the institution. Beyond these practical concerns, university buildings are often characterised as having symbolic and even spiritual properties, with the ability to convey messages about an institution's history, philosophy, mission and values (Dober, 1992). Additionally, the built environment of universities is increasingly being cited by university management as a key component in wider transformation strategies (UCISA & Ferrell, 2016). It has a role to play in: the recruitment and retention of staff and students (If Price, Matzdorf, Smith, & Agahi, 2003; RIBA, 2009b); the marketing of the university at home and abroad (Siems, Lengaur, & Bruton, 2006); meeting community and other social responsibilities; the promotion of entrepreneurial activities (Jessop, Gubby, & Smith, 2012); the quality of teaching and learning (Monahan, 2000; Oblinger, 2006); driving institutional efficiencies (AUDE, Alwani-Starr, Kilner, & Muller, 2015; HEFCE/SMG, 2006); and modifying the

working practices of staff to suit the demands of a marketised sector (Pinder et al., 2009).

This research considers the *social production* (Lefebvre, 1991b) of university space, where space is theorised as a complex construct, where society and space are mutually constitutive. This in turn affects the variety of ways that people use and perceive space. Lefebvre (1991b, p. 11) aimed to produce a *unitary theory of space* combining a co-constituted triad of mental, physical and social space. Lefebvre describes the three parts of this 'trialectic' as *representations of space* (conceived space), *spatial practice* (perceived space) and *representational space* (lived space). This theory is applicable across spatial scales, from the global, to the local, to the individual, and is used to provide a framework for discussions in this thesis (this is described in detail in Chapter 2).

This study focuses on a new university campus commissioned by Manchester Metropolitan University, sited in the Birley Fields area of Hulme in central Manchester, and designed specifically to house the relocated faculties of Education and Health, Psychology and Social Care. The centrepiece of this development is the main academic block named the Brooks Building. The *conceived* space of University management and their architects, and the everyday *spatial practice* and the *lived* experience of individual university staff are analysed in the context of this space.

Universities, like other large organisations, are increasingly using their built environment to establish particular institutional identities, and it is the assertion of this thesis that they are also using the new spaces that they build to consciously alter the academic identities of those who work in them. However, this assertion begs the larger questions: what type of organisations do universities want to become, and how are these visions made material in the form of a building?

Literature suggests that universities in the UK and internationally are suffering an 'identity crisis' (Collini, 2012), brought about by the pace of change. While change has been a constant in higher education, it has been argued that the rate of change across all aspects of life has increased as a result of modernity (Giddens, 1991), the

adaptability of modern capitalism (Thrift, 2005) and its need to find 'new fields of capital accumulation' (Harvey, 2007, p. 35).

> The whole point of capitalism, then, is precisely its ability to change its practices constantly, and those who run corporations [*and universities*] must be able to surf the right side of the constant change that results, or risk being washed up on the reefs of irrelevance (Thrift, 2005, p. 3)

Universities are often caricatured, especially in popular media, as organisations 'bound by tradition', capable of only sedately responding to change (Anderson, Boyles, & Rainie, 2012). Some have commented that universities in the United Kingdom have failed to reinvent themselves rapidly enough (Graham, 2008), and have been unable to respond swiftly to what Barnett (2000) describes as a range of 'supercomplex' domestic and international economic and socio-cultural factors, often with competing narratives. Barnett theorises that traditional notions of 'the idea of the university' (see Section 3.1) are being challenged by an 'abundance of new accounts of the world including new images, new technologies, new texts, new discourses and new forms of professional life' (Barnett, 2000, p. 417). For universities, in the UK and internationally, these changes are dominated by the discourse and economic forces of neoliberalism, which presents itself as fundamental to current debates about students as customers, the knowledge economy, academics as entrepreneurs, performativity, managerialism and universities as corporations.

Universities are being told to diversify in 'order to flourish' (Browne, 2010), and to express their 'brand' in order to differentiate themselves within the 'market' (Drori, Delmestri, & Oberg, 2013). Some have illustrated this drive for diversification by drawing attention to the variety of institutions now using the title 'University' (Altbach, 2001). UK universities already differentiate themselves by virtue of their history (for example, Ancient, Red Brick, Plate Glass and Post-92), their allegiances (for example, Russell Group and University Alliance) and their particular interpretation of the 'idea of the university' (for example, industrial, post-modern or entrepreneurial) (see Section 3.1). However, other newer conceptualisations of the 'university' have appeared including: virtual universities without the requirement for physical space (Ryan, Scott, Freeman, & Patel, 2000); multiversities dispersed over a network of institutions internationally (Kerr, 1963); and as cooperative and informal

knowledge building communities (The Ragged University, 2015). With this amount of variation, it could be argued that the foundational characteristics of the modern university, as set out in the Robbins Report (1963) (see Section 3.1), have been lost – and that as a result – a collective 'sense of identity' has also been lost. Stensacker (2014) observes that when 'too large a gap emerges between the identity of an organisation and its environment the possibility for an identity crisis may occur' (p. 109). Alternatively, Whetten and Mackey (2002) suggest that an organizational identity crisis occurs when serious inconsistencies arise between institutional self-definition and how institutions are perceived by others.

This thesis suggests that discrepancies between the philosophical 'idea of the university', university management, government aspirations, and the sensitivities of university staff are causing a 'disconnect' between image and identity. Universities are increasingly finding it difficult to express themselves using the vocabulary of academia, and as a result it is becoming increasingly common for universities to appropriate the language, practices (Archer, 2008a) and aesthetics of commerce in order to 'make concrete' the complexities of their 'institutional unique selling proposition (USP)'. Literature suggests that during times of uncertainty, organisations may engage in *mimetic isomorphism* where structures and working practices are copied from organisation to organisation across a sector (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Wasserman, 2011). This tendency to imitate organisational behaviour can occur when an organisation's goals, or the way in which they can be realised, are unclear (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Wasserman (2011) notes that organisational mimicry extends to other areas, where organisations not only copy behaviours and structures but also aesthetic signifiers such as logos, architecture and interior design.

The increased use of 'corporate space' to provide 'spatial fixes' for the uncertainties of a contemporary marketised higher education sector is highlighted in this research, and the effect that university spaces have on the projected identity of the institution and the identities of the staff who work in them are investigated.

1.1 Research rationale

Universities in the UK are currently investing huge sums of money in their physical campus space, commissioning iconic buildings that have practical and symbolic implications for the institution and the people who enter them (see Section 1.1.1). Justification for investment in the physical university estate is often positioned as a response to the demands of 'students as customers' or to 'improve teaching and learning' or, increasingly, as a form of branding to change perceptions of the institution by the wider public. However, there are increasing concerns that the current university building boom is placing unmanageable financial pressures on some institutions, and that the spaces that some universities are creating are not appropriate for the educational activities demanded of them. There have also been suggestions that the views of staff and students are underrepresented in the design of some buildings (Neary & Saunders, 2011) and that particular spatial arrangements may even have a detrimental effect on staff morale (Clegg & Kornberger, 2006; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2011; Wells, Thelen, & Ruark, 2007) and notions of professional identity (Morrison & Macky, 2017; Ruth, 2015; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2011). Additionally, the often cited connection between particular physical environments and benefits to teaching and learning is far from clear, and more research needs to be carried out to improve understandings of any connections between space and academic gains that may exist (Temple, 2007).

The following sections outline the foundation and motivation for carrying out this research, demonstrating that, as an area of enquiry, university space is a current and important concern.

1.1.1 The current university 'building boom'

Universities in the United Kingdom, such as Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU), have responded to the demands of a changing higher education system, citing 'the changing relationship of students and universities' (AUDE et al., 2015, p. 45). This changed relationship, influenced by the increases to student fee income in 2003 and the Browne Report (2010), *Securing a Sustainable Future for Higher Education,* with its emphasis on placing 'students at the heart of the system' (p.4), is

seen as a major driver for campus expansion. Other commonly rehearsed arguments for university expansion include increases in student numbers (Universities UK, 2017b), changes to the demographics of the student population (McNair, 2009), consolidation of university estate (HEFCE/SMG, 2006), and the need for spatial efficiency (AUDE et al., 2015; Universities UK, 2015b). The combined force of these factors has instigated the biggest university 'building boom' since the expansion of the sector in the 1960s (Burns, 2015; Dejevsky, 2016). In 2014 – 15 universities spent around £3.7 billion on new buildings (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2014). Recent economic research on expenditure by the 24 Russell Group Universities, found that they spent in excess of £9 billion on capital projects between 2012/13 and 2016/17 (BiGGAR Economics, 2014). This need to 'build for the future' is reproduced across the sector and does not appear, at the time of writing, to be slowing (Smit, 2016). There are numerous current examples of campus redevelopment in the UK, including large-scale projects at The University of Birmingham (£365 million), The University of Leeds (£520 million), and the £1-billion campus redevelopment scheme announced by the University of Manchester (The University of Manchester, 2017). While this expenditure is often justified as a response to the market, competition, and as an investment in students or infrastructure, there are causes for concern, with worries over financial instability for some institutions caused by borrowing (Hale & Viña, 2016). While some institutions, like MMU, have financed their building programmes through a combination of internal and external UK-based funding (MMU, 2014b), other universities have explored alternative forms of finance such as public bonds (The University of Cardiff) and borrowing from the European Investments Bank (University College London borrowed £280 million). HEFCE (2017, p. 4) note that higher education sector borrowing has increased by '8.8 per cent; from £8.3 billion at 31 July 2015 to £9.1 billion at 31 July 2016 (equivalent to 31.2 per cent of income)'. This escalated borrowing has been highlighted by the University College Union (UCU) (Hunt, 2016) which cites findings published in the 2017 *Student Academic Experience Survey* (Neves & Hillman, 2017, p. 48) commissioned by the Higher Education Academy, where 'spending less on buildings' was the top choice for the question 'In which areas would you most prefer your university to save money'.

1.1.2 Appropriateness of new university buildings

More research is required to understand whether new university buildings are fit for purpose. New university spaces, such as MMU's Brooks Building, are often constructed over a 4–5 year period from inception to completion. They are frequently designed with a life expectancy of 50-years plus (Oblinger, 2006) with ongoing maintenance costs extending well beyond this time scale (AUDE & HEFCE, 2008). Designs are 'fixed in time', potentially inhibiting the range of future uses and responsiveness to future, and as yet unknown, needs. Commentators such as Hashimshony and Haina (2006, p. 8) have speculated that financial challenges, collaboration with industry, an increasing student population, new patterns of teaching and learning, the growth of interdisciplinary working, openness to the community, and the growth of new learning technologies will require new, responsive forms of university architecture. Academic material featuring critical case studies of recently completed building projects (such as the focus of this thesis) is important in this respect, so that lessons can be learnt about the types of buildings universities should be constructing.

The design of university spaces may have an impact on the quality and type of teaching, learning and research that occurs in them, and this relationship is not yet fully understood (Jamieson, Fisher, Gilding, Taylor, & Trevitt, 2000; Oblinger, 2006; Temple, 2007). The connection – if any – between spatiality and social interaction is unclear, and there is an obvious requirement for further work in this area. As indicated by Boys (2011), many studies of higher education spaces tend to be framed as well-rehearsed arguments, overemphasising binary oppositions, for example, 'formal versus informal learning', 'didactic teaching versus experiential learning' or 'flexible versus prescribed curricula'. By using Lefebvre's (1991b) triadic approach to the study of space, this research contributes a more nuanced debate to the literature.

1.1.3 Institutional space as a current area of interest

There remains substantial theoretical interest in the human physical environment resulting from the so-called 'spatial turn' that has preoccupied social science for several decades (Harvey, 2004; Thrift, 2006). This renewed reappraisal of 'space' as an analytical tool was inspired by the work of thinkers such as Michel de Certeau

(1984), Michel Foucault (1979), Henri Lefebvre (1991b), and Edward Soja (1989) and others who turned their attention to socio-spatial concerns towards the end of the of the twentieth century. This resulted in a resurgence in spatial literature across a plethora of disciplines. Spatiality has been particularly fruitful for scholars examining the 'materiality' of working life (Dale, 2005; Dale & Burrell, 2008; Kornberger, Kreiner, & Clegg, 2011; Marrewijk, 2009; Taylor & Spicer, 2007b), and the aesthetics of organisational identity (Berg & Kreiner, 1990; Strati, 1998, 2010; Taylor & Hansen, 2005). However, there is a shortage of academic research on the sociology of architecture generally, with a few notable exceptions (Dovey, 1999; Gieryn, 2000, 2002; Hillier, 2007; Jones, 2011) and it remains an 'underdeveloped field of inquiry' (Jones, 2011, p. 1). As a result, literature emphasising socio-spatial aspects of university architecture and its impact on the work of these institutions is even scarcer (Temple, 2008). This research aims to address this paucity by providing an in-depth critical case study of the creation of a university building, which works through Lefebvre's three 'moments' of spatial production.

1.2 Context of the research

This research uses a case study approach, focusing on the relocation of university staff to a new, purpose-built, campus in the Birley Fields area of Hulme in Manchester, by the faculties of Education and Health, Psychology & Social Care at Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) in the summer of 2014. This new space was designed to create opportunities for 'improved teaching and research activity', to change perceptions of the university's image-identity, and to develop the university brand as *The University for World-class Professionals*. The move was the final part of a ten-year, £350 million masterplan to improve and consolidate campus facilities and infrastructure. The project involved commissioning four new 'landmark' buildings, refurbishing existing facilities, integration with citywide urban planning initiatives and consolidating seven campuses into two. The master planning and campus redevelopment coincided with the tenure of John Brooks as Vice Chancellor of the University (2005-2015) and is seen to be an expression of his personal vision and legacy (MMU, 2015a).

The buildings commissioned during this campus redevelopment project embody one university's response to the rapidly changing social and financial environment facing the UK higher education sector over a ten-year period. This doctoral investigation examines one of these 'landmark' buildings in order to better understand the relationship between the built environment and the production and maintenance of a collective university identity, and to explore the role of spatial manipulation in reconfiguring academic labour and individual professional identity.

1.3 Research aim and questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine how institutional, social and individual identities are shaped by the physical form of the university. The key premise is that the values of institutions, such as universities, can be better understood by examining the *social production* (Lefebvre, 1991b) of the spaces that they inhabit and create. To Lefebvre, space can only be fully understood by conceptualising it as a succession of thoughts and actions undertaken by people (social production) to aid everyday life. In this respect, the built environment can be considered to be materials assembled and shaped through thought and action, and hence as a social as well as a material production. In other words, something that is both constituted by, and constitutive of, social relations.

The three research questions discussed in this thesis each address a different aspect of Lefebvre's spatial triad of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space to develop a detailed multi-scalar analysis of MMU's Brooks Building. The questions are:

> RQ1: How do the conceived spaces of a new university building influence institutional identity?

> RQ2: How do the spatial practices of everyday university life affect staff perceptions of identity, productivity and wellbeing?

> RQ3: How and why do staff express personal and professional identity in university spaces?

The following sections provide an outline of the scope of each question.

1.3.1 RQ1: conceived space and constructed identity

The first question to be explored in this thesis is:

> How do the conceived spaces of a new university building influence institutional identity?

This question concerns how, in Lefebvre's terms, the *conceived* space of the Brooks Building – the space of architects, planners and management – influences perceptions of institutional identity. *Dispositive Analysis* was used to study the complex *knots* between the managerially sanctioned discourses about the new campus, the non-discursive practices (actions) associated with the building and the physical material space itself (buildings and artefacts). The data analysed to answer this question comprised web and print documents, interviews and photographic records. Dispositive Analysis (Caborn, 2007; Jäger & Maier, 2009; Raffnsøe, Gudmand-Hoyer, & Thaning, 2014) is a form of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which asserts that

> social selves are constituted in a semiotic network that includes not only linguistic mediation of various kinds but also architectural arrangements, legal practices, customs, rituals, modes of moral thought, social institutions and so forth (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011).

Three dispositives were developed: the *Model University*, the *Model Academic* and the *Model Student*, which demonstrate clear links between university management discourses (for example 'students as customers'), institutional action (for example, designating limited amounts of student contact time) and the physical environment (for example, providing swipe card access to staff offices).

1.3.2 RQ2: perceived space: productivity, wellbeing and identity

The second question to be explored in this thesis is:

> How do the spatial practices of everyday university life affect staff perceptions of identity, productivity and wellbeing?

To answer this second question, the research examined how staff in the Brooks Building negotiated their spatial practice between the daily reality of academic life and the compromises that the building's space dictated. Thematic Network Analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001) was used to draw out organising themes from in-depth pre- and post-move interviews. Further analysis of these themes gave an insight into staff

perceptions of the distinct physical spaces in the old and new campuses (for example, social meeting spaces, the cafeteria, the Student Hub, staff offices) and their everyday use (for example, socialising, eating, reading, research). These themes were then organised further in order to draw out descriptions of how the spaces function in reality, and the concessions demanded by the realities of working life (for example the need for privacy and confidentiality).

1.3.3 RQ3: lived space: personalisation of workspace

The third question to be explored in this thesis is:

> How and why do staff express personal and professional identity in university spaces?

In order to answer this third research question, pictorial and interview data were used to analyse the lived experiences of staff, particularly how spaces in the old Didsbury campus and the new Brooks Building were personalised and transformed by some staff to express their own constructions of identity (Tian & Belk, 2005; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014) in defiance of management wishes. Photographic images of Didsbury doors and Brooks' workstations were used as data. Each image featured items that members of staff had used to customise their space (for example pictures, postcards, plants and mementos). The contents of each image were recorded, coded and categorised as personal, political or professional items (many items spanned several categories). These data, in combination with interview material, were used to build up a detailed picture of how some staff *tactically* appropriated space (de Certeau, 1984) as an expression of personal freedom within the tightly regulated space of the Brooks Building and the more relaxed Didsbury campus.

1.4 Key findings

This research makes important theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of university space.

It makes three theoretical contributions. First, the research demonstrates the complexity and varied nature of the apparatuses used to construct particular managerially sanctioned model identities for the university, staff and students. This study describes management attempts to legitimise these identities via sustained

control over institutional discourse, non-discursive practices and the physical environment. Second, the research highlights inconsistencies between the *conceived* space of university management and their architects, and the *perceived* and *lived* experiences of their users. These inconsistencies are particularly noticeable in relation to the design of personal workspaces, the functionality of the open plan offices and the enforced segregation of staff and students via a swipe card entry system. Third, this study adds to existing research into organisational aesthetics, and highlights the practical and symbolic importance placed on artefacts in the formation and presentation of personal and social identity at work. Notably, the research identifies a social dimension to the personalisation of workspaces and detects a collective aspect to the use of personal artefacts as an act of resistance.

The thesis also makes two methodological contributions. First, it provides a rare example of Lefebvre's spatial triad (Lefebvre, 1991b) 'put to use' (rather than as a theoretical construct) in analysing a substantial university spatial transformation project over a sustained period of time. In doing so the research highlights the constant negotiation and renegotiation of space across its conceived, perceived and lived dimensions. In doing so, it offers insights into the social production of university space by way of a detailed case study of a new campus development. Second, the thesis provides a new use for Jäger & Maier's (2009) model of *dispositive analysis* as a way of understanding the complex networks of institutional discourse, non-discursive practices and spatial/material elements apparent in a university campus re-development context. The analysis method combines Jäger & Maier's (2009) model with that of Caborn (2007) and similar work by Pugalis (2009), to propose a more complete description of a dispositive analysis 'put to work'. A more detailed discussion of the contribution to knowledge is provided in Section 9.2.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into nine chapters. This introductory chapter describes the background to and rationale for the research. It also briefly orientates the reader to some of the key ideas used in the research and provides the following summary of each chapter.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature on the theory of space, place and identity. The literature review draws on scholarship from a number of disciplines including Education, Critical Geography, Organisational Theory, Architecture and Psychology. The literature review positions this research relative to existing scholarship of space and academic spatial-identity. Emphasis is placed on the literature that links particular spatial arrangements and materialisations with transformational managerial ideology, working practices and bureaucratic arrangements. I use this chapter to discuss disciplinary power in the built form (Foucault, 1979) and how this is put to work by managerial intent. This chapter also examines arguments that use Lefebvre's (1991b) ideas about socially produced space to explain organisational, structural and spatial change. Finally, the chapter looks at the literature on identity, particularly how social identities are influenced by spaces in an academic context.

Chapter 3 is divided into two sections. The first examines the literature specific to educational space and the design of university campuses. This section considers the literature on the 'idea of the university' and how this has influenced the built form of the university. The chapter concludes by considering the literature on the design of specific formal and informal university spaces and how these spaces influence their users.

Chapter 4 describes the institutional case study on which the thesis is based (Stake, 1995, 2003), contextualising the development of the MMU campus masterplan and development of the *University for World Class Professionals* project in broader historic and political terms. A ten-year timeline, mapping out the various campus redevelopment initiatives, is provided in order to clarify the design process and describe the various buildings in detail. The chapter illustrates the bigger picture, considering the campus building as a 'spatial fix' (Harvey, 2001a) in relation to the local community, the city and the University itself. This chapter also describes the design, development and occupation of the Brooks Building.

Chapter 5 further develops the theoretical perspectives on institutional space, developing a clear rationale for the chosen methodology, which uses Lefebvre's

(1991b) spatial triad of *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* spaces as a framework. The analysis draws on Foucault's (1979) theories of power and knowledge and de Certeau's (1984) concept of *tactics* as resistance against power and its apparatuses in the practice of daily life. The three analysis methods used in this research (dispositive, thematic and photographic) are discussed, and their ontological and epistemological fit to the overall research design framework is clarified. This chapter also describes in detail the specific research methods used, detailing the design and procedures involved in interviewing staff, selecting management publications and the production of photographs. The ethical considerations involved in carrying out research of this type, especially research within a researcher's own work setting, are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 6 is the first of three analysis chapters and focuses on the design of the Brooks Building as a *conceived space;* this is the abstract space of managerial 'social-engineers' which Lefebvre describes as dominant under capitalism. This chapter presents the results of a detailed *dispositive analysis* that analysed a large corpus of institutional web and print documents, interview data and photographic observations. In this chapter, the organisational aesthetics of the Brooks Building space are discussed in relation to their symbolic and functional intent to enchant (Dale & Burrell, 2008), seduce and coerce (Dovey, 1999) users of the building into particular identities and behaviours.

Chapter 7 is the second analysis chapter, which considers the *perceived space* of the Brooks Building. This is the 'common sense', material, measurable and objective space of everyday use, where academics go about their working day – teaching, meeting, reading, researching, socialising and moving from one location to another. The chapter presents the results of a Thematic Network Analysis focusing on the spatial practices of staff in relation to their identities, productivity and wellbeing. The chapter discusses how academic staff actually use the space provided and how this diverges from the managerially sanctioned conceptions of space.

Chapter 8 is the final analysis chapter, which considers the *lived space,* the final 'moment' of Lefebvre's spatial triad, in both the Brooks Building and the old Didsbury

campus. For Lefebvre, lived spaces are *spaces of representation*, which carry symbolic meanings accrued by individuals through memories, shared histories, social action 'from the bottom up', rather than the 'top down' imposed meaning of conceived space. In the Brooks Building *lived space* links the space of managerial concepts with the pragmatic everyday use of space via symbols and imagery. It is the space of actual experience mitigated by human subjectivity, sense-making, imagination, history and emotion that is appropriated at both an individual and collective level. This chapter presents the results of pictorial and interview analyses, focusing on the personalisation of doors at the old Didsbury campus and workstations in the Brooks building.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions of this thesis and draws together some of the key discussions about the *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* spaces of the Brooks Building based on the analyses in the preceding chapters. While the previous three chapters consider each of Lefebvre's three spatial 'moments' individually, this final concluding chapter returns to Lefebvre's original conception of the triad as indivisible and inseparable. This final chapter also discusses recommendations for future work and the limitations of this study.

2 Space, Place and Identity

This chapter forms the first part of the review of literature. It focuses on the theoretical positioning of space, place, and identity within the context of this research. These are three large, highly contested and interrelated areas. Each section in this chapter maps out the key theoretical ideas used in this thesis. These are developed in the context of the institutional space of universities in Chapter 3.

The literature in this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section reviews the literature on 'space' and provides a working definition of how the concept is used in this research. Key to this understanding is the writing of Henri Lefebvre; his work forms the conceptual framework for this thesis and acts as a structuring device for the three analysis chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). Fundamental to understanding Lefebvre's spatial theory is the idea that space is 'socially produced' and his assertion that 'space is political'. Discussions in this thesis are centred on Lefebvre's spatial triad of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space. These ideas are discussed at length in this chapter.

The second section discusses place, and its relationship to the concept of space. It examines 'place making' activities and considers how space might become place through human activity and attribution of meaning.

The final section reviews the literature on identity. This section is concerned with three aspects of identity: the external image – the projected, cultivated and constructed identity – of an organisation; the identity of the individual (worker)

within an organisation; and professional workforce identity. This section also considers the role that space and place have in constructing and managing identities. This thesis takes as its starting point an 'organisational' view of space, where space is produced and reproduced through social relations (Harvey, 2004; Lefebvre, 1991b, 2009; Massey, 2005; Thrift, 2006). The physical spaces that institutions create through their architecture, interior design and campus-planning activities can give an insight into organisational behaviours, managerial thinking, power effects and political change (Dovey, 1999).

2.1 Space

This section examines the literature on spatial theory particularly pertinent to the study of a modern university environment. For the layman, 'common sense' notions of space (and place) often prevail (Cresswell, 2009; Massey, 1994); these are often based on personal experiences of particular locations and their physical properties. However, in contemporary scholarship, across a range of disciplines, ideas of space (and place) often act as key structuring devices for further academic discourse.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the idea of space had lost favour and had been relegated to the position of a 'backdrop' in philosophical thought (Gieryn, 2000; Thrift, 2006), a setting for temporal activity, a stage where life was played out. Foucault (1980) notes that:

> Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic. (p. 70)

For many theorists, the 'spatial turn' represented an opportunity to reassert the importance of space over time, and to reject what had been seen by some as an overemphasis on historicism in philosophical thought (Soja, 1989). However, for others the two ideas were inseparable (Lefebvre, 1991b; Massey, 1994; Shields, 2013). Shields (2013) asserts that conceptions of space are 'intimately linked to those of time' (p. 7). As Massey (1994, p. 251) puts it, space is 'one of the axes along which we experience and conceptualize the world'.

Until the 'spatial turn', discussions about space often relied on a Cartesian understanding of space, where space was described by its physical mathematical properties, its length, breadth, volume and so on, and its adjacencies to other spaces. In this context, space was viewed as neutral and apolitical, an empty container waiting to be filled with material, or a location in which social activity might occur (Lefebvre, 2009). It was this Cartesian view of space that dominated Western philosophy prior to a renewed interest in the spatial qualities of the work by a number of social theorists in the late 1970s and early 1980s (notably, Lefebvre, Foucault and de Certeau). These writers reemphasised the power relations imbedded in physical space; this movement is sometimes described as 'the spatial turn' (Harvey, 2004; Thrift, 2006). A key event in the re-emergence of space was the English language publication of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1974) in 1991.

Despite the re-emergence of space as a primary tool for the study of the human experience and in explaining social phenomena, for many scholars space remains an 'ill-defined concept' (Shields, 2013, p. 1). Dale and Burrell (2008) note that the term, 'space is used in a multitude of ways, from abstract and highly theoretical, through the symbolic, to the experientially concrete' (p. 4).

Although there has been considerable intellectual effort spent defining space across a range of academic disciplines (Harvey, 2004; Low, 2008; Massey, 2005; Soja, 1989; Thrift, 2006), these concepts are highly contested, dynamic, and present a range of ontological perspectives in the academic literature. As such, they are understood in a variety of ways. The following sub-sections briefly map out some of the key ideas, highlighting where they are particularly pertinent to organisational space, starting with Henri Lefebvre's ideas about the 'social production of space', which form a framework for this thesis.

2.1.1 The social production of space

The starting point of this research is rooted in the theories of Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991) a French Neo-Marxist philosopher, sociologist and historian. Key to Lefebvre's work is the belief that all space is socially produced, and that this social production is essential to the reproduction of a complex (capitalist) society in all its forms

(Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 10). This direct coupling of space with social activity rejects the notion of space based on a Cartesian world view where space is depicted as fixed and asocial or described purely in relation to enclosure, adjacencies, distances and dimensions. For Lefebvre, space does not exist 'in itself' but is 'produced' in two ways: as the result of social interaction, and as a mental construction (Elden, 1998). As a means of production, space is also a method of control, and of demonstrating authority, and a means of maintaining power (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 26). This conception of space represented a substantial departure from contemporary spatial theory and signified 'a paradigmatic change in the sociological conception of space and time' (Schmid, 2008, p. 27). Lefebvre's theories of spatial production, everyday life, modernity and 'humanistic Marxism' have been strongly influential on the development of social–spatial theory since the 1970s and have been further theorised through the writing of Soja (1989, 1995), Harvey (1990a, 1990b, 2004), Gregory (1995) and others. For Lefebvre, the class struggle is 'inscribed in [the production of] space' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 55), arguing that 'there is a politics of space because space is political' (Lefebvre & Enders, 1976, p. 33). Lefebvre also noted that in addition to its command over working life, capitalism had greatly increased its influence over private life and leisure time through the organisation of space (Elden, 1998).

One of Lefebvre's key innovations in *The Production of Space* was the introduction of the 'conceptual triad' (often referred to as a spatial triad) (1991b, pp. 38–39) as its theoretical starting point. Although presented by Lefebvre as three distinct parts for the purpose of clarity, the triad should be considered holistically in a concurrent interplay of 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived space'. The three elements of the triad are *spatial practice*, *representations of space,* and *representational space*, which are discussed in the following paragraphs (adapted from Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33, 38–39):

The *spatial practice* or 'perceived space' of a society is revealed through the experience of a space's daily use: the way it is physically used in routine activities such as walking, meeting, waiting or running. For Lefebvre (1991), perceived space is material, visible, measurable and observable through 'daily reality (daily routine)' (p. 38). In the context of a university, spatial practice might include activities such as

studying, researching, marking or teaching. These activities are moderated in a university setting by the material relations of social expression in spaces such as lecture theatres, seminar rooms, tutorial pods, offices and social spaces. In other words, these spaces constrain or enhance the activities that happen in them. Over time the users of spaces develop their spatial practices to enable 'competence and performance' (p. 38) to develop, even if this practice is idiosyncratic or inefficient. Lefebvre also includes the 'routes and networks' (p. 38) that connect discrete spaces together in this concept, for example, the links between the spaces of work and leisure, although in the modern university these spaces are often conflated as the balance between working life and domestic life blurs.

Representations of space or 'conceived space' is the (often scientific, governmental or institutional) abstract or conceptual designs that are used to describe space. In a university space, these might take the form of campus maps and master plans, models, designs and blueprints. These representations are intellectually driven and ideologically informed. Representations of space can provide instruction for how 'thought' can become 'action' and may become concrete through the built environment. Access to these plans is the privilege of architects, management, and politicians with the purpose of imposing order (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33). Lefebvre (1969) comments on the growing disconnect between the ideological space of the university and its physical form.

> The university is a typical example of a dated superstructure which originated in the pre-industrial pre-capitalist epoch. It has survived because of the strong unity between institution and ideology, but it is now lagging (p. 139)

Conceived space is the space of 'technocratic subdividers' and 'social engineers' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38) or the 'technicians of spatial development' for whom the principal undertaking is the ordering and 'commodifying of space' (Cunningham & Goodbun, 2006, p. 179). For Lefebvre, *representations of space* are the 'dominant space in any society (or mode of production)' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 39) and represent deliberate 'conceptualisations (e.g. functionality, control) in materialised form' (Dale, 2005). The key function of conceived space is the production of the 'abstract space' of capitalism, which is ambivalent toward qualitative difference. As Merrifield (2006)

states, the 'ultimate arbiter is value itself, whose universal measure (money) infuses abstract space' (p. 112) and, regardless of the creative process, 'conceived space' tends to produce a 'homogeneous landscape' (p. 118).

Representational spaces or 'lived spaces' encompass symbolic values, cultural resonances, beliefs, feelings and memories. These are sometimes oblique, sometimes explicit, and gain meaning over time by their use. This is the space of imagination, reflection and desire, the space of artists and poets. Representational space is space as actually lived, including non-sanctioned and covert uses of space. Lefebvre describes this as 'the passively experienced space, which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 39). Lived space also encompasses the concept of 'social history', enabling users of space to construct individual and shared meanings.

For Lefebvre, the spatial triad (as described above) does not represent a fixed state of affairs, but describes a series of ongoing dialectics between *perceived, conceived* and *lived* spaces as these spaces are appropriated and lost. The triad underpins Lefebvre's concept of space as a social and political product and has been an important foundation of much research into organisational control (Dale, 2005; Dale & Burrell, 2008; Marrewijk, 2009), urban development and planning (Brenner, 2000; Carp, 2008), and architecture (Dovey, 1999, 2010), where there has been renewed interest in his work. Although there has been a great deal of interest in Lefebvre's work on space generally – and the spatial triad as a framework for analysing socio-spatial relationships specifically – there are only a few examples in the literature of its use in analysing educational spaces (for example, Beyes & Michels, 2011; Hancock & Spicer, 2011; Nikolaou, 2015; Peltonen, 2011; Zhang, 2014).

2.1.2 Space and power

This thesis draws on the work of Michel Foucault (1926 - 1984); and especially pertinent is his work on the mechanisms of discipline or dispositives (*dispositifs*) (see Chapter 5). Dispositives refer to the network of institutional, material and managerial apparatus used to uphold the exercise of power within society. For Foucault (1990, p. 63) 'power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' dispersed throughout

society, not merely top-down and hierarchical. Additionally, for Foucault power is not a force solely at the disposal of the powerful with negative repressive connotations of domination, it can also be a necessary, productive and positive force in society (Gaventa, 2003). For Foucault (1991), power 'produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth' (p. 194).

Of particular relevance to this study are his theories on how the maintenance of power is facilitated by certain architectural spaces. In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Foucault, 1991 [1975]) he describes what he calls 'the art of distributions' (p. 141), which includes his ideas on the placement and control of bodies in space, and techniques employed in the exercise of power. He identified five key techniques: *enclosures; partitioning; functional sites; ranking;* and the *composition of forces.*

Enclosures are protected spaces that appear closed off to the wider world where 'disciplinary monotony' can take place, for example boarding schools, military bases and manufacturing spaces. *Partitioning* is the division of space between individuals, 'where each individual has his place; and each place its individual' (Foucault, 1991, p. 143) reducing the formation of groups in order to control circulation and unsanctioned gatherings of bodies. Once space has been enclosed and partitioned, the rule of *functional sites* can take effect, whereby each site or cell is categorised by its designated function, mapped out and arranged in a serial fashion for the purposes of efficiency. *Ranking* enables disciplinary space to be organised, arranged and rearranged, to convey a hierarchy or design; for example, in a school arrangements of classes based on ability, performance, age or behaviour where these positional arrangements can change. Through the *composition of forces,* managerial forces are able – through a precise system of command – to direct and control the bodies in order to maximise productive power and efficiency ensuring that individuals work in unison to minimise time wastage and maximise effect.

> It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they carve out individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals, but also a better economy of time and gesture. (Foucault, 1991, p. 148)

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Foucault (1991) describes the historical workings of a number of building types, including schools, factories, prisons and hospitals, and details the spatial apparatus of these buildings in relation to the disciplinary processes that occur within them. He argues that in each of these institutions the materiality of their built form is complicit in the normalising, through observation, of those using the space (for example the pupils, workers, convicts and the sick) stating:

> [T]he hospital constitutes a means of intervention on the patient. The architecture of the hospital must be the agent and instrument of cure (Foucault, 2007, p. 149).

Although architects often cite Foucault's work as an influence (Fontana-Giusti, 2013), he rarely addresses the link between disciplinary power and architecture directly, preferring to consider architecture from a technologic or diagrammatic point of view (Lambert, 2013). One example is, Foucault's well-known use of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon (1791) – an unrealised design for an idealised prison – as a device for understanding the mechanisms of power. Bentham's perfect prison was organised so that the cells were arranged in tiered rows in a circular pattern around a central guard's tower. Each cell was in open view at all times, so that a single guard could observe prisoners, without them knowing whether they were being watched. Crucial to the success of the design is the idea that 'the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at, at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so' (Foucault, 1991, p. 201). It should be noted that Foucault was less interested in the Panopticon as an actual building but as 'a diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form' (p. 205).

In his later work, Foucault builds on these disciplinary ideas and introduces the concepts of 'governmentality' and 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1988) as a more nuanced way of illustrating the operation of power under modern capitalism. Unlike 'the art of distributions', described above, 'technologies of the self' rely on forms of self-regulation and state intervention from a distance (Rose, 1999) rather than through obvious coercion. Modern power, rather than working on people directly through force or control, aims to shape the means by which people act upon themselves. The literature suggests that technologies of the self are particularly

relevant to the analysis of employment under neoliberal conditions that require new forms of subjectivity (Ball, 2015; Thrift, 2005).

2.1.3 Space and the practice of everyday life

Another key influence on this thesis is the work of Michel de Certeau (1925–1986), especially his work *The Practice of Everyday Life* (de Certeau, 1984) including, in particular, the influential essay *Walking the City*. Like Lefebvre, de Certeau is concerned with the social production of space and its relationship to organised power structures. However, de Certeau's main emphasis is on how an individual operates within these constraints. He uses two metaphors to examine commonplace spatial practice, differentiating between *strategic* and *tactical* uses of space.

Strategy is the formally endorsed (proper) use of space – its official order, the way that space is organised, designed and envisaged. For de Certeau (1984, p. xix), strategies are the force of political, scientific and economic 'will and power' (for example, enterprises, proprietors, a city, scientific institutions); the contemporary 'corporate' university fits into this description neatly. Strategies seek to 'create spaces in conformity with abstract models' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 29) – such as blueprints, maps and timetables – which consider future expansion, assist competitive advantage and facilitate 'panoptic practice' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 36). While de Certeau's *strategies* are concerned with a distant – almost omnipotent – view of spatial practice by those in positions of authority, *tactics* refers to the spatial practice of the everyman. Tactics are idiosyncratic or unofficial uses of space, which can be impulsive and covert, often going unseen or unnoticed. Tactics are unplanned and sometimes carried out unconsciously; these are the irrational uses of space that occur in everyday life. According to Tonkiss (2013, p. 138), de Certeau uses the idea of tactics linguistically 'as a kind of spatial slang, a local mode of expression and articulation' (p. 138). Spatial tactics can have a certain playfulness 'transforming the everyday environment into a kind of game' (Tonkiss, 2013, p. 139) perhaps disturbing the usual and official organisation of space.

2.1.4 Organisational Space

As established in the previous sub-sections, although the literature on the theory of space, place and identity is diverse, there is a general consensus that – to greater or lesser degrees – places and spaces have the ability to influence our actions, connections, communications, and senses of meaning, emotions and identities. This section develops these ideas further, and examines the literature on organisational space and how this theoretical literature is 'put to work' in the context of the built environment.

Dale and Burrell (2008) describe architecture as the 'place where space and organisations come face to face' (p. 24). It is a setting where, through the 'study of spatial arrangements and physical structures one can reveal assumptions about status, behaviours, values and power relations within organisations' (Daskalaki, Stara, & Imas, 2008, p. 50). This reflects an ongoing balancing act between architecture 'as art' and architecture 'as an organising mechanism'. This harks back to the ancient Vitruvian maxim for successful architecture of 'commodity, firmness and delight'; in other words, is the building structurally sound, does it fulfil its function correctly and is it aesthetically pleasing.

Dale and Burrell (2008) note that this association of architecture with art, plus the profession's liberal credentials, can mask the true commercial relationship between architects and their clients. Dovey (1999) adds that 'architecture … is meant to resist a dominant economic, political and social order [but] becomes complicit with it' (p. 8).This may be especially true where architects are called on to design buildings with a business function. Architects have an optimistic belief in 'the new' balanced with a 'conservativism' born from the knowledge that architecture stabilises the world; 'fixing' particular designs in both time and space (Dovey, 1999). In this respect, architects simultaneously contribute to the discourses of 'change' and 'permanence'.

The architecture and interior design of buildings are used by organisations to influence the lives of their users. Much of the literature on organisational space investigates the 'power effects' that particular architectural arrangements have on the users of buildings (Baldry & Barnes, 2012; Baldry & Hallier, 2010; Brown,

Kornberger, Clegg, & Carter, 2010; Clegg & Kornberger, 2006; Dale, 2005; Dale & Burrell, 2008; Hancock & Spicer, 2011; Hatch & Cunliffe, 2013; Kornberger, 2004; Kornberger, Kreiner, & Clegg, 2011; Taylor & Spicer, 2007). In the study of organisational space, the spaces of work are often positioned 'within a control resistance paradigm' (Halford, 2004, p. 1) where the work building is seen to 'facilitate managerial control of the labour process' (Baldry, 1999). Moreover, spatial layouts are seen as being either supportive or obstructive to the activities of work (Baldry, 1999). Dale and Burrell (2008) consider the relationship between space and organisational power from three conceptual vantage points: *enchantment*, *emplacement* and *enactment.*

Enchantment describes how particular architectural features (for example, the style, scale, ornamentation and materials of a building) produce a spatial dialogue with the occupants of that space (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 48). Enchantment describes the fusion of 'the symbolic' and 'the material' and the ability to inspire awe through monumentality. In a similar vein, Dovey (1999) describes the coercion of the occupant through 'domination or intimidation' where the human subject is 'belittled' by the 'exaggerated scale' or 'dominant location' of a building. Hancock and Spicer (2011) draw on Lefebre's (1991b) idea of *conceived space* to further the argument that the design of an environment has the ability to promote particular identities in the individuals who use it regularly. They use the example of the Saltire Centre library space at Glasgow Caledonian University as a case study to introduce the idea of the *identityscape*. A place where architectural and interior design features have been specifically included to introduce students to contemporary working practices in order to meet the 'demands of a post-industrial economy' (p. 91) forging suitable 'model worker identities' (p. 92) in the process. The idea of the *identityscape* resonates with Dovey's (1999) concept of *seduction* where particular architectural arrangements are used to construct environments that play upon a subject's desires and aspirational self-identity.

Emplacement describes the physical and perceptual locating of people and things in space. By using certain architectural configurations (e.g. partitioning and furniture layouts) or by the classification and status of particular spaces, architects and

designers manipulate spaces o allow some behaviours and restrict others (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 53). The idea of *emplacement* draws heavily on Foucault's ideas of the 'art of distributions' and 'panopticonism' (see Section 2.1.2). These ideas are often used in the context of organisational space to critique ideas around spatial control and worker surveillance (Bain & Taylor, 2000; Fernie & Metcalf, 1998). In these examples workplace layout is seen to be important for sustaining power relations by maintaining worker visibility (Taylor & Spicer, 2007a) and safeguarding hierarchies (Brown et al., 2010). There are claims in the literature that panoptic explanations of modern working environments have been overstated. Bain and Taylor (2000) investigated the panoptic effects of electronic surveillance in call centres, challenging simplistic interpretations of these spaces where the workers were presented as having little or no agency.

Enactment describes how particular spaces are used by moving through them, and the power relationships that occur as a result (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 73). Dovey (1999) describes these effects as 'manipulation' where the subject is 'framed in a situation which may resemble free choice, but there is a concealment of intent'. This is particularly noticeable in modern office buildings that manipulate subjects through the provision of circulation spaces to facilitate social interaction. In these spaces the visibility and invisibility of colleagues becomes noticeable.

In addition to the general literature on organisational space, there is a smaller body of literature drawing on an 'Organisational Aesthetics' approach, and this has proved important to this research (see Chapter 8). An organisational aesthetics approach has been used to gain further understanding of institutional architecture and built spaces (Berg & Kreiner, 1990; Wasserman, 2011); workplace personalisation (Belk, 1990; Tian & Belk, 2005; Warren, 2002; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2011, 2014) and office space (Elsbach, 2004; Rosen, Orlikowski, & Schmahmann, 1992; Ruth, 2015). This body of literature rejects the positivist and rationalist paradigm of much organisational spatial thinking (Strati, 2010) and focuses on the symbolic meaning of material culture (Rosen et al., 1992) and the aesthetic side of organisational life (Strati, 1996). Gagliardi (1992) describes this material culture as a 'corporate landscape' consisting of architecture, interior design, artefacts (for example artwork, publications and

uniforms) and space. Strati (1996) asserts that artefacts give organisations their 'distinctive identity' (p. 210). Yanow (1995) extends this idea, stating that these artefacts of organisational life could be 'read' in the form of a corporate narrative where the architecture of an organisation acts as both the 'storyteller and story' (p. 419). Strati (2010) lists a number of areas in which an organisational aesthetics approach can assist the researcher, including: studying the effect of aesthetic judgements in the workplace; the sensory and emotional side of organisational life; the interaction of workers and artefacts and the creative side of organisational life.

Berg and Kreiner (1990, pp. 46–58) use an organisational aesthetics approach to trace six symbolic functions of corporate buildings and their artefacts. The first function is the 'symbolic conditioning of organisational behaviour' (p. 46). This is where architecture is designed to have a profound effect on the way people behave (for example interaction patterns, service mindedness) and on performance (for example productivity, creativity). Berg and Kreiner (1990) give the example of how religious environments can elicit 'religious' behaviour in non-believers by tapping into 'emotional memories'. They also describe how the uniformity of fast food chains is designed to trigger standardised responses in customers and employees (pp. 46–47). The second function draws on an archaeological approach, which describes 'buildings as totems' (p. 49), whereby organisations can be characterised by the buildings that they construct and inhabit. Over time, certain buildings serve as a 'unifying symbol' for members of the organisation so becoming a visual shorthand bringing together 'culture, identity and image' (Hatch & Schultz, 1997). The third function considers 'buildings as symbols of strategic profile' (p. 49) and asserts that particular architectural styles and certain spatial arrangements can suggest a particular organisational ethos. The authors give the example of the Levi Jeans Company who experimented with high-rise offices, but who changed to low-rise campus-style buildings as being less corporate, and more in tune with their values and products. The fourth function is expressed as 'buildings as packaging' (p.54), where buildings are considered a form of 'super branding', and an extension of the ways in which businesses sell particular goods and services. In this respect, buildings become an indicator of the quality of the products being sold. The fifth function,

'buildings as symbols of status, potency and good taste' (p. 55) draws on the idea that organisations display their command of resources (capital, land, people) by constructing large and lavish buildings. Additionally, architectural style may denote that the organisation has 'good taste' and is 'aesthetically sensitive' to the environment, community and its workers. On an individual scale, members of an organisation can signal their statuses through office size and decoration (Rosen et al., 1992). Finally, Berg and Kreiner (1990) note that buildings can act as 'markers of, time ideas and existence' (p. 57) summing up particular eras within an organisation's life, demonstrating 'development and progress' over time. Similarly, architecture is often employed to tell organisational histories and to show the 'roots' of where and how an organisation began.

This section has provided an overview of the theoretical literature on space and how social space is materialised and used in an organisational context both aesthetically and functionally. The next section reviews the literature focused on the connected concept of 'place'.

2.2 Place

One of the most contested areas of contemporary spatial theory is the distinction between space and place. For some the division is clear. For example, Dourish (2006) confidently declares that 'space is the opportunity; place is the (understood) reality' (p. 299). This definition makes the common distinction between the two ideas, implying that space on one hand is abstract whereas place on the other is concrete and tangible. For other scholars the distinction is more complex, for example Sack (1993) imagines place as part of a larger complicated and interconnected network of material and immaterial forces, stating that 'space and place as well as nature and culture are mutually constitutive' (p. 326). In this conception, space and place are interconnected rather than separate, and are dynamic rather than fixed. Relph (1976, 2017) suggests four main ways that scholars, from a range of academic disciplines, conceptualise 'place': as a material attribute of the world; as a way of being attached to or connecting with the world and with others; as a socio-economic construct; and

as a lens through which to interpret experiences of the world. These four conceptions are examined in detail in the paragraphs that follow.

Relph (2017) suggests that for many disciplines, such as architecture and urban planning, a place is a distinctive space that is 'something somewhere', whether this is a room, building or mountain. This line of thinking is exemplified by architect Norberg-Schulz (1980) who states that:

> [P]lace is a totality made up of concrete things having material substance, shape, texture and colour. Together these things determine an 'environmental character' which is the essence of place (pp. 6–8).

For Gieryn (2000), if space is to be considered a place it must have a specific location and be 'a unique spot in the universe' and 'filled up by people, practices, objects and representations' (p. 465). These definitions emphasise the physical and aesthetic properties of place and the importance of human activity. Gieryn (2000) considers the problem from the opposite direction and contends that '[s]pace is what place becomes when the unique gathering of things, meanings, and values are sucked out' (p. 465). He continues that things, meaning and values are mutually dependent and cannot be 'unbundled' without the loss of place (p. 466).

In other disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology, place is associated with emotional engagement and as a means of communicating a shared sense of belonging. For example, places can become invested with meaning and value through the process of naming (Graumann, 2003). This resonates with Proshansky's (1977) theory of 'place identity', which refers to the influence of a place's characteristics on self-identity and is 'essential in telling us who and what we are' (Proshansky, 1977, p. 218; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983) (See section 2.3).

For western political geographers, places are 'local nodes' working at a variety of scales as part of a much larger modern capitalist economic system. Massey (1994) cautions against thinking of places as static bounded areas, preferring them imagined as 'processes' or 'articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings' (Massey, 1994, p. 154) that are observable at a variety of scales from

the body to the global. For Massey, places are fashioned by a combination of institutional, imaginative and material forces that allow power to circulate globally and locally. In this conception, place is fluid, and permeable with open boundaries. Giddens (1991) argues that modernity, and its technological advances, has caused the separation of space from place 'by fostering relations between 'absent' others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction' (p. 18). In this, he is qualifying the role of physical presence in the concept of place, suggesting that one of the consequences of modernity is a sense of 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976).

There is a substantial body of humanistic geographical literature that accentuates the material and corporeal nature of space, which reminds us that people create and inhabit spaces full of meaning (Relph, 1976) and create affective links to their life settings (Agnew & Duncan, 1989). Tuan (1974, 1977, 1979) stressed the mutually-dependent nature of space and place, emphasising the sensual, aesthetic and emotional dimensions of space, highlighting that *place* is independent of scale and is produced and sustained by an individual's 'fields of care' (Tuan, 1974, p. 4). For Tuan, these 'fields of care' result from people's sustained everyday use of particular spaces, which shape an emotional attachment over time. Tuan also introduces the ideas of *topophilia* and *topophobia* to explain the positive and negative associations that people have with particular places. Topophilia – the bond, or the love between people and places – is, according to Tuan, more than a reaction to a particular place; it is a feeling, actively produced by factors such as memories, or 'pride of ownership' (p. 247). For many humanistic geographers the ideas of 'home', 'belonging' and 'owning' are particularly resonant in the idea of place (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). In these conceptions, home is considered to be an idealised location where meanings and sense of place are most concentrated. In social science, the idea of mobility is often played off as the opposite of place attachment, and being settled or rooted in a place beneficial to developing a sense of attachment (Gustafson, 2009). Tuan (1977) has equated space to movement and place to the pauses and stops along the way. Ingold (2009) asserts that 'lives are led not inside places but through, around to and from them, from and to places elsewhere' (p. 33). He uses the term *wayfaring*

to suggest movement, preferring to conceptualise place as the knots tied together by the lines of wayfaring. In this conception place is active rather than static.

This section has reviewed the literature on 'place', highlighting the idea of place as a site of human activity which has gained meaning over time and as a result may have acquired particular cultural resonances that individuals and groups identify with. The next section reviews selected literature on identity theory focusing on notions of professional and academic identity.

2.3 Identity

This final section reviews the pertinent literature on identity, focusing on the notion of academic identify and its relationship to space and place. The term identity, like that of space and place, is highly contested and used across a diverse range of disciplines. With a plethora of definitions even within the same discipline, identity is inextricably related to conceptions of self-definition (Baumeister, 1999). It allows us to make sense of the world and to make choices, helps with motivation and acts as a self-regulatory mechanism (p. 249). Key to this idea is the theory that self-identity is at the same time relatively stable and yet malleable, context sensitive and adaptable to change over time (Baumeister, 1999, p. 247). Tajfel (1972) asserts that a basic function of identity expression is to determine 'one's place in society' and differentiate one's self from the 'other'. Building on this idea, Brewer (1993) maintains that individual self-definition responds to two basic human needs: a need for assimilation (our comparative similarity to others); and a need for individuality (our comparative difference from others).

Identity also has a social dimension. Social identity theory stresses that individuals know that they belong to certain groups and that group membership is significant emotionally and has value (Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1982). Tajfel (1972, p. 62) maintains that membership of particular groups relies on particular *social categories* (for example, gender, nationality or political allegiance) and *personal categories* (for example, feelings of competence, intellectual concerns and personal tastes). Literature suggests that there is a relationship between positive social identities and self-esteem (Baumeister, 1999; Fleury-Bahi & Marcouyeux, 2010; Twigger-Ross &

Uzzell, 1996). The formation of an individual's social identity can be linked to places of work, not only at organisational or institutional level, but also from smaller groupings such as the 'department, union, lunch group … and so on' (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 22).

Proshansky's (1976a, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1983) theory of *place identity* asserts that individual and group identities form in relation to environments, and place identity is a sub-structure of self-identity. Proshansky's idea is simple, yet simultaneously complex: he states that 'places as well as people and activities are essential in telling us who and what we are' (1977, p. 218). Place identity is shaped by an individual's knowledge and emotional state caused by interaction with the physical environment. In this conception of identity, place acts as a catalyst mediating change. It can promote a sense of belonging and create meaning by referencing particular 'memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values (and) preferences' (Fleury-Bahi & Marcouyeux, 2010, p. 85) associated with the experience of an environment. Proshansky (1977) applies place-identity theory to a US urban university context, considering the effect of campus environment on identity from both student and staff perspectives. He suggests that

> Perhaps there would be a better pay-off from faculty members, particularly younger ones, if we provided those space and place conditions that would lead not only to greater productivity but to an identification with and commitment to the university. (Proshansky, 1977, p. 219)

Prosshansky's *place identity* theory draws similarities with Relph's seminal work *Place and Placelessness* (1976), which introduced the idea of insideness and outsideness. In this conception of place identity, feeling inside a space generates feelings of safety, inclusion and comfort. The more intensely a person feels inside a place the greater the feelings of identity and connectedness with that place (Altman & Low, 1992; Relph, 1976; Sack, 1993). Place identity may also have a positive effect on feelings of community (Hull IV, Lam, & Vigo, 1994)

The theory of *place attachment* (Altman & Low, 1992) describes the particular bonds, affinities and emotional attachments that individuals and groups have with a particular environment. The quantity and strength of these bonds are influenced by

the characteristics of a given population, patterns of use and familiarity with surroundings (Altman & Low, 1992). Individuals weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of a particular environment, a positive assessment being more likely to foster enhanced emotional connections leading to a feeling of *place attachment* (Mesch & Manor, 1998). The loss of place can have negative effects on collective identity (Chow & Healey, 2008; Gieryn, 2000; Inalhan & Finch, 2004), for example through urban regeneration or large-scale workforce relocation. Place attachment is influenced by a number of factors including: situated life experiences as they accrue over time (Gieryn, 2000; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001); shared social and cultural activity; and the uniqueness of the surrounding environment (Gieryn, 2000). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) noted that identification with places increases as attachment increases, and that this is true across a range of scales from large (nation or city) to small (neighbourhood or home). Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) use the term *place identification* to describe a group of people who define themselves by a particular location. Identification helped to establish boundaries between neighbouring areas, describe particular affinities and to project particular types of social identity and lifestyles (for example 'city dweller') (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p. 207).

Monnet (2011) places value on the symbolic nature of space and its importance in identity formation. He warns that symbolic manipulations of space by the different types of power should not be merely denounced as 'smoke screens masking reality' (p. 8), but that in order for a place to gain symbolic power it must first be accepted as symbolic by a group of individuals. It is through this recognition that social identities can begin to form around the place. He notes that in modern society, it is the 'economic decision-makers' who control the production of symbolic spaces (through architecture and urban planning), and thereby exercise undue influence on the process of identity making.

2.3.1 Academic Identity
This section explores literature on academic identity, drawing especially on research into the relationship between academic identity and the physical environment. Identity is important in academia; it influences how individuals identify with their profession, and how people fit in with their professional settings (Brown, 2011).

Identity for academics is traditionally portrayed as a balance between individual scholarly reputation, institutional and personal values, professional practice and membership of particular groupings.

There is no clear definition of academic identity. Quigley (2011, p. 21) states that the term 'lacks precision' although it is in common usage as if it were 'fixed and known', and Henkel (2010) alludes to a time where those involved in higher education enjoyed 'distinct, stable and legitimising identities' (2010, p. 4). However, most recent research asserts that academic identity is not static but fluid (Billot, 2010; Clarke, Hyde, & Drennan, 2012; Clegg, 2008; Quigley, 2011; Ylijoki & Ursin, 2013). Much of this fluidity has resulted from the external pressures placed on the higher education sector by market forces, but also because of the 'aspirations … of new generations of staff' and the influence of other sectors (Whitchurch & Gordon, 2010, p. xvii). Regardless of the sectoral changes, the core values of academic freedom, professional autonomy, and allegiance to disciplinary fields remain important constants for many academics and continue to be part of what is considered 'special and different' about working in academia (Whitchurch & Gordon, 2010, p. xvii). For many, the ideas of academic identity and autonomy are intertwined and integral to the lives of individual academics (Bleiklie & Henkel, 2005; Henkel, 2005).

For many authors, academic subject disciplines, and the cultures surrounding them, are the principal source of academic identity (Henkel, 2005; Kogan, 2000; P. R. Trowler & Becher, 2001). Identity is formed over time by the expectations of a particular discipline, which has a role setting standards, defining practice norms, recognising excellence and opening professional communication routes (Bleiklie & Henkel, 2005). Disciplinary standards delineate the common set of values held by practitioners, which transcend institutional boundaries, for example jointly held ethical beliefs (Quigley, 2011), governance and academic boundary setting (Henkel, 2005). Billot (2010) notes that historically academics may have identified more closely with their discipline than their physical place of work, sometimes drawing on historic notion, or an imagined ideal, of what it is to be an academic rather than current reality. However, Henkel (2000) notes that association with a specific discipline is not as important for identity formation as it once was and argues that

reforms to higher education have increased the importance of the individual institution in the process of identity formation. She also notes that traditional, privileged notions of academic identity may be easier to maintain in institutions with world class status (Henkel, 2010, p. 4) where pre-modern-era views on academic labour persist. This is born out to a certain extent by Clegg (2008), whose in-depth interviews with 13 academics at an ex-polytechnic university in the north of England showed little disciplinary identity allegiance and a lack of nostalgia for an 'elitist past' (p. 350), especially amongst newer academics. Literature suggests an emerging sense of identity based on professional practice and market-driven performance rather than traditional disciplinary boundaries – sometimes drawing on forces outside the confines of the university itself (Clegg, 2008; Whitchurch, 2008). Clegg (2008) notes the emergence of new areas of course provision and 'less traditional universities' (p. 251) as an area of future interest to scholars of academic identity. She highlights that for some of her interview respondents, being at a less prestigious university (in terms of league table positions) actually gave rise to 'hybridised identities that are not as hampered by the overweening pressure of research productivity' (p. 341).

Many researchers have observed the profound effect that market-driven changes in higher education have had on academic identity (Billot, 2010; Henkel, 2005, 2010) and academic labour (Fanghanel & Trowler, 2008). Henkel (2010) describes the 'multiple and interactive' effects of university transformation, citing the profound combined effects that massification, universalism, neoliberalism, new public management and globalisation have had on those who work in higher education. She suggests that, as a result of these factors, the intrinsic value of higher education, and those who work in it, are no longer taken for granted and that procedures from the private sector such as benchmarking, performance management and quality assurance metrics have been introduced in order to quantify value (Henkel, 2010).

Whitchurch (2008) describes a range of 'third space' activities that academics are engaged in, that sit outside the 'traditional' tasks of teaching and research. These include: employability and careers counselling; widening participation activities; life and wellbeing advice; community and regional development initiatives; business incubation; project management and academic development. Some of these

activities have a public/private dimension where close collaboration with business and working outside institutional boundaries is required (Whitchurch, 2008, 2010).

Winter and O'Donohue (2012) describe the 'schisms in academic identity' (p. 3) caused by conflicting value systems, uncertainty about allegiances and a drive to align academics with corporate goals. Billot (2010) conducted a narrative inquiry with academics from New Zealand, which concluded that academics' 'professional sense of self' (p. 712) was challenged by university transformation agendas, especially by increasing workloads and tensions between research and teaching expectations. She concluded that academic identity was increasingly influenced by governmental and managerial concerns rather than scholarly ones. Winter and O'Donohue's (2012) survey of 186 Australian academics presented participants with a series of binary managerial/professional values statements in order to assess identity tensions between economic and academic beliefs. A key finding was that overwhelmingly 'professors and lecturers shared a deep-seated antipathy to a market ethos that reduces higher education to a narrow economic function' (p. 565).

In contrast, Clegg (2008) is more upbeat, as her research suggests that rather than eroding academic identity, the 'new university' is creating opportunities for an expanded notion of academic identity where personal autonomy and agency flourish despite the pressures of managerialism. This is echoed by Henkel (2010), who suggests that the new academic environment may allow individuals' greater freedom to construct a more diverse range of identities in the future. However, she warns that these identities may be less stable and more provisional than in the past. Research by Archer (2008a, 2008b) suggests that younger academics in a UK university found difficulty in establishing 'authentic' academic identities and maintaining personal academic values and projects within a climate of performance monitoring and competition without becoming subjects of the neoliberal discourse that surrounds them.

There is a persistent and recurring theme in the literature on individual, organisational and academic identity that links the formation of identity with social interaction. In the setting of university life, these social interactions often have a

spatial context. Billot (2010) argues that the ways in which academics contextualise their identities impacts on how they make sense of their work environments.

It is apparent that academic identity formation is, at least in part, influenced by formal and informal membership of particular groups, communities and institutions. Each of these groupings are in turn influenced by their own languages, concepts, values, practices and traditions (Clarke et al., 2012) and bounded by their own particular spaces and places. Some of these spaces are organisational constructs, for example institutions, faculties, departments, and institutes; others such as offices, workspaces, classrooms and labs have a physical location, size and shape; others such as discipline areas and professional associations transcend the boundaries of the university relying on connections to other institutions and individuals.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed some of the theories that attempt to link identity with space and place in order to appreciate how these ideas might be applied to university campus redevelopment. The research described in this thesis is based upon the assumption that space is produced by human interaction via mental, physical and social activity, and as such it is a political entity capable of exerting power effects (Foucault, 1991; Lefebvre, 1991b). Although coercive power is particularly evident in the ideologically-conceived spaces of university management, architects and planners under capitalism, users of spaces are not powerless and are able to appropriate space for their own ends and subvert its original design intent (de Certeau, 1984). This research considers 'place' to be analogous to Lefebvre's idea of *lived space*, which acknowledges the intangible aspects of space that are associated with meaning, history and emotion. In this respect, attempts to 'create place' through the conceived and privileged spaces of architecture and urban planning, are always imperfect as they fail to anticipate the complexity of the lived experience (Lefebvre, 1991b). As Dovey (2010) points out:

> (…) the conscious attempts of designers to create a sense of place which so easily end up as manipulative corporate formulae or nostalgic ideologies written rather literally into space. (p. 3)

When universities create places through architecture they are attempting to construct something more than just a functional enclosure for their workers. Buildings and other institutional artefacts are loaded with symbolism and their meanings are constantly interpreted and reinterpreted by their users (Berg & Kreiner, 1990) in an attempt to make sense of their surroundings. Many contemporary theories dealing with place and identity reject an earlier focus on 'environmental determinism' in which behaviour is directly influenced by the surrounding environment and instead promote the view that the relationship between people and their surroundings is complex, constantly changing and mutually constructed (Massey, 2005). In this view, places gain identity by familiarity, use and a shared history (Proshansky et al., 1983), which can, over time, lead to an *identification with* (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and *attachment to* (Altman & Low, 1992) particular places. This thesis subscribes to this more nuanced view of the relationship between identity and the environment.

The following chapter continues the review of literature and focuses on the design of specific types of university spaces. While this chapter has focused on the theoretical ideas of space, place and identity, the next chapter reviews the literature on learning spaces and campus design.

3 University Space and Campus Design

This chapter continues the review of literature started in the previous chapter, exploring literature on university space and campus design. It is divided into several sections: the first section builds on the previous chapter's examination of the theoretical literature on space, place and academic identity by drawing together the literature on why universities build particular spaces. It considers the contested 'idea of the university' and discusses how this philosophical and political project manifests itself in university campus design and architecture. It is argued that universities, through necessity and design, have become neoliberal institutions, and that the physical form that they take both responds and contributes to this condition. In doing so, the analysis draws on discussions about the growth and prevalence of neoliberal economic ideas across the higher education sector in order to position campus planning, and the physical spaces that universities create, as integral to this political project.

The second section examines how universities use their architecture to respond to economic and political drivers for change. It is argued, that universities are increasingly using their built environment to project particular identities both internally to staff and externally to the 'market'. University architecture is increasingly used as branding in order to influence institutional perceptions and differentiate similar organisations in a crowded field.

The third section evaluates literature on specific types of university spaces and draws extensively on literature on learning spaces and campus design. Environments designed for teaching, research, administrative and social activities are considered, highlighting current design ideas.

3.1 The idea of the university

When one thinks of a university, one often thinks of specific built environments, buildings, public spaces, lecture theatres, labs and classrooms, whether conjured from memory or constructed from their representation in popular culture. As Cardinal Newman found in his seminal *Rise and Progress of Universities* (1873), it is difficult to imagine the 'idea of a university' without visualising particular places, spaces and social interactions that might take place.

> If I were asked to describe as briefly and popularly as I could, what a University was, I should draw my answer from its ancient designation of a *Studium Generale*, or 'School of Universal Learning.' This description implies the assemblage of strangers from all parts in one spot; - from all parts; else, how will you find professors and students for every department of knowledge? and in one spot; else, how can there be any school at all? (Newman, 2001 [1873], p. 6)

Universities have a long-standing history. However, in the early twenty-first century problems of its precise definition and purpose prevail. The Oxford English Dictionary (2013) defines a university as:

> An institution of higher education offering tuition in mainly non-vocational subjects and typically having the power to confer degrees. Also: the members, colleges, buildings, etc., of such an institution collectively. (OECD, 2013)

This definition, as might be expected, merely describes the superficial features of the university as an institution, but conveys little about the diversity, ethos, core values and aspirations of these institutions. The principals and ambitions of universities are inextricably rooted in their histories, the legacy of their foundations, and in many cases, influenced by a complex series of mergers, expansions and contractions over many decades (Dober, 1992). This heritage is often apparent in their built environment. The following section examines the changing ideas about the nature of the university and its role in society.

A number of scholars have suggested that a return to the 'idea of the university' may be timely, and that its reappraisal may provoke intellectually substantive discussion about the types of learning environments required to service a progressive higher education sector (Barnett, 2010; Neary & Saunders, 2011; Scott, 1993). Without an understanding of 'what a university is', and the potential of what it might become, it is difficult to imagine how this institution might manifest itself functionally and aesthetically as architecture. This uncertainty is further compounded by the number of organisations using the title 'university' to describe a wide range of educational undertakings (Collini, 2012). The 'idea of a university' has persisted as a philosophical project in which scholars have attempted to describe a shared ideal for university activity. For Habermas and Blazek (1987, p. 3) the idea of the university acts as a 'unifying bond of its corporative consciousness' without which the collective understanding of the institution is diminished. This debate has been characterised through five 'ideal' university types: medieval; liberal; industrial; postmodern; and entrepreneurial (Neary et al., 2010; Neary & Saunders, 2011).

The medieval university

In its earliest form the medieval university was 'placeless'. Groups of students sought out the most eminent scholars as masters, and tuition took place in various impermanent locations in the host city. Masters made a precarious living and were paid fees directly by their students. Eventually, groups of scholars coalesced into guilds or corporations, which in turn became institutions providing tuition in the liberal arts and selected professions (Byrd, 2001). Philosophically, the medieval university was informed by the grand narrative of man's relationship with God (Barnett, 2010), and that 'education was in continuous interaction with the prevailing religious culture' (Cobban, 1999, p. 1). Contrary to some descriptions, medieval universities, from their earliest inception, offered tuition in both theory and practical subjects. Some early universities such as the University of Bologna had a certain amount of autonomy from the state (Moutsios, 2012), albeit with papal approval. Literature suggests that it was this autonomy that set the European university apart from earlier educational establishments (Dmitrishin, 2013; Moutsios, 2012).

As these institutions flourished during the Renaissance and began to acquire property the word 'university' came to mean a physical institution with a fixed location (Coulson et al., 2010). Several early universities, such as the University of Bologna, were established and entirely controlled by students as a corporation (Dmitrishin, 2013). Universities began to develop a 'distinctive corporate identity, complete with seals, colors, symbols, guilds, and licenses' (Thelin, 1982 p. 29, as cited in Byrd 2001).

The liberal university

Central to the discussion of the 'idea of a university' are the work of Prussian philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and the essays of Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–1890). Newman advocated that universities should be providers of a 'liberal education', encouraging their students in the cultivation of intellect and a search for truth above all other pursuits or practical applications. He believed that the range of subjects taught at university should be boundless, stating that the university 'by its very name professes to teach universal knowledge' (Newman, 2014 [1873], p. 20). Newman (2001 [1873]), however, highlights the modern dilemma of selectivity:

> (…) a University is a place of concourse, whither students come from
> every quarter for every kind of knowledge. You cannot have the best
> of every kind everywhere; you must go to some great city or emporium
> for it. (p. 16)

He was a proponent of the detailed study of a number of disciplines and their interconnectedness in order that students achieve a well-rounded worldview (MacIntyre, 2009). Newman in some ways was the ultimate advocate of the academic 'Ivory Tower', evidenced by his strong views on knowledge acquisition for its own sake and opposition to any form of vocational learning taking place in universities. Newman's conception of university life can be seen as a return to the monastic scholarship of the medieval university 'where students and staff were isolated from the outside world' (Kvan, 2016, p. 3).

Humboldt's ideal university was characterised by unconditional academic freedom for both academics and students, free from state interference and political or

religious influence (Habermas & Blazek, 1987). Humboldt promoted the unification of teaching and research, the unity of science and scholarship, and the dominance of science over specific professional training. Humboldt's model endorsed the idea that students should strive to become self-directed in their studies and 'world citizens'. Humboldt acknowledged the importance of vocational skills, but was clear that these are 'easily acquired later on [in life]' especially once the 'cultivation of the mind and character' had been first achieved (Günther, 1988, p. 134). A Humboldtian model emphasising a research-based approach to scholarship formed the basis for The University of Berlin, which offered lab-based courses in experimental sciences (Graham, 2008). This model became influential worldwide, especially in the US where the Humboldt model has been characterised as a 'research bunker' with the building 'camouflaging the activity in it' (Kvan, 2016).

The industrial university

The original ideal of the 'industrial university' dates back to the work of John Baldwin Turner in the 1840s who saw a need for an academic education for 'the common man' in the United States. Turner described a need for a scientific approach to agriculture, and he asserted that those working in industry required academic rather than purely technical training (Kett, 1994). More recently, the idea of the 'industrial university' is tied to the post-war research thinking of the 1950s and 1960s. Anderson (2010) notes that:

> It was only in the twentieth century that research came to be seen as a vital activity in itself, contributing to industrial progress, military strength, and social welfare, and requiring collaborative rather than individual effort (2010, p. 4)

Scientific research was seen as a societal liberator, and a strong alliance was formed between science, the state and industry (Scott, 1993). In the UK, the Robbins Report (1963), called for the expansion of universities; its key principle being that university places 'should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so' (p. 8), although this enlargement of higher education was already under way (Willetts, 2013). The Robbins Report laid out four key principles deeply rooted in the philosophical discourse of Newman and Humboldt

on universities and their purpose, but also recognising the importance of a modern vocational context. The principles were:

1. 'instruction in skills', Robbins mentions the need for the country to maintain a 'competitive position' and highlights the importance of 'skills demanding special training' (p. 6);

2. 'the promotion of the general powers of the mind' rather than the production of 'mere specialists' (p. 6);

3. 'to maintain the balance between teaching and research', Robbins mentions the important role that universities play in the search for truth and the advancement of knowledge (p. 7);

4. 'to transmit a common culture and common standards of citizens', the report emphasises the link between education, culture and family in cultivating a 'healthy society' (p. 7).

Post-Robbins, the first Labour Government under Harold Wilson (1964–1970) asserted the virtues of 'the white heat of technology' and with it plans for 'extending technological education' in order to meet the need for skilled workers. Wilson promised in his *Labour's Plan for Science* speech:

> a tremendous building programme of new universities, and in this programme let us try and see that more of them are sited in industrial areas where they can some way reflect the pulsating throb of local industry, *where they can work in partnership with the new industries we seek to create* (Wilson, 1963, p. 4)

Wilson's higher education expansion plans envisage the co-location of universities and industry, perhaps pre-empting the emergence of the off-campus research parks, research spin-off companies and technology transfer arrangements. Scott (1993) notes that 'in the 1960s a direct link between higher education expansion and economic growth was routinely assumed' (p. 9) although one could argue that this was driven by the ideal of national, rather than corporate, prosperity. Weinburg (1961) charts the growth of the 'Big Science' of national projects in the US (for example, manned space exploration) in the 1960s as a mode of cultural expression. He highlights the increasing links between governmental science laboratories and

those within universities, and points out the risks of this new intimacy to university autonomy, bureaucracy and finances.

The postmodern university

In the 1970s and 1980s philosophers hypothesised that both the status and the representation of knowledge had changed as society had entered a post-industrial age (Bell, 1976; Lyotard, 1984). In the postmodern world, knowledge is produced as a commodity to be sold, rather than primarily for training the mind or as an end in itself and has lost its 'use-value' (Lyotard, 1984). Although the ideas of postmodernity (Giddens, 1991), and the postmodern university have been heavily critiqued (Donovan, 2013; Nguyen, 2010), ideas attributed to postmodern culture or 'high modernity' and higher education persist. The postmodern university is typified by its 'lack of cultural function' and it is no longer the site of authoritative knowledge (Donovan, 2013) as 'meaning … is permanently in flux' (Bloland, 1995, p. 526). Lyotard (1984) describes postmodernism as an 'incredulity toward metanarratives' (p. xxiv), grand organising principles and historicism (Donovan, 2013). In the postmodern university space, traditional hierarchies and accepted wisdoms are challenged and their legitimacies questioned (Bloland, 1995). Nguyen (2010) claims that modernist education operated in the world of certainty, citizenship and secure employment, while a postmodernist education equips students for a world of 'uncomfortable uncertainties and the ability to live with chaos' (p. 89). The issue of knowledge commodification is further intensified in the postmodern university by the ubiquity of IT communication technologies, which enable the instant transfer of information on a global scale. This movement of knowledge brings with it the unavoidable challenges of information access, provenance and ownership, which may further undermine institutional trust.

The entrepreneurial university

The current, dominant 'idea of the university' as entrepreneurial (Barnett, 2016), has grown up against the backdrop of neoliberal economics. This ideal suggests that universities are well placed to exploit the potential of the global knowledge society (Shattock, 2008). However, in order to do this, they will have to become adaptive organisations, capable of responding swiftly to conflicting demands (Clark, 1998;

Shattock, 2008). Barnett (2000) describes the present period as an age of 'supercomplexity', where the rates of knowledge production and dissemination are increasing rapidly, and the roles that academics play in this new order must also adapt. Clark (1998) suggests that in addition to flexible approaches to the 'market', entrepreneurial universities exhibit: a 'strengthened core' of managerial values working in tandem with traditional academic ones; reach beyond the university to connect with external organisations; diversified funding and engagement in 'third stream' activities; genuine active participation in entrepreneurial activities; and authentic cultural change. Additionally, the idea of the 'entrepreneurial university' has be put forward as a coordinated response to: 'massification' (Shattock, 2008); global competition (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006; Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007); the commercialisation of know how (Cook, Dwek, Blumberg, & Hockaday, 2008); the requirement for workers attuned to a global job market (British Council, 2014); and as a way of demonstrating the commercial relevance of universities (Siegel, Waldman, Atwater, & Link, 2003). Under an entrepreneurial model, universities are viewed by government as 'new star ships' of the knowledge economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005) and as such are inextricably tied to national productivity and economic success. Radice (2013) claims that universities have been harnessed systematically to improve business and economic performance and, in order to achieve this aim, are encouraged to create ever closer links to industry and respond more closely to its needs while developing closer financial partnerships with the commercial sector (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In this respect, universities have become 'servants' rather than masters of the knowledge economy (Brady, 2012).

Some see the idea of the *entrepreneurial university* as a natural endpoint in the discussion of the idea of the university (Clark, 1998; Peris-Ortiz, Gómez, Merigó-Lindahl, & Rueda-Armengot, 2017), and view it in positive terms. For others, this ideal is at odds with both the true ethos and purpose of the university (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). Scott (1993) states that the idea of the university has become 'hard wired into wealth creation' (p . 8) and has become the 'servant of those who define wealth and oversee its creation' (p. 9). This sentiment is echoed by Rustin (2016) who argues that the idea of the university has veered too close to an 'industrial trainer' model where

the main concern is servicing the capitalist economy with a steady supply of labour of an appropriate 'social character' (p. 148). Slaughter and Leslie (2001) use the term 'academic capitalism' to describe the market conditions under which the entrepreneurial university might operate. In responding to these conditions, university staff are increasingly expected to engage in a range of commercial activities outside the university; effectively becoming 'state subsidized entrepreneurs' (p. 154) competing for resources both internally and externally under market-like conditions in the pursuit of new revenue. Slaughter and Leslie (2001) list a range of activities that define academic capitalism including an increase in speculative 'for profit' activities like patent developments, spin out companies, university – industry partnerships, to more everyday activities like selling university branded merchandise to students or food retailing on campus. They describe how these market-led initiatives have influenced organisational activity, processes, services and ideologies (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001).

For many, discussions around entrepreneurialism are closely entwined with the discourse of neoliberalism (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Some argue that neoliberal practices have eroded the traditional core values and broader public mission of the university as a provider of civic education and defender of public values (Giroux, 2014, 2015; Readings, 1996) and that 'the idea of the university' has been lost. There is a growing body of scholarly activity announcing the ruin of the university (Readings, 1996), the death of the university (Eagleton, 2015; Evans, 2004) and the university of disaster (Virilio, 2009).

Neoliberalism has become the dominant political and economic philosophy globally (Brenner & Theodore, 2012; Harvey, 2007; Radice, 2013) and as such, has filtered its way into every aspect of life as a philosophical construct, and as a material influence. Neoliberalism has become so dominant as a discourse that 'it is now part of the common-sense way that we interpret the world' (Harvey, 2007, p. 22). Harvey draws on Foucault's view that it is discourse that 'constructs the topic' (Hall, 1997, p. 44), governing what can, and cannot, be practically discussed – constraining the boundaries of acceptable knowledge and by doing so assumes the mantle of 'truth'. So embedded and deep rooted is the acceptance of the forces of neoliberalism and

practice of neoliberal activity that it is not challenged within organisations (Archer, 2008a). Neoliberalism broadly defines itself through four aspects of modern capitalism, namely 'privatisation, deregulation, financialisation and globalisation' (Radice, 2013, p. 408) and it promotes a set of economic doctrines that emphasise the will of the free market (Gulson, 2007). Dowling (2008) lists the processes of neoliberalisation as including the infusion of market and competitive logics, rise of audit processes, cultures of accountability and replacement of public with private. Conceptions of neoliberalism often emphasise market freedom and a non-interventionist stance by government, allowing the market to self-regulate. However, the state has a key role in intervening (by deregulating or legislating) to create new markets where they have traditionally not existed. For example, the fields of education and health have been opened-up as 'new fields of capital accumulation' (Harvey, 2007, p. 35). In higher education, this has been achieved through displacing state expenditures by replacing free access for students with a fee-based model.

Many academics have studied the effects of neoliberalisation on the university sector (Archer, 2008a; Ball, 2012, 2015; Brady, 2012; Giroux, 2002, 2014; Ingleby, 2015; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Radice, 2013; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). It could be concluded that universities have become complicit – through apathy and compliance – in the entrenchment and growth of neoliberalism. Lefebvre (1969) commented on the discrepancy between the stated mission of the university as transformative and its contribution to maintaining the status quo.

> The university which regards itself as decisive in transforming society
> because it can occupy an essential role in it, practices neo-corporatism.
> This applies equally to architects, urbanists (…) (p. 87)

Peck and Tickell (2002) describe a systematic erosion of political and institutional resistance to neoliberalism. Harvey (2007) goes further, claiming that advocates of neoliberalism now hold positions of power in universities. For others such as Barnett (2010) universities appear to have little agency and are 'enjoined to play their part in neo-liberal policies' (p. 17) merely reacting to, rather than contributing to the powerful forces at work. It might also be argued that universities merely reflect and reproduce the world around them. As Foucault states:

> The University stands for the institutional apparatus through which society ensures its uneventful reproduction, at the least cost to itself (Foucault, 1977a, p. 224)

Brady (2012) asserts that the resultant effect of these features of neoliberalism have eroded the esteem of teaching in universities, reducing it to a series of transactional exchanges. He also claims that because of neoliberal education policies, universities have 'sustained a moral loss' and have become utilitarian, forsaking their 'higher moral purpose' (p. 343).

Perhaps the variety of institutions now calling themselves universities has rendered the 'idea of the university' obsolete. Certainly, the discussion of a single, idealised notion of what a university is, as derived from Humboldt and Newman, has received sustained scholarly criticism for irrelevance within the modern context (Readings, 1996; Scott, 1993). It has been described as incapable of capturing the diversity of university activity and failing to recognise universities' own survival instincts and readiness to adapt to new practices (Scott, 1993). However, some contemporary scholars have rallied to the defence of Newman (MacIntyre, 2009) and Humboldt (Habermas & Blazek, 1987), emphasising the importance of protecting the 'idea of the university' in the face of encroaching neoliberalism. A number of scholars have suggested that there is no longer a single over-arching conception of 'the idea of a university', proposing instead that it is a concept that has continued to evolve since its early medieval origins (Anderson, 2010; Barnett, 2010; Graham, 2008). Anderson (2010) suggests that:

> …it is better to see the 'idea of the university' not as a fixed set of characteristics, but as a set of tensions, permanently present, but resolved differently according to time and place. (p. 10)

3.2 University building, drivers for change

This section explores the relationship that universities have with their built environment and examines the reasons, beyond purely practical concerns, for the current boom in Higher Education construction. It will investigate the current trend for constructing architecturally striking 'iconic' buildings as a method of conveying complex information about the history, aspirations and values of the institution to prospective and existing staff, students, alumni, and the wider world. This section

will also consider the commissioning of attention-seeking, 'statement architecture' as a means of attracting 'mobile capital' (Jones, 2011), in relation to the entrepreneurial activity of a modern university. When universities make changes to campus landscape and architecture it can often indicate institutional change: 'changes in leadership, changes in size of student population, changes in outlook and philosophy or the introduction of new modes of teaching' (Dober, 1992, p. 7).

Much of the literature in this section draws on reports by professional bodies involved in advising on the built environment and is used to illustrate the prevailing rhetoric used by architects to describe and justify campus design projects, and give an insight into their relationship with universities. This section looks at the changing face of the UK university campus in relation to some of the turbulent socio-economic forces currently evident in higher education.

3.2.1 The university campus and institutional identity

The power – and perceived power – of architecture to convey meaning and identity is well documented (Jones, 2011; Sudjic, 2005). At a national level, buildings have a role as cultural landmarks providing a convenient shorthand for the distinctiveness and the character of their host country or city. Historically, architecture has played an important part in the building of nations and in the search for and consolidation of national identity (Delanty & Jones, 2002; Sudjic, 2005). Landmark buildings carry such a cultural resonance they are frequently used on banknotes, crests, emblems and other national signifiers.

Universities also routinely capitalise on this apparent symbolic power of architecture to capture the intangible qualities of particular groups and organisations. Dober (1992) highlights many examples from the US higher education context, of landmark buildings and architectural details (spires, domes, facades) used to create university logos and motifs. Use of university landmarks to form corporate identity is also common in the UK (for example the logos of The University of Lancaster, The University of Leeds and University College London). Much of the literature on campus design and university buildings uncritically emphasises the symbolic potential of

architecture to carry complex institutional messages. For example, Neuman (2013) stresses the importance of campus planning, landscape and architecture stating that:

- Buildings produce actual environments that support the mission and goals of the institution
- Buildings create a tangible identity that universities portray to stakeholders (e.g. alumni, students, staff, general public)
- Buildings help to portray a level of sustainability and commitment made by the institution. (p. 1)

In a similar vein, Dober (1992, p. 3) credits campus design in the US with the ability to: 'define and celebrate a sense of place; communicate an institution's purpose; presence and domain; and generate an image charged with symbolism, graced by history'. The notion that the built form of a university might somehow physically embody its values, identity and integrity is commonplace in the literature (AUDE & HEFCE, 2008; Dober, 1992; RIBA, 2009a). This idea is particularly noticeable in the practice-based literature generated by the architectural profession itself. The Royal Institute of British Architects state that:

> At their most cherished, universities are made up of buildings with emotional and practical, functional and even spiritual meaning. They may symbolise the intellectual autonomy traditionally associated with scholarship. (RIBA, 2009a, p. 6)

Temple (2007), however, urges caution where claims of a physical embodiment of a university's mission are concerned (especially in relation to learning), pointing out that most universities consist of 'a legacy of buildings of varying designs and qualities' (p. 5).

3.2.2 The university campus as 'brand'

Contemporary corporate and organisational identity literature emphasises a holistic approach to marketing, where all elements of an organisation's presentation contribute to perceptions of the brand. Dober (1992, p. 18) notes the importance of both the '[design] quality and number of landmark buildings' in defining a university's image. Barnett and Temple (2006) conclude that physical facilities will increasingly act as a marketing asset and gain increased management consideration and resources. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) – the

government's advisor on architecture, urban design and public space between 1999 and 2011 – assert that the distinctiveness of a campus acts as a 'marketing lever' for attracting prospective students (CABE, 2005, p. 22). This is reiterated by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) who add that new and refurbished university buildings should be both 'inspirational' and 'innovative' to survive in a competitive environment and meet staff and student expectations (RIBA, 2009b, p. 1).

In order to capitalise on physical distinctiveness, and to try and differentiate one university offer from another in a crowded and complex 'marketplace', university prospectuses, websites and other promotional literature rely heavily on images of their physical spaces (iconic buildings, landscape, state of the art facilities). Buildings are used by universities prominently to establish a market profile and to provide a 'spatial and corporate identity' (Till, 2012, p. 6). This choice of imagery is repeated to the point where the overuse of campus architecture as a stylistic device has become something of a marketing cliché. Askehave (2007) observes the similarity in rhetoric and imagery between university prospectuses and tourist brochures, noting that the University of Stirling's international prospectus emphasises the 'selling of place' over academic merit. This 'place branding' is, to some extent, understandable, as universities attempt to 'sell' the unique, tangible qualities of their institution to an often remote market. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) define place branding as:

> The creation of a recognisable place identity, little more than a sort of civic consciousnesses [sic], and the subsequent use of that identity to further other desirable processes, whether financial investment, changes in user behaviour or generating political capital. (p. 512)

With this in mind, it is possible to appreciate the increasing importance of existing and future built environments as a promotional tool in higher education.

In the last few decades, it has been increasingly debated whether universities should act like, and have closer dealings with, commercial organisations (Clark, 1998; Olssen & Peters, 2005). The suggestion is that by emulating the corporate world, universities can develop their business effectiveness, become more entrepreneurial and improve service to 'customers', reaping the financial rewards in the shape of increased research revenue and student fees. RIBA (2009a) suggest that 'like corporations …

universities are developing their estate specifically … for conveying high status among a globally powerful audience' (p. 14).

The corporate architecture of university campuses can act as a form of 'super-branding', reinforcing and improving existing – and generating new – brand-awareness in an increasingly competitive global educational marketplace (RIBA, 2009a). Drori and colleagues (2013) quote the famous architect Robert A.M. Stern when delivering his speech to celebrate the inauguration of Spangler Hall, Harvard Business School's newest building:

> [A university building] can take a symbolic role, it can become an emblem, it can become a part of a brand and even be a brand in itself. A building can express the identity of an institution through a stylistic language; it can express both an institution's inspirations and its aspirations; it can reflect a system of values and place those values in a continuum (Stern, quoted in Drori et al., 2013, p. 137)

The Royal Institute of British Architects (2009a) suggest that universities can enhance existing reputations by commissioning 'landmark' buildings, even proposing that 'lower-tier' institutions may risk building expensive iconic buildings in order to influence perceptions of status and increase recognition. The following quote from Professor Christopher Gane, Vice-Principal and Head of the College of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Aberdeen exemplifies this thinking.

> The new library of the University of Aberdeen will be an architecturally striking and inspiring new building, evoking the ice and light of the north, and doing for Aberdeen what the Opera House did for Sydney and the Guggenheim for Bilbao – a global icon to put us squarely on the world map. (RIBA, 2009b, p. 23)

Many have commented on the increasing marketization and globalisation of higher education (Barnett, 2010; Forbes & Ng, 2009; Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006; Naidoo, 2003), and have noticed attempts by universities to differentiate themselves in an ever more competitive wrangle for home and overseas students (Steele, 2010). Steele (2010) asserts that most higher education organisations now accept the role of 'marketing' to help advance their goals, but do not fully exploit the professional marketer's – so-called – 'marketing mix' or '4 Ps' of *Product*, *Price*, *Place* and *Promotion* (McCarthy, 1964). Of these, Place – in a university marketing context –

might include campus architecture, recreational and educational facilities and geographic location. A number of observers have remarked on the almost symbiotic relationship that universities have with their local environments, where the economic fortunes of the region and institution are intertwined (RIBA, 2009a; University Alliance, 2011). In addition, the importance of the image presented by the university and the host city or region may have a mutually beneficial – and conversely potentially damaging – effect on each other (Insch & Sun, 2013).

3.2.3 The university campus and recruitment and retention

The discourse around 'students as customers' has triggered sustained debate in the literature over many years (Brady, 2012; Rustin, 2016). The Browne Report (2010), described by Spencer (2016) as a 'transparently neoliberal screed' (p. 129), conceptualises student fees as a way for students to gain the freedoms of the market where they are 'best placed' to make judgements about what they want from the higher education system. Slaughter and Leslie (2001) talk of the shifting language used around student recruitment – 'student market' rather than 'learners', 'customers and clients' rather than 'students'. They note the general acceptance of 'business talk' that emphasises the 'the university experience' and the commodification of students as products only further engrains an impression of a 'shared market ideology' (p. 158).

Research commissioned by Wates Construction (2012) into the trends and challenges faced by higher education – based on interviews with university estates professionals – identified 'attracting students' as the strongest driver behind their current construction projects for more than half of the respondents. There is a widely held view, that high quality buildings have an important role to play in supporting high-quality teaching, creating an outstanding student experience, and play an important part in attracting international students (Russell Group, 2010). Price and colleagues (2003) report that provision of high-standard 'facilities factors' had a significant impact on students' choice of institution. Dober (1992) comments that 'some institutions will not gain their share of the higher education population unless their campuses are physically attractive and distinctive' (p. 6) also observing that the idea that universities might design campuses to attract patrons, students and support is

not new. Simon Doody, of Architects Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios (FCBS), notes that the design for the Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) was in part influenced by the question of 'how to attract a new generation of students from both home and abroad' (Doody, 2012). den Heijer (2012) argues that the university environment may also play a part in meeting the increasing expectations of staff and students for state-of-the art facilities, attracting and retaining talented researchers and lecturers, and contribute to inspiring original thought and the creation of community. A comprehensive study carried out by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) in 2003 into the value of good building design in higher education noted strong positive links between well-designed and distinctive environments and recruitment, retention, and performance of staff and students. It also offered evidence to support the principle that 'good quality higher education requires good quality environments' (CABE, 2005, p. 9). Temple (2007) acknowledges that while good environmental conditions (heating, lighting, noise control etc.) may be requirements for learning to take place, surveys repeatedly show 'space issues' to be low in the rankings of student concerns.

3.3 Types of university space

This section examines the literature on specific university work spaces, considering three key areas that represent the main activities carried out in a modern university: spaces for research, management and administration; spaces for teaching and learning; and social spaces.

3.3.1 Spaces for research, management and administration

It is often cited that the UK working population spends at least 40 hours a week in offices (Danielsson, 2005; Samani, 2015). University staff carry out a range of activities that can be characterised as research, management and administration. Typical activities include writing and researching for papers and journal articles, writing grant and funding applications, conference and events planning, peer reviewing journal articles, knowledge transfer and entrepreneurial activity, marking student work, and an increasing amount of administrative work related to these areas. Typically these activities are carried out in office spaces and meeting rooms.

Duffy (1997, 2005) describes four main types of 'new' office space designed to accommodate particular modes of working and organisational types: *hives*, *cells*, *dens* and *clubs.* Hive offices are characteristically uniform, open plan, screened and impersonal, and are typical of office environments where routine and repetitious tasks are carried out under supervision. Cell offices provide space for solitary, concentrated work with little interaction, and are typified by cellular offices or highly screened workstations. Den offices are designed around group working, often open-plan settings where worker use shared meeting and project space. Club offices are typified by the idea of 'networked organisations' where interactive group work is the norm and workers occupy space on an 'as needed' basis.

Traditionally, academic staff enjoyed single occupancy cellular offices, however shared offices and open-plan offices are becoming more common in universities, especially in new buildings (Baldry & Barnes, 2012; SMG, 2006). Additionally, some universities have experimented with hot-desking and other 'non-territorial' office types where the space is not 'owned' by an individual. Another less common option is the combi-office where occupants have a single occupancy space but a shared meeting space (Pinder et al., 2009). Many academic staff also regularly work from home (Lee, 2012; Mills & Rath, 2012; Pinder et al., 2009; Wright, Williamson, Schauder, & Stockfeld, 2003). Individual academic offices in many pre-1992 universities were provided as 'complex work environments' (SMG, 2006) that fulfilled a range of functions including private study space, a semi-public teaching space, a meeting room, and a space for receiving professional visitors (2006, p. 13). However SMG (2006) suggests that because of the 'massification' of higher education, tutorial teaching is less likely to take place in personal offices in future. Pinder and collegues (2009) cite a number of reasons why academic workplaces are changing, including changing space demands, new information and communications technologies, financial pressures, carbon reduction commitments, and developments in other sectors. Much of the literature on office design also suggests that these changes are driven by a need to optimise 'employee effectiveness, at both individual and group levels' (Sheahan & HASSELL, 2014), which is in turn a response to new working

practices that require greater flexibility, more interaction with colleagues and an 'activity-based approach' (p. 6).

Open plan offices, although a relatively new model for academic accommodation, are not a novel idea. The open plan office has, since the 1960s, become commonplace in commercial and administrative contexts, tracing its roots to the German concept of the 'office landscape' or *bürolandschaft* (Duffy, 1997; Price & Fortune, 2008). The *bürolandschaft* concept was originally devised in order to 'eliminate status' and 'improve communications' (Duffy, 1997, p. 35). However, it has become synonymous with cost reduction, worker surveillance (Baldry & Barnes, 2012), and more recently the eradication of personal workspace through hot-desking. While the original 'office landscapes' were planned organically, based on working adjacencies, by the 1970s and 1980s open plan layouts had become grid-like and based on cubicle spaces (Price & Fortune, 2008). There is a push to move staff from private cellular offices to open layouts across many sectors of work (HEFCE/SMG, 2006; Samani, 2015).

The literature is divided about the benefits and disadvantages of open working to organisations. Much management-centric literature extols the virtues of open and flexible working spaces across a number of dimensions, citing improvements to team and interdisciplinary working (Brookes & Kaplan, 1972), creativity (Duffy, 1997) and transfer of knowledge (DEGW UK Ltd, Harrison, & Cairns, 2008; Price & Fortune, 2008). However, more recent research tends to emphasise the intricacy of cooperative and knowledge-based work, viewing it as a complex system requiring 'awareness, brief interaction and collaboration' but also the need for 'solitary space' (Heerwagen, Kampschroer, Powell, & Loftness, 2004, p. 525). The complexities of cooperative working are such that spatial solutions from one environment or context may not be a good fit in other similar environments.

There is evidence that open plan working arrangements are unpopular with academic staff (Andrew, 2009; Baldry & Barnes, 2012; DEGW UK Ltd et al., 2008; HEFCE/SMG, 2006). Pinder and colleagues (2009) state that moving academics to open plan offices can be challenging due to 'entrenched working practices' and a lack

of managerial enthusiasm. Baldry and Barnes (2012) suggest that open plan academic offices may be indicative of low trust managerialism and are another example of the erosion of academic identity and professional values.

There is a considerable body of research that considers the positive and negative effects of a variety of work environments on mental health (Veitch, 2011; Veitch et al, 2007) and physical wellbeing (Evans, 1998). The literature on work space is clear that having a satisfactory physical environment is a significant factor in ensuring contented workers and an effective organisation (Veitch et al., 2007). One of the key reoccurring themes in the literature on space and wellbeing is that of control. Successful environments allow users control over their environmental conditions (for example heating and lighting), but also empower workers to regulate social interaction, visual access and exposure, and the proximity of co-workers. In addition workers' responses to environmental factors cannot be considered in isolation without attention to corresponding institutional culture and values (Heerwagen et al, 1995).

Personalising the workspace

Exerting control over the working environment can take many forms. Vischer (2005) suggests that the main constituent of psychological comfort is 'territory', derived from a feeling of 'privacy, status and control' over one's location, and that this is often achieved in the workplace by personalisation. This sub-section reviews the literature on workspace personalisation, whether this is expressed through displaying personal artefacts such as photographs, cups, awards and plants or artefacts more usually associated with work, such as books and journals, or by modifying the layout and arrangement of furniture.

The objects that staff use to personalise their workspaces may represent current and aspirational identities (Brown, Lawrence, & Robinson, 2005; Cairns, Mcinnes, & Roberts, 2003; Engels-Schwarzpaul, 2012; Laurence & Byron, 2015; Ruth, 2015), and may be used as a means of asserting personal distinctiveness (Elsbach, 2003, p. 643) and asserting workplace identity (Elsbach, 2004). Bruner (1991) also observed

similarities between the way that identity and knowledge were dispersed in academic settings.

Personalisation activities at work act as a signal to others about preferences and desires (Brandes & Erlhoff, 2011) and enable workers to discover areas of mutual interest and experience (Laurence & Byron, 2015). Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl (2014) suggest that personal artefacts may act as a way of building rapport between co-workers and inviting personal contact. However, Elsbach (2004) cautions that personal identity markers may 'be perceived by observers in ways that are not intended by the displayer' (p. 100). The amount of workplace personalisation evident may be a stronger indicator of organisational policy and organisational wellbeing than individual preferences (Wells, 2000). Employees working in organisations with relaxed policies on personalisation tended to personalise more than employees operating under more inflexible rules (Wells, 2000).

A number of studies have noted that personalisation activities in the workplace are bounded by gender (Tyler & Cohen, 2010; Wells, 2000) and ethnicity and culture (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). Gender differences include the amount of personalisation, with women personalising more and with more varied items (Wells, 2000). Wells (2000) found that female employees typically personalised their spaces with a greater number of items denoting personal relationships (for example pictures of family and friends) and noted that male employees personalised with a larger number of items suggesting status and personal achievement (for example awards and certificates).

Wells and Thelen (2002) noted that workplace personalisation occurred more frequently in private and enclosed offices rather than open plan areas. Personalisation in this respect can be seen as a marker of organisational status (Sundstrom & Sundstrom, 1986; Wells, 2000; Wells & Thelen, 2002). However, Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl had contradictory findings: they observed that executives and managers personalise less than other workers (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). Workers in environments with low levels of privacy, for example those in open-plan or hot desk offices, tend to have fewer opportunities to personalise their work spaces, and

as a result, find their workplace identities threatened or diminished (Elsbach, 2003). Workers in these environments tend to experience more emotional exhaustion at work, and that these adverse feelings are strengthened by the lack of opportunity to personalise their working spaces (Laurence, Fried, & Slowik, 2013). Creating displays of personal artefacts can be viewed as a coping mechanism (Oseland, 2009), in order to offset the underlying impermanence and temporary nature of modern work environments (Cox, Herrick, & Keating, 2012). Workspace personalisation may increase motivation, job satisfaction (Miller, Erickson, & Yust, 2001) and personal wellbeing (Wells, 2000), and in turn may have benefits for the organisation such as improving staff morale and reducing staff turnover (Wells, 2000; Wells et al., 2007)

Warren (2006) asserts that 'personalising and colonising space' (p. 140) are important aspects of the politics of space in offices, and that employees treat their desks as their 'territories'. Brown and colleagues (2005) describe two important influences that territorial marking can have on the workplace. First, it can help define the relationship between an individual and the organisation. Secondly, it can help to establish relationships among members of a social unit and contributes to a feeling of belonging. The authors suggest that from a management point of view, this type of territorial marking should be encouraged as it 'can increase commitment to and *identification with* the organisation' (pp. 509–510). Warren and colleagues (2014) suggest that whether or not staff personalise their environment may be more to do with degree of permanence than territorial control, while Engels-Schwarzpaul (2012) links amount of personalisation to duration of employment.

Tian and Belk (2005) contend that 'the contemporary postmodern workplace blurs boundaries between home and work and thereby challenges the locus of identity' (p. 297). They argue that workers who personalise their workspaces are demonstrating their 'extended-self' and allowing aspects of their 'authentic' home-self to permeate the work environment. Engels-Schwarzpaul (2012) uses the metaphor of *desk-as-castle* to capture the idea of assertion of control over a limited territory and simultaneously the idea of personalisation as a form of 'home building', drawing on the expression 'a man's home is his castle'. Tian and Belk (2005) also found that workers' personalisation was influenced by peers and conformed to the norms of the

organisational culture. Workplace personalisation is theorised by some scholars as a way to moderate the emotional changeover between home and work, and constructing a greater sense of belonging by creating a 'home base at work' (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014, p. 106). They describe this as 'boundary-maintenance' (p. 117) suggesting that personal items from home could be thought of as 'objects in exile', and displaying them gave 'consolation to the worker' (p. 118). Höpfl (2014) extends this idea by describing personalised workspaces as a 'mise-en-scène', a cinematographic term denoting scene setting, and the gathering of props and other objects to be filmed.

Personalisation in the workplace can be seen as a miniscule form of resistance (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2011) operating at both individual and collective levels (Wasserman & Frenkel, 2011). Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl (2011) connect the idea of workplace personalisation to de Certeau's idea of spatial 'tactics' where individuals creatively appropriate space for their own use (see discussion in section 2.1.3). This resonates with Wasserman and Frenkel's (2011, p. 514) research, where they draw comparisons between the practice of personalisation and the practice of 'culture jamming' (Lasn, 1999) which includes the spoofing of official marketing material to 'make a statement'. Personalised displays can often be messy and at odds with the sterility of modern corporate architecture and the rules of the workplace such as 'clear desk' policies (Morrison & Macky, 2016). Vischer (2005) suggests that although personalisation may seem untidy, it is a natural human response to the 'tiresome sameness of [workplace] surroundings' (p. 70).

Finally, Ruth (2015) notes the importance of 'stuff' to academic life, stressing the connection between personal objects and professional and academic practice. He notes that personal office spaces are 'a prime site of constitutive entanglement' (p. 35) between artefacts and their functions and meanings. This entanglement between the social and the material aspects of university life may affect the quality of individual and institutional performance. The artefacts of academic life are 'delegated many profound tasks and responsibilities' (p. 35). These responsibilities, as Bruner (1991) observes, include the distribution and safekeeping of knowledge within an organisation.

> 'Knowledge' is distributed beyond one's head to include the friends
> and colleagues to whom one has access, the notes one has filed, the
> books one has on one's shelves. (p. 76)

Whincup (2004) extends this idea further, proposing that personal artefacts become an aide memoir, allowing the owner to recall complex ideas at a later date. He adds that personal objects become intertwined with 'past experiences, current constructions … and future aspirations' (p. 81). Artefacts become key to retaining information over time; Whincup adds:

> In the struggle to maintain memories by charging objects with their
> safekeeping, the relationship between the owner and the object
> changes (...) the personal mnemonic object becomes as priceless and
> unique as the memory to which it holds the key (p. 81)

3.3.2 Formal spaces for teaching and learning

This section briefly outlines key literature on formal university teaching and learning spaces. Mulcahy and colleagues (2015) divide the literature on learning spaces into that which takes a *realist* perspective and that which advances a *relationalist* argument to explain the relationship between educational space and the activity that happens within it. Much of the learning spaces literature takes a *realist* view, and draws connections between the built environment and the type of teaching and learning activities that might be afforded by the space (Jamieson et al., 2000; Monahan, 2000; Oblinger, 2006). The realist view is drawn from a modernist architectural tradition and privileges an instrumental relationship between the built environment and the behaviours of its occupants. It is prevalent in policy discourse (Mulcahy et al., 2015). Jamieson and colleagues (2000) fall into the *realist* camp, describing the connection between place and behaviour as 'immediately obvious', claiming that the physical environment shapes the possibilities of teaching practice, constraining 'the behaviour and performance of students and teachers' (Jamieson, 2003, p. 120). Monahan (2000) extends this line of thinking, describing the ability of educational spaces to enable or constrain particular activities as 'built pedagogy' (p. 1), where the built environment has the ability to influence educational structures, embodying curricula and values by the virtue of its design. The realist conception of learning spaces considers that 'space and its uses are taken to be different aspects that reflect each other' (Mulcahy et al., 2015, p. 4). For example, the widely cited JISC

(2006) publication *Designing Spaces for Effective Learning: A guide to 21st century learning space design,* states that 'Changed spaces will change practice. Spaces are themselves agents for change' (p. 30).

Other literature takes a *relationalist* view of learning spaces where '(physical) space and (social) change are understood to be generated together' rather than separate entities that mirror each other (Mulcahy et al., 2015, p. 4). This body of literature is both implicitly and explicitly influenced by socio-spatial theory, where spaces are produced as a result of social activity. In this view, learning spaces can no longer be viewed simply as the sites for teaching and learning activity, and their design cannot provide definitive solutions for the complexity of interactions that happen within them (Mulcahy et al., 2015, p. 4). A *relationalist* view of learning space, evident in a smaller body of literature taking this perspective, rejects simple cause and effect explanations, suggesting a more cautious approach to claims about the effects that spatial design has on learning, teaching, research and creativity; (Beyes & Michels, 2011; Boys, 2015; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Mulcahy et al., 2015; Neary & Saunders, 2011; Temple, 2009). Gulson and Symes (2007) propose that educational space is fluid and is constantly being re-written and re-enscribed by the activity that taks place within it.

Jamieson (2003; 2000) asserts that – with the exception of some technological advances – the types of architectural spaces provided for teaching (classrooms, lecture theatres, labs etc.) have remained largely unaffected by change during the twentieth century. More recent literature suggests that learning spaces are changing, albeit slowly (Boys, 2011, 2015), and that requirements for new spaces have resulted in a rethinking of universities, moving from 'a place of instruction' to 'a place to produce learning' (DEGW UK Ltd et al., 2008, p. 2). Moreover, Harrison (2008; 2000) claims new educational spaces are emerging which emphasise 'human interaction rather than specific needs' (2000, p. 3). This assertion may be true, but physical learning spaces tend to have a lifespan beyond the learning theories that they purport to embody and contribute to a slowness of change (Thomas, 2010).

Harrison and Hutton (2014, pp. 109–111) stress that learning spaces are becoming more flexible in order to accommodate changing pedagogic, demographic and social

demands, identifying technology and learning theory as particular strong drivers for this change. The use of networked computer technologies for synchronous and non-synchronous learning tasks within universities further blurs the relationship between the physical and online environments. Many have argued that the common use of university virtual learning environments, and other educational technologies, changed the balance between classroom-based and online activity, and that they have had an impact on pedagogic practice in universities (Beetham & Sharpe, 2007; Duffy & Jonassen, 1992; Laurillard, 2002). These learning technologies have enabled lecturers to experiment with the presentation of curricula, leading to a variety of blended learning methods that mix face-to-face and online interaction (Bonk & Graham, 2005).

This technological shift has led some institutions to question the relationship between classroom-based and online activity and consider the strengths and weaknesses of each mode of learning. This has increased interest in so-called 'flipped classroom' approaches (Lage, Maureen, Platt, & Treglia, 2000; Mazur & Crouch, 2001) where traditional lecture resources are made available online (often as pre-recorded videos), and face-to-face sessions are reserved for differentiated 'active learning' (typically, problem solving, debating, peer instruction or lab work).

In addition to institutionally supported technologies, the ubiquitous nature of personal, 'always on' technologies (smart phones, tablet devices) and their mobility mean that students and staff have access to the tools of research and content creation at all times regardless of physical location (Benford, Ramsden, & Roussos, 2005). This opens up possibilities for informal and experiential learning beyond the classroom (Sharples, Taylor, & Vavoula, 2005). Some literature suggests that the properties of mobile technologies may jeopardise the future of the physical university and have the capability to erode 'physical place as a predominant attribute of space' (Traxler, 2009, p.7). However, most sources acknowledge that student access to mobile devices will require spaces that are easier to repurpose and may provide the impetus for a wider variety of pedagogies (JISC, 2006); though Temple (2007) cautions that pedagogic practice has been 'stubbornly resistant' to technological innovation.

A number of authors have proposed that the properties of networked technologies may, in the future, encourage the formations of material–virtual hybrid spaces, where students move effortlessly between the physical classroom and online settings (Rudd, Gifford, Morrison, & Facer, 2006). Regardless of the future directions, technology is an important element in the design of current university physical spaces, both in terms of integration and student and staff expectations (Cook, 2013). Modern classrooms, lecture theatres, specialised and social learning areas all need to support a variety of technologies for teaching and learning, from basic wireless network access and assistive technology support to advanced multiscreen displays and immersive environments (Harrison & Hutton, 2014). However, Davis (2005) cautions against designs that over-celebrate technology and describes the idea of 'invisible technology' that is unobtrusive yet instantly accessible. Temple (2007) highlights that designing spaces with flexibility to adapt, rather than designing with particular current technologies in mind, is most important.

In addition to technological drivers influencing the design of teaching and learning spaces, literature suggests that learning theory and changes in pedagogic practice are having an effect on the design of new teaching and learning spaces (Oblinger, 2006; UCISA & Ferrell, 2016). Oblinger (2006) asserts that teaching and learning spaces should be used to facilitate 'active, social and experiential learning', which she claims is favoured by many of today's learners. However, the precise links between pedagogy and learning and teaching spaces remains unclear (Temple, 2008) and that researching this relationship may not be a primary concern for university management (Jamieson et al., 2000). What is clear is the growing dominance of constructivist and social constructivist pedagogies as the de facto approaches to academic development (Biggs, 2006; Laurillard, 2002; Light & Cox, 2001) where the social aspects of learning are seen as foundational to many models of 'best-practice' (Chickering & Gamson, 1987). These social constructivist models of teaching and learning draw on a number of learning theorists (for example Vygotsky, Kolb, Bandura and Wenger) and are seen as the conceptual basis for a range of learning activities that stress the value of social interaction. For example, universities often describe their classroom and online teaching and learning as 'active learning'

(Bonwell & Eison, 1991), 'cooperative learning' (Johnson & Johnson, 1999) and 'problem-based learning' (Barrows, 1996). Although broad ranging, these models all commonly stress a move from teacher-centred to student-centred models of education that emphasise co-construction of knowledge through shared experience rather than direct transmission of information from lecturer to student.

The effect that social constructivist pedagogies have had on the design of formal teaching and learning spaces is unclear and the mention of physical space, and its influence on learning, is absent from much of the staple literature on teaching practice. Literature suggests that traditional layouts of furniture within formal teaching spaces, especially linear rows of seating, can emphasise teacher-centred pedagogies and promote 'one way' styles of delivery and presentation (Jamieson, 2003; JISC, 2006; Scott-Webber, Marini, & Abraham, 2000). Scott-Webber and colleagues (2000) examined general-purpose classroom spaces, concluding that flexibility of layout, and ability to control environmental conditions in order to respond to a broadening range of learning and teaching possibilities were required. In more recent research, Scott-Webber (2013) found that changing classroom designs, from traditional to flexible layouts, found favour with students who self-reported increased motivation and engagement. In contrast, Jessop, Gubby and Smith (2012) conclude that one of the main constraints to pedagogic innovation is not the space itself but resistance to change from academic staff who may display a 'predominance of teacher-centred formats in neutral, multipurpose spaces' (p. 199). Jamieson (2003) suggests that there is a role for academic developers to help lecturers adapt to teaching in new spaces and abandon teaching methods rooted in more traditional teaching settings.

The literature across disciplines maintains that the key to providing spaces that may facilitate varied social models of teaching and learning is flexibility, particularly spaces that can be reconfigured to suit a range of experiences and modes of learning and instruction (AMA Alexi Marmot Associates, 2006; Davis, 2005; Jamieson, 2003; JISC, 2006; Monahan, 2000; Oblinger, 2006; Smith, 2007; Temple, 2008; UCISA & Ferrell, 2016). However, even the usefulness of the term 'flexible space' is debated (Boys, 2011) and clarification is needed about whether flexibility refers to an

individual's ability to reconfigure space to meet individual needs (P. Barrett, Zhang, Davies, & Barrett, 2015) or changing space to meet particular pedagogic objectives. Moreover, there is debate as to whether flexibility occurs at the 'micro-design' of flexible furniture layouts (Temple, 2008) or at a wider architectural scale where partitions and other architectural elements can be manipulated, in what Jamieson (2000) describes as a 'loose fit' building. Davis (2005) suggests that these spaces should be 'non precious', meaning that students and staff should not worry about reconfiguring layouts in new ways and should be encouraged to experiment and 'mess up' existing spaces.

Accounts of radically new types of space seem to be rare in the literature, with most new university teaching buildings relying on combinations of traditional classrooms, specialist spaces and formal lecture theatres. However, Price and Fortune (2008) note that there is 'growing evidence that the designs which work owe more to thinking about social learning spaces than to traditional space planning' (p. 28). Harrison and Hutton (2014) discuss a number of innovative teaching and learning spaces designed to respond to current pedagogic practice and technology needs. They note innovations in lecture theatre design, citing 'Harvard style' approaches to space planning where students surround the lecturer in a horseshoe configuration in a much smaller number of rows than a traditional lecture theatre, where each space has 'at desk' microphones and includes sophisticated audio-visual equipment for both presentation and recording of lectures. Harrison and Hutton (2014) also note that many universities are currently experimenting with larger scale, 'flat-floor', technology-rich teaching spaces that employ café-style seating and table arrangements suitable for both didactic presentation and collaborative working. Examples such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Technology Enabled Active Learning (TEAL) and North Carolina State University's SCALE-UP spaces enable students to share work from each table with the whole space via large perimeter screens and cameras recording group activity. Research carried out on the University of Minnesota's similarly designed Active Learning Classroom (ALC) by Brooks (2012), observed modest gains to student on-task behaviours when the ALC was used with active learning techniques. He concedes however that the ALC environment fared

less well when coupled with lecture style presentation and the research may be skewed by the characteristics of individual lecturers.

3.3.3 Informal social learning spaces

Literature identifies a major change in university spatial design with the prominence of spaces designed to promote informal interaction and social learning outside the confines of the classroom (AMA Alexi Marmot Associates, 2006; Crook & Mitchell, 2012; Matthews, Andrews, & Adams, 2011; Oblinger, 2006; Smith, 2007). These spaces are a response to sustained descriptions of informal and social interaction as important to learning situated within, and beyond, the university context (Boud & Middleton, 2003; Coffield, 2000; Livingstone, 2006; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2011; Wenger & Lave, 1991), and demands for students to be more self-directed in their study habits (Knowles, 1975). Universities are beginning to provide informal social spaces as a way of 'promoting dialogue' and 'information sharing' (JISC, 2006) often mixing study spaces, IT facilities and places to purchase and consume refreshments (Dugdale & Long, 2007; JISC, 2006; Matthews et al., 2011). The intention in providing these spaces is, in many cases, to promote 'informal learning', which Jameson (2009, p. 18) defines as 'course-related activity undertaken individually and collaboratively on campus that occurs outside the classroom and does not directly involve the classroom teacher'. However, this definition does not include activity that is not directly 'course related' and neglects the important tacit and social aspects of learning and university life. Radloff (1998) proposes a more holistic view where informal spaces form a key component of what he describes as a 'learning ecology' (or community of scholars) that incorporate all the 'dimensions of a student's on-campus existence'. Radloff's (1998) proposed learning ecology includes spaces designed to encourage interaction as well as academic discussion both inside and outside of the classroom (p. 1), and he reflects that inter- and intrapersonal relationships form a vital part of what is now termed the overall 'student experience'. This is echoed by Matthews' (2010; 2011) research, which shows positive links between the provision of social spaces and feelings of belonging and community amongst students. Research indicates that social spaces are valued by students and that well-designed spaces facilitate students forming friendships and extending

personal social networks with peers (Harrop & Turpin, 2013; Matthews et al., 2011). The idea of a 'learning ecology' also resonates strongly with Temple's (2009) discussion of the use of informal social spaces by universities as a way of bridging the concepts of space and place so as to enable students to build 'social capital'.

Literature contrasts the informal spaces that students and staff inhabit (such as social-media platforms or cafés) and the spaces provided by formal university settings (for example university virtual learning environments and classrooms) (Bayne, Gallagher, & Lamb, 2013; Savin-Baden, 2008). Savin-Baden (2008) (drawing on the work of Deleuze and Guattari) talk of 'smooth' and 'striated' learning spaces. Smooth spaces are open, informal and deregulated and take advantage of the affordances of wireless technologies that allow learning activities to take place at any time and in any location. These informal social spaces (for example on Facebook or meeting a friend for coffee) are outside the control of university discipline. In contrast, striated spaces are formal (for example the classroom) and are subject to the disciplinary regimes, power imbalances and institutional conventions inherent in 'official' university life. Savin-Baden (2008) describes the interplay between striated and smooth spaces, noting the disjuncture between the formal and informal and the challenges that attempting to control these spaces may present for pedagogy, identity and legitimacy of knowledge . With these issues notwithstanding, many new university buildings do attempt to integrate informal and formal settings within architectural designs, in the shape of cafés and restaurants and recreational and sporting facilities (Harrison & Hutton, 2014). New university buildings, now commonly include specifically designed spaces that individuals and groups can use for social study and leisure, and non-designated spaces that students and staff can appropriate and make their own (Dugdale & Long, 2007) in an attempt to bridge the formal–informal divide. A number of researchers have argued that viewing formal and informal spaces (and learning) as separate entities (and in some cases as binary opposites) is counterproductive (Boys, 2011; Jamieson, 2003; Wenger, 1998) and that space should not be differentiated in this way. Crook and Mitchell (2012) advocate a middle way, suggesting that the balance should fall 'somewhere between

the recreational and informal spaces of everyday life and the traditionally structured spaces of work and study' (p. 137).

Literature also describes the evolution of the 'learning centre' as many universities' stock response to the need for informal spaces – from basic informal spaces located within the library, to large scale 'computer barns' (sometimes described as 'information commons'), to the development of the current 'learning commons' that combine IT provision with a range of individual and communal spaces (Heitsch & Holley, 2011; Holmgren, 2010; Jamieson, 2009; Turner, Welch, & Reynolds, 2013). Contemporary 'learning commons' designs often combine social learning spaces with centralised student information services and support facilities (Turner et al., 2013). Some of these facilities, for example the Saltire Centre at Glasgow's Caledonian University (GCU), have been designed on a vast scale, and include 'a 600-seat social space and expanded learning café, 1800 non-cellular study spaces and a 'one-stop shop' for all student services' (Hancock & Spicer, 2011, p. 97). While this centralisation and scale may offer the university operational efficiencies and provide a highly visible central hub of activity, it may also have a negative effect on activities and services in other parts of the campus (Jamieson, 2009).

Several authors (Davis, 2005; Dugdale & Long, 2007; Temple, 2009) have emphasised the importance of human scale in the design university spaces. Designed informal social spaces often draw inspiration from the language of architecture and urban planning and the metaphors used to describe these spaces, for example 'learning streets' and 'learning café' (Boys, 2011, p. 19). In the same fashion, the metaphors used for particular spatial layouts often emphasise intimacy, for example 'study nooks', 'study pods' and 'study booths' (Harrison & Hutton, 2014, p. 143). Davis (2005) suggests that human scale could be achieved through concepts such as the 'academic village' and other strategies for 'making the big school [university] feel small' (p. 3). Others suggest that developing underutilised space, such as corridors and other transition spaces, as informal learning areas in existing buildings can be a productive spatial tactic for maximising staff and student interaction (Dugdale & Long, 2007; JISC, 2006).

Finally, literature suggests that informal social spaces might provide a suitable location for students and staff to co-work (Hancock & Spicer, 2011; JISC, 2006; RIBA, 2009a) and that providing a shared working environment in close proximity to discipline-appropriate staff can be motivational for students (Waldock, Rowlett, Cornock, Robinson, & Bartholomew, 2017). This closer proximity may maximise the chance of 'productive meetings between 'resident' staff members and 'visiting' students' occurring (Temple, 2009, p. 213).

3.4 Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter discusses 'the idea of the university' describing how it has been adapted to fit prevailing social, political and economic pressures. Literature suggests that no single overarching conception of the purpose of 'the university' as an institution still exists, yet elements of all previous conceptions are apparent and are being constantly mixed and remixed to meet the demands of a 'supercomplex' and differentiated higher education 'market'.

Literature on the drivers behind recent university building activity was also reviewed focusing on the frequently stated connection between the physical campus and the espoused values of many universities. Literature shows that university buildings have become an important part of 'placemaking' as a differentiation activity and as a way of establishing and solidifying particular aspirational identities. These spatial identities are then 'put to work' as a component of the university brand across a range of marketing activities including the recruitment and retention of staff and students.

Literature on a range of contemporary university spaces for teaching, learning, administration and social activities was reviewed. This section focused on the use of space to respond to changing working requirements within modern universities. Literature illustrates that university spaces have changed in order to meet pressures for efficiency savings and to adapt to changing pedagogies, technologies and management expectations.

The next chapter describes how Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) responded to these drivers, expectations and ideals over the course of a ten-year period of institutional transformation.

4 Case Study: The Brooks Building

Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU), like many other academic institutions, has a very complicated organisational history, derived from the inherited histories of the many smaller colleges that merged and disestablished in order to create a unified system of post-school education in the city of Manchester. Each one of these smaller colleges had their own legacy, identity and buildings, which in turn influenced the cultural and physical identity of the University.

This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section briefly describes Manchester Metropolitan University's (MMU) historic development focusing on some of the political factors that have influenced the organisation's expansion and contraction over time. It describes MMU's origins, growing from the amalgamation of various technical, craft, teaching, catering and engineering training institutions that emerged to service Manchester's industrial growth in the nineteenth century. These smaller training institutions provided an 'innovative municipal system of post-school education' (Fowler & Wyke, 1993, p. 2) for the city. This first section briefly describes the transformation from a disparate group of institutions each with their own individual histories and identities, to a consolidated polytechnic, then finally to the establishment of a university and the moves to develop a distinct identity within the turbulent higher education marketplace of 2017.

The second section documents the ten-year period between 2005–2015, which delimited the period in office of John Brooks as Vice Chancellor (VC) of MMU, and an

ambitious ten-year campus-wide, £350 million campus redevelopment programme. It aims to place the organisational changes in the MMU campus over this period in its political and sociological context, and describes the numerous building major projects (notably the Business School, The School of Art and Design and the Students' Union) culminating in the development of the £140 million Birley Fields campus in Hulme in 2014, and the renaming of the Birley Building as the Brooks Building, which marked the end of Phase 1 of the plan and the retirement of the John Brooks. It is important to contextualise the MMU redevelopment project as part of an ongoing initiative to regenerate this area of Manchester, and to align this with other improvement projects happening in the city, most notably the *Corridor Manchester* initiative, rather than portraying the construction of the new campus as an isolated event. The discussion in this section describes the consolidation of university campuses and the redistribution of academic space as part of a larger urban project, and integral to a larger neoliberal agenda as described in the literature (Brenner & Theodore, 2012; Harvey, 2002).

The third section includes a detailed account of the relocation of the Faculties of Health, Psychology and Social Care and Education to the new Brooks Building including a brief description of the social history of the Birley Fields site in Hulme.

The final section details a walk around the new campus and describes the main characteristics of the public realm, the Brooks Building the main academic block, the student residences and the other structures which form the site.

As a whole, this chapter illustrates the ongoing spatial 'pulses' of building and demolition, expansion and consolidation, of mergers and takeovers that typify the history of MMU. While MMU (even in its pre-university era) has always built and acquired properties, this chapter details the recent increase in activity and positions this as part of the broader narrative of the neoliberalisation of the higher education sector.

4.1 MMU history and background

The origin of Manchester Metropolitan University – like many other ex-polytechnics – can be traced back into the nineteenth century. Its ancestry in numerous earlier

education providers includes Manchester Mechanics' Institution (f. 1824), Manchester School of Design (f. 1834) and a variety of colleges, institutes and schools offering vocational, technical and other post-school education (see a full ancestral diagram in Fowler & Wyke, 1993). Many of these early municipal institutions were provided on a voluntary basis by the city's growing middle classes for a variety of philanthropic, religious and social reasons (Fowler & Wyke, 1993). During the Victorian era, Manchester consolidated its reputation as a world-leading manufacturing base, especially as an important centre for cotton spinning, and because of the abundance of work Manchester's population trebled between 1801 and 1851 (Jones, 1988, p. 47). Institutions such Manchester Mechanics' Institution were founded – in part – in response to economic necessity, in order to provide skilled workers for growing local industry. Similarly, the School of Design's origins were born from the belief that British industry was losing market share to foreign competitors because of a lack of design quality (Fowler & Wyke, 1993). As the commercial reputation of Manchester as a leading industrial city grew in complexity, so did the need for an educated workforce (Jones, 1988), and over time other institutions sprang up in the city. Schools of Commerce (f. 1889), Education (f. 1878) and Domestic Economy and Cookery (f. 1880) emerged over the period (Fowler & Wyke, 1993). Jones (1988) comments that 'increasingly, a trained, perhaps indoctrinated [population] was necessary' (p. 24) to the economic wellbeing of the city of Manchester. Changes to education legislation in Victorian Britain, such as The Elementary Education Act (1870) and The Royal Commission on the Factory Act (1876), reflected growing pressure from enlightened industrialists. These changes reflected the general societal shift in thinking about education as 'a public necessity' rather than 'a public interest' (Jones, 1988, p. 32).

Manchester Polytechnic opened in 1970, formed by a merger of the College of Art and Design, College of Commerce and John Dalton College of Technology into a single institution with 3,500 full time and 6,000 part time students (Fowler & Wyke, 1993). Work began immediately to establish an overarching identity to consolidate the three institutions into single entity. An academic board meeting in 1970 began to define the character of the polytechnic, distinct from that of a university. Alex Smith,

Manchester Polytechnic's first Director, clearly distances the new polytechnic from Newman and Humboldt's philosophical project of 'the idea of the university'.

> (…) a polytechnic is a community of people concerned *not so much with the pursuit of truth and learning* but with the imaginative and creative application of knowledge in the service of society. To achieve this we must therefore establish close partnerships with the various constituents of our society – industry, commerce, the professions, the arts, the town, the district (…) *our educational policy should be equipping students for work in broad vocational spheres* (Alex Smith, cited in Fowler & Wyke, 1993, p. 121)

In 1977, the polytechnic expanded further when the College of Education in Didsbury and Hollings College merged with the existing Manchester Polytechnic, creating the largest polytechnic in the country (Stewart, 1989). McNay (1995) suggests that the shift from polytechnic to university caused a move from *administration* to *management* and consequently a move from a *bureaucratic* model of governance to a *corporate* one for post-92 institutions.

Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) – as it appears today – was established in September 1992, as Manchester Polytechnic became part of the first wave of polytechnics granted university status under the terms of the *Further and Higher Education Act* (1992). The act made these ex-polytechnics and colleges corporate bodies (Stewart, 1989), taking them out of Local Authority control and allowing them degree-awarding powers (Bathmaker, 2003), and almost doubled the number of institutions with title 'University' at a stroke (Scott, 1993). The new university retained elements of the polytechnic's branding, such as the six interlocking spade-irons device (MMU, 2014c) and launched the motto 'Many Arts, Many Skills'. These marketing activities consolidated the idea of an organisation firmly aligned to the practical and vocational rather than the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Between 1992 and 2009, the university continued to develop facilities in a piecemeal fashion across its seven major campus sites, five located in Manchester (Didsbury, Hollings, Aytoun, Elizabeth Gaskell and All Saints), and two in Cheshire (Crewe and Alsager). Over this period, some of these campuses (such as Didsbury) expanded and received considerable investment while others were only maintained (see Table 4-1). Currently, MMU is the fifth largest university in the UK by student numbers (HESA,

2015) and has the second highest number of student applications each year, only behind The University of Manchester (The Complete University Guide, 2018). UK based, full-time undergraduate students make up most of MMU's population (HESA, 2015). The university is a member of University Alliance, whose membership is drawn from 'technical and professional universities' (University Alliance, 2018, p. 1) with the aim of supporting economic growth in the city of Manchester and surrounding regions. Alliance members have a particular focus on linking with business and industry, providing support through applied research partnerships (University Alliance, 2018). Vocational education and civic engagement have deep historical significance to the core values of MMU, and these ideas have passed through numerous institutional incarnations but remain integral to 'the idea of MMU'.

4.2 The campus masterplan: a ten-year project

2005 was a pivotal year in UK Higher Education; universities were coming to terms with the implications of the *2004 Education Act*, which detailed major changes in funding for universities and allowed the introduction of variable fees for undergraduate programmes. It was also an important year for Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU); John Brooks became Vice-Chancellor (VC) taking over the position from Dame Alexandra Burslem (in office 1997–2005). Before joining MMU, Brooks had previously been Vice-Chancellor at the University of Wolverhampton (1997–2005) were he had overseen the *New Horizons* campus redevelopment project. The key objectives of this master planning exercise were to consolidate the university's estate, provide a statement building with a 'strong visual impact' (Magennis & Hammond, 2005, p. 3) and to improve space usage and efficiency. In order to achieve this goal, the campus in Dudley was closed, the faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Science was brought into the city centre and the construction of a large multipurpose building called the Millennium City Building was commissioned (Magennis & Hammond, 2005). Through the *New Horizons* project, Brooks hoped to 'to change the face of higher education in the city, and the skyline of Wolverhampton' (University of Wolverhampton, 2012). It is clear that Brooks was appointed in order to effect similar changes at MMU. At the point when John Brooks became Vice-Chancellor of MMU, a refurbishment and campus consolidation

programme was already underway. Long before his arrival, the 2001/2002 MMU annual report had announced the imminent construction of a new School of Law stating that 'the landmark [All Saints West] building signals the first phase of the University's estate strategy *to centralise on the All Saints campus within the next ten years*' (2001, p. 24). In 2005, as part of this ongoing strategy, the £42 million John Dalton science and engineering 'campus' was officially opened by the Science Minister, Lord Sainsbury. This was followed shortly after by the opening of the new Headquarters for the Science Learning Centre North West based on the Didsbury campus, consolidating MMU's teacher training provision (MMU, 2005). However, even these initiatives should be considered a continuation of earlier consolidation and improvement strategies. Most notable of these was the unrealised *Manchester Education Precinct* project dating back to the early 1960s, which was a wide-ranging plan to redevelop the area along Oxford Road as a distinctive 'educational zone' (Brook, 2016).

In 2006, MMU VC John Brooks announced a new £250 million pound master plan for campus redevelopment that 'rationalised' the seven existing campuses down to three (this would later be reduced to two) (see Table 4-1). This included the announcement of a new Business School, and a feasibility study for remodelling the main city centre All Saints campus and the satellite Didsbury campus in suburban South Manchester, which housed the Faculty of Education. A consultation process with Didsbury residents was initiated to discuss the £20 million plan to expand the Didsbury campus to unite 'provision for teachers, nurses, social workers, psychologists and other health care professionals' (Kagan & Duggan, 2010b, p. 6) in what was described as a 'Campus for the Professions' (MMU, 2007a, p. 13). The rationale for this expansion was strongly linked to that of market expectation and the 'management of change' and was as a response to 'the changing … needs of learners, expectations of funders, staff circumstances and external environment' (MMU, 2006, p. 1). The MMU Annual Report 2005/2006 leads with John Brook's introduction of the new MMU Strategic Plan (2006, p. 1), which would later be distilled into the MMU 20/20 Vision institutional Strategic Plan 2007–2020. This identifies a number of challenges prompting investment 'in a university truly fit for the 21st century'. The

challenges listed include: a more competitive and diversified market; research funding selectivity with a move toward third stream income; and current over-reliance on HEFCE teaching funding. At the heart of this discourse is the clear message that proposed improvements to the physical campus and improvements to 'service delivery' would 'act as a catalyst for organisational and system changes' (p. 1) . In particular, the report stressed that 'the real long-term benefits will come from changes in culture and operation' (p. 1). By the Annual Report 2006/2007, these strategic goals were articulated as a plan to become the 'leading university for world-class professionals' (MMU, 2007b, p. 1), a phrase that became the university's marketing strapline.

In Autumn 2007 the MMU board agreed its *2020 vision* for the University, reiterating the goal that 'all of our courses, our services and our facilities are fit for the 21st century' (MMU, 2007a). The proposed changes to the physical estate are legitimated in the 20/20 vision as integral to the university's ability to raise academic and service quality standards, and to act as a marketing differentiator (MMU, 2007a). As a result of the master plan, Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios (FCBS) were appointed as architects for the new £65 million pound Business School, a £45 million pound investment was announced in the School of Art and Design and the Hollings Faculty was accommodated within the All Saints Campus. The 2006/2007 annual report reiterated the university's commitment to the expansion of the Didsbury campus, reporting on the ongoing consultation with the residents about the proposed £20 million investment in the campus. Table 4-1 below shows the key events in MMU's ten-year campus redevelopment project.

Year	Campus Development	Wider context
2005	**March: John Dalton science and engineering 'campus' opens (£49 million)** **May: New Headquarters for the Science Learning Centre North West opens at the Didsbury campus**	John Brooks becomes Vice-Chancellor (VC), taking over from Dame Alexandra Burslem (1997 – 2005).
2006	£250 million campus redevelopment plan announced. MMU announce investment in 'a Campus for the Professions' at its Didsbury campus	Consultation with Didsbury residents over enlarged campus proposals begins
2007	Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios (FCBS) are appointed as architects for the new Business School. £45 million pound investment is announced in the School of Art and Design	MMU board agrees its 2020 vision for the University. Talks break down with Didsbury residents causing rethink of location
2008	£72 million plan for a new city centre building to house the Faculties of Education and Health, Psychology and Social Care is announced	Estates strategy linked to new standards of environmental sustainability and gaining effective community engagement
2009	Estates Rationalisation Programme announces the reduction of seven campuses to two Masterplan for Birley Fields campus site is approved **Contemporary Arts Centre at Crewe Cheshire campus opens (£6 million)** Dec: Sheppard Robson appointed as architects for the Birley Fields project	Sheppard Robson winner of the Architect's Journal 'Most Sustainable Practice' Lord Browne appointed by Peter Mandelson to conduct a review into HE Funding and Student Finance
2010	**Completion of the Exercise and Sport Science Facility at the Crewe campus announced (£10 million)**	The Browne Report (aka Securing a Sustainable future for higher education) is published
2011	Feb: Planning application for Brooks Building academic block. Work starts on new School of Art and Design	
2012	Land acquisition for Birley Fields project completed. **Business School and Student Hub opens (£75 million)**	
2013	Planning permission received for new Students Union Building Feb: Planning Permission for new Birley campus student accommodation. Building work begins on new Birley Campus including Brooks Building **April: Architects Feilden, Clegg and Bradley Studio's (FCBS) School of Art and Design (Benzie Building) is completed (£45 million)**	Campus Masterplan review to scope out work for the period 2014 – 2024
2014	**October: Birley Fields campus official opening ceremony (£140 million)**	School of Art and Design, (Benzie Building) shortlisted for RIBA Stirling Prize. MMU named RIBA Client of the Year
2015	March: the Birley Building renamed the 'Brooks Building'	John Brooks retires as VC
2016		John Brooks named Honorary Fellow of the RIBA and awarded honorary degree from MMU

Table 4-1: Showing key campus redevelopment projects and their context between 2005–2016

This section has illustrated the considerable campus regeneration activity that MMU instigated prior to the commencement of developing the Brooks Building on the Birley Fields site (see Figure 4-1 and Figure 4-2). Many of the spatial ideas that came to define the Brooks Building were 'piloted' in the earlier Business School and School of Art and Design. Examples include the large atrium and social space located beside their entrances, the visibility of staff in their workspaces and the shared staff office spaces (albeit on a much smaller scale than Brooks).
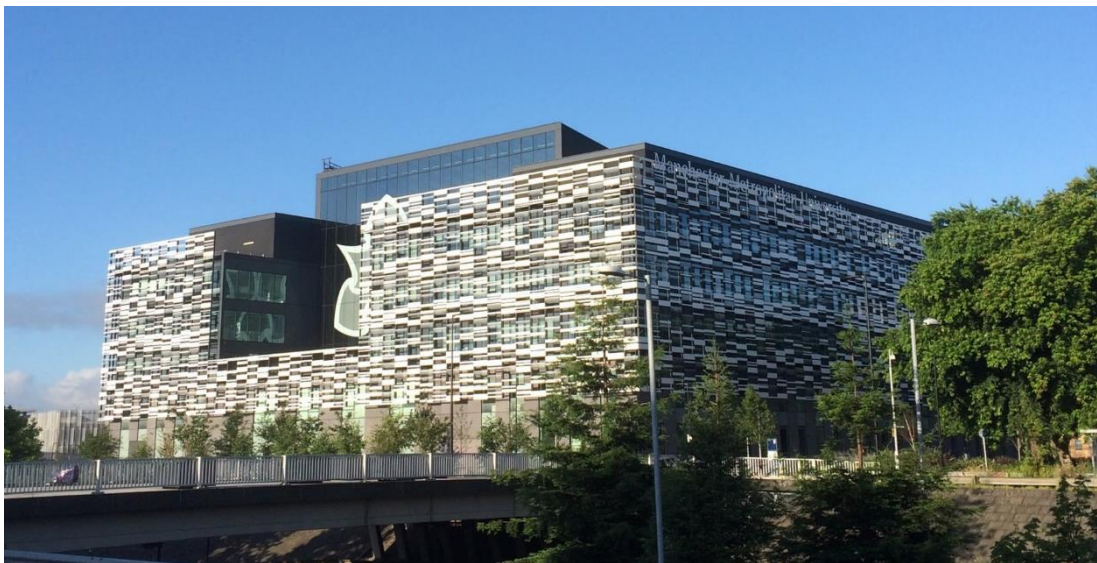
Figure 4-1: Completed Brooks Building, looking west over the Princess Parkway arterial road

Figure 4-2: Image shows view of the Brooks Building looking east across the public realm.

'MMU Birley Fields Campus, Hulme' is copyright (c) John Lord - CC BY-SA 3.0,
https://www.flickr.com/photos/yellowbookltd/19937791750

The following section describes the events leading up to the occupation of the Brooks Building in the summer of 2014.

4.3 Developing the Birley Fields Campus

By 2008 MMU's priorities and emphasis had shifted. There was a breakdown in the consultation process about the expansion of the Didsbury campus due to local residents' concerns about parking and the number of students already in the area. Plans for extending the existing site were scrapped, and a statement was released explaining that the existing Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell satellite campuses would close, and the staff and students would be relocated to a new purpose-built facility in the city centre. MMU announced:

> (…) a £72 million plan for a new city centre campus to house the Faculty of Health, Psychology and Social Care and the prestigious Institute of Education. (MMU, 2008a, p. 13)

Stating that 'an investment of £300 million in infrastructure will ensure that the University offers high-quality learning and research in all its locations' (p. 13). The purpose-built campus in Hulme, and the already commissioned Business School and School of Art and Design, are described as 'the largest physical change to its estate in 170 years' (p. 13). In 2009, John Brooks wrote an article entitled '*A eureka moment: go local*' for the *Times Higher Education* explaining the change in direction.

> After two years of failing to persuade Didsbury's middle classes that a further development of our campus in the leafy and wealthy suburbs of South Manchester was in their best interests, I was driving home through Hulme when a thought struck me. I parked my car at the roadside of an undeveloped brownfield site I now know as Birley Fields, and imagined an Education and Health campus located there, where disadvantaged communities would have access to it. (Brooks, 2009, para 1)

Shortly after this event, John Brooks met with members of Manchester City Council (MCC) to explore the possibility of locating an integrated 'community campus' (John McAslan + Partners, 2009, p. 9) accommodating 6,000 teacher training and health professionals on the site. It transpired that the site was vacant and was part of the council's long-term redevelopment plans for the Hulme district of Manchester. An agreement was reached and the land was transferred without charge to MMU by

Manchester City Council for development, although the reported value of the pocket of land was £10 million (Hunt, 2010; MMU, 2010). The narrative of John Brook's much repeated story of relocating the campus from a middle class area to a disadvantaged community conceals a gentrification process through which the community of Hulme is reduced to the status of a 'tabla rasa' on which to project a new vision of the future.

The area proposed for the campus was a 'brownfield' site, sometimes described as 'previously developed land', earmarked for redevelopment since the 1990s. It was an area that had seen a lot of change, in the 1800s there had been some residential housing on the site surrounded by open space. By the 1940s dense, terrace style, accommodation had been built on the site, which was demolished in the 1960s to make way for modern low-rise flats next to the notorious Hulme Crescents (the largest public housing scheme in Europe at that time). The Crescents became a case study for the problems associated with the combination of brutalist architecture and social housing (Hulme Views Project, 1994) and featured in a number of TV documentaries on the subject (Beckham, 1978; Curtis, 1984). Although the area suffered from high crime rates and was described as 'a mugger's paradise' (Napier, 2010), during the 1980s it became a setting for the city's counterculture, attracting artists, musicians and political activists. The flats had a short lifespan, completed in 1972 and finally demolished in 1993 along with the deck-access flats on the Birley site itself, after which the site lay empty. According to the Impact Assessment commissioned by MMU and Manchester City Council, the Birley Fields site was under used by the public, with 'very little amenity value or utility to the local community' and was the site of much anti-social behaviour (Peter Brett Associates, 2015, p. 6). For some the plot of land was a derelict brownfield site, for others it was an 'urban meadow teeming with biodiversity' and an asset to the local community (Nzeribe, 2011) with significant value to a number of residents (Manchester Green Party, 2011; Mule & Squires, 2009). The physical central location of Birley Fields, close to universities, hospitals and the city centre and its proximity to the Princess Parkway (a main arterial road into Manchester) were seen as particular attractions. It was hoped that the development of this site would act as a prominent part of Hulme's

'public face' and act as a 'marketing tool' attracting further development to the area (Manchester City Council, 2006, p. 2).

The emphasis in the Annual Review for 2007/2008 was on the campus development's green credentials, sustainability and a promised positive influence on community and regional regeneration (MMU, 2008a). The plans included a commitment to make the campus one of the most sustainable in the UK with substantial open space and an ambition to produce zero waste, water and carbon (John McAslan + Partners, 2009). However, the proposals and the way in which MMU acquired the site were debated by community groups and the local branch of the Green Party.

> I question why Manchester City Council is so keen to allow MMU to profit from land that morally shouldn't even belong to them. They allowed Birley Fields in Hulme to be built over, to the detriment of the local community – on land that also belonged to the people (Manchester Green Party, 2017, para 2)

In June 2009, the Birley Fields and Hulme Strategic Development Framework (SDF) for the Birley site, developed by John McAslan + Partners, gained approval from Manchester City Council for the creation of a community Campus on Birley Fields in Hulme. The McAslan document contextualised the MMU Birley Fields development as part of much larger regional, sub-regional and local regeneration and knowledge capital initiatives spanning more than a decade (see John McAslan + Partners, 2009, p. 6). The SDF included a design proposal for the site and detailed planning work that considered its implications on urban zoning, transport links and the local community; it also considered how the Birley concept might integrate with the existing MMU Masterplan. Although thorough in technical terms the masterplanning and the public consultation were criticised at the time for being at 'the tokenistic end of a spectrum of public participation' (Kagan & Duggan, 2010b, p. 22) and for side-lining the views of the 'silent majority, and members of a wide range of interest and "outcast" communities' (p. 22).

Key to both the proposal for the new MMU 'super-campus' (Welch, 2014), and its support from Manchester City Council, was the principle that the development would bring greater prosperity to the local Hulme community. It anticipated that this would happen in a number of ways, directly in terms of employment for locals in the

construction of the campus, and employment within it, but also as a trickledown effect bringing the spending power of students, staff and other MMU employees into the local economy. As part of this process MMU and Manchester City Council commissioned planning consultants Roger Tym & Partners (now part of Peter Brett Associates) to carry out an impact assessment of the proposed campus on the local community (John McAslan + Partners, 2009; Peter Brett Associates, 2015). This exercise included the preparation of a 2009 'baseline profile' for Hulme and neighbouring Moss Side, against which a range of economic, social and educational indicators would be measured at intervals to assess the impact of the development.

In December 2009, Sheppard Robson were announced as project architects, they took over the master planning responsibilities and proceeded to develop a detailed design scheme. Sheppard Robson had recently won the Architect's Journal 'Most Sustainable Practice' award and had produced a scheme with a 'vision for inspiring teaching and research space that connects with local communities and supports environmental sustainability' (MMU, 2009). Architects Sheppard Robson were selected because of a 'strong reputation in eco-design' (MMU, 2009); however, they were well known for their work in the higher education sector having completed major projects locally for The University of Manchester (for example The Alan Gilbert Learning Commons and the Alan Turing Building). They also had a design track record working with MMU stretching back decades, having completed the Geoffrey Manton Building (1996) and earlier work on the Manchester Polytechnic Development Plan (1972), which had first suggested a consolidated institution around Grosvenor Square (now known as the All Saints Campus) (Fowler & Wyke, 1993, p. 133). There then followed a further design consultation with senior staff and a community engagement exercise before the detailed planning application was lodged. Planning approvals were sought for the academic block (what would be later be named The Brooks Building), student residences, an energy centre, multi-storey carpark and landscaping works to the public realm.

The building work on the Birley Fields site started in August 2012, continuing until the summer of 2014 with architects Capita Symonds taking over the detailed design phase (RIBA stage E) from Sheppard Robson. Between the start and completion date

MMU engaged in a range of public relations and community engagement activities including formal and informal meetings with staff and unions to prepare for the relocation of students and staff. A number of Birley Fields newsletters were published and distributed to inform residents, schools, shops and community groups about the progress and potential disruption caused by the building work. The newsletters emphasised the potential benefits of the new campus to the local Hulme, and neighbouring Moss Side, economies highlighting employment and educational opportunities.

Staff were to be relocated to the new campus from two satellite campuses. The Didsbury campus, home to the Faculty of Education, was located in the affluent suburb of Didsbury in South Manchester, seven kilometres from the city centre, and the Elizabeth Gaskell campus, home to the Faculty of Health Psychology and Social Care, in the Ardwick area of the city. Each of these campuses had a unique character and both had expanded over time as a result of continually changing educational demands. Both sites contained a variety of buildings types of different ages and styles, some of which had been purpose built for teaching and others appropriated for that use.

The Didsbury campus was situated in landscaped parkland characteristic of the area, which had once belonged to a wealthy Manchester family. The campus had a long tradition of teacher training, from its roots as a theological college to its use as a post-war emergency teacher training facility. The site became Didsbury Teacher Training College (1951–1963) before becoming Didsbury College of Education (1963–1978) and eventually combining with Manchester Polytechnic (Pickard, 2016, p. 3). The site of the main campus buildings fell within the Didsbury St James conservation area and featured a number of notable buildings including the Grade II* listed administration building (see Figure 4-3) and the Grade II listed red brick chapel.

Figure 4-3: The main administration and staff accommodation building on the Didsbury campus

'Didsbury Campus, Manchester Metropolitan University' is copyright (c) Rept0n1x - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27166335. Image shows

The site had been added to intermittently from the 1960s to the 2000s with the last major addition, the Headquarters for the Science Learning Centre North West in 2005 (see Table 4-1). The site was sold to property developers J P Livesey to create ninety new residential properties, more than half of which are described as 'superhomes' designed 'to cater for buyers spending £1m and above' (J P Livesey, 2018).

The Elizabeth Gaskell Campus, unlike the Didsbury campus, occupied a city centre location immediately adjacent to the Central Manchester Hospital Trust. Notable buildings on the site included the impressive red brick 1912 College of Domestic Economy building and two attractive, non-listed, villas, Brook House and Shepherd's House that fall within the northern bounds of the Victoria Park Conservation Area (Manchester City Council, 2016). The remainder of the buildings on the site were built between 1960–1963 to accommodate a rapid increase in student numbers and are described by Fowler and Wyke (1993, p. 90) as 'a collection of characterless rectangular buildings'. Although the site retained some garden space surrounding the

two villas, much of the space was densely filled. The site was later sold by MMU to Nuffield Health as a site for a new hospital and wellbeing centre (Jupp, 2014).

Moving almost 500 staff from the two satellite locations to the new campus was a complex undertaking. However, in addition to the logistical difficulties, another issue for MMU management was making sure the building was fit for use on entry. To this end, MMU adopted the Building Services Research and Information Systems Association's (BSRIA's) 'Soft Landings' framework (BSRIA, 2018). The main aim of the framework was to reduce the prospect of a 'performance gap between the design intention as interpreted by the design team and the operational expectations of the client' (Universities UK, 2015a, p. 31). The ethos of Soft Landings is in stakeholder engagement throughout the design and commissioning process, and by doing this successfully, to manage expectations of the users of the buildings (Universities UK, 2015). In addition to design briefings with senior university staff, expectations were managed in several ways including a display of the prototype staff workstations in the Didsbury campus and a series of staff 'hard-hat visits' to the Birley construction site.

The main academic building was officially opened on October 1st 2014, although staff began moving in from July that year (MMU, 2013a). The next section describes the campus, focusing on a 'walkthrough' of the Brooks Building.

4.4 The new campus design in detail

The buildings comprising the Birley Campus are laid out around the edge of a central plaza area, referred to as 'the public realm'. The main academic block – The Brooks Building – is set to the eastern edge of the site so that the main entrance is accessed from the plaza and its rear face with prominent branding faces toward the Princess Parkway (one of Manchester's main arterial roads) (see Figure 4-4).

Figure 4-4: View looking west towards the Brooks Building from Princess Parkway showing large-scale MMU logo applied to glazing

Surrounding the plaza at each edge are four blocks (H–K, see Figure 4-5) of student residences providing over 900 student beds: these blocks help to delineate the extent of the site. There is a further site directly over the parkway and opposite the main academic building that is currently empty, but has planning approval for a fifth block of student dwellings (see block E in Figure 4-5). Additionally, the site contains the Energy Centre which generates 'combined heat and power with bore holes providing natural, untreated water to heat and cool the buildings and supply the campus' (MMU, 2013a) and a multi-storey carpark with spaces for 400 staff cars.

The public realm includes a paved plaza and a series of diagonal paved paths leading out on to the main local thoroughfares. In the central area at the front of the academic building is a large raised lawn surrounded on all sides by steps envisaged as informal seating. A number of mature trees have been retained from the existing Birley Fields site, and these sit strategically around the perimeter of the site. The public realm also includes a number of fixed polished concrete bench seats with a further run of fixed benches and tables to the side of the building next to the canteen facilities to enable outdoor dining – weather permitting.

Figure 4-5: Map showing adjacencies of new campus buildings

The main academic block, the Brooks Building (see 17 on the map), provides 24,900 square metres of teaching accommodation and space for almost 7,000 students and over 400 staff from the faculties of Education and Health (Peter Brett Associates, 2015). The drawings for the main academic building show a square plan divided into named areas for general teaching, specialist teaching, research and enterprise, catering, student support, shared student resources, administration and technical support, a sports hall, circulation and back of house activities. The building is four storeys in height with a large atrium in the front rising through all four stories. Externally the building is 'veiled' with glazed white ceramic and fritted glass panels 'which change in density across the facade and lift to reveal the community-accessible spaces on the ground floor' (Sheppard Robson, 2015, p. 28). On entering the building through the revolving doors, students, staff and visitors are met with a reception desk and Student Hub. To the right is the main social area of the building, a series of timber steps and platforms with seating, named the 'Spanish Steps' (see Figure 4-6).

Figure 4-6: view of the 'Spanish Steps' the main social area of the Brooks Building

To the left is a café space looking out over the plaza area with a refreshments counter and a mixture of cafeteria style and soft seating. Beyond the reception to the right is a specialist performance area for trainee teachers specialising in Drama and a series of four-person informal study booths. To the left are two consultation pods belonging to the Student Hub. Behind the pods sits a large 60–70 seat, open-plan office housing the shared administrative support for the two faculties (including programme staff). The circulation route leads around the ground floor moving past four glass-fronted lifts, which connect the space vertically, four lecture theatres and three 40-person classrooms. At the rear of the building are changing facilities and a multipurpose hall designed for sports activity, but equipped with retractable seating for 250 students. Moving towards the front of the building are the main catering facilities and seating for diners. In addition, there are a series of informal seating areas spread across the main glazed frontage of the building.

At the top of the Spanish Steps on the first floor, to the right, are several glass-fronted classrooms and beyond these, a large open-plan staff office for Faculty of Education staff. This space contains a staff kitchen, several bookable private office spaces, the management suite, management services and a 'hot-desking' office. On the left-hand

side are more classroom spaces and various bookable, glass-fronted, rooms designed to accommodate between two and ten persons. Also on this floor are the offices of ESRI (Education & Social Research Institute), RIHSC (Research Institute for Health & Social Change), the Postgraduate Research Centre and the building's IT support team. At the top of the Spanish Steps is the main student open access computing provision (see Figure 4-7) the central stairwell and bookable meeting rooms/pods of various capacities.

The second floor contains multiple teaching spaces, group working areas and specialist rooms for trainee teachers specialising in Art and Design and Music. It also contains the main student resource area with space to work for over 100 students and provides social zones and swipe card controlled offices for Education faculty staff.
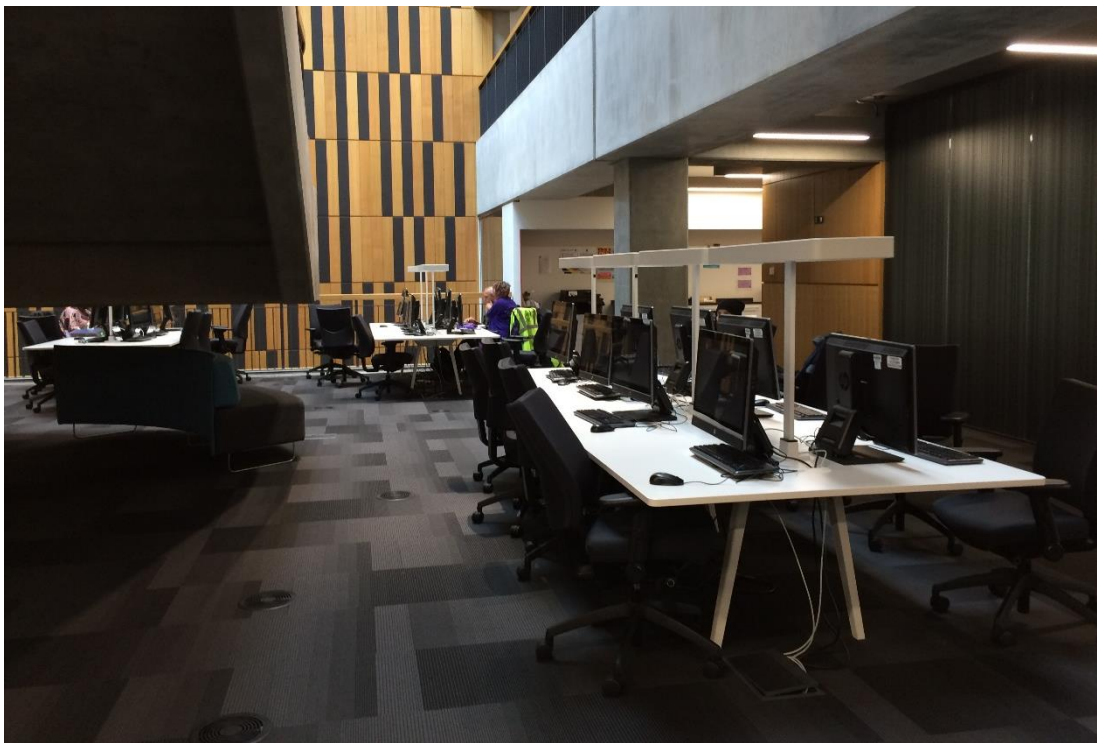
Figure 4-7: Open access computer provision on the first floor of the Brooks Building

The third floor of the building is shared between the two faculties. Like the previous floor the space contains general and specialist teaching rooms, open-plan offices for staff and social zones. This floor also includes clinical teaching rooms, Speech Pathology and Psychology laboratories and testing rooms for the Faculty of Health,

Psychology and Social Care. It also houses specialist spaces for the Faculty of Education including Food Technology and Textiles Technology rooms.

The fourth and final floor of the building is also shared between the two faculties. This floor contains specialist clinical spaces for Physiotherapy and Nursing, laboratory classrooms for Physics, Chemistry and Biology Education and the Centre for STEM Education North West. It also contains a large open-plan office shared between staff of the two faculties.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a contextual overview of the MMU development strategy positioning it in terms of the institution's history and relating its current growth to earlier campus expansions and contractions. While the current development of MMU should be considered in relation to historic context, this chapter has highlighted the recent acceleration in building work and the rapid pace with which MMU's physical estate has changed. These changes have had a profound effect on the physical space of Hulme and there have been concerns expressed by the local residents about the influence that the new campus may have on the community. Concerns were raised that the campus would have a negative effect on the traditional working class demographic of the area citing the 'studentification' of other areas of the city. There were also worries that minority voices in the community were not given adequate weight in the consultation; that the development did not take into account the spatial practice of local residents; and that the development would essentially erase the shared amenity of the Birley site as a communal space and a rich seam of community history.

The following chapter details the methodology and research design, and describes the data collection methods used to analyse the *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* spaces of the Brooks Building.

5 Methodology

In this chapter, the methodological considerations that have informed the research design of this study are outlined. The aim of this chapter is to provide a clear overview of the research process in order to show the rigour of the three analyses undertaken. The chapter begins with a discussion about the chosen methodology, describing the philosophical underpinning of this study, starting with the ontological, epistemological and axiological positioning in relation to the research methods used. The chapter also reflects on the strengths and weaknesses of the particular approaches taken and the ethical issues involved with carrying out research in one's own workplace. The collection of the documentary sources, interview and photographic data used in this study are described in detail, with a discussion of how this was combined to enable a detailed case study to be constructed of the Brooks Building. This case study focused on its design, occupation and use from managerial and staff perspectives. A substantial part of this chapter is used to introduce the three analysis techniques used in this research: dispositive analysis; thematic analysis; and photographic analysis. This research uses Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad (see Chapter 2) as an overarching analytical framework. Additionally, the thesis also draws on the work of Michel Foucault to give a closer reading of the relationship between space and power – especially when considering the *conceived space* of university management and their architects (see Section 2.1). Also important is the work of Michel de Certeau in analysing the *lived space* of university life. De Certeau's

writing emphasises 'agency, resistance and subjectivity' and is used as a counterpoint to Foucault's rejection of the subject.

5.1 Philosophical underpinning

As a fundamental starting point, this thesis proposes that social reality is not objective, but is brought into being and given life by human beings assigning meaning to the world around them, and as such there is no single 'truth'. In other words reality is broadly subjective in nature and the 'product of individual consciousness' (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 7) and as a result is interpreted and reinterpreted. However, this does not mean that there is no shared understanding of the world and that reality and knowledge are free from impact of societal power relations. This research also recognises the structural influence of language, non-verbal communication (including the creation of images) and physical artefacts in constructing and stabilising perceptions of reality.

This research takes a resolutely qualitative approach, recognising the subjective nature of the study and embracing a critical – interpretivist world-view. Cohen and colleagues (2007, p. 21) explain that 'the central endeavour of the of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the subjective world of the human experience'. Data collected during this research is particularly subjective, from the individual perspectives of interview participants to the selection of documents and the composition and choice of photographs. Each of these data sources were analysed and interpreted from the unique standpoint of an individual researcher. It was not the aim to quantify or generalise from the results of the research, only to use the findings to develop a rich picture of a particular university undergoing radical spatial transformation.

Underpinning this research is the belief that the study of human communication is important in order to investigate knowledge as a social construction. Human communication is essential to the transmission of meaning through time, and enables us to shape the world that we live in (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). When organisations and individuals communicate, they do so by drawing on assumptions and commonly accepted knowledge in order to make statements that others will

comprehend. This research focuses on the relationship between institutional language, the material world and the apparatus of power and knowledge.

This thesis uses the work of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault as a theoretical basis for unpicking the relationship between language, space and materiality in the construction of knowledge (see Chapter 2). Lefebvre's spatial triad of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space is used as a framework and a structuring device for this thesis to facilitate a rounded analysis of MMU's campus space. However, in drawing together the theories of Lefebvre and Foucault methodological tensions arise over the importance of the 'subject' to the construction of knowledge. Shields (1999) highlights Lefebvre's interest in both 'discourses *on* space' (p. 146), evident in the plans and designs of architects, and the 'discourses *of* space' (p. 146) as told through everyday lived experience. For Lefebvre (1991b) the 'actions of subjects both individual and collective' (p. 33) are important in understanding the sensual perception and personal qualitative readings of the world. However, for Foucault, subjective meanings derived from individual experience can be a smokescreen and may not be able to provide reliable testimony to a wider reality.

This research shares Foucault's view that discourse is a fundamental building block in the process of meaning making, and can be considered a primary component in the production of 'subjects and reality' (Jäger & Maier, 2009). However, this is complemented by an individual perspective. Discourse, for Foucault, is mediated by human action but positioned within a broader historical, political and social context, and as such, its analysis is useful in exposing the nature of 'truth' and knowledge at a given point.

> The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the workings of institutions that appear to be both neutral and independent, to criticize and attack them in such a manner that the political violence that has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight against them (Chomsky & Foucault, 2011, p. 49)

This thesis is concerned with not just 'what is said' about university buildings, but how they are used, their symbolic and cultural meaning, and the affordances that the spatial configuration of buildings impose. This range of interests introduces a number

of problems in terms of methodology, theory and philosophical approach. These are discussed in detail in the forthcoming sections, drawing on the theoretical insights of Henri Lefebvre for conceiving space as a social product and Michel Foucault for extending the analysis of discourse – through the idea of the dispositive (*dispositif*) – to include a spatial dimension. The use of the dispositive (described in Section 5.5.1) allows the constructs of reality and knowledge creation to be conceived as a combination of discursive practices (language, text, and writing), non-discursive practices (actions) and materialisations (physical objects).

This thesis is concerned with two main issues. First, how university leaders exercise the power of architectural space to construct strategically beneficial identities. Second, how university staff produce their own spaces through everyday practices and how these tactical spaces negotiate institutional strategy. It is also interested in the influence particular spaces have on academic labour, and in turn, the effect that corporate university environments have on perceptions of professional identity and the resulting culture in universities. Burrell and Morgan (1979) propose that there are two diametrically opposed conceptions of society; the first, a regulatory perspective where society is governed by unified and interrelated forces; the second, a perspective of radical change where society is in permanent conflict as individuals fight to resist domination. This research is rooted in the second of these camps, with the hope that this perspective will generate fresh insights.

This investigation is concerned with examining the beliefs of groups of people engaged in a variety of activities working toward superficially similar organisational goals. Within this organisational system, workers are employed in a range of positions that focus on a variety of specialist tasks within the university. Academic, academic-related, management, facilities, administrative and many other roles are necessary for the smooth running of a modern university.

Because this research is rooted in the study of shared phenomena and societal interaction, it acknowledges that reality is a social construct with multiple interpretations only accessible by understanding conventions such as language and shared meaning (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Analysis of shared meaning in this case

required employees of a university to talk in detail about their thoughts, feelings and interactions with the buildings in which they work – this is naturally highly subjective. In addition, the focus of this research is dictated by the examination of the built environment to establish patterns of use and the design intent of management forces. It was apparent from the outset that the majority of data would be drawn from participant interviews (in order to establish the individual perspective) and a corpus of official web and print documents (in order to establish management intent). Consideration was also made of a wide range of other data sources including photographs, architectural drawings and observations of the physical environment itself. The research required a methodology flexible enough to deal with data from written and spoken sources but, at the same time, allow other non-text sources to be accommodated (see Section 5.5).

5.2 Research questions

This section describes the relationship between the thesis chapter structure, the research questions and analysis techniques used. This thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

> RQ1: How do the conceived spaces of a new university building influence institutional identity?

> RQ2: How do the spatial practices of everyday university life affect staff perceptions of identity, productivity and wellbeing?

> RQ3: How and why do staff express personal and professional identity in university spaces?

Figure 5-1 illustrates where in the thesis research each question is specifically dealt with and how they fit together. Viewed holistically, Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8 create an institutional case study bringing together the three moments of Lefebvre's spatial triad of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space as individual analytical chapters alongside Chapter 4, which gives a contextual overview of MMU's campus redevelopment project.
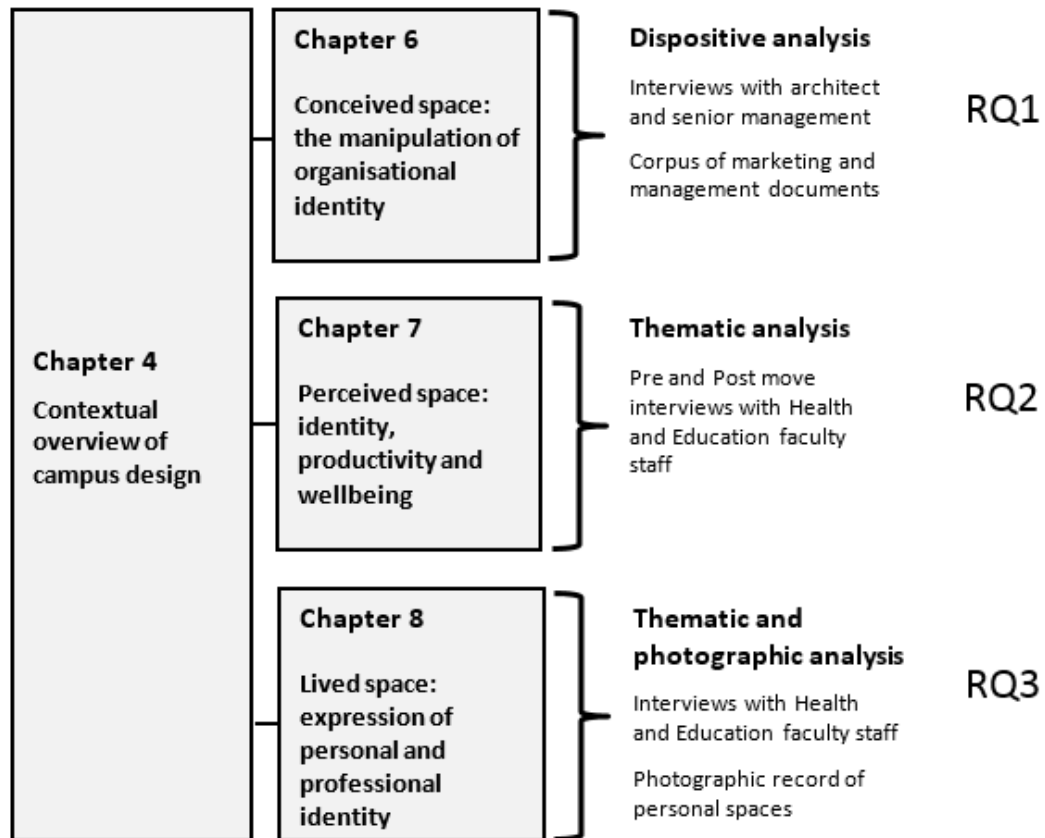
Figure 5-1: Diagrammatic representation of thesis structure, research questions and analysis methods

5.3 Institutional case study approach

This research created a detailed case study that focuses on Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU), a post-92 university in the North West of England. Its objective is to capture the complexity of an organisation undergoing a period of significant philosophical, managerial and architectural change, and in doing so document the effect that these changes have had on institutional, professional and social identity. Creswell describes a case as 'a bounded system or the object of study', with these boundaries often delineated by 'time and place' (1998, p. 244). In this research, the case describes the period between 2008 and 2014 when Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) was implementing the final phase of its ten-year campus redevelopment strategy. This project culminated in the design and construction of a new campus for the Faculties of Education and Health, Psychology and Social Care in the Birley Fields area of Hulme. The centrepiece of this development is the main academic block known as the Brooks Building (see Chapter 4).

This research uses the case study approach as a 'meta-method' (Johansson, 2003) allowing the combination of a number of research strategies and data sources (Creswell, 1998), drawing together 'a palette of methods' (Stake, 1995, pp. xi–xii). In this case, these strategies included dispositive analysis, thematic analysis, and thematic photographic analysis. The data used in this research were gained from documents, interviews, and photographs. These methods enabled a detailed picture to be constructed, focusing on different facets of organisational identity (institutional, collective and personal) and their relationships to a specific built environment. Each of these individual data analysis strategies is described in detail later in the chapter (see Section 5.5).

Stake (2003, p. 136) identifies three types of case study: *intrinsic*, *instrumental* and *collective. Intrinsic* case studies are undertaken to gain a better understanding of a particular case, *instrumental* case studies often take a supporting role to extend understanding of a larger subject and *collective* case studies are used where a number of case studies are compared to better understand a particular phenomenon. This research takes an *instrumental* approach, using the case to understand the role of the Brooks Building in the formation of new, managerially-approved social, professional and institutional identities within the university workplace. Literature suggests that case studies are particularly useful for illuminating and capturing the complexity of a particular situation (Stake, 2003; Yin, 2011) or getting close to a particular phenomenon (Johansson, 2003), with the goal of improving understanding (Stake, 1995). Moreover, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) remark on the particular 'resonance between case studies and interpretive methodologies' (2007, p. 253).

The case study approach is sometimes criticised for its lack of generalisability, although Stake and Trumbull (1982, p. 1) argue that while broader generalisation may not be possible, in some cases it is possible to make a 'naturalistic generalisation' where readers are able to 'recognise essential similarities to cases of interest to them', especially where comparisons are 'implicit rather than explicit'. This research does not attempt to make broader comparisons with other institutions, but rather uses the presented socio-spatial case study of Manchester Metropolitan University's

recent building programme to exemplify particular dominant discourses and that institution's responses to them.

5.4 Data collection methods

The data used in this research come from three sources: documents, interviews and photographic images. This section describes in detail why each set of data was selected, how each was collected, and its limitations within the context of the research. Table 5-1 sets out the three research questions showing where the data for each originates and positions each question against the type of analysis used.

Research Question	Data types	Analysis type
RQ1: How do the conceived spaces of a new university building influence institutional identity?	**Documents:** including a web corpus of marketing and dissemination material from MMU and the project architect, MMU management documents including financial statements and policy documents, architects plans and artefacts (see Appendices A,B and C). **Interview set 1:** this set of interviews (n=4) were carried out with those directly involved in the planning and design of Brooks/Birley Fields.	**Dispositive analysis** (Chapter 6)
RQ2: How do the spatial practices of everyday university life affect staff perceptions of identity, productivity and wellbeing?	**Interview set 2 and 3:** two sets of interviews were used in this analysis, the first set of interviews (n=15) were conducted with staff in the Didsbury and Gaskell campuses before the move. The second set of interviews (n=12) were conducted with most of the same staff after the move to the Brooks Building (see Appendices G, H, and I).	**Thematic analysis** (Chapter 7)
RQ3: How and why do staff express personal and professional identity in university spaces?	**Interview set 2 and 3:** as described in the previous row. **Photographs:** two sets of photographs were used, the first set (n= 15) of office doors in the Didsbury campus. The second set (n= 12) of workstations in the Brooks Building (see Appendices M and N).	**Photographic analysis** (Chapter 8)

Table 5-1: Research questions shown in relation to data sources and analysis type

5.4.1 Documents and text sources

Documents and other text sources are used as the primary source of data in the first of the three analyses presented in this research (see Chapter 6). This dispositive analysis is concerned with identifying the power relationships inherent in a large-scale architectural transformation project (such as the move to the Brooks Building) and how managerial apparatus (including discourse, action and physical objects) is used to legitimise particular approved modes of being. The method and theoretical underpinning of dispositive analysis are discussed elsewhere in this chapter (see Section 5.5.1). Documents play an important role in dispositive analysis. Wolff (2004, p. 284) describes documents as 'standardised artefacts' that occur in a variety of recognised formats. Wolff continues, stating that official documents act as 'institutionalised traces' revealing the intentions of 'their creators or the institutions that they represent' (p. 284). Breeze (2013) pushes this idea further stating that:

> Corporate discourse is closely bound up with corporate practices, to such an extent that we can say that a discourse is an expression of a particular practice. (p. 32)

Corporate documents such as annual reports (Thomas, 1997) and marketing websites (Mautner, 2005) have proved a rich source of data for researchers, especially those engaged in analysis of discourse and other forms of textual interpretation.

The following section details the key documents used in the dispositive analysis, considering their selection, origination and merit (see Appendices A, B and C). Most of this corpus – regardless of type of document – was retrieved from online sources and collected as a 'snapshot' between April 2014 and October 2015. This period only captures one moment in time and one period in the development and remodelling of the MMU campus. Wherever possible these web pages were downloaded, and if need be, converted into PDF documents, using the NVivo extension NCapture, which maintains the text and enables ease of analysis and coding (described in Section 5.5.1).

Some of the material, such as news and status reports, emphasises the temporality and impermanence of web pages, reporting on transitory phases of the campus

redevelopment project. This is echoed in the literature, which highlights the ephemeral nature of web documents in corpus linguistics, drawing attention to the difficulties of replicating results with ever-changing data (Hundt, Nesselhauf, & Biewer, 2007). To offset this problem, and to obtain key 'historic' documents from a wider timeframe, a web archiving facility called 'Wayback Machine' (see web.archive.org) was used; this allowed older documents that had been removed from the internet to be retrieved. For example, a copy of the MMU strategic plan from 2007, older copies of MMU's Success Magazine and MMU Annual Reports and Financial Statements. Using 'Wayback Machine' for 'webscraping' is becoming a more common tool for data mining in the social science research (Arora, Li, Youtie, & Shapira, 2016).

MMU documents. The majority of the documents used in the dispositive analysis (see Chapter 6) come from publicly accessible, outward facing, online, print and video sources (see Appendix A). Most of these documents were produced by Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) (n=50+). The documents can loosely be categorised as follows: marketing materials for students and staff (online prospectus); dissemination materials (progress reports); financial reports; annual reports; and staff training and human resources materials. Many of the documents include text and images devoted to the design and construction of the new Brooks Building and surrounding campus in Hulme. These texts can be considered core to the discourse surrounding the construction of the new campus. However, also included in the corpus are documents referring to the recent MMU Art School, MMU Business School and MMU Student Union construction projects. The corpus also includes a small amount of material that deals with the broader MMU Estates Vision, and how this integrates into Manchester City Council regeneration initiatives. Additionally, the corpus includes documents that refer to broader university discourses such as students as customers, the importance of team working, and working procedures and practices. The majority of the documents used in the dispositive analysis originate from the official Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) website (www2.mmu.ac.uk). These documentary sources were written as news, information, policy, training and marketing documents, and can broadly be described as official

'corporate communications'. These sources were produced through official channels by university marketing specialists, and as such, have been written to positively showcase the university to a varied internal and external audience. Scholars have noted that traditionally informational genres of discourse have been 'colonised' by the discourse of marketing, becoming a hybrid form of discourse (Bhatia, 2005; Fairclough, 1993).

The data sources were all selected as they deal – completely, or in part – with the MMU campus redevelopment programme, and although all of these sources are openly available to the public via the internet, some web pages were more visible than others by nature of their position and 'searchability' within website structures. The textual and pictorial information in many of these sources, such as the MMU *Success* magazine, were produced with multiple potential readerships in mind, including staff, students, potential students, alumni, business partners and journalists. These documents, or extracts from them, provided the main source for the discourse element of the dispositive analysis in keeping with the practice of Jäger (2009) (see Section 5.5.1). In addition to the large web-based corpus of documents, a smaller number of printed source materials are included. These are, for the most part, artefacts of the architectural and master planning processes illustrating the design intent. MMU's undergraduate prospectus and detailed brochures created for prospective Health and Education students were included. Although much of the text of these documents is available on line, the print versions show the text in relation to illustrations and photographs and exemplify the use of MMU's estate in a marketing context.

Non-MMU sources. In addition to the large number of documents authored by MMU the analysis used a smaller number of documents originating from websites and print sources outside MMU (n=25). These sources were often included in order to contextualise the wider discourse around the various MMU building projects (see Appendix A). These documents included feasibility studies, master planning documents, architects' drawings, online portfolios, and competition material originating from architectural companies specialising in the design of buildings for the university sector (for example Sheppard Robson the design architects for the

Brooks Building). Documents from community liaison groups, architectural expert bodies (for example CABE, AUDE and the RIBA), Manchester City Council planning and infrastructure committees, and the news media were also used to give a broader context to the analysis. Many of these third party sources can be considered 'paratexts' (Caborn, 2007; Jäger & Maier, 2009) used to gain additional insight into the actions and materialisations of the dispositive. Whether a text is considered a paratext or not depends on whether the text is analysed as the primary object of investigation, or whether one considers the text to be a secondary source explaining an action or an object.

5.4.2 Interviews

Data from interview participants are used throughout the thesis to discuss all three research questions (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). Interviews form the 'basic mode of inquiry' (Seidman, 2013, p. 8) for much qualitative research and have a history as a method used in educational research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Cohen et al., 2007). Qualitative interviews are particularly useful where the research is concerned with social phenomena and situational meaning (Kvale, 2006; Patton, 1987) and are particularly appropriate where interpretive methodologies are employed (Hopf, 2004). Seidman (2013) describes interviews as a way of 'telling stories' that are fundamental to the process of meaning-making because the interview process allows time for reflection and enables participants to order their thoughts to 'make sense' of them (p.7). Robson (2002) describes three ways of approaching interviews: fully-structured; semi-structured; and unstructured. This research was particularly interested in the personal responses of members of staff to the spaces and artefacts of work, and the thoughts, feelings and memories that these spaces might evoke. In-depth semi-structured interviews proved an efficient and effective way of capturing a broad range of reactions (Seidman, 2013, p. 7). Semi-structured interviews have a number of advantages as a data collection method. Patton (1987) suggests that a standardised format has benefits for the organisation and analysis of the data, increases the comparability of responses, and can reduce interviewer effects. Patton (1987) also notes that the inflexibility of a standardised format can inhibit the naturalness of the discussion, but that this potential weakness can be offset by a

conversational style and willingness to deviate from the scripted questions (Patton, 1987). Participants in this study were encouraged to 'reminisce on their experiences' and respond to visual prompts in their immediate surroundings, which were obviously dependent on specific contexts and locations. The semi-structured format was most suitable, as it was important to be able to modify the line of enquiry from person to person and to be able to follow up interesting lines of conversation (Robson, 2002, p. 272).

There were a number of drawbacks to the use of semi-structured interviews. The lack of standardised format and the fact that each interview was unique and – to a certain extent – participant-led meant that there was considerable variability in the focus of responses (Robson, 2002). It was a fine balance between keeping each participant 'on track' and allowing them scope to discuss university and personal space in their own terms.

In May 2014, a call for interview participants was put out by email to all staff in the Health, Psychology and Social Care and Education faculties describing the nature of the research. This was then followed up by a further personal email from the Learning Technology staff in both faculties who had agreed to help with participant recruitment. Staff from both faculties responded to the email call, and by doing so, self-selected as research participants. Self-selection bias (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1976) was not a major issue as the aim was not to analyse a representative sample.

Interviews were carried out in three phases. The first set of interviews (n=4) were held with key actors involved in the design, development and process management of the new Education and Health building at Birley Fields in Hulme. Interviews were carried out between June 2014 and April 2015 with staff from senior management, facilities management, the architectural firm involved in the initial design and staff designated with coordinating the move into the new premises. These interviews focused on the *conceived space* of the Brooks Building with the aim of clarifying the intent behind the development and to illuminate the claims made about the new building highlighted in the analysis of corporate documents. An additional purpose

of the first tranche of interviews was to explain the phases and decision-making processes involved in the project.

The second set of interviews (n=15) were carried out with staff from the Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell satellite campuses prior to the move to the new Brooks Building in the summer of 2014. A third set of interviews (n=12) were carried out after the move (in the summer of 2015). There was a six-month interval after the move before instigating the third phase interviews in order to allow the initial feelings about the new environment to subside, in the hope of getting a more considered participant response. Eleven of the participants were interviewed twice, both before and after the move to the new building. The focus of the second and third interview tranches was to find out about the *perceived* and *lived* experience of both the old and new campuses.

Of the staff interview participants, four were from the Faculty of Health, Psychology and Social Care and were originally based in the Elizabeth Gaskell campus. The remaining eleven participants were from Education, and at the time of the first interview, were based in the Didsbury campus. Of the first 15 participants, seven were male and eight were female, and of these, five had a core research remit, two had administrative or technical responsibilities and the remaining eight were primarily teaching focused, although there was considerable overlap particularly between lecturers and researchers. Staff participants were of various levels of seniority from newly appointed lecturers to senior managers with responsibility for teaching and research.

Interview times were arranged with the participants and carried out to suit their other commitments. The first tranche of staff interviews were carried out in the interviewees' personal office spaces. The second tranche of staff interviews were carried out in a mixture of social spaces and bookable office accommodation in the Brooks Building. This was problematic for a number of reasons. First, noise transference; the interview rooms in the Brooks Building did not have good sound insulation and sounds from adjacent spaces could often be heard during the interview. On a number of occasions, the noise acted as a useful cue for discussions

about the space's environmental problems. Second, privacy; the paradox of conducting confidential interviews in glazed meeting rooms was not lost on some of the participants who felt 'on show'. The interviews were in-depth to provide a detailed understanding of participant perspectives (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) and followed a semi-structured open-ended format to provide a framework for the conversations (see Appendices G and H). This format was loosely followed and plenty of opportunity was given to the participants to deviate and elaborate on their responses, and to talk about areas and issues that they particularly wanted to cover. As a result, interviews lasted between 20 and 40 minutes depending on the amount of ground covered. Questions were asked of participants in the same order, and with a similar (but not identical) use of words (see Appendices G and H).

The 16 question prompts used in the initial interviews (see Appendices G and H), were designed to correspond loosely with Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* spaces (1991b), and to elicit responses that could be interpreted in relation to this framework. As Lefebvre asserts, the three parts of the triad are inseparable, so many of the questions – and the responses received – could be interpreted using all three moments of the triad. Broadly speaking, the questions were as follows:

Questions 1, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10 were designed to elicit responses about individual and collective *spatial practice* and *perceptions of space*. These questions focused on the everyday uses of space, and whether they thought their current space, and future space in the Brooks Building, would be conducive to teaching, learning and research. Also important were initial perceptions of the new space.

Questions 2, 3, and 4 were designed to stimulate conversation about the lived spaces of their current campuses and to prompt discussion about the thoughts, feelings, emotions, reminiscences and personal and shared histories bound up in their current work spaces.

Questions 6, 13, 14, 15 and 16 were designed to provoke discussion about the managerial/architectural planning and consultation about the new space, and resonate with Lefebvre's ideas about conceived space.

The interviews were recorded as MP3 files using an unobtrusive digital voice recorder. The recordings were then transferred directly to a laptop, most interviews were transcribed by a professional transcriber, and reviewed to check for accuracy (see Appendix I for a short example). There were a few technical problems with some of the early recordings; one interview terminated abruptly half way through and another did not record at all. Fortunately, the participant in the second case was willing to redo the interview at a later date.

5.4.3 Photographs

Photographs are used throughout this thesis for illustrative purposes and as a primary source of data in the third of the three analyses presented in this research (see Chapter 8). There has been growing interest by researchers in visual research methods (Emmel & Clark, 2009; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Pink, 2001) and the study of visual artefacts as a method of studying identity and social settings (Goffman, 1979). Bell and Davidson (2013) draw attention to the recent 'surge of interest' in visual methods in organisational research (see Warren, 2002, 2006; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). Photography in particular has become an established way of understanding people and relationships in social science research (Pink, 2001; Rose, 2001). Despite this growth in interest, Harper (2005) bemoans the lack of photographic research in the social sciences, suggesting that this could be to do with the abundance of 'language oriented' approaches. Kobayashi and colleagues (2008) propose four types of photographic analysis: direct photo analysis; supplemental photo analysis; participatory photo analysis; and collaborative photo analysis. In all but one of these techniques the participants are involved in the data collection or analysis process. This research followed the first type of analysis where the researcher both takes and analyses the photographs. This approach had a number of benefits, in that it was straightforward to quickly capture a visual record of the Didsbury campus and the Brooks Building 'at a particular moment in time' and possible to gather a lot of detail quickly and succinctly, drawing on the old adage that

a 'picture is worth a thousand words' (Harper, 2005). However, as a number of texts have pointed out, photographic data collection of this type is not without its personal biases (Harper, 2005; Kobayashi et al., 2008). When a photograph is constructed, the photographer makes choices about the subject matter, the framing of the image, what to include and what to exclude and the position of the camera in relation the subject matter. Harper (2005) describes photographs as 'social and technical constructions' dependant on both the creator and the viewer of the image, and as such they are not just a neutral objective record.

Included in the analysis are two collections of photographs (n=61) of the Brooks Building 'in use', as a record of 'non-linguistically performed practices' (Jäger & Maier, 2009) of university staff 'doing things'. These images were captured as a visual reminder of the space in order to illustrate the use of particular areas (for example, staff and student social spaces and formal and informal learning spaces). Also included in this set of photographs were a collection of objects of interest (such as official and unofficial notices about the use of space and swipe card and student attendance devices); these are what Jäger and Maier (2009) refer to as 'materialisations'. The first collection (n=20) was taken between May 2014 and June 2014 and provides a photographic record of some of the notable staff office doors at the Didsbury campus. The doors at this site were often personalised with postcards, timetables, posters, newspaper cuttings and other artefacts. The doors acted as noticeboards for students and staff walking around the corridors and displayed images of personal and professional interest. The choice of material displayed on the doors may give an insight into the individual and social identity construction (Belk, 1990; Ruth, 2015; Tian & Belk, 2005; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2011, 2014) of the academic within the office and give an insight into how they wish to position themselves *professionally*, *personally*, and *politically* within the workplace.

The second collection comprises photographic images (n=41) that were taken after the move to the Brooks Building at Birley Fields between October 2014 and February 2017. These photographs document how some academic staff have personalised their workstation space. Unlike the Didsbury doors, the workstations are not public facing; the academic offices at Brooks are not available to students and require a

swipe card to enter (as discussed in Chapter 7). Personalisation of these workspaces, in contrast to the doors at Didsbury, was an individual expression of identity for personal enjoyment or for the benefit of other staff members, and can be considered a form of identity-oriented marking (Brown, Lawrence, & Robinson, 2005). The workstation photographs also document the practical challenges in storing the material artefacts of teaching, administration and research in a space-poor environment, and the knock-on effect this may have on self-perception of academic identity.

In this section, the selection of photographic analysis is discussed, highlighting how photographs were used in conjunction with interview data in this analysis. The benefits and limitations of using photographic data in qualitative research to study personal work spaces is discussed in detail. The two photographic collections (n=61 total) from Didsbury and the Brooks Building were examined in detail. The two sets of images were taken using a tablet and smartphone as a visual record of the Didsbury and Brooks Building working environments. In neither case were the photographs supposed to be a complete or systematic record of doors or workstations. The images taken were on an opportunistic basis, by the researcher, from the point of view of interest and, in the case of the Didsbury doors, taken without this research in mind. The images were captured purely from a subjective point of view where interesting artefacts were noticed. It is not, and was not, intended to be an objective record of the working environments in either location.

The photos were initially retrieved from the devices and duplicate and/or poor quality images were discarded. There is a noticeable variation in the physical quality of the images based on the light levels at the time of shooting, and the limitations of the two devices used (5 megapixel iPad camera and 8 megapixel iPhone camera). Many of the images used in this thesis are details from much larger pictures; for example, most of the original pictures of the Didsbury doors showed the whole door in situ, rather than individual details of particular artefacts. The images presented in this document have been obtained by zooming in on pertinent details, and as such, show signs of loss of quality (seeing the pixels).

This section has described the process of collecting and selecting the data used in this research (university documents, participant interviews and workplace photographs). The following section discusses the three methods of data analysis: dispositive analysis, thematic analysis and photographic analysis.

5.5 Data analysis

The research presented in in this thesis relies on three types of analysis: dispositive analysis (see Chapter 6); thematic analysis (see Chapter 7); and thematic photographic analysis (see Chapter 8), where each analysis method relates to one of three research questions (see Figure 5-1: Diagrammatic representation of thesis structure, research questions and analysis methods). Overall, the three analyses, along with the Institutional history and political context (see Chapter 4), combine to produce a case study of the Brooks Building and the broader context of campus redevelopment. The sections presented below describe these three analysis techniques in detail and explain how they were used in the context of this research.

5.5.1 Dispositive analysis of the Brooks' *conceived space*

This section describes the first of three analysis techniques used. Dispositive analysis (Caborn, 2007; Jäger & Maier, 2009; Raffnsøe et al., 2014) is used to examine the *conceived space* or *representations of space* of the Brooks Building commissioned and led by university management and their architects (see Chapter 6). Conceived space is the planning, regulatory and ideological or *abstract space* of capitalism. For Lefebvre, *representations of space* are the 'dominant space in any society (or mode of production)' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 39) and represent deliberate 'conceptualisations (e.g. functionality, control) in materialised form' (Dale, 2005). In Lefebvre's (1991b) *The Production of Space, conceived space* is presented sequentially as the second aspect of the spatial triad; however, in this thesis the analysis of conceived space forms the first analysis chapter in order to follow the sequential narrative of the Brooks Building from design to perception to lived experience.

Dispositive Analysis (sometimes referred to as Dispositif Analysis or DispA) draws heavily on the theoretical work of Michel Foucault on discourse and is used in this research to examine the complex network of institutional, material, and bureaucratic

devices and power/knowledge structures that allow the development and maintenance of power within society. Dispositive analysis involves examining the shared power/knowledge networks linking particular discourses, non-linguistic performed practices (actions) and materialisations (physical objects).

This research describes a new use for Jäger & Maier's (2009) model of *dispositive analysis* as a way of understanding the complex networks of institutional discourse, non-discursive practices and spatial/material elements apparent in a university campus re-development context. The analysis method combines Jäger & Maier's (2009) model with elements of Caborn (2007) and similar work by Pugalis (2009) (see Table 5-2), to propose a more complete description of a dispositive analysis 'put to work'. This analysis adds to existing work by the Duisburg School of Critical Discourse Analysis who have used the method in the critical analysis of state architecture in Germany (Caborn, 2007), immigration, right-wing extremism, war and biopolitics. The following sub-section gives a brief description of the dispositive as idea concept before describing the analysis process.

Defining the dispositive

Foucault's use of the term dispositive (*dispositif*) has been the subject of considerable work by scholars unpicking its etymology, translation and deciphering the particular ways in which Foucault used the term (see Agamben, 2009; Bussolini, 2010; Deleuze, 1991; Kessler, 2007; Peltonen, 2004). This has been brought about by the English language publication of further Foucault interviews and lecture courses since his death, where the dispositive concept is expanded upon (Bussolini, 2010). The idea of the dispositive has grown in prominence in studies of Foucault's work and is seen by some as a connecting force between some of his better represented analyses of discourse, discipline, power/knowledge, subjectivity and subjectification (Raffnsøe et al., 2014). Rabinow and Rose (2003, p. 9) describe the dispositive as 'one of the most powerful conceptual tools introduced by Foucault' and position it as a thinking tool which enables the social researcher to theorise traditional categories such as institutions, classes, and cultures in a new way. They continue that the Foucauldian dispositive offers the potential of exposing previously unnoticed associations and relationships, especially in everyday settings.

The French word *dispositif* is used to describe a system created for a particular task; this is often translated in English as 'apparatus' (Agamben, 2009). However, in some contexts the terms 'mechanism', 'device' or 'procedure' are also used (Kessler, 2007). This thesis uses the English translation of dispositive, meaning 'having the quality or function of directing, controlling, or disposing of something; relating to direction, control, or disposal' (Raffnsøe et al., 2014, p. 1) rather than the translation of apparatus, which may have additional connotations. For Foucault, a dispositive encapsulates the idea of a system of interconnected, yet diverse elements set up to respond to an urgent or pressing need. Caborn (2007) uses the metaphor of the alarm to help conceptualise this idea. The alarm is a complex series of organised and interconnected parts (e.g. sensors, switches, warning sounder and keypad) that are linked to regulatory mechanisms (e.g. emergency services, security firms and the legal system), organisational material (e.g. warning signage, legislation) and mediated by societal norms (Caborn, 2007, p. 113). For Foucault (1980) the dispositive represents a network of disparate elements that govern the application of power in the social world.

> It is resolutely heterogeneous, including discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic propositions, morality, philanthropy, etc. – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. (p. 194)

Agamben (2009) extends Foucault's dispositive to include:

> (…) anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions, or discourses of living beings. (p. 14)

Dispositive analysis

Dispositive analysis is an extension of Foucauldian discourse analysis, which has been described as a 'developing sub-discipline in the area of qualitative social research' (Diaz-Bone, Bührmann, Schneider, Kendall, & Tirado, 2007, p. 1). Jäger & Maier (2009), drawing on Foucault, contend that it is discourse that makes subjects, rather than vice versa, stating that 'discourses may be conceptualized as societal means of production' (2009, p. 37). Foucault's writings on discourse have influenced theoretical and empirical work across the social sciences (Lloyd & Thacker, 1997). In

addition, his theories on discourse have formed the methodological basis for research in many disciplines and have been particularly influential in research with a spatial context such as: Organisational Studies (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000), Environmental Policy (Sharp & Richardson, 2001) , and Regional Urban Development (Richardson, 1996). Dispositive analysis extends discourse analysis beyond the scrutiny of text alone by including non-linguistic elements (actions) and materialisations (physical objects).

Caborn (2007) suggests that interest in dispositive analysis is part of an ongoing trend within discourse analysis, which has been considering larger units of granularity. He suggests that there has been a methodological shift of focus from smaller to larger units of linguistic analysis, from word sounds, words, and sentences to text linguistics and a broader interest in the social context of discourse. Dispositive analysis embraces this looser definition of discourse, prioritising the context and content of spoken and written word rather than particular linguistic usage. Dispositive analysis adds to discourse analysis by embracing the heterogeneous nature of Foucault's idea and including non-linguistic elements in the analysis.

There are relatively few English language examples of dispositive analysis being put to work (Waugh, Catalano, Masaeed, Do, & Renigar, 2016), although, Wodak and Meyer (2009) comment that practical examples of dispositive analysis would help bridge the gap between 'discourse analysis and other methods of empirical social research' (p. 60). The dispositive has been used as a methodological thinking tool in a range of research settings where the relationship between knowledge, power and spatial arrangements is the primary concern. Examples of dispositive analysis include research into Norwegian pre-school settings (Bente, 2014), fascist architecture (Daly & Smith, 2011) and Raffnsøe and colleagues (2014) build a convincing case for its use in organisational research.

This thesis used a method of analysing dispositives derived from the work of Jäger & Maier (2009) and Caborn (2007) (see Chapter 6) to analyse the conceived space of the Brooks Building. This approach was also influenced by Pugalis' (2009) related model of *interpretive spatial-analysis*, which has been suggested as a method for

bridging the problematic divide between the discursive and the material. Table 5-2 below compares the dispositive analysis suggested by three similar approaches to the problem of bridging the methodological divide between discourse, action and materiality (Jäger & Maier, 2009).

Jäger & Maier (2009)	Caborn (2007)	Pugalis (2009)
DISCOURSE Complete detailed structural discourse analysis paying particular attention to discourse about materialisations and unfamiliar areas.	SIGNS Identify the signs that make up a dispositive by an element and its attributed meaning. This is done by analysing paratexts in relation to the action or materialisation.	LANGUAGE Complete document analysis, especially official discourses (policies etc.) to identify power struggles.
NON-LINGUISTIC PRACTICE (ACTIONS) Find out the significance of actions. This can be achieved by: observation, description, analysis of text about action (e.g. practitioner guides, user manuals etc.) and interviews in situ to capture tacit knowledge.	SIGNS IN RELATION KNOWLEDGE Map the signs to corresponding discourses and consider how discourses are linked together.	PRACTICE Analyse live 'policy' debate where meaning and knowledge ownership are being contested. An ethnography of institutional practice.
MATERIALISATIONS Find out the significance and the meaning behind artefacts. This can be achieved by background research and subject knowledge of the researcher, interviews with experts and users.	SIGNS IN RELATION TO POWER/PRACTICE Consider how the signs are used by different groups, for example architects and politicians (university management) and who has access to the power of the sign.	POWER/KNOWLEDGE Analyse everyday practice in order to connect action with actual use.

Table 5-2: Three approaches to dispositive analysis

For Caborn (2007), Jäger & Maier (2009) and Pugalis (2009) (see above), the first part of their respective dispositive analyses, the analysis of discourse, is relatively straightforward. In each case, this involves the collation and textual analysis of appropriate documentary sources looking for particular power/knowledge relationships. The analysis of the *conceived space* of the Brooks Building uses van

Leeuwen's (2007) framework for studying legitimation in discourse and communication to help articulate these relationships.

Analysis of the second and third parts of the dispositive, analysing non-discursive practices (or actions) and materialisations (physical objects) are more problematic as meaning cannot be derived directly from either. Caborn (2007, p. 117) suggests a semiological approach, whereby texts, actions and physical objects become three classifications of *signifiers*, and the meaning, derived from discourse, observation (and discoverable in paratexts) become the *signified*. These signs are then considered in relation to knowledge and power. Pugalis (2009), drawing on Lefebvre, suggests that the meaning of non-discursive aspects, such as actions, could be derived from careful examination of policy documents and debate and that materialisations could be understood through a study of spatial practice. With either technique, the meaning attached to the non-discursive practice and the materialisation must be written down and converted to text to enable analysis.

The example illustrated below (see Figure 5-2), using the MMU Brooks Building and surrounding Birley Fields campus development, shows the simple dispositive that demonstrates how the official corporate discourse of the university is linked to action and materialisation. Moreover, it shows how the resulting material form is specifically conceived to control particular behaviours that are at odds with the prevailing university discourse.

At the heart of the community

"Manchester Met is proud to be developing Birley as a community campus and a blueprint for how a University and its local communities can benefit from being in such close proximity".

Discourse

overarching discourse position about Birley Fields responding to and embracing the needs of the the local community

Action

NO Skateboarding sign outside Birley Fields [Brooks] campus. Local skateboarders 'moved on' by campus security staff or police.

Materialisation

Anti-skateboarding (spoiler) measures applied to furniture in public realm

Figure 5-2: Example of a simple dispositive linking discourse, action and materialisation

So it might be possible to infer from this example that there is a 'disconnect' between the discourse about community engagement and certain members of the community. The following paragraphs describe the dispositive analysis process, detailing the three main parts of the analysis discourse, non-discursive practices (actions), and materialisations (physical objects). See Figure 5-3 for a simplified view of the structure of a dispositive.
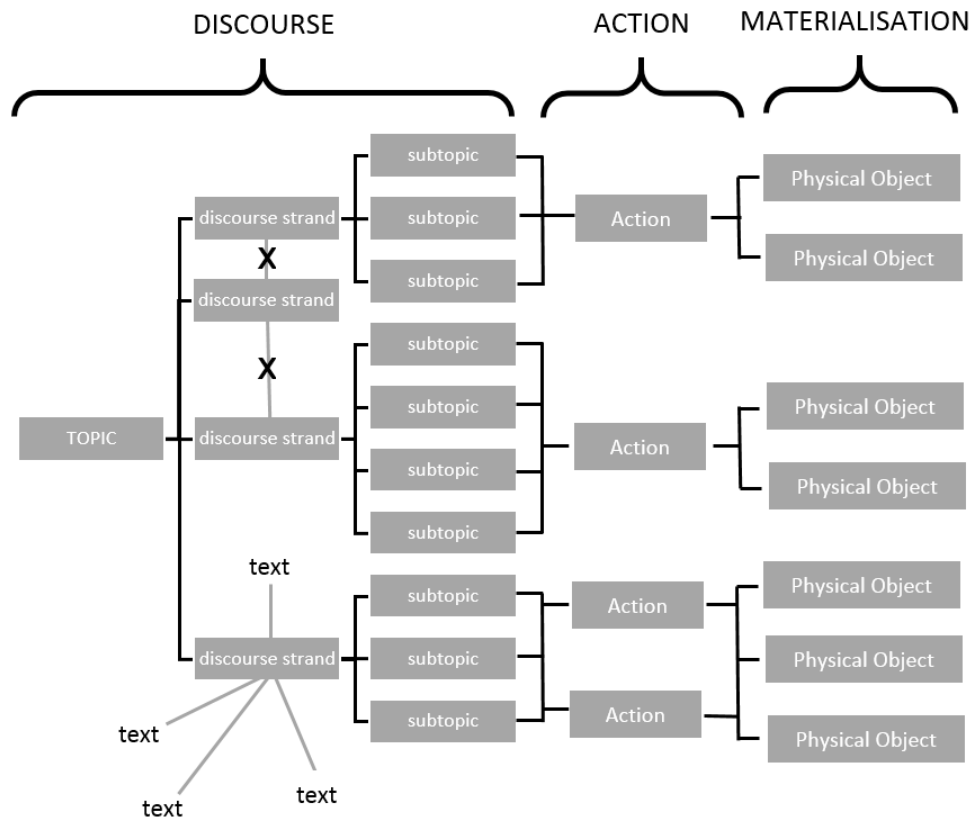
Figure 5-3: Simplified structure of dispositive (derived from Jäger & Maier, 2009)

Analysis of the discourse

Figure 5-4 shows, diagrammatically, an interpretation of Jäger & Maier's (2009) schema for explaining the discourse portion of a dispositive analysis and introduces some of the terminology used (a worked example can be seen in Appendix D). The analysis of the discourse strands of the inquiry broadly followed Jäger & Maier's (2009) step by step approach:

1. All of the documents were listed (see Appendix A) and a structural analysis was carried out in order to catalogue the key characteristics of each source (for example, bibliographical information, topics covered, illustration, style, genre and special characteristics) (see Appendix C). This listing was used to identify particular *discourse strands* and to group similar text fragments together.

2. Each discourse strand was then broken down into subtopics, which were summarised and grouped together by topic. For example, the discourse around being 'world class' had a number of subtopics including 'world class

environments', 'world class research, and 'students as world class professionals' (see Appendix B).

3. The subtopics are examined for frequency to see how often they appear, and if any obvious subtopics are notable by their absence (sometimes what is not said is as important as what is said). Finally, discursive *entanglements* or *knots* are highlighted. This is key to Jäger & Maier's (2009) dispositive analysis. A discursive knot is where two or more discourses refer to each other. For example, in this study it was common for the discourse on being 'world class' to be linked to that of 'students as customers', 'recruitment and retention' and 'teaching and learning quality'.
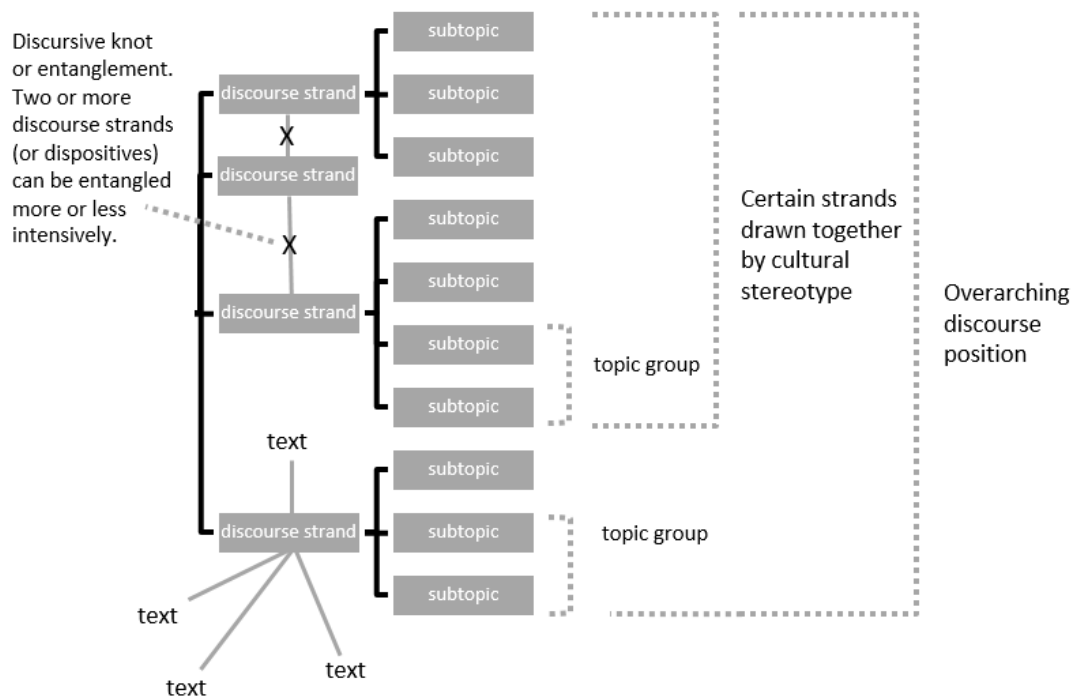
Figure 5-4: The structure of discourses (derived from Jäger & Maier, 2009)

A key concern is the perception that certain *discourse strands*, through a process of inculcation, come to dominate the discussion. For instance, what a university building should be, and what it can legitimately claim to add to the student experience, the learning and teaching process, the community, the city and so on.

Analysis of non-discursive practices (actions)

Actions taken by staff were observed and described in order to categorise how, and why, particular practices occur and to ascertain their meaning. This categorisation was documented in two ways:

1. By considering some of the 'more mundane documents' (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 132) as potential data sources. Jäger & Maier suggest practitioners' literature such as 'instruction sheets, or field manuals' (p. 132) as a starting point. In this research, documents such as the MMU's *Your Guide to the Birley Building* became important for establishing management intent but also illuminate how and why particular actions were carried out in certain prescribed ways. Also important in this respect were signs, particularly unofficial ones, designed to explain particular spatial practices and tacit behaviours (see Figure 5-5).

2. Knowledge of actions was obtained through informal staff observations and a photographic journal of behaviours and artefacts. Third, staff were asked through interview (see section 5.4.2) to explain particular working practices. Finally, actions could be explained through personal practice as a lecturer working in the Brooks Building.

> MEETING WITH A MEMBER OF STAFF FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF NURSING?
>
> Dear Student, if you are meeting with one of the Department of Nursing Staff, please go to the door at the other end of this office.
>
> To get there go back down the corridor towards the lifts.
>
> Keep straight on this corridor to the end and turn left.
>
> You will find the door to the nursing office at the end of the corridor.
>
> Use the phone if necessary to let the member of staff know that you have arrived for your meeting

Figure 5-5: Unofficial signs provide additional data about spatial practices and tacit behaviours

Analysis of materialisations (physical objects)

Understanding the meaning of materialisations does not reside in an object itself – a building or desk cannot be interrogated directly. A number of approaches were taken to ascribing meaning to the spaces and artefacts in the Brooks Building and other campuses using Jäger & Maier (2009) as a guide:

1. Having worked as a commercial interior and graphic designer for fifteen years before working in academia, practical skills such as reading plans, sections and elevations could be drawn upon. Additionally there was an understanding of the vernacular of design and architectural space. Jäger & Maier (2009, p. 133) suggest that a researcher may have to 'rely on his own … background knowledge'.

2. By employing secondary sources for reconstructing knowledge about physical space and artefacts through the literature of multimodal discourse analysis, reading visual design and architectural semiotics (Agrest & Gandelsonas, 1973; Munro, 1987; Stenglin, 2009; Van Leeuwen, 2004, 2007) to provide an additional vocabulary for describing and decoding architectural space.

3. Through interviews (n=4) with those involved in the design and commissioning of the Brooks Building (architects, estates and facilities and the senior management team) it was possible to elicit, first hand, the significances and functional requirements of particular spaces.

5.5.2 Thematic analysis of the Brooks' *perceived space*

This section describes the second analysis method used in this research. Thematic Analysis is used to examine the *perceived space* or *spatial practice* of staff (see Chapter 7). Spatial practice is the material, visible and measurable *perceived space* of 'daily reality (daily routine)' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38). Spatial practice describes the 'common-sense' space of the repetitive rhythms of the everyday as interpreted by our senses.

Two sets of interviews (n=27) with staff were carried out before and after the move to the new Brooks Building in Hulme. The interviews were conducted over a period of a year with staff located at the satellite campuses at Didsbury (Education) and Elizabeth Gaskell (Health, Psychology and Social Care), which subsequently closed in

2014. Interviews were carried out with staff from a variety of roles (academic, management, research, student support, learning technology) and at various levels of seniority within the organisation.

The interview data (described in Section 5.4.2) were used to ascertain the spatial practice of staff both in the old Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses and in the new Brooks Building (see Appendices G and H). Particularly relevant to this analysis were participant descriptions of the detailed uses of workspace, and how these practices had changed in order to accommodate the new spatial configurations at Brooks. The interviews were also analysed to reveal how the changed space had effected perceptions of individual, professional and institutional identity, working practices and efficiencies and environmental comfort and happiness.

Qualitative research can be broadly divided into two methodological camps. In the first camp are research traditions which use methods of data analysis originating from specific theoretical positions. For some of these traditions there is little variation between researchers in how data analysis is carried out (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, other research traditions in this first camp, such as discourse analysis for example, have a much wider variation (for example, linguistic, Critical Discourse Analysis, Foucauldian discourse analysis), and the analysis techniques used are based on the epistemological starting point of the researcher or disciplinary traditions (Iedema & Wodak, 1999). In the second camp are methods that are independent of strict theoretical positioning, these are often applied across a variety contexts and are positioned theoretically to suit the application. Thematic analysis falls neatly into this second camp (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis is a method of structuring, analysing and ordering qualitative data, pinpointing themes or patterns and recording these as a usable system (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic network analysis is widely used in qualitative research and encapsulates several core skills for the researcher, for example, thematising meanings and thematic coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic networks are web-like diagrams which summarise the main themes contained in a

piece of text and allow them to be depicted graphically (Attride-Stirling, 2001) as shown in Figure 5-6.
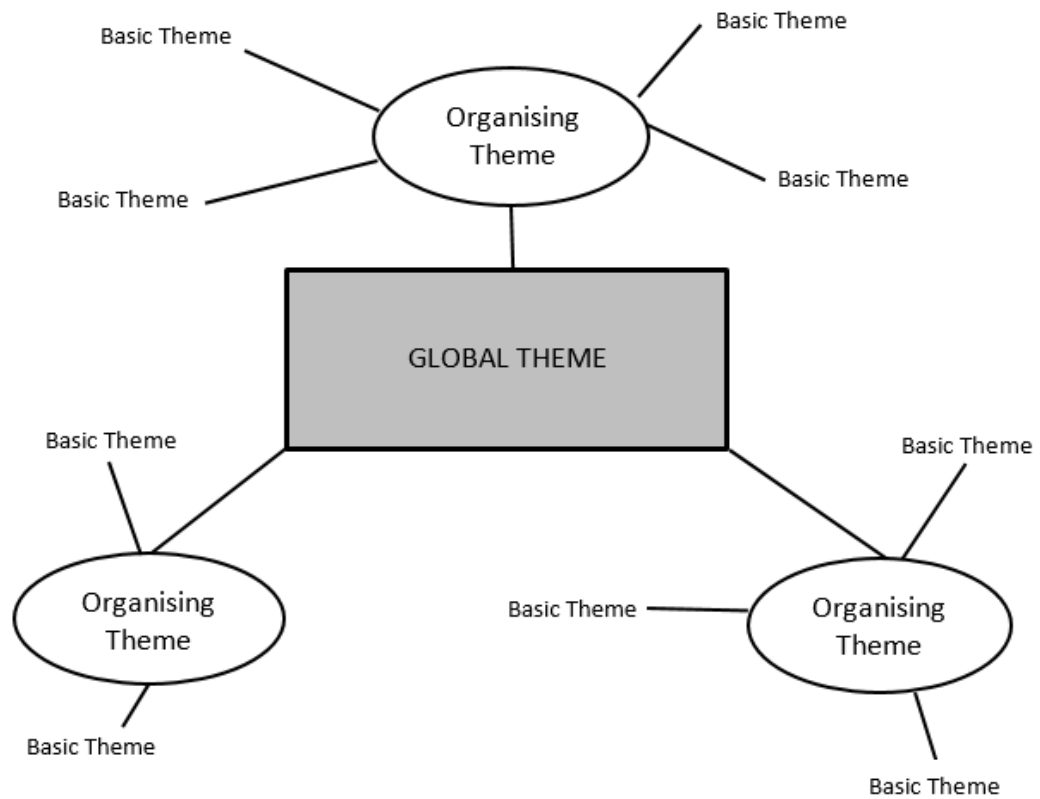
Figure 5-6: Structure of a thematic network (Stirling, 2001)

Attride-Stirling (2001, p. 388) describes in detail a process of analysis that systematically guides the researcher through the extraction of *basic themes*, *organising themes* and *global themes*, and the research process to address the second research question was based on this. Boyatzis (1998, p. x) describes a number of approaches for developing basic themes including: theory driven, prior data and inductive methods. The approach taken for this analysis was informed by Lefebvre's spatial triad (described in detail in Section 2.1.1). Prior to starting the analysis, Lefebvre's overlapping ideas of *spatial practice* and *perceived space* were investigated, and a list of theoretical conceptions was distilled down to six overarching ideas. These were: *locations, characteristics, performance, routines, adaptions* and *linkages*. These conceptions were initially compiled from Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* text, but also drawn from other interpretations of his

epistemology (Dale, 2005; Merrifield, 2006; Schmid, 2008). From this list, six boundary descriptors were developed (see Appendix J), enabling the participant interview data to be systematically sorted. Each boundary included a number of top level codes and sub-codes describing phenomena at a closer granularity (see below).

Locations. For Lefebvre (1991b, p. 33) spatial practice is defined by 'the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation', the first descriptor 'locations' (*named*, *generic*, *possessive*), comprises descriptions of spaces required by particular groups for particular functions. This coding group includes specific *named* places such as The Brooks Building, The Spanish Steps, The Business School or The Crewe Campus but also *generic* places such as classroom, pod or hub. This definition also includes places described with *possessive* pronouns (my, mine, our). For example, 'my office', 'our space' or 'my desk'.

Characteristics. For Schmid (2008, p. 39) '[spatial practice] has a perceivable aspect that can be grasped by the senses. It comprises everything that presents itself to the senses; not only seeing but hearing, smelling, touching, tasting. This sensuously perceptible aspect of space directly relates to the materiality of the 'elements' that constitute 'space'; it also 'defines … spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 288). The second descriptor, 'characteristics' (*sensory, personal, metaphors, similes)*, is concerned with individual perceptions and descriptions of spaces. This group includes *sensory* (sight, touch, smell, noise) descriptions of spaces (for example cramped, bright, warm or noisy), which make note of environmental conditions. This definition also includes personal perceptions of spaces, for example private, intimate and lonely. Additionally, this coding group contains uses of *metaphor* and *similes* to describe spaces; for example, 'rabbit hutch' or 'like a prison'.

Performance. For Lefebvre (1991b, p. 408) 'spatial practice – the practice of a repressive and oppressive space – tends to confine time to productive labour time, and simultaneously to diminish living rhythms'. The third descriptor, 'performance', concerns the effect that spaces have on individual and collective abilities to work.

This coding group includes personal assessments about how space impacts ability to carry out tasks at work and text that links the qualities of space to perceived work performance, for example concentration, attendance, efficiency or motivation.

Routines. For Lefebvre (1991), 'spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance' (p. 288). Spatial practice is manifest in daily life/routines and the ways in which those routines are embedded within the tangible physicality of space (p. 227). The fourth descriptor, 'routines' (*formal, informal, practice*) emphasises the everyday practices of working life. This coding group is used to highlight spatial relationships to everyday (sometimes mundane) practices (for example travelling to work, meetings, teaching, writing, researching, supporting students, chatting, eating and walking between locations). Also captured in this definition is the idea that spatial practice is habitual and based on repetition.

Adaptions. For Dale (2005), spatial practice is manifest 'in physical arrangements and how these change over time'. The fifth descriptor 'adaptions' (*new uses, territories*) highlights how space has changed or been adjusted over time to reflect new requirements. This coding group includes references to territorialisation, particular unexpected usage and the redesign of space.

Linkages. For Lefebvre (1991b, p. 38), spatial practice accommodates the idea of 'buildings, infrastructures and 'routes and networks' that link up places of work, private life and leisure'. The sixth and final descriptor 'linkages' (*physical, virtual, other relationship*s) draws connections and associations between spaces. This coding group includes references to particular physical connections between spaces, particular well-trodden paths, roads, bridges, particular routes. It also contains ideas about spaces connected by function, for example work-office and home-office.

After an initial read through and sort by boundary description, the interview texts were divided, categorised, and ordered according to these boundary descriptors (see Appendix J). The twenty-one coding groups and sub-codes were used to further categorise the themes at a finer level of granularity (see Appendix K). These codes

and sub-codes were then used to generate *basic themes* that were further analysed to locate commonalities before clustering these together to form *organising themes.* These organising themes 'together presented an argument or position about a given issue or reality' (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 389)*.* Again, these organising themes were further analysed and clustered to form global themes. Three global themes were distilled: *Spatial practice is renegotiated to maintain productivity*; *disrupted spatial practice affects perceptions of wellbeing*; and *new identities are proposed by re-inscribing managerially sanctioned spatial practices*. Finally, the networks of basic, organising and global themes were structured in nodal network diagrams, with the global theme in the centre and the sub-themes radiating out (see analysis in Chapter 7).

5.5.3 Photographic analysis of the Brooks *lived space*

This section describes the third of the data analysis methods used in this research. Thematic photographic analysis combines the analysis of images with the thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews (Attride-Stirling, 2001, described in Section 5.5.2). These were combined to examine the personalisation of space by staff at the old Didsbury campus and the new Brooks Building. The analysis of photographs and interview data (presented in Chapter 8) focuses on the third aspect of Lefebvre's (1991b) spatial triad, *representational space*, and the lived experiences of staff members. Lefebvre describes *lived space* as 'the passively experienced space, which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate' (p. 39). This is a space layered with emotions and meaning, derived from personal histories and shared experiences. Representational space is the space of everyday life, 'as directly lived through its associated images and symbols' (p. 39), whether these are personally or institutionally constructed.

The discussion in Chapter 8 argues that, for some academic staff, the practice of personalisation and decoration of personal workspace attaches symbolic value to the space and is an expression of their *personal*, *professional* and *political* identities. Personalisation can also be viewed as a technique for establishing shared values and social identities and as an act of creative resistance to organisational plans and rules (Baldry, 1999). The interview data (described in Section 5.4.2) and photographic

images were used to gain insights into the practice of workplace personalisation both in the old Didsbury and in the new Brooks Building. Particularly relevant to this analysis were the participants' descriptions of the emotional attachments and meanings derived from personal spaces and artefacts. Artefacts were classified as personal, political, or professional using the following criteria.

Artefacts classified as *personal* included those that emphasised (non-academic) interests or hobbies, aspects of personal character and specific personality traits. This group also included material where the owner expressed their sexuality, ethnic identity or gender identity. Personal communication also included items that referenced friendships and family or that people had displayed purely for decorative or aesthetic reasons. Material that was either handwritten or handcrafted was also categorised as personal.

Artefacts classified as *political* included those that implicitly or explicitly referenced political figures, events, ideologies or causes. This included material about affiliation with particular political groups or strongly evidenced political activism.

Artefacts classified as *professional* included those that have a particular function in the world of work. This included material that expressed specific attitudes or philosophies associated with professional life in Higher Education, disseminated scholarly interests, or were used as 'academic triggers' or mnemonics for research or teaching activities or concepts. Also included in this group were items that denoted professional status and achievement or indicated membership of particular professional groups or disciplines.

The images were each given a meaningful file name. The Didsbury doors were labelled D1 – D20 and the Brooks workstations were labelled W1 – W41.The artefacts shown in each photograph were meticulously listed and described (see Appendix M). This process was relatively straightforward for the Didsbury doors where most artefacts were two-dimensional printed materials (for example, posters and postcards), and each artefact was given a unique identifier. The process of listing and describing the workstation artefacts was not as simple. Many of the artefacts were too small to be individually identified from the images or too abundant to catalogue

accurately, or simply hidden by other objects. In the case of the workstation images, a broader approach to categorisation had to be taken. Numerous artefacts that appeared in these images were listed by category rather than as individual items (for example, books, files or journals) (see Appendix M). The workstation documentation process produced an inventory of the types of items appearing on the desks and notes about how frequently they appeared.

Once the images had been fully described in text, they were categorised in three incrementally more detailed passes. The first iteration classifying the type of artefacts on display (for example posters, photographs, objects and postcards), second iteration looking at the content and purpose of the artefacts and a final iteration considering the meaning of the artefacts (see Appendix M). The final stage enabled artefacts to be considered in relation to any overt individual or collective symbolism.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Throughout the research process the nationally agreed code of conduct and standards set out by the British Educational Research Organisation Association's (BERA) *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (2011) were followed, with additional guidance from BERA's guide *Researching your own institution: Higher Education* (Trowler, 2011). Additionally, the research follows the internally agreed standards for Manchester Metropolitan University postgraduate research. Ethical approval to undertake the research project was obtained from the Manchester Metropolitan University, Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee and the research followed the agreed MMU ethics procedure (MMU, 2016b). Procedures for storing electronic and paper-based research data were followed, with all research assets stored in a secure environment compliant with the 1998 Data Protection Act. There were a number of ethical considerations implicit in this research and the following paragraphs describe the processes that were put in place to ensure that the research was carried out ethically throughout the study.

Carrying out research on one's own workplace during a time of change is fraught with ethical considerations. Trowler (2011) describes this type of research as

'endogenous' or 'insider' research. He suggests that a key issue for the researcher is the ability to remain 'culturally neutral' and an awareness of 'necessary detachment' (2011, p. 2). As a member of staff in the Faculty of Education, several of the participants were colleagues and the researcher was also personally affected by the move to the Brooks Building. In this respect, the research was done by a 'complete' rather than 'peripheral' member (Adler & Adler, 1987) of the group being studied (although the researcher would not necessarily understand all the nuances of their specific work contexts). This relationship had benefits and challenges for the research process. Initially it was easy to build up rapport with participants, as all were in the same situation. Complete membership of the group being studied can give researchers a certain amount of legitimacy (Adler & Adler, 1987) and they can be 'acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others' (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 114). For many participants the interview process was a chance to vent frustrations with the move process, the new building and with university management. As a result, some interview participants enjoyed the cathartic experience of being able to 'offload' and felt that there was sufficient 'cultural literacy' (Trowler, 2011, p. 3) to understand the issues as an insider. Maintaining a balance between 'cultural neutrality' and 'cultural literacy' while maintaining the objectivity to see things with the fresh eyes of an outsider became important. Retaining a detached perspective was further complicated by, on one hand being funded to do a PhD within an organisation with a transformation agenda, and on the other hand using that situation to critique the changes the institution was making to itself.

Insider research also poses ethical issues for personal relationships within the institution. Colleagues were being interviewed, and in some cases those interviewed worked in close proximity or on specific projects. There was an asymmetrical institutional power dynamic involved in interviewing participants more senior and more junior within the institution, and it was crucial to be mindful that control of the interpretation of data lay with the interviewer (Kvale, 2006). It was important, as a researcher, to recognise the potential biases that these power relationships may have caused. Participants may have felt pressured to conform to the expected norms

of the organisation, and to toe the party line, or to say what they thought I wanted to hear in order to 'help'. Confidentiality and privacy were paramount in order to maintain the trust needed between participant and researcher as indiscretions may have impacted on working relationships. As a result, it was crucial not to engage in detailed 'small talk' about the PhD with colleagues.

To ensure that participant interviews were conducted in accordance with ethical guidelines; all participants were given a verbal and written explanation of the research, explaining how their interview data would be used (see Appendix E). This was important to establish informed consent and as an 'attempt to make the respondent feel at ease' (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 286). These information sheets also contained contact details and a further reminder that participants could withdraw from the research at any time – although no participants did withdraw. Participants were asked whether they would allow the interview to be digitally recorded and were given a further opportunity to withdraw immediately after the interview process. Participants were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix F), which included the option to deny the use of verbatim quotes. One participant did not want direct quotes to be used the first time they were interviewed but gave consent on their second interview. One participant wanted to review the context of quotes before they were used in the final thesis.

In order to maintain confidentiality, all interview participants were anonymised and pseudonyms were created for each. Participants involved in the first tranche of interviews were referred to only as 'Design and Management, Participant A, B, C or D' as their job roles were too specific to guarantee anonymity. Job titles and some details were also obscured in the remaining two sets of interviews to ensure that their job role would not be traceable (Trowler, 2011, p. 3) while still maintaining a sense of role and seniority within the university. Fully anonymising the job role in these interviews was not as crucial because the job titles tended to be more generic (e.g. lecturer or researcher). However, one area where anonymity could not sensibly be applied was to the location. Because of the nature of the research, the buildings of MMU were at the forefront, and it would have been inappropriate to obscure the fact that I was an employee of the institution being studied. The photographs

depicting the buildings were important in order to help to 'convey a sense of place' (Crow & Wiles, 2008, p. 9). Although there have been many successful studies where the identity of the institution has been obscured (Crow & Wiles, 2008), institutional anonymity in this case could not be applied for a number of reasons. First, because a portion of the research involved a detailed analysis of institutional documents, these could not be anonymised without breaking 'the important principle of transparency in methodology' (Trowler, 2011, p. 3). Second, because it was important to illustrate particular accounts of physical spaces and organisational artefacts with photographs in order to adequately describe them. Many of the photographs had been taken on an ad hoc basis (especially the Didsbury doors), and were not originally taken with this research in mind. Where possible consent was retrospectively sought, however many of the owners of the doors and workstations were not identifiable at the time. Several of the door owners had left MMU by the time the analysis was carried out. In a few cases, obvious identifiers (such as nameplates on doors) were redacted from the photographs. As Crow and Wiles (2008, p. 7) comment, 'some places are so readily identifiable that no attempt is worth making'. Much of the data used in this research are in the public domain and it is unlikely that disclosing the location of the research will substantially increase the likelihood of participant identification. Finally, there are already several un-anonymised, published, research projects using the Birley development and Brooks Building as case studies (Kagan & Duggan, 2010a, 2010b).

This chapter has detailed the main aspects of the research design and methodology clarifying the methods of data collection and analysis. The three chapters that follow describe the detailed examination of the *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* (Lefebvre, 1991b) spaces of the Brooks Building using the dispostive, thematic and photographic analysis techniques described in this chapter.

6 Conceived space: the manipulation of organisational identity

This chapter describes the first of three analyses; it investigates the strategic use of *conceived space* by university management to influence the construction of managerially-sanctioned identities, at both individual and institutional levels. The next chapter (Chapter 7) focuses on the *perceived space* of everyday life for university staff, analysing the effect of architectural and interior design decisions on the core academic activities of teaching, research and administration. The final analysis chapter (Chapter 8), examines workplace personalisation by staff, and discusses how this practice resonates with Lefebvre's theory of *lived space* where memory, history and imagination come to the fore.

This chapter uses a Foucauldian-inspired dispositive analysis developed by Jäger & Maier (2009), but also draws on the work of Caborn (2007) and Pugalis (2009) (described in detail in Chapter 5) to investigate selected texts and the materiality of physical environments, central to the outward projection and construction of institutional identity by Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU). Foucault uses the term dispositif (dispositive) on several occasions to refer to the complex network of institutional, material, and bureaucratic devices and power/knowledge structures that allow the development and maintenance of power within society (Foucault, 1980, 1990, 1991). Dispositive analysis involves examining the shared power/knowledge complexes linking particular discourses, performed practices (actions) and materialisations (physical objects). As such, it can be considered to be

a 'powerful conceptual tool' in deciphering the 'mixed economy of power and knowledge' (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, pp. 10–11). This analysis will broadly follow Jäger & Maier's (2009) approach to analyse interview transcripts, corporate documents and the physical spaces related to MMU's campus redevelopment programme to consider:

> RQ1: How do the managerial spaces of a new university building influence institutional identity?

This chapter focuses on the ideological space of Lefebvre's spatial triad. *Representations of space*: space *conceived* and developed by university senior management, their campus planners, and architects, engineers and facilities departments. Lefebvre would describe these disciplines as 'technocratic subdividers' and 'social engineers' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38) or 'technicians of spatial development' whose primary task is ordering and 'commodifying of space' (Cunningham & Goodbun, 2006, p. 179). This is the planning of the *abstract space* of capitalism, instigated by universities via market analysis, strategic development frameworks and feasibility studies, fuelled by the neoliberal discourse of modernity and competition, given form on the drawing boards and CAD systems of specialist designers and finally solidified in space – time by the materialisation of the built form itself. For Lefebvre, *representations of space* are the 'dominant space in any society (or mode of production)' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 39) and represent deliberate 'conceptualizations (e.g. functionality, control) in materialized form' (Dale, 2005). Drawing on Foucault, Pugalis (2009) notes that spatial realities are perceived and understood as a 'regime of truth' through the masterplans and diagrams that organisations create in consort with the discourse and action surrounding these representations. For Foucault 'truth' is linked to the systems of power that work to maintain and sustain it. This legitimation (Van Leeuwen, 2007) is brought about, in this case, through the apparatus of the university and its 'ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution and circulation of statements' (Foucault, 1977b) and the materialisation of new buildings.

6.1 Analysing the dispositives

The initial reading of the data illustrated the connection between the discourse of the Brooks Building and other MMU building projects and the legitimation of institutional transformation in the form of MMU's rebranding as 'The University for World-Class Professionals' (MMU, 2007). In this transformation process, the discourse, actions and the material practices of the university were used to establish particular power/knowledge relationships at a variety of scales. Berger and Luckman (1966) describe this process of legitimation as:

> 'explanations' and justifications of the salient elements of the institutional tradition (…) by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings and (…) justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives (1966, p. 111)

In order to explore the first research question, and establish whether the new MMU buildings (particularly the Brooks Building) were conceived in order to influence institutional identity, the corpus of material described in Section 5.4.1 was analysed noting the legitimation of these discourses. Of particular interest were discourse strands featuring specific claims describing how spatial reconfiguration of the university would achieve specific strategic goals or where several discourses were *knotted* together (Jäger & Maier, 2009). Discourse strands are what Jäger and Maier (2014, p. 5) describe as 'flows of discourse that centre on a common topic' where each strand can contain several sub-topics. As a guide, Van Leeuwen's (2007) discourse analysis framework was used to identify the 'validity [of] claims, or "kinds of truth" which underlie and legitimize them' (p. 101). Van Leeuwen (2007) categorises four types of discursive legitimation: *authorization*, *moral evaluation*, *rationalisation* and *mythopoesis* (p. 92).

6.2 Identifying the key dispositives

Following Jäger & Maier's (2009) guide to dispositive analysis (see Section 5.5.1), a corpus of material was defined. This included a large number of institutional and external web and print publications, design documents, institutional policy, best practice guides, interviews with individuals involved in the design and commissioning of the new Brooks Building and photographic material (described in full in Appendix

A). The majority of documents were authored by MMU employees, with a smaller tranche of material culled from news sites, Manchester City Council (MCC) and the university's architects and planners. In addition to texts that referred to MMU building projects, a further small group of selected paratexts (Jäger, 2001) were defined. These paratexts were documents referred to by implication or by name from the key texts (see Section 5.4.1). In addition to an abundance of web and print documents, the analysis used the text of four design and management interviews (referred to as participants A–D).

This analysis was principally interested in the discourse of *conceived space* (Lefebvre, 1991b), focusing on managerial design intent rather than the *perceived* or *lived* experience of the new campus (analysed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). Therefore the corpus of material for this analysis, intentionally favoured the views, opinions and biases of university management and their consultants. Once the large number of source texts had been collected, the corpus of material was delimited. Materials published between 2008 and 2014 (the time from conception to completion of the Brooks Building) were prioritised alongside those that referred directly to the Brooks Building or connected the campus redevelopment strategy to the broader university strategy. Because of the size of the corpus, it became important to isolate key documents, and as a result specific documents became the focus of greater attention. These key documents were: MMU 20/20 Vision strategy *The Institutional Strategic Plan 2007–2020* (2008), MMU Success Magazine (2012–2015), MMU Annual Report/Reviews (2005–2014), Your Guide to the Birley Building (2014) and the Association of University Directors of Estates (AUDE) Delivering Value from the Higher Education Estate Report (2015). The AUDE document featured an extended case study of the MMU campus regeneration presented as an exemplar of best practice.

In addition to the corpus of text sources, a comprehensive list of the design features of the Brooks Building was compiled. While not exhaustive, the list was compiled by: close reading of the architects' drawings and the Building's marketing material, observations of the spaces in use, and photographic reportage of the Building. The list captured a physical description of the key spaces and design artefacts and it noted

any particular affordances of their use. The list also noted any use of overt symbolism or metaphor in the language used by management to describe the space.

From this initial reading and data compilation, a variation of scale was noticeable in the discourse, actions and materialisations. Some of the *discursive strands* referred specifically to the institution as a whole, while others referred to particular groups or activities (for example, researchers or administration). Similarly, the spaces themselves were of different scales, from large urban spaces to individual workstations.

With this variation of scale in mind, three particularly noteworthy dispositives were identified, which enable a detailed discussion of the University's spatial transformation agenda and its effect on institutional identity. The dispositives were named: the 'Model University'; the 'Model Academic'; and the 'Model Student'. 'Model Student' and 'Model Academic', as *micro-dispositives*, could be considered sub-parts, nested in of the overarching 'Model University' *macro-dispositive* (see Bailey, 2013).

6.3 The dispositive of the 'Model University'

The dispositive of the *Model University* is the product of a complex network of managerial discourses, administrative processes, spatial and material modifications, institutional and state regulation, and the wider influence of global neoliberalism on higher education. Foucault talks about dispositives developing in response 'to an *urgent need*' (Foucault, 1980, p. 195 original emphasis). The MMU drivers for campus rationalisation used an identical turn of phrase in relation to the need to modernise.

> An *urgent need* to modernise the learning and teaching environments
> for staff and students, raising aspirations and ambitions of both groups
> (AUDE, Alwani-Starr, Kilner, & Muller, 2015, p. 45, emphasis added)

This *urgent need* was presented across five initial discourse strands namely: staff and student attitudes, competition, marketing and differentiation, efficiency, and sustainability (MMU, 2008b). These strands in turn respond to the uncertainties caused by the introduction of variable tuition fees, increased research funding selectivity, a need to move away from over-reliance on HEFCE funding, and a move

towards 'third stream activities' (MMU, 2008b). In order to 'mend the leaks' (Jäger, 2001, p. 16) caused by this *urgency* a broad range of measures were put forward in MMU's '20/20 Vision' (2008b) (also known as *The Institutional Strategic Plan 2007–2020*). The document describes a number of 'enablers', many of which had a spatial dimension, including the introduction of space charging (the formulaic internal re-charging of space costs to users aimed at encouraging efficiency), the reduction of seven campuses to three, improved space utilisation from 30% to 60%, and the announcement of a £248m capital development programme. Jäger (2001) notes that this marshalling of disparate elements in order to counter perceived urgency is typical of regimes whose control is threatened. However, investing in the MMU physical estate was presented as a catalyst for positive institutional change and was discursively entangled with a variety of claims about its transformational power. This included a specific strand running through all discourses, linking the new buildings to MMU's strapline of *The University for World-Class Professionals* and connecting this to a particular conception of institutional excellence. In doing so, the university positioned the discourse of new architecture as a response to the expectations of the market, competition and comparative status.

6.3.1 Legitimating the discourse of 'world-class professionals'

The overarching discourse *strand* found in all the MMU corporate texts examined, was that of *The University for World-class Professionals*. This is the University's strapline, appearing on most official communications such as web sites, brochures and prospectuses, also featuring in the University's statement of mission and values. This section analyses the discourse of *world-class professionals* as used in MMU's outward facing corporate media and how this term is linked to recent campus development projects.

This strapline has a range of meanings and nuances that require discussion. First, the use of the term *world-class,* meaning being amongst the best in the world, or perhaps more loosely, elite, or displaying some globally recognised features of excellence. Used in the context of *The University of World-class Professionals* it is intentionally ambiguous, conveying multiple possible meanings. One interpretation might be a university filled with academic staff recognised as being amongst the best in the

world for their teaching and research practice. A key feature of this discourse was the positioning of the University's new built environment as a catalyst for change and as a hub for *world-class* activities and a lure for *world-class* personnel. An alternative interpretation, is the university positioning itself as a 'machine' capable of 'producing' students with the qualifications and capabilities that will lead to internationally recognised working opportunities? MMU corporate communications clarify the focus, if not the detail.

> (…) our dedicated academic, professional, technical and support staff, our *world- class campus environment* and award-winning student experience all underpin our mission to *help our students succeed in their studies and become world-class professionals*. (MMU, 2014b, p. 6, emphasis added)

This quote from MMUs brand guidelines, links the idea of being or *becoming* world-class to the quality of the built environment and the quality of the graduates produced. The inference is: if the environments are deemed to be world-class, activities such as research and teaching that happen inside are also *world-class*. It becomes a balancing act where certain propositions are reinforced by others.

It is revealing that the university does not describe itself (the institution) as world-class, preferring to bypass the issue by using the term frequently to describe various attributes, expertise and outputs. The challenge of associating the university and its graduates with '*world-class-ness*' is that it becomes incumbent on the institution to demonstrate this characteristic. Being world-class is, by its nature, relative, competitive and dependent on other universities failing to be world-class. It is also a status that is inexorably tied to that of organisational identity. Being world-class cannot be self-conferred, it is a position that requires the recognition of peer organisations internationally.

The term *world-class* is now part of the everyday language of internationalised higher education, exemplified in the use of global university rankings, but the use of the term world-class in relation to universities is relatively new and its exact meaning elusive (Altbach, 2003). Any original meaning of the phrase *world-class campus* has long since dissipated by overuse. In fact, so ubiquitous is the term, that it proves

almost impossible to find a UK university that does not claim at least one world-class building or with future plans to invest in the built environment.

The following example illustrates how legitimation is used to validate the strapline '*University for World-Class Professionals'*. The example comes from the article 'A man of vision' from issue 18 of MMU *Success* magazine (MMU, 2015a pp. 14 – 18), which featured an extended interview with Vice-Chancellor (VC) John Brooks, shortly before his official retirement, shown in four sections below (1–4). The text as a whole carries a certain amount of *personal authorization* by virtue of John Brooks' status and role within MMU and he is described as a 'man of vision' in the title of the article.

> (1) Future success will be predicated on our ability to attract high-quality students and staff. Indeed, the full fee-free market places students at the very centre of our economy, and to deliver as the '*University for World-Class Professionals'*, we must offer world-class facilities.

The first extract (1) clearly links the provision of 'world-class' facilities with 'future success', which is a broad claim that is developed further in the article and demonstrates a number of legitimation techniques. The opening statement linking success with attracting students is an example of *theoretical rationalisation,* what Van Leeuwen (2007, p. 103) terms a 'reality principle' where an explanation is provided as fact, a statement of 'the way things are'.

> (2) In an increasingly hostile and competitive higher education market, the brave and the strong will get stronger. Our strategy was to build very efficient and effective buildings but also buildings which have a high visible impact and tell a story about their purpose and the activities within.

The second extract (2) begins with an example of what Van Leeuwen (2007) terms *mythopoesis* where legitimation is sought through storytelling. In this case, it is a story of the triumph of the 'brave' over adverse conditions. It is also a cautionary tale with a message; it infers that cowardly universities, who are unable to deal with the free market, will disappear. Also the buildings themselves are required to be 'readable' so that users can understand their semantic intent and infer from their appearance information about their hidden functions.

> (3) The new Manchester School of Art is a fine example and I have been fortunate to work with leading architects to use the language of architecture to reinforce our core values and brand.

The third extract (3) exploits *expert authorisation* in the shape of 'leading' architects who are able to translate and distil the ethos of MMU into the vernacular of a modern building.

> (4) We tried to express openness and accessibility, world-class quality, environmental sustainability; all combined with something that was clearly Mancunian!

The final extract from this article (4) draws together a host of expectations about the symbolism and function of the new buildings. It also demonstrates how a single discourse strand can become *discursively entangled* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) with a number of other discourses; in this case the debates about inclusion, the green agenda and the aspiration of being a world-class university. These entanglements were common in the data. To illustrate, in the example below, from VC John Brooks' 'Foreword: Transformation is key to success' to the spring 2013 edition of *Success* magazine, there is a *knot* connecting investment in facilities with the nebulous idea of *world-class learning.*

> Our investment broadly takes two forms: we *invest in the quality of our facilities* to support *world-class learning* and in our staff to *deliver high quality teaching*. (MMU & Brooks, 2013b, p. 1, emphasis added)

Analysis of the corpus, found discursive entanglements connecting the idea of the world-class university to an array of characteristics including: space (facilities, physical resources, buildings); qualities (professionalism, leadership); expertise (people management, knowledge); relationships (the quality of people that MMU work with – for example, artists and other organisations); and outputs (research, design material, patents) (see Appendix B).

Change and modernisation

The managerial discourse of *The University for World-Class Professionals* connects the new campus with 'modern' working practices aimed at enhancing the delivery of teaching and research. The re-*conceived* space of the new campus and the provision of the 'world-class' architecture of the Brooks Building were promoted as a '140

million pound investment in the future' (MMU, 2013b) with the ability to 'attract high quality staff and students from UK and international markets'. This would also raise the 'aspirations and ambitions' (AUDE et al., 2015, p. 45) of existing staff and students. Much of the discourse in MMU's *20/20 Vision, Strategic Plan* (2008) emphasises the inevitability of change, and stresses the imperative of flexibility, adaptability and the ability to respond appropriately to the requirements of the market.

> (…) the most important factor for MMU and its faculties is to understand specific markets and to be *sufficiently flexible and responsive to adapt to changing market needs* (MMU, 2008, emphasis added)

The same document highlights the risk of inactivity and lack of responsiveness to market conditions. A cautionary tale, used in the legitimation of the discourse of inevitable change; and a warning to staff of the possible negative consequences of not responding to this change (Van Leeuwen, 2007). The unstated implication is that, for universities who are unable to adapt, inertia will have an undesirable cost on their reputations and finances.

> (…) a volatile sector where significant change is inevitable and the capacity for many universities to embrace that change to become absolutely critical to their future *good standing and economic viability* (MMU, 2008, emphasis added)

The data from the corporate texts revealed a managerial belief that MMU was trapped in outdated thinking and that the physical estate – which was in some cases in poor repair – was both a symptom and the cause of this.

> A decade ago, we were full of potential, but lacking ambition and self-confidence. MMU appeared *trapped in its past*, weighed down by the complexity of its physical estate and lacking coherence (MMU, 2015a, p. 17, emphasis added)

> Didsbury was better [than the Elizabeth Gaskell campus] because we'd invested heavily in it in the past, but nevertheless *it didn't represent 21st century thinking*. It was sort of reversion to the 19th century almost. (Design and Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

The phrases 'trapped in the past' and '21st century thinking' are telling. These refer to the physical attributes of the university but also allude to management perceptions of the working culture prevalent in the satellite campuses.

Control over specialist discourse

The dispositive analysis of the architectural discourse showed the alignment of the stated and unstated needs the university with solutions provided by experts such as architects, planners and engineers. Wasserman (2011, p. 23) states that:

> Architectural fashions and trends are diffused both through architectural discourses which are often backed up by managerial discourses (the conceived space) and through actual shapes and styles of design common in contemporary organisations

Architects are complicit in the process of enhancing organisational credibility. Through interpretation and negotiation of the brief and analysing the needs of the university, they have positioned themselves as experts in the aesthetic and functional requirements of spaces for higher education. Lefebvre (1991b) highlights the conflicted nature of the design process, drawing attention to the difficulties apparent in balancing the spatial needs of the user (both *perceived* and *lived*) with the compromised *conceived* spaces of management. Lefebvre cautions over emphasising the expertise of architects with regard to space:

> Surely, it is the supreme illusion to defer to architects, urbanists or planners as being experts or ultimate authorities in matters relating to space. What the 'interested parties' here fail to appreciate is that they are bending their demands (from below) to suit commands (from above) (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 95)

The discourse of university building is 'owned' by specialist architects and university management by virtue of professional standing, personal authority, command of capital and expert status (Van Leeuwen, 2007). MMU's architects, Sheppard Robson (2014), have actively entered into the formal discourse around university design, speaking at specialist education conferences, organising study tours around recently commissioned sites and other forms of public engagement. In addition, a number of recent MMU buildings have been successful, nationally and regionally, in architectural awards (for example Stirling Prize, Prime Minister's Public Building Award, RIBA Building of the Year). These awards represent not only the judging

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panel's opinion, but also the establishment position of the architecture's value. The discourse of architectural awards goes beyond an acknowledgement of their value as buildings, but is a public validation of the building's status as a solution to the architects' brief, potentially giving credence to any other claims (for example, about teaching and learning, urban regeneration, community engagement). In this way, architects and their clients curate the interpretation and meaning creation surrounding their work, assisting the public with deciphering the *signs*, *codes*, and *'frontal' relations* present in their representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33).

6.3.2 Legitimating the materialisation of spaces

A recurring discourse strand was the use of the words *landmark* or *iconic* to describe the new university buildings. These terms are conceptually loaded and are often used to describe buildings that gain a strong symbolic association with a political project, place or particular management philosophy (Berg & Kreiner, 1990). A number of sub-topics connect to this idea, namely: the power associated with control of capital, power over the environment, the symbolic power of certain types of monumental building, and power of control over the discourse of 'university space' itself. The following sections discuss each of these ideas in detail.

Control of capital

Iconic buildings are expensive; in the case of the Birley Fields campus it cost £139 million, as part of an initial spend of £350 million. By designing buildings that exhibit a particularly distinctive aesthetic design, universities are drawing attention to their ability to control large amounts of capital. This is done with the subtext that although the buildings themselves are 'cutting edge' the management of the funds required is carried out diligently, and for the benefit of the city, the local community, the students and staff and the environment as much as for the university itself. Through constant repetition:

> The investment is huge – one of the largest and most ambitious investment programmes of any UK university (MMU, 2014a, p. 14)

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Control over the environment

By commissioning distinctive architecture, universities are demonstrating their influence over the environment, and confirming their place as key investors and instigators of urban redevelopment. In this way, universities have a profound and lasting impact on the character of their local environment. In the case of MMU, radically altering Manchester's urban landscape (see Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-2).

Figure 6-1 MMU logo sprayed on the ground outside the Brooks Building: crude place branding or corporate graffiti?

> When driving or walking around Manchester, you cannot fail to notice the prominent MMU buildings that soar alongside the Mancunian Way, supported by Birley, which is already *an iconic landmark* at the foot of the Princess Parkway. We are very proud to be a key part of this city; we are united in this city's purpose, vision and values. (MMU, 2014a, p. 5 emphasis added)

Figure 6-2: Monumental MMU used to 'claim ownership' over pathway between Brooks Building and ALL Saints campus

The centralisation strategy of delivering a single urban campus, and selling the smaller outlying campuses, is presented positively as binding MMU to the urban fabric of the city centre rather than as abandoning the Didsbury and Ardwick areas of the city by withdrawing University involvement. The statement below also tacitly acknowledges the University's role in Manchester's 'place-branding' (Giovanardi, Lucarelli, & Pasquinelli, 2013) through initiatives such as the *Corridor Manchester* urban regeneration project, which aims to construct a distinct 'knowledge district' (MMU, 2015b, p. 16) to compete at a global level (Corridor Manchester, 2009).

> In delivering this single, central campus, not only are we demonstrating our commitment to the future of MMU, but also of Manchester as a global city. (MMU & Thompson, 2014, p. 5)

Not all buildings carry equal meaning; certain types of architecture – for example, those deemed to be iconic, landmark, progressive or innovative – command a greater exchange value within a commodity driven marketplace (Awan, Schneider, & Till, 2011, p. 28) .

These *iconic* buildings may assume greater significance within the market, denoting wealth, influence and power (Sudjic, 2005), as a significant player in inter-urban competition (Harvey, 2001b, 2002) and contributing to 'a sense of place for global

consumption' (Dovey, 1999, p. 159). The sub-text of this development activity is that institutions who commission daring and innovative architecture from leading architects are themselves daring and innovative by association. With this idea in mind, there is a clear link between architectural discourse and the process of enhancing institutional credibility and prestige.

> Firstly, a project needs vision as much as it needs a visionary – the vision was to bring all MMU's Manchester faculties together in a single campus location. This was to *enable and encourage collaboration between academics and students within a multi-disciplinary university environment*. The visionary was our Vice-Chancellor, Professor John Brooks, who has single-mindedly driven his vision to create one of the *best modern university campuses in the UK. MMU is now an outstanding exemplar for other universities* (MMU & Thompson, 2014, p. 5 emphasis added)

Notable in the extract above is the legitimation of the knowledge that MMU is now an opinion former, a thought leader, creating – in partnership with their architects – the standard by which other university developments should be judged and by doing so, has provided an example of successful practice and leadership.

Control over symbolism and interpretation

'Visual metaphors' have had a significant history in architecture, playing an important role in attaching meaning and identity to buildings, the design process itself and the selling of space. The use of architectural metaphor draws on the idea that buildings and the urban environment can be 'read' as a system of 'signs' and their symbolic intent interpreted by users as they interact with them. MMU, and their architects Sheppard Robson, describe the Brooks building as a 'stunning Sugar-Cube' (MMU, 2012a), a reference to the ceramic and glass panels that surround the facade from the first floor upward (Figure 6-3).

Figure 6-3: Brooks Building: 'a stunning sugar cube'

The façade treatment makes the building appear as if it is dissolving into the ground drawing comparisons with the idea of a sugar cube sucking up tea or coffee. The conceptual idea is that the façade is permeable, dissolving the divide between academia and the local community. Architects Sheppard Robson describe this façade treatment as a 'veil', designed to give the impression that it is gradually lifting up.

> The key design themes for the building are *openness*, *informality* and the *dissolving of barriers* between the community and higher education. It will be clad in a *veil* of glazed white ceramic and fritted glass panels which change in density across the facade and lift to reveal the community-accessible spaces on the ground floor. (Sheppard Robson, 2015, pp. 28–29 emphasis added)

This is an example of manufactured symbolism, where the form giver (the architects or MMU management) attempts to control the discourse around the deeper meaning of the architectural intent. Internal and external news reports from February 2011 to the time of the building's completion in September 2014, frequently referred to the 'sugar cube' concept. For example, a website targeting 'property and regeneration professionals' described the building thus: 'with a white glass panelled external shell, the building has been dubbed "the sugar cube"' (Place

North West, 2014). Similarly the *Manchester Evening News* (Bell, 2015) describe Brooks as 'a building designed to resemble a giant dissolving sugar cube'. However, not all media voices bought into the metaphor:

> The outer glass shell has earned the nickname of 'the sugarcube', …
> The intermittent white pannelling (sic) appears to give the impression
> of the shell dissolving when at a distance, however the glass block
> remains impenetrable to the viewer (Swettenham, 2014)

This trend for nicknaming buildings (for example, The Cheese Grater, The Shard, The Walkie-talkie and The Gherkin) has a number of functions from a management perspective. It can solidify a particular image or identity in the media by providing convenient shorthand and a readymade narrative. It is a component of broader marketing activity by developers and getting the public on side (making large buildings seem more endearing and less oppressive) and perhaps sweetening the process of change for staff and local community alike. MMU seem to sanction the use of the term 'sugar cube' as it appears in a number of press releases (see Hollyman, 2015; Place North West, 2014). From the institutional identity perspective, an ideal management outcome would be that the 'sugar cube' nickname moves from a marketing use to an informal common use by employees and the local community – consolidating a tacit identification with the university as an organisation. The university have little control over unofficial nicknames. According to some of the interview participants, the building is known locally as the 'barcode building' because of the unusual blocky pattern on the façade, which has unfortunate commercial connotations that suggests that education is something that can be scanned and purchased.

6.4 The dispositive of the 'Model Academic'

This section describes how managerial discourses, actions and the *conceived* space of university management coalesce to construct the dispositive of the *Model Academic*, where particular identities are privileged and others discouraged. One of the primary *discursive entanglements* or *knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) found in the data is an implied, and explicit, causality between the old and new university environments and the working practices of academic staff. The old campuses at the

Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell sites allowed each member of staff to have a single or double occupancy cellular office. This was believed, by management, to contribute to an undesirable 'silo mentality and working practices' (MMU, 2014d, p. 23). In order to analyse the dispositive of the 'Model Academic', three broad working practices were identified: working with colleagues, working independently and working with students. Each of these is discussed in detail in the following sections, referring to the relevant discourse strands, non-linguistically performed practices (in the form of management actions) and spatial material fixes.

6.4.1 Working with colleagues

Key to the managerial *conceived space* of the Brooks Building was the provision of a range of architectural spaces intended to increase collegiality and build 'high-performing teams'. The exact nature of a 'high-performing team' in this context is undefined, but might reasonably be assumed to be groups of employees engaged in collaborative tasks that, in some way, have a positive impact on the MMU's performance metrics and 'increase opportunities for informal social interaction' (MMU, 2015a, p. 17) across the university. For MMU, like many universities, 'successful institutional transformation' is gauged by the metrics in research, teaching and enterprise, for which VC John Brooks borrows the management metaphor of the 'three-legged stool' (MMU & Brooks, 2013a) where each of the three elements is needed for structural integrity. The corporate communications, external reports and interview data draw strong links between new MMU buildings and anticipated 'improvements' to the delivery of research and teaching activity.

> Over the past ten years, MMU has implemented a major rationalisation and renewal strategy for its estate. Implementation of the strategy has transformed the estate and *improved the delivery of academic teaching and research activity*. (AUDE et al., 2015, p. 44, emphasis added)

Fundamental to these improvements, is a managerial belief in the transformational power of the 'right' kind of space and a certainty that people 'work better in teams'. The implication is that if the correct combination of people are placed in suitable spaces, performance will improve.

> What we were trying to do throughout the transformation of the
> university was to create high performing teams (…) to get the best out
> of your people they work better in teams and *to get high-performing
> teams you want the right environment for them to work in*. (Design and
> Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

The phrase 'high-performing teams' is reiterated in an interview in MMU *Success* magazine from the same year with VC John Brooks where he describes them as 'the absolute key to achieving *successful institutional transformation*' (MMU, 2015a, p. 17). The following interview extract with a member of the university's senior management team shows an architecturally determinist stance unfolding. The link between the built environment and desirable ways of working and high performance is extended to include a belief in the positive effects of the working environment on morale.

> (…) And it's all about *self-value, self-esteem* and you improve that by
> creating the *best possible working environment*. (Design and
> Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

This way of thinking requires an acceptance – to some degree – that managerially sanctioned working practices can be encouraged by the construction of spaces that promote team working and collaboration. Beyond providing particular environments that may promote approved styles of group working, the interviewee is clear about the beneficial links between working conditions and self-esteem.

> (…) and you want to create more opportunity for informal social
> interaction than if you're stuck in a silo you know that's what you are.
> You're working on your own, so we're trying to create much more of a
> team environment. Now I think the vast majority of the staff actually
> engage in that very, very profitably and positively. Some haven't and
> that's inevitable I guess. (Design and Management, Participant D)

The inference in the extract above is that, prior to the creation of the 'right' environmental conditions, academic staff were in some way underperforming or that the old working environments were inhibiting staff potential. Another reading might include the idea that the personal and professional identities exhibited by staff did not align with the idealised identity envisaged by university management.

Spaces for team working

The concept of institution-based and external team working is not new to universities. Scott (2009, p. 1) describes a range of common academic team types, including: 'departmental and faculty-level teams, course teams, teaching teams, committees, working groups, project teams, internal and external research teams, societies and professional organisations'. She highlights that 'there is now a strong belief that collaborative work more effectively fulfils the demands of an academic role' (p. 1).

At MMU this emphasis on team working forms an important part of official guidance documents and administrative mechanisms used to recruit new staff, plan development activities and measure performance. For example, the importance of team working is apparent across of range of corporate documents including the: *MMU Leadership and Management Competency Framework; Guidance on Team Briefings; Performance Management Guide; Recognising, Rewarding and Engaging your Team; From Review to Action: Diagnostic Tool for Managers and Teams; Continual Monitoring and Improvement Plans*; and various professional development review procedures. These documents highlight the significance placed on team working for 'creating opportunities for innovation and generation of ideas and actions' (MMU, 2012c, p. 5) and for developing individuals and teams who demonstrate a flexibility and an adaptability to organisational transformation (MMU, 2014d). These documents form a body of *linguistic discursive practice* aimed at shifting power/knowledge relations (Jäger & Maier, 2009) coercing staff toward greater team involvement. These discursive practices are closely tied to specific *non-linguistically performed practices* or actions (Jäger & Maier, 2009) directed at the same goal, such as: training sessions, periodic reviews and performance metrics. These actions are notable in the organisational priorities for staff development teams during the period of the move to the Brooks Building, which included 'support for staff who were moving work location and adapting to new ways of working' and 'working on projects to develop a 'One team approach' as teams are bought together from Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell' (MMU, 2014d, p. 12). This complex network of discourses and non-linguistically performed practices is, in turn, connected to a series

of *materialisations* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) conceived to support team working (for example, distributing staff across open-plan offices and providing a range of social spaces designed to encourage collaboration).

In universities, like business, these features of contemporary management thinking have evolved, not as a result of greater altruism on the part of employers, but to maximise capital return and market advantage in the face of an increasingly complex, uncertain and swiftly moving economic environment afforded by 'academic capitalism' (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2010; Sheila Slaughter & Leslie, 2001) (see Section 3.1). Thrift (2005) recognises 'an increasing number of symmetries between academia and business' (p. 23) and highlights the creation 'of new spaces of intensity in which the new kind of managerial subject can be both created and affirmed' (p. 131). He describes these new workers as 'fast subjects' being engineered through 'spaces of visualization, spaces of embodiment and spaces of circulation' to be able to respond swiftly to changing business demands (p. 131).

For MMU management, organisational transformation required considerable 'reengineering' of the staff office environments and working practices, to close what Duffy (1997, p. 49) describes as, 'the widening gap between 'open ended' managerial aspirations and the closed sterile physical reality of conventional office space' in order to accommodate further team working.

Open plan office space

Open plan offices were an important element of the architect's design for staff accommodation in the Brooks Building, and also a key element in the managerial reimagining of academic working practices. The approach taken by MMU has been to move from the individual or shared office spaces available at the Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses to large open offices where staff each have their own workstation combining desk and limited storage space. The move to open plan working had been an ongoing managerial mission, incrementally increasing the occupancy of these new spaces over a number of architectural projects.

> (…) another key area that we've sort of moved away from, which has evolved over time is the single cell staff offices. So quite a few years ago we looked at moving away from single office to maybe groups of

> twos and threes … and then on the Business School it was slightly more. And then in Birley [Brooks] for example you know the spaces are more cluster group spaces. (Design and Management, Participant C)

Much of the thinking behind larger open office arrangements is derived, not from other universities but from other professions where these configurations are more common.

> (…) everything we learnt from looking at best practice in professional practice, so if you look at architects, accountants, lawyers, they all work in open plan offices and they do that because [it is] best practice (Design and Management, Participant D)

This is a clear example of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Wasserman, 2011) where institutions draw organisational inspiration from each other during times of uncertainty. Typically, isomorphic practices occur within a particular sector; for example, a poorly performing university might look to a highly performing university for organisational guidance. However, it has been noted that cross-sector isomorphic tendencies are increasing (Bromley & Meyer, 2017).

The managerial and architectural intent behind providing open-plan space with a variety of formal and informal working environments was two-fold. First, to provide an environment where 'high performing teams' could flourish and where the perceived physical barriers (such as individual cellular offices, lack of adjacency between functional groups, physical distance between individuals) to knowledge sharing were removed. Thus, theoretically, improving the likelihood of formal collaboration and interdisciplinary working. One of the most striking examples of this was the colocation of the Education (ESRI) and Health (RIHSC) research institutes to enable 'collaborative research to evolve between the Faculties' (MMU, 2013b) and 'multi-professional collaboration' (Sheppard Robson & Solk, 2014).

Second, there was an intention to create an environment where staff would come in to contact with each other more frequently, thereby increasing the opportunities for informal social interaction (Oldham & Brass, 1979) with the goal of cultivating greater collegiality and team identity (Scott, 2009). The data show clear links between the placement of particular spatial devices (for example circulation routes and

adjacencies between social and work areas) and the idea of impromptu meeting, ad hoc collaboration and the sharing of tacit knowledge between staff.

This transformational intent was evident in the management-produced glossy brochure *Your guide to the Birley Building*, outlining the changes in 'ways of working and working practices' (MMU, 2014d, p. 6) required by the new building's *conceived space*. The guide – placed on each staff member's new desk prior to the move-in date – advised staff on the necessary changes to office etiquette required by the new building. The guide advised staff to 'show consideration to each other so that staff working in the same area can maintain concentration on their work' (MMU, 2014d, p. 6). Even at the conceptual stage, the open-plan offices were identified as areas where potential conflicts could arise, which would require regulation to govern the etiquette of the shared space.

> Some people don't understand how to work in shared offices, and I think potentially that's going to be a problem, and there will need to be shared office protocols. (Design and Management, Participant B)

Academic office space in the Brooks Building varies in shape and size. Some of the larger open-plan offices contain 50 or more individual workstations combined in monolithic, grid-like arrangements. These open-plan spaces also contain bookable office spaces, meeting rooms, hot-desking areas, networked printers and communal kitchen facilities used to reduce the spatial monotony and provide quiet and communal areas.

Hybrid workstation design: accommodating team and individual activity

Each Brooks Building workstation comprises a desk, a pedestal, a side return acting as a partition between staff and a high (in Education) or low (in Health, Psychology and Social Care) storage unit to the front offering partial enclosure around three sides (Figure 6-4). This modest difference in furniture between the Faculties had been agreed during the planning phase to accommodate staff preferences and variations in preferred working practice. The inclusion of the high bookcase allowed staff greater visual privacy and increased personal storage space but blocked the spread of natural light. The lower bookcase reduced visual privacy but allowed colleagues to quickly assess who was in or out of the office and produced a brighter office.

Figure 6-4: High-style workstation (with additional storage capacity) in Education Faculty section of an open-plan office

All offices feature a similar layout of parallel lines of desks, usually in pairs, often arranged back-to-back to form clusters of four desks but sometimes placed in larger clusters and alternative configurations (Figure 6-5). This type of open-plan, regimented, uniform and linear layout is indicative of 'hive' organisations, 'characterised by individual, routine-process work' (Duffy, 1997, p. 62). However, the partial enclosure of the workstations in the Faculty of Education, with a high bookcase to the front, attempts to reproduce the properties of cellular space more appropriate for autonomous workers engaged in concentrated work (Duffy, 1997, p. 63). The workstation design can be seen as a hybrid solution, appropriating aspects of cellular and hive working, in order to reap the advantages that each layout and design might afford.
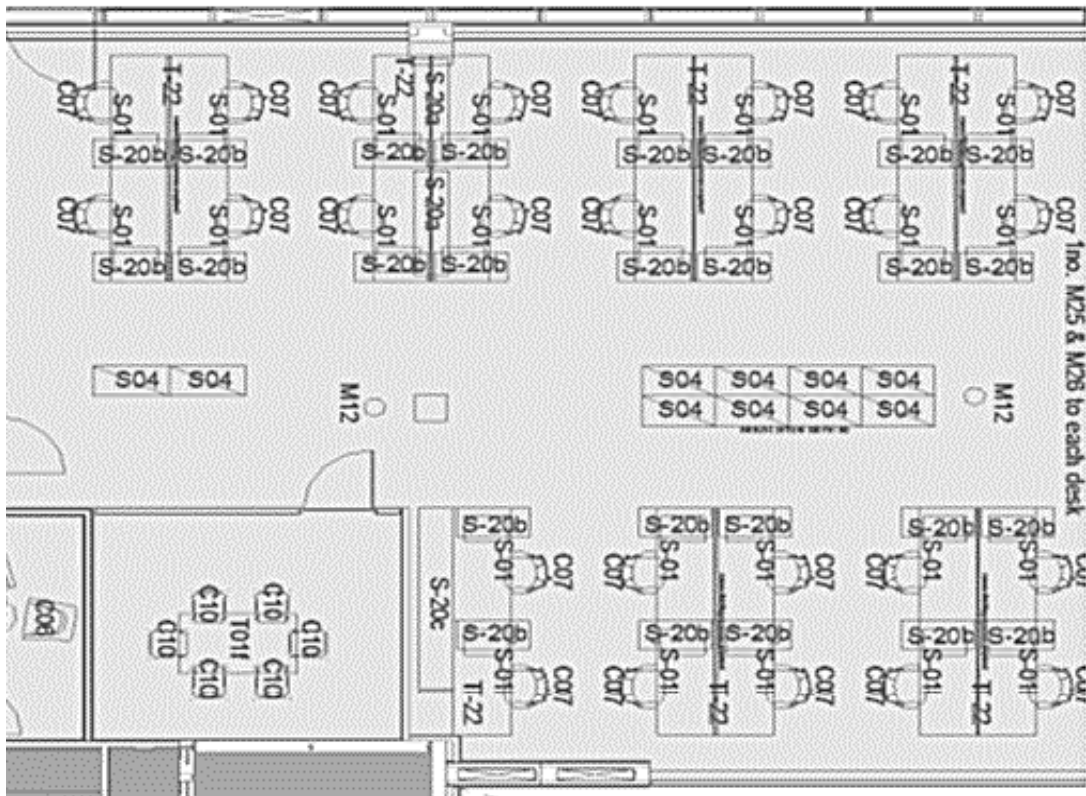
Figure 6-5: Typical layout of open-plan office space within the Brooks Building

One of the purported advantages of cluster working groups was that by increasing the proximity and abandoning the physical office boundaries between individual workers, greater interpersonal communication would follow (Zahn, 1991).

> (…) with the cluster working groups, you're probably coming into contact with more colleagues on a daily basis than perhaps what you would if you were in your own office. (Design and Management, Participant C)

This clustering of individual workers resonates with contemporary organisational theory about working practices and team working and the benefits of tight co-location of staff on knowledge sharing (Duffy, 1997; Heerwagen et al., 2004; Sheahan & HASSELL, 2014), and the likelihood of forming positive relationships (Nahemow & Lawton, 1975).

There is a common strand cutting through the management discourse, which focuses on the provision of spaces that encourage informal social interaction in the form of unplanned meetings between colleagues. The idea is straightforward: these impromptu gatherings will produce productive synergies where existing practice can

be shared and new – and unexpected – working relationships can form as a result. In the Brooks Building, this 'conditioning of spatial practices' (Stanek, 2011) was orchestrated through the provision of the large (20–50 seat) open-plan offices for academic staff, circulation spaces, communal kitchens and informal social spaces shared with students. The most noticeable of these is the so-called 'Spanish steps' in the building's foyer. These were named after the Spanish Steps in Rome, a traditional meeting place for artists and poets, and conceived as a communal meeting place for student – student, staff – staff and student – staff interaction.

Circulation spaces

One of the key conceptual ideas apparent in the Brooks Building was the control of circulation of students and staff through the building via a single main entrance leading to the 'processional' Spanish Steps from ground to first floors, and a single central stairwell from the first floor up to the fourth floor at the top of the building. The stairway and bank of four glass lifts share a transition space on each floor; this is the space where staff and students mix while on route to their next class or meeting, or when moving between work and catering areas of the building. The architects have employed this common spatial planning device to force bodies to circulate around the building in particular pre-determined ways, in the hope of increasing the quantity of informal contacts (Hillier, 2007; Vischer, 2005). The ultimate aim of controlled circulation is to increase the volume of social interaction within the two faculties and in turn generate conditions for productive and creative work. Use of circulation space to stimulate interaction is a common device in modern business organisation (Duffy, 1997; van Meel, Martens, & van Ree, 2010). There is an expectation this increase will have a positive effect on communication and knowledge flow through the building (Thrift, 2005) and contribute to the formation of positive relationships. The perceived value of tacit, informal knowledge sharing as opposed to more formal structures is evident in the following quote.

> So people just should bump into each other more often. Circulation is centralised (…) Even if it's just a passing 'how are you', just two minutes' conversation – gives you much more insight of what's going on than formal meeting every two months, whatever you have (…) like with your head of department (…) I think it's much more informative sometimes. (Design and Management, Participant A)

The architects have provided a single circulation core connecting the floors, rather than a design where there are multiple routes to each destination within the building. Students and staff wishing to move vertically through the building are compelled to use the same landing space thereby increasing the likelihood of bumping into a colleague or peer. Making the most of this device, the architects provided seating spaces close to the transitory spaces on each floor as a setting for longer discussions (see Figure 6-6 and Figure 6-7).

Figure 6-6: Informal seating area beside lifts and stairwell, with clear view into staff office accommodation

Figure 6-7: Circulation zone outside lifts and central stairwell, with a view through to informal seating area break-out area

In the old Didsbury campus these impromptu meetings happened in a less structured and visible way due to the labyrinthine layout of the old campus. Staff and students often had to take a circuitous route to get to their destination, which would result in unplanned assemblies. Participant B illustrates a contradictory view about the effect of the new environment.

> (…) I think there will be quite a significant shift. I think [in the old Didsbury campus] often people would meet on corridors or in the spaces at the end of corridors and you'd start chatting and people would overhear and join in, and those kinds of informal sort of group meetings almost would take place. (…) I don't think that's going to happen here [the Brooks Building] (Design and Management, Participant B)

While Participant B agrees about the value of unscheduled conversation to academic work, she predicts that rather than creating opportunities for impromptu meetings, by attempting to 'manage informality' these authentic opportunities would disappear.

> It might mean that there are more formal meetings and less informal meetings (…) I think that much more informal way of working will be lost. (Design and Management, Participant B)

Spencer (2016) notes, in his critique of neoliberal architecture, that in the design of modern buildings, the circulatory functions of many building have become

magnified, making the cooperation and communication that occurs in them highly visible. The social interactions in these spaces then promote a managerially sanctioned 'motivational example' for other workers to emulate. He continues, suggesting that 'circulation operates as a primary instrument in the process of neoliberal valorisation and subjectification' (Spencer, 2016, p. 109).

Informal social spaces

Within the Brooks Building, there are a number of areas conceived with informal learning and social interaction in mind including bookable pods, secluded seating areas, a café and break-out spaces. These spaces are supplied to fit in with a conception of students as highly autonomous mobile learners able to successfully navigate a range of spaces both individually and in groups in a 'continuous flow' (UCISA & Ferrell, 2016) between formal and informal learning. The most 'visible' meeting space is the series of decks on the Spanish steps, providing a space where students and staff can sit and eat lunch and chat.

Figure 6-8: The Spanish steps, the main social space within the Brooks Building, shown in typical usage and a large event (visit and speech by Ed Miliband then leader of the UK Labour opposition).

The steps are also used to stage temporary exhibitions and act as tiered seating for large-scale speaking events (see Figure 6-8).

This area is the main social-hub of the building designed for student – student and informal student – staff meetings. Paradoxically, because it is designed as a stair, with access only from the top or bottom, without assistance the main body of this significant social space is inaccessible to wheelchair users and other students with mobility problems. Strange and Banning (2001, p. 16) cite limited wheelchair access caused by poor design of campus facilities as an example of the type of 'negative

nonverbal messages' that poorly designed environments can convey to their users. This is particularly pertinent as the building is shared by the Faculty of Health, Psychology and Social Care who have significant numbers of student and visitor wheelchair users. This seems at odds with managerial rhetoric on social inclusion and its high profile in campus regeneration plans (John McAslan + Partners, 2009). This fundamental flaw in the conceived space of the building did not stop the building winning best public sector organisation in the Disability Standard awards in 2013. Ironically, the press release even stated 'their new … [Brooks] Campus is a great example of how they have considered accessibility at every stage' (Business Disability Forum, 2013).

6.4.2 Working independently

As described in the previous section, the discourses around conceived space emphasised the creation of spatially-mediated high-performing teams as the key to successful organisational transformation. However, Scott (2009) highlights a number of forces inhibiting team working in universities, citing the highly individualistic nature of academic work, reward structures that favour individual endeavour (Pinder et al., 2009) and a culture of academic competition. Much academic work entails concentrated and sustained intellectual effort and requires an environment free from disturbances, and as such may not be conducive to open-plan environments (Baldry & Barnes, 2012; Kim & de Dear, 2013; Maher & von Hippel, 2005; Oldham & Brass, 1979; Price & Fortune, 2008).

In addition to the practicalities of university work that emphasises individual effort best achieved through solitary or undisturbed working, there are political forces that privilege the concept of the individual. Under the false autonomy inferred by the neoliberal economics of higher education, each subject, like the market itself, is urged to become 'individual, responsible, striving, competitive, enterprising' (Ball, 2015, p. 258), where self-interest takes precedence over that of the collective. Clarke (2012) notes an increasing 'shift towards individuation or atomisation, whereby educational institutions and agent are viewed as isolated and distinct elements' (p. 301). Rose (1999) proposes that modern-day individuals engage in a 'project of themselves'; perhaps this is understandable in modern academia where employment

can be precarious and offers little stability or security (Archer, 2008a). This plays to the idea that in the modern workplace, staff should be self-disciplining and that power should be indirect, influencing how workers act upon themselves rather than used to force direct control (Foucault, 1988).

The management discourse, from both the corpus of corporate literature and management interviews, barely mentioned the requirement for individual private space for solitary academic work. For example, the interview fragment below alludes to academic privacy before swiftly describing facilities for interacting with colleagues and students.

> (…) *we've tried to respect staff's need for privacy.* At the same time making sure they are available for meeting with students, so the idea of those meeting rooms and bookable meeting rooms is meant to encourage that. (Design and Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

This in stark contrast to the data from the staff interviews (which are given detailed analysis in Chapter 7, which focus on the *perceived space* of the Brooks Building) where concerns such as privacy, confidentiality, proximity and ambient noise are dominant themes. The lack of acknowledgement of the autonomous nature of much academic work in the data is a telling omission. Foucault reminds us that 'the said and the *not-said* … are the elements of the apparatus' (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. 11).

Homogeneous office furniture: creating a non-hierarchical space

Workstation specifications are identical, regardless of the grade or status of the individual who 'owns' the space. Not even the Faculty Deans retained a personal cellular office space in the initial planning round. There are a number of potential readings of this apparent lack of hierarchy. Symbolically, the homogeneous workstation furniture sends a message of parity, where all workers are equal and there is no spatial or material advantage to seniority, as would be the case if staff with higher status are rewarded with higher specification working environments (see Rosen, Orlikowski, & Schmahmann, 1992a). However, the subtext has a number of more perturbing readings: first, that all employees are equally expendable, replaceable and interchangeable; second, that workstations are seen as provisional

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rather than as permanent and there is little point becoming comfortable or 'nesting' in a given location, as relocation within the building to an identical space is possible.

Fixed environmental design: reducing agency over working space

In addition to lack of control of their physical space, heating and lighting in the staff offices is controlled automatically, leaving little scope for individual environmental control. Lighting is adjustable within the office space, but is controlled by motion detectors and daylight sensors. The daylight sensors dim the lights when the sun shines, overriding personal preferences, and the motion sensors switch off the lights after 20 minutes if they do not detect enough movement. Practically, this deters static work where concentrated effort and little activity occurs as the occupant has to move around in order to keep the lights on. It also signals that the environment is not conducive to scholarly activity.

While automated heating and lighting systems that self-adjust based on typical needs may have energy saving benefits, they do not recognise that workers may want to assert personal control over their environment and may not feel comfortable being controlled in this manner. Baldry and Barnes (2012) suggest that having control over the work environment may help workers convey 'social and personal identity within an otherwise bureaucratic anonymity' (p. 212). Personal control over work environments may also have a positive effect over job satisfaction (Samani, 2015) and group cohesion (Lee & Brand, 2005).

Fixed organisational design: reducing agency over working space

Configurations of desks were pre-determined during the architectural planning process and 'set in stone' by the time staff were due to inhabit the building. The workstations – specially designed for the project – are heavy, and constructed in such a way as to prevent reconfiguration into alternative layouts without permission and specialist help. Workstations were built in-situ by joiners, rather than constructed from 'off-the-shelf' office furniture systems and staff were officially cautioned 'Not to attempt to move desks within staff areas' (MMU, 2014d, p. 6). This effectively removed personal agency over the arrangement of individual spaces and the

prospect of creating bespoke workstations from a kit of parts to meet future requirements.

The planning emphasised grouping staff together in particular functional teams (sometimes referred to as clusters) in what Dale and Burrell (2008, p. 53) term *Emplacement* or control through fixing. This is a process of *classification* where individuals are grouped into similar operations (Foucault, 1991) and fixing of bodies in space was carried out at the planning stage where each desk on the plan was allocated a name. The space was partitioned so that 'each individual has his own place; and each place has its own individual' (Foucault, 1991, p. 143). The process of codifying activity in this way is clear example of Lefebvre's *representations of space* where complex working patterns, affiliations, team structure and reporting lines are approximated by the spatial designer from organisational diagrams.

6.4.3 Working with students

At the Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses, one-to-one tutorials and small group work usually occurred in the academic's personal cellular office. Students would wait in the corridor and knock on the door at a pre-arranged time. Some academics kept strict hours when they were available to students, others had an open-door policy.

Students, especially those experiencing pressing personal or academic problems, sometimes contacted staff outside these hours, interrupting time set aside for other activities. In busy periods of the year, queues of students would form down the corridors waiting for placement interviews and staff meetings. The individual office accommodation available at the Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses disguised movement, as it was difficult to know whether staff were in or not. In addition, offices were typically allocated in a piecemeal fashion often based on particular circumstance or length of service rather than strategic grouping.

The Brooks Building was designed to mediate contact between students and staff in an attempt to 'protect' staff from unscheduled interruption using a range of material/spatial techniques and administrative devices described below.

Swipe card entry: controlling interaction with students

The shared staff office spaces are controlled by swipe card (ID Badge) entry, and are not accessible to students and other unauthorised personnel (see Figure 6-9). Students and staff are now required to pre-book all meetings, formalising interaction between lecturer and learner.

Figure 6-9: Swipe card entry system formalises contact between students and staff. Students are able to phone through to individual staff member's desks in the hope of contacting them at their workstation

This was a considerable departure from the arrangements in place at both Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses where students had access to academic workspaces and staff. This is a hard delineation between the 'space of staff' and the 'space of students' and is emblematic of the managerially approved relationship between the two groups implied by the new building's *conceived* space. It also a clear example of Dale and Burrell's (2008) concept of *emplacement,* conveying a strong message about student – staff hierarchy and the nature of the unwritten contract of service between staff and students. Although designed to 'protect' staff from constant student interruption, these protocols, mediated by spatial-material constraints, serve to enforce particular working practices based on transaction (Brady, 2012) and consumption of services (Beyes & Michels, 2011) rather than co-creation of knowledge. The segregation of students and staff also required managerial intervention to clarify how contact between the two groups should be mediated.

> Should any student need to see a member of the academic teams urgently, they should be advised to telephone them and leave a message. This will automatically generate an e-mail, including the caller's number. (MMU, 2014d *Your guide to the Birley Building* p.7)

Meeting with students: bookable tutorial spaces

The swipe card entry system meant that student and staff contact in the Brooks Building was formalised (Figure 6-10). This new, regulated interaction was mediated by bookable meeting pods that could accommodate group or individual tutorials.
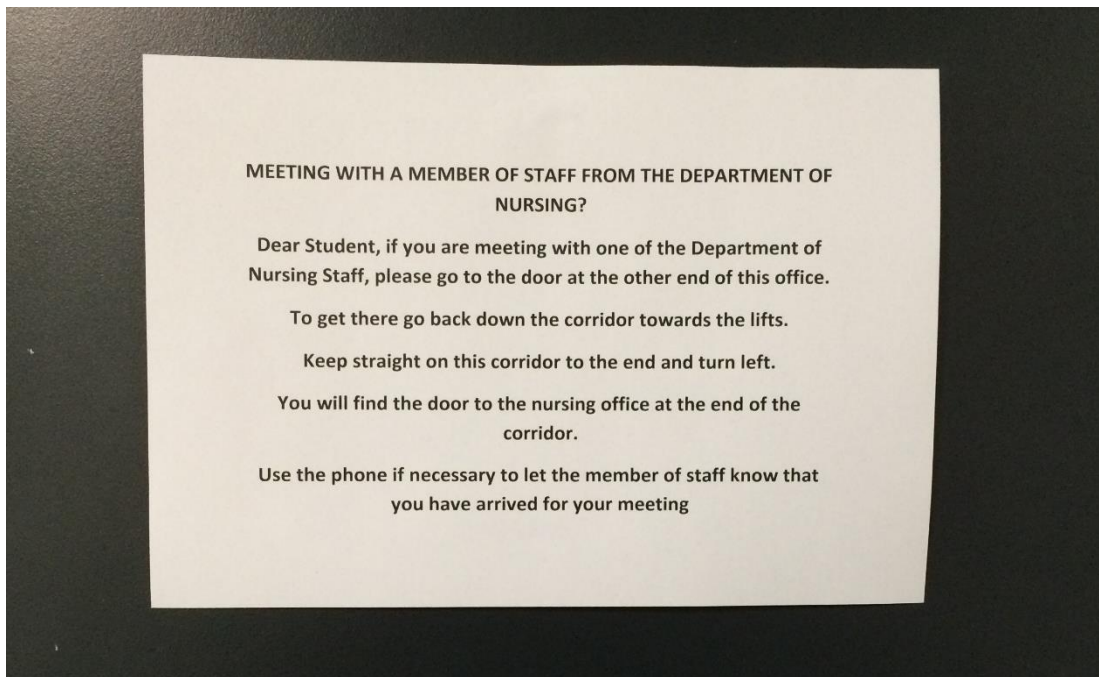
Figure 6-10: Some of the complex instructions required to redirect students who have taken a wrong turn in the building

The architects provided more than 50 of these 2–8 person rooms throughout the building, accessible from the general circulation spaces and corridors. The rooms were glazed with film partially obscuring vision in and out, with neutral white walls and either a coffee table, desk or small table depending on the occupancy level. Some of the larger spaces allowed a fixed Ethernet connection to the University network, while the small rooms relied on a Wi-Fi connection.

Students were advised to make routine appointments with staff via email, staff would then use the online booking system to book a room and time slot for meetings to take place and email the student back to confirm. This combination of spatial

ordering and formalised administrative procedures sends out specific functional and symbolic cues about the nature of the modified student-staff relationship.

Aesthetically, the meeting pods are small without any attempt at decoration, and as such are designed for brief interactions without distraction, so the emphasis is on getting business done as quickly as possible. The two-person pod is especially small, conceived presumably with only rapid meetings in mind rather than extended or leisurely conversations conducive to developing meaningful relationships. This is of course very much in keeping with time-bound nature of modern academia where student contact hours are strictly limited and monitored. In addition, because meeting pods have to be booked in advance in half-hour increments, sessions can be interrupted by another booking the moment the time is up. This strict regulation of time and space puts pressure on academics not to extend sessions with students and to behave in instrumental rather than adaptive ways depending on the individual needs of a student.

From a functional point of view, because the rooms are empty, any resources that an academic needs for the meeting need to either be electronic (and available via a laptop) or carried in and removed on a per-session basis making spontaneous teaching moments less likely. The pods are glass-fronted boxes where students and academics are clearly visible from the corridor making them unsuitable for difficult conversations about academic and pastoral problems, which can be emotional and where privacy is required. Symbolically, because the Brooks meeting pods are aesthetically neutral, belonging to neither student nor academic, they do not have the resonances of ownership that personalised or territorialised space would exhibit, imparting a sense of belonging and communicating identity (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). The neutral space of the meeting pods may be free of the power effects that ownership confers on space. However, as a result it may lose some of the tacit meanings (for example hospitality, rapport, trust) that inviting someone into a private space imparts.

Meeting with students: informal spaces

As a conceived space, drawing on contemporary ideas about learning spaces (C. Graham, 2012; Turner et al., 2013), the design of the Brooks Building emphasises informal interaction between staff, but also between staff and students. By providing a variety of formal and informal spaces, the architects envisage a shift away from formal meetings held in personal cellular offices, to a situation where staff and students meet in the neutral public spaces of the building.

> I think it's certainly more informal, there is more (…) you have to have the hierarchy, because therefore there is no respect … but I think it's more (…) it's more diverse now the way you can interact with your tutor I think. Because it could be more informal and it's more smooth. Because even (…) although there used to be rooms and you can knock at someone's office, it was still probably more formal than sitting with someone in a café. (Design and Management, Participant A)

From the quote above it seems that informal spaces are reimagined as a mechanism for levelling-out 'tacit hierarchies' (Oblinger, 2006 p.222) and re-balancing existing staff – student power relationships in favour of students.

6.5 The dispositive of the 'Model Student'

This section describes the *Model Student*, the final dispositive in this analysis. Several of the original motivations for the MMU campus redevelopment plan were in response to the increasingly competitive demands of a new higher education market (see Chapter 4 for full discussion). MMU highlighted 'providing world-class facilities' as a method of attracting 'high quality staff and students from UK and international markets' (AUDE et al., 2015, p. 45) and referred directly to the raising of student fees and the Browne Report's emphasis on the 'the changing relationship of students and universities' (p. 45) as an element of their 'transformation' rationale.

The discourse strands examined were dominated by the repetition of discourse linking the *conceived space* of the campus and surroundings, and meeting student expectations. For example, a prominent recent item on the front page of the main university website states that 'our campus is designed around your student experience' (MMU, 2017). In the data examined, the physical space was used to *knot* discursive strands together, normalising the discourse of student as a consumer of

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services and academics as service providers. In the extract below, Vice Chancellor John Brooks describes the collective construction of 'a new MMU' where the physical campus forms an important component of the offer to students.

> Together (…) we were creating *a new MMU*; putting *service to students at the top of the agenda*, academically and with new campuses and facilities. (MMU, 2012b, p. 2 emphasis added)

Implicit in this quote is the dissatisfaction of the MMU Senior Management Team with the 'old MMU' and an inference that in the past student service had not been a top priority. The Brooks Building aims to redress this in a number of ways. For example, the commercial style coffee shop occupies a prime corner site looking out over the public realm, where customers enjoy a loyalty card scheme, are seated next to the large perimeter windows (to draw more customers in) and in good weather doors are opened out into the student piazza, thus virtually indistinguishable from its high street counterparts.

The reception desk and student information point (Student Hub) draws aesthetic and organisational inspiration from service industries and would not be out of place in a modern retail bank or insurance brokers. The look is minimal, corporate and 'professional', and devoid of personal effects (see Figure 6-11). The initial point of contact is with the building receptionist; student enquiries are directed to the queue system where inquiries can be 'triaged' – simple inquiries are dealt with immediately, specialist help can be added to the hub point from a pool of staff in the back office or referred to other areas of the University.

Figure 6-11: Student Hub and Reception area

For more complex consultations, students can make an appointment for a sit-down conversation in one of three service pods, which create a buffer between the public and private back office spaces (Figure 6-12). The range of services available from the Student Hub is described in the detailed *Service Delivery Document* and made available to student 'customers' online.

Figure 6-12: Student services pods shown from public side forming a visual and symbolic buffer between the public and back office areas

The back office spaces in the Brooks Building, like the academic offices, are swipe card controlled and open plan in layout, with large numbers of staff colocated in a single large office with a communal kitchen. The administrative staff in these offices are clustered into functional groups in densely planned rows; for example, the programmes team sit in close proximety. The main back office area behind the reception desk also contains specialist storage for student academic records and other sensitive documents. Before the move, these administrative roles and records had been distributed across a number of sites.

6.5.1 Students as customers

The idea of 'students as customers' continues to be vigorously debated in the academic literature, both as a standalone area of interest and as part of broader discussions about the marketisation of Higher Education (Budd, 2017; Hoffman & Kretovics, 2004; McNay, 1995). While this argument continues to rage, for many universities – especially post-92 institutions such as MMU – the point is moot. MMU management discourse repeatedly conflates the terms 'students', 'customers' and

'service users' in their internal and external communications in an attempt to normalise the use of the term and its connotations. The metaphor of student as customer may work well for the ancillary services that a university supplies, such as access to IT support, catering outlets, accommodation, leisure and some library services. However, the metaphor translates poorly when describing the core educational offer of a university, especially the relationship between students and teaching staff.

One of the main drivers behind the MMU campus redevelopment project was a 'greater recognition of the student as a 'customer''(MMU, 2008b, p. 2) and a need to create 'effective mechanisms through which to gauge student and other customer satisfaction' (p. 3). For the architects the connection between the architectural form of the Brooks Building and the 'student consumer' was an important element of the design brief. The building design sought to market the distinctiveness of the MMU experience.

> As architects, we are being increasingly asked to embody the essence of the university's brand in the buildings we design … [talking about Brooks] Its key driver is the positioning of the student as consumer *at the heart of the* development and brand power… (Sheppard Robson & Solk, 2014)

It is revealing that Sheppard Robson (the design architects on the Brooks Building) uses the phrase 'student as consumer *at the heart of the* development' echoing the Browne Report (2010), which repeatedly stated that 'the relationship between students and institutions will be *at the heart of the* system' (p. 45). It seems that in the minds of the architects at least the 'relationship between students and institutions' is interchangeable with 'student as consumer'. A number of studies have pointed to the increasing importance of the physical university environment in the minds of both students and management as a factor in the marketing of the overall student 'campus experience' (Temple, Callender, Grove, & Kersh, 2014). For other organisations outside academia the aversion to the term 'customer' seems somewhat archaic and at odds with an approach which highlights 'service delivery'.

> The Faculties [at MMU] are at varying stages of the customer service journey, and some academics prefer to use alternative terminology to

'customer'. (…) There are some residual views that students should not be seen as customers but these are in the minority. (Investors in People, 2012, p. 7)

The inference in this quote from MMU's Investors in People report from 2012 is that non-transactional conceptions of the relationship between academic and student are outmoded. It reinforces the notion that 'customer' should rightfully assume a dominant position in the natural discourse of universities and attitudes of those who work in them. For Investors in People, customer service is a 'journey' towards an uncontested destination.

For students too, there seems to have been a shift in beliefs. 51% of students in post-92 institutions, recently polled in research by Universities UK (2017a, p. 6), stated that they see themselves as customers. Most students indicated that provision of 'good facilities available for studying' had the greatest impact on their consumer perceptions of 'value for money' (p. 6). The economics surrounding the provision of high-quality spaces is presented as a 'fight for survival' in some areas of the wider discourse around university space. The quote below from the Royal Institute of British Architects claims that students will use their power as consumers if the physical arrangements of their university fall short of expectations.

Students will demand more. They'll expect the best spaces and the most up-to-date technology (…). The perils of non-investment aren't worth thinking about: students will quickly realise that they are being short-changed by poor quality facilities and will vote either with their feet, through the media or via the ever-increasing array of surveys at their disposal. (RIBA, 2011, p. 4 emphasis added)

Participant C, suggested students coming to university straight from school may have demanding expectations having experienced 'state of the art' primary and secondary schools created through the Building Schools of the Future Programme (BSF).

(…) so they're used to a certain level of quality, and they expect at least the same if not better when they move to a university (Design and Management, Participant C)

The BSF programme asserted that 'schools must be designed to meet the needs of pupils and teachers in the 21st Century' (Department for Education and Skills, 2003a, p. 24), this being virtually identical to MMU's own impetus for transformation, which

grew from an 'urgent need' for modernisation. For MMU, the campus redevelopment programme delivered a convenient way to tangibly demonstrate where student fee income is being invested, providing an exciting first impression of the University.

> (…) it's a real 'wow' factor as you walk in and you see you know all the atria spaces. And certainly when we had a series of open days where we brought prospective students and the parents into the building (…) you know like we were saying about tuition fees (…) you come into a building like this [Brooks] you can see where you know the money's going (Design and Management, Participant C)

Dale and Burrell (2008) describe this as aesthetic *enchantment*; that is, seducing students, staff and visitors with aesthetically pleasing combinations of space, scale, materials and light – appropriating the 'dreams, desires and aspirations' (p. 51) of the building's users. The architect's promotional 3D walkthrough of the Brooks Building describes the aesthetic experience of entering the space, emphasising the command over the space and its intended impression:

> Looking up at the entrance, five stories of glass and light, with walls clad in oak, provide a spectacular arrival for our staff, students and visitors (MMU, 2013b)

The phrase 'wow factor' is used again in an interview with a member of the Senior Management Team, for whom a powerful component of the architecture's ability to subtly seduce, coerce and dominate users came from the inclusion of large atrium spaces, a common feature across all MMU campus redevelopment projects.

> because education buildings sometimes are terribly functional, but not very impressive and we wanted to actually create that wow factor, that … because when you walk into the buildings I've just described to you they all have an atrium which is really powerful and we didn't have that at all, so that, yeah that was part of the message (…) when we were planning (Design and Management, Participant D)

MMU are selling a particular urban student lifestyle by drawing on the aesthetics of modern corporate architecture and playing on 'aspirations' of future employment, rather than manufacturing a sense of place based on educational needs and scholarship. All aspects of the building's organisational aesthetics are arranged to control the user's sensory experience (Wasserman & Frenkel, 2011), their

impressions of institutional identity and their needs as consumers. For example, the smell of 'barista style' coffee drifting through the atrium, use of customer loyalty cards, large screens delivering marketing messages, and the corporate uniforms of the IT services staff.

Floor-to-ceiling glazing: making staff activity visible

Most staff offices in the new building have at least one external floor-to-ceiling glazed wall, with some offices having additional glazing internally, overlooking the atrium void space. These large expanses of glazing allow natural light to filter through the building, but also enable a clear view of the academic work areas (Figure 6-13).

Figure 6-13: Social transparency, a clear view into the academic space across the void from an informal work space

This visibility creates an environment of permanent surveillance, where staff who sit next to the atrium glazing are on display to other colleagues and students. This gives rise to a feeling of a synoptic, rather than panoptic, form of surveillance where, rather than workers being watched by a single source of control, the building allows social-surveillance of 'the few by the many' (Mathiesen, 1997). In this case, surveillance is by the students rather than university management, where the 'service provider' is under intense scrutiny by the 'customer'.

The amount and positioning of the glazing in the building means a reduction in visual privacy for staff used to cellular spaces in older buildings. Glass is often used in architecture to expose inner workings of buildings, in this case, exposing the formerly hidden processes of management, administration, research, planning and lesson preparation to staff and students. The expanses of glass also increase the visibility of the daily rhythms of university life to the staff in offices. For some architects the use of glass responds to a 'growing demand for transparency in the modern workplace' (Frearson, 2016). In this context, glazing becomes related to 'social transparency' designed to express sincerity and trustworthiness. Vidler (1992) observes that 'transparent architecture functions as a metaphor for a new kind of society, in which nothing is hidden, and everything is open to public view' (p. 218).

6.5.2 The student as product

Analysis of the data highlighted a particular discourse strand referring to the production of a model, professional, future workforce of 'good citizens who reflect the institution's values' (MMU, 2008b, p.1). MMU often uses the terms 'work-ready graduates' or students with a 'work-ready outlook' in their promotional material; this resonates strongly with the metaphor of 'students as product' (Hoffman & Kretovics, 2004). Drawing on manufacturing, this model conceptualises students as raw material and the university as a factory system producing 'highly-employable' (MMU, 2008) students as finished products for potential employees. Statistics about students who gain employment can then be used as an institutional performance metric (Sirvanci, 1996). In this conception, the university environment and its academic workers are integral to the successful 'manufacture of satisfactory products' for employers who are their 'intelligent customers' (Department for Education and Skills, 2003b).

To aid this process, elements of the Brooks Building have been conceived to work on an aspirational level, to instil work-like attributes in its students in the hope that the qualities of the building would 'rub-off' and influence their behaviour and attitude to work (while at university and beyond). While the actual social-structuring capabilities of particular spaces, places and architectures need to be approached carefully from a theoretical perspective, it is revealing that – from a management point of view –

the conceived space is linked with particular emotional affects and attributes conducive to being a productive worker.

> The biggest thing I think is I wanted when students and staff enter a building, I want them to be *proud* of where they work and to be *professional in that environment*. (Design and Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

Particular specialist spaces in the building were designed explicitly to mimic their real-world Education and Health settings and allow students to imitate the working practices of the 'real world' in a safe setting.

> Well part of the briefing process that came from both the deans of Health and Education was that we should try to best *replicate what the students would be experiencing when they go out into practice*. So um … so really this building is like a mini school and a mini hospital really (…)
>
> So you know in terms of how the beds are laid out and sort of the mock-up wards and the facilities etc. that they have … you know do *try to replicate what the students would experience in industry*. (Design and Management, Participant C, emphasis added)

In addition to the specific spaces provided, such as hospital ward rooms, treatment areas and specialist educational discipline areas, the building is designed to have social effects on learning. Students, like staff, are encouraged to negotiate use of the shared social spaces and move fluidly through the building, finding suitable learning spaces as the need arises, modelling the flexible and cooperative forms of work required in the modern workplace. This is analogous to Hancock and Spicer's (2011) concept of *identityscapes*, which they describe as 'a spatially bounded site oriented towards the production of economically viable modes of identity conducive to the demands of a post-industrial economy' (p. 91). They describe a new university library where a combination of 'architectural and aesthetic techniques' is used to provide an environment where students are pre-conditioned as 'new model-workers' (p. 92) for the type of employment experiences and environments they may encounter post-university.

This identity of student as 'future-worker' is further reinforced by the integration of 'engagement monitoring' equipment into the Brooks Building. As part of a pilot, certain rooms within the building have been equipped with swipe card registration

systems for students. Students who are part of the pilot group are required to record their attendance at each timetabled class. In this conception, engagement and attendance are closely linked, and it is part of the University's duty of care to ensure that students engage with their course. Engagement with the monitoring system is compulsory for those in the pilot, and failure to attend or record attendance can result in formal action being taken by the University. This pinpointing and recording of individual bodies in space and time has clear resonances with Foucault's ideas about the 'disciplinary society' (Foucault, 1991, p. 209). It also highlights a strange dichotomy, where on one hand students are expected to be autonomous, critical thinkers who can self-organise. However, this self-sufficiency is denied by a system that is in place for the student's 'own good', rendering learners obedient, docile and willing (Foucault, 1991).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described how MMU have marshalled the discourse, non-discursive practices and the materialisations of new buildings and interior spaces in to the service of the university's transformation agenda. The analysis in this chapter has shown how the *conceived* space of the Brooks Building has been used to assert particular, managerially sanctioned, identities at a variety of scales, particularly that of 'The University for world-class Professionals'. The findings in this chapter resonate with theories concerning the power of architecturally 'designed space' to seduce, manipulate and dominate the actions and emotions of users (Dovey, 1999) which were apparent in the plans and architectural discourse of the Brooks Building and the managerially held belief that the building would act as a catalyst for change. In creating these new identities, the University has used a number of material and discursive techniques to legitimate the link between 'world-class' space – in the form of prize-winning, iconic buildings – and the expected attributes of a world-class university. This has been attempted in four distinct ways.

First, where the design of new university architecture has been specifically aimed to directly alter behaviour (for example, reconfiguring office layouts to change working practices, or using swipe-card entry to mediate contact between staff and students).

Second, where the architecture was part of a broader campaign to effect change indirectly (for example, influencing staff and student professionalism or improving the student experience). An initial reading of the data revealed the routine use of deterministic language to imply causality between an 'improved' environment and a number of positive attributes new university buildings would deliver for the local economy, urban regeneration, and community focus (including improved access to higher education for marginalised groups) and improved working conditions for staff and students.

Third, by using the symbolic meaning of the spaces and the discourse surrounding them as a way of denoting power, influence, prestige and status. For example, using the new architecture to reposition the University as a national and international 'thought leader' in the area of the design of university space. This discourse sets about redefining MMU as an organisation not merely following architectural and environmental trends, but actively trying to influence the discourse about the types of university building that could – and should – be built. For example, MMU wishes to portray itself as an expert in environmental design, as an expert in particular building techniques and as an expert in the process of large-scale organisational change management.

Finally, by physically controlling aspects of the city's redevelopment, the university is making a visible mark on the skyline, influencing the urban fabric, and in doing so making a statement about the institution's ability to control large amounts of capital.

The following chapter continues the analysis of the Brooks Building, focusing on the *spatial practice* and everyday routines of the building, privileging the perceptions of the staff who use the use the space.

7 Perceived space: identity, productivity and wellbeing

This chapter focuses on the first aspect of Lefebvre's (1991b) spatial triad: *spatial practice*, the material, visible and measurable *perceived space* of 'daily reality (daily routine)' (p. 38). Thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001) is used to examine perceptions of social identity, productivity and wellbeing from the standpoint of the individual worker. This analysis privileges an internal conception of identity, productivity and wellbeing (how people see themselves), rather than an external view (how they are categorised by others). It considers how the changes in *spatial practice* required by the new Brooks Building have affected staff perceptions of performance, cohesion and competence. Comparisons are made to the routine *spatial practice* of everyday life in the old Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses to reflect on how the move to the new campus has disrupted continuity and introduced new working rhythms.

The first section describes the results of a thematic analysis (see Section 5.5.2) of interviews (n=27) with staff carried out before and after the move to the new Brooks Building in Hulme. The interviews were conducted over a period of a year with staff located at the satellite campuses at Didsbury (Education) and Elizabeth Gaskell (Health, Psychology and Social Care), both of which closed in 2014. Interviews were carried out with staff in a variety of roles (academic, management, research, student support, learning technology) and at various levels of seniority within the organisation. Many of the participants (n=11) were interviewed twice, before and

after the move to the new building. There was a six-month interval after the move before instigating the second phase interviews in the new building, in order to allow any initial exaggerated feelings about the new environment to subside, in the hope of getting a more considered and genuine participant response.

This chapter focuses on *spatial practice;* which is presented as the first aspect of Lefebvre's (1991b) spatial triad in *The Production of Space*. However, in this thesis the analysis of spatial practice forms the second analysis chapter. This was done in order to follow the sequential narrative of the Brooks Building from design to perception to lived experience.

Spatial practice is the material, visible and measurable *perceived space* of 'daily reality (daily routine)' (p. 38). Spatial practice describes the 'common-sense' space of the repetitive rhythms of the everyday, as interpreted by our senses. These are the spaces that enable, or hinder, specific 'competence and performance' (p. 38) of tasks, whether in the workplace or 'private life'. In a university environment, *perceived space* can be conceptualised as the space that supports its core functions of teaching, learning, research and administration (and more recently entrepreneurial activity). Thompson-Fawcett (2003) notes that *perceived space* is measurable and mappable and is the space used by analysts to monitor or decipher spatial activity. Having briefly reviewed the concept of perceived space, this chapter will address the second research question of this thesis:

> RQ2: How do the spatial practices of everyday university life affect staff perceptions of productivity, wellbeing and identity?

The thematic analysis of the participant interview data yielded three global themes. The first, that individual and collective spatial practice is constantly renegotiated in order to maintain work productivity despite challenges including: noise, privacy confidentiality, proximity and visibility. The second global theme describes the effect that disrupted spatial practice can have on wellbeing. This is particularly apparent when agency over personal environment is reduced or when work-life balance is altered. The final global theme describes the way that new identities are suggested

by the spatial practice of the Brooks Building, particularly its emphasis on worker mobility and a reduction in personal storage space.

7.1 Perceived productivity

This section discusses how the new spatial practices – demanded by the move to the Brooks Building – influenced participants' perceptions of productivity, the first of the three *global themes* identified in the research. This global theme concerns the ability of staff to carry out the tasks demanded of them by the university in an efficient and effective manner. This theme is also concerned with personal perceptions of work output, and the satisfaction derived from doing work (for example, motivation, and quality of output, ability to work creatively and in a professional manner). According to this global theme, satisfactory spatial practice is assisted by appropriate environmental conditions and the ability to control the working environment to suit individual requirements (see Figure 7-1).
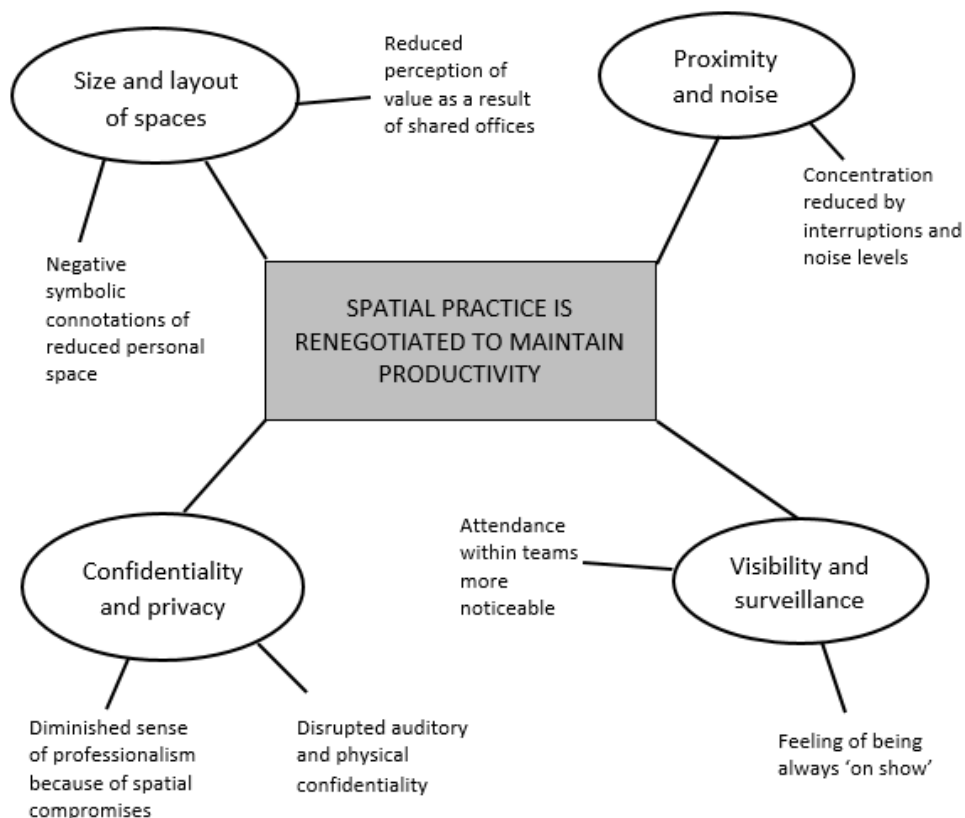
Figure 7-1: Thematic network for 'spatial practice is renegotiated to maintain productivity'

Personal perceptions of productivity were seen to be affected by the 'sensuously perceptible aspect of space' (Schmid, 2008, p. 39) and 'the habits of the body' (Dale, 2005), with many discussions focusing on individual control of noise, privacy, confidentiality, personal space and proximity to others. Another strand of discussion focused on how the spatial practice required by the Brooks Building differed from that of the Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses, and how staff would need to renegotiate their spatial practices to accommodate new adjacencies and working rhythms. Concerns were expressed by many interview participants that the new spaces available would inhibit their role, leading to anxieties about whether everyday work tasks could be carried out professionally and productively.

> That notion of sort of not so much that you're being scrutinised, but actually you can't go and sit in a quiet space and just shut the door and *do what you need to do*. (Melissa, Lecturer, emphasis added)

For Melissa the new working spaces meant making alterations to the structure of daily life and giving up aspects of personal control over the working environment. Lefebvre reminds us that:

> Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance. (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 288)

The following sections discuss staff perceptions of personal productivity and how this is affected by a variety of sensory factors including size and scale, visibility and noise.

7.1.1 Size and layout of spaces

Many of the discussions with interview participants concerned the size and layout of their individual workspace allocation in the new building. The conversations often focused on the potential negative effects on productivity caused by the size, arrangement, layout and adjacencies of workstations clusters (described in Chapter 6). Additionally, staff voiced strong concerns about the aesthetics and apparent symbolism of the new office environment. This is colourfully illustrated by the repetition, by the participants, of *call centre* as a description of their new space. The daily realities of call centre work and academic office work are substantially different

especially in in terms of the amount of agency enjoyed by the worker (Bain & Taylor, 2000; Frenkel, Tam, Korczynski, & Shire, 1998). However, the recurrent imagery associated with *call centre* working conditions is clear. The term, as used in a derogatory sense by participants, implies an environment where there is a standardised procedure to the processing of information and where restrictive working practices prevail. The dehumanising aspects of these environments are often caricatured in the media by stories of close monitoring of communications and breaches of personal privacy, long hours with poor remuneration and an aggressive, target-based focus to the working day (mirror.co.uk, 2010; Woodcock, 2017). Fernie and Metcalf (1998) use the call centre as a modern day example of panoptic space where the physical layout and other technologies of power converge to discipline, and control the actions of the workforce, forcing compliance and maximum productivity. However, their portrayal of call centres as 'electronic panopticons' has been criticised in the literature (notably by Bain & Taylor, 2000) and it is argued that the panopticon metaphor is 'grossly overdrawn' (Frenkel et al., 1998, p. 967). There are also obvious differences between the restrictive working conditions that prevail in many call centres and the relative freedom of movement and thought enjoyed by academic staff in a university. Nevertheless, several participants drew parallels between the two environments.

> we said at the very beginning 'for God's sake, please don't put us into rabbit hutches, like a call centre'. And what we have got, if you look at it now (…) is not a million miles away from what you would see in a call centre. (Alan, Academic Manger)

In the extract above, Alan highlights frustrations at not being listened to, drawing attention to the initial discussions with the architect and the finalised office layout. The mixed metaphor '… into rabbit hutches, like a call centre' serves to reinforce the dread of uncomfortably small and enclosed workspace. Similarly, the use of the word 'cubbyhole' by Kate in the extract below, suggests a tiny space, perhaps squeezed into an already overcrowded environment. The themes of occupancy levels, closeness to others and personal space were reiterated by most interview participants, and phrases such as 'people in very close proximity', 'hemmed in' and 'surrounded by people' were commonplace in the data. These negative feelings,

associated with close proximity, are echoed in the literature, where nearness to colleagues in the workplace can cause effects such as nervousness, tension and anxiety (Farshchi & Fisher, 2006) and an overall negative perception of the work environment (Kim & de Dear, 2013; Maher & von Hippel, 2005; Oldham & Brass, 1979). Kate conjures up an image of academics as telesales professionals, referring to the headsets distributed to all staff to facilitate listening to audio/visual material and conducting tutorials via Skype or 'virtual classroom' technologies.

> I feel like I'm in a call centre cubbyhole and now I've got headphones with one of those, I don't know what you call them, a little speaking arm aren't they? (Kate, Lecturer)

This theme of smallness continues with unfavourable comparisons of the staff workstations to 'a teenager's desk' and 'Ikea children's range'. These observations suggest furniture that is not quite full size, or that has 'toy-like' connotations suggesting that it is not suitable for 'real work', or perhaps that the work itself has been infantilised or trivialised. Literature also suggests that desk size is a strong symbolic indicator of status in many working environments (Bitner, 1992; Rosen et al., 1992a; Sundstrom & Sundstrom, 1986).

> I think everyone is calling it a bit of a 'call centre'. The one bit that I have seen is the desk, and the desk, it seemed a bit like a teenager's desk. (Colin, Researcher)

> I think the furniture looks like Ikea children's range. We sat one of my six foot four colleagues at the prototype and I think he's going to find it pretty much unbearable. It's all right for little people like me, you know I can get my knees under the desk. (Helen, Research Manager)

For Emma in the following extract, the open plan layout is at odds with her mental image of what a university should look like. This disconnect between 'mental image' and 'reality' might suggest that 'place identification' (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) may be an initial problem for staff.

> … it looks like a call centre. It's interesting particularly the open plan, it doesn't seem to suggest a university. (Emma, Researcher)

As Dale and Burrell (2008) point out, our familiarity with organisational spaces is formed by becoming accustomed to them over time and a historical understanding of their symbolic resonances. These analogies with sweatshop-style working

conditions and cramped spaces are comparable to responses to open plan working initiatives reported in the literature (see Baldry & Barnes, 2012). Baldry and Barnes (2012) warn that 'if tomorrow's university starts to look like a call centre, this should be taken as a visual index of the extent of the current assault on professionalism' (p. 243).

7.1.2 Proximity and noise

University management and their architects *conceived* the move from individual offices to an open plan office as a departure from existing models of academic practice, which were seen by some to encourage a 'silo' mentality and inhibit the full potential of collegial collaborative working (see Chapter 6). The rationale for open plan working was derived from a perceived connection between the proximity of academic staff and an increased prospect of valuable collective working and knowledge sharing (Heerwagen et al., 2004). Key to this idea was improved 'team communication' (see Chapter 6). Many of the participant discussions highlighted concerns about the new office layout and the transfer of noise and how this might affect privacy and concentration.

For some staff, the noise of the open plan office was not a problem, and the 'buzz' of the office added to the ambience of a creative workplace, with one participant adding 'I don't mind a little bit of noise and people bustling around me'. For others, however, the level of noise in the new offices was a distressing prospect, with one participant commenting 'I dread the noise of other people'. Oseland (2009) notes that 'a buzz of activity may enhance the performance of … those conducting simple tasks, but more calming environments will better suit … those involved in more complex tasks' (pp. 245–6). So it seems that tolerance for background noise was dependent on the participant's role or activity and their ability to be able to 'screen out' distractions (Oldham & Brass, 1979). A number of interviewees mentioned coping strategies to deal with the noise, including wearing noise cancelling headphones, and purposely working in noisy areas of the university prior to the move-in date in order to 'desensitise' and gain 'some exposure to sitting and working with other people'. These coping strategies could be seen as an example of a 'privacy dialectic' (Altman, 1975) where the users of spaces moderate their desired level of

interaction with others. Yet, for other participants, the rules about 'quiet talk' and the management directive reminding staff to 'show consideration to each other so that staff working in the same area can maintain concentration on their work' (MMU, 2014d, p.6), were a cause for concern. New expectations about acceptable office etiquette were put in place by management and these rules were negotiated with colleagues, tested, and subsequently put into practice in the 'cluster groups' within the larger office spaces. These rules went beyond the informal agreed conventions for open plan working described in Pinder and colleagues (2009) where staff were expected to keep conversations 'short and sotto voce' (p. 23). There was a delicate balance between communicating audibly and not inconveniencing colleagues by talking too loudly.

> (…) people do tend to whisper because the atmosphere is so quiet and they're worried about disturbing people or being overheard (Greg, Technologist)

One participant noted that having a quiet office policy might 'somehow dampen down people's personalities' as it would not allow louder members of staff to express themselves in their normal way. This is echoed in the literature, which suggests that noisier work environments may favour those with an extrovert personality (Oseland, 2009).

> (…) we have a lot of good banter and that as well. I think we'll have to be careful to make sure (…) we don't disturb everyone else (…) some other people didn't quite get our sense of humour. (Anika, Lecturer)

One participant was anxious about the potential repercussions of talking too loudly in the office and the type of working atmosphere that unwanted chat might cause.

> I think it's the kind of place that if you talk you get like a passive aggressive email you know to everyone. (Colin, Researcher)

The requirement to speak in quiet tones was an annoyance and a cause of anxiety for some participants who commented on the potentially negative connotations associated with whispering in a social environment, such as, producing feelings of suspicion and exclusion.

> I've noticed that there's also an incipient kind of whispering that goes on in my bit of the executive suite, you know a bit (…) I hate the idea

that there's little clusters of conspiracy you know around the place.
(Alan, Academic Manager)

(…) when people are trying to whisper, because they don't want to disturb you, you then sort of start and get your paranoia about what they're whispering about (Melissa, Academic Manager)

The open plan office environment had a profound effect on participants' abilities to concentrate on complex tasks with many of the interview participants noting difficulties doing particular types of work. While the open plan environment was seen as suitable for carrying out routine administrative tasks such as checking email, there were misgivings about its suitability for tasks that required sustained concentration such as academic reading and writing. Concentration was mentioned by many of the participants as key to productivity and 'getting more done'.

There are different types of work aren't there. There's catching up on email and all that sort of stuff, it is not all like reading big books (Colin, Researcher)

I struggle to concentrate here more than I did where we were before. Having an individual office and having the privacy and the quiet was more conducive to getting more done. (Douglas, Lecturer)

Paradoxically, the elements of the new office space *conceived* to improve social-interaction and team working, such as the communal kitchens integrated into the office space, added to the overall noise levels.

The kitchen doesn't work for me because … I mean within an open plan office the noise of the kitchen reaches both ends of the building. (Ian, Research Manager)

In addition to problems caused by noise, concentration was also disturbed by unscheduled interruptions from colleagues. Design features such as closer proximity to, and visibility of, colleagues (see Chapter 6) created an environment where unplanned social interaction was commonplace, which had a detrimental effect on staff concentration (Oldham & Brass, 1979). Inevitably, the working rhythms of university life differed from person to person, and while some wanted to work, others wanted to chat. For Amber, the disruptions of forced sociability interfered with the flow of the working day.

> My personal workspace is a very sociable space. I'm right by the door,
> so [I help] anyone who can't get through the door with two hands (…)
> I'm constantly interrupted. (Amber, Lecturer)

> (…) you don't get the benefits of kind of open plan offices, but you get
> all the noise still. (Colin, Researcher)

Even the day-to-day social niceties of morning greetings could become an annoyance for colleagues whose working rhythms were out of synch with their neighbours.

> It could be quite disruptive when people keep coming in – in the
> morning and you say hello. (Colin, Researcher)

Some staff developed personal coping mechanisms in order to tactfully negotiate these socio-spatial dilemmas, agreeing signals with their co-workers that would indicate when they were busy and did not want to be interrupted.

> I have a system. If I'm wearing earphones then people are only to
> disturb me if the building is burning (Helen, Research Manager)

Although these non-verbal signals requesting 'no-interruptions' were understood, staff visibility and ease of access sometimes proved the stronger force. The data suggests that this happened most noticeably within the Health and Psychology and Social Care areas where the lower storage units allowed a clear view of their offices and consequently whether colleagues were in or not. Douglas notes that even when clear 'do not disturb' signals were given out these were often ignored.

> (…) even when wearing headphones people will come over to you if
> they need you and interrupt you and start talking to you. (Douglas,
> Lecturer)

At the older, satellite campuses the separation afforded by cellular offices and the often greater distances between offices at the campuses, where offices were spread among several buildings had acted as an 'interruption deterrent'. Staff in these locations had to make a conscious decision and invest time and effort to interrupt a colleague by visiting their personal space.

7.1.3 Confidentiality and privacy

Bound up with the issues of privacy and concentration in the interview data was the reoccurring theme of confidentiality. Echoing the literature, many staff were concerned about the auditory and physical confidentiality offered by the new

building (Sundstrom & Sundstrom, 1986). The problem of storage of confidential documents was highlighted by some. The new building, with its limited access to storage, caused a serious difficulty for some participants, particularly those with research and line management responsibilities.

> I'm really worried about storage of confidential data, because I think we're at risk of not being compliant with IRS requirements. So NHS data collection has to be kept in secure storage, and I'm not sure how we're going to manage that. (Helen, Research Manager)

Vischer (2005) un-empathetically describes calls for greater confidentiality and privacy 'scaled defence repertoires' (p. 63) claiming that these are natural responses to the erosion of personal territory and environmental control. However, a different reading might draw on the literature on academic identity where concern for data privacy would form part of a 'principled, ethical and responsible approach to work' (Archer, 2008b, p. 397).

Despite attempts to regulate the amount of office noise by both staff and management there remained the problem of confidential conversations being heard across the open plan offices. This was a problem for researchers like Emma, who needed to ensure that the correct environment was available for conducting sensitive interviews.

> Part of my identity and practice as a researcher is about ethics and ethical practice, and about participants being able to talk confidentially to me and also having that privacy is also important to the kind of rapport and the kind of conversation that you can have in the interview. (Emma, Researcher)

Maintaining confidentiality in an open plan environment was also a problem for some teaching staff. Melissa found that the coherence of professional conversations was disrupted by the need to continually renegotiate and reassess spatial contexts in relation to the topics being discussed. In an open plan office there is greater ambiguity between what constitutes public and private space (Brown et al., 2005).

> someone might come up and talk to you and then you suddenly realise this conversation needs to be had in a more confidential context, so you say oh we'd better go and find a pod to go and sit in and you tend to have those kinds of disjointedness then of communications. (Melissa, Lecturer)

A solution discussed by participants, was to hold noisy or confidential meetings in the bookable office spaces directly adjacent to the open plan spaces. However, many participants noted a number of challenges to this idea including: the amount of noise transfer between meeting rooms and other parts of the building which ruled out true acoustic privacy; the enforced formality of booking a room negating impromptu conversation and the availability of rooms at short notice during certain times of the year. As Ian noted:

> Blank white walls, echoing … you can probably hear the echo. When there are people upstairs in the room upstairs you can hear them as if they were here (…) it's all supposed to be sound proofed but it clearly isn't. (Ian, Research Manager)

It is worth noting that, from a *conceived* point of view, the building's noise transference is compliant with building regulations. From a *perceived* point of view the transfer of noise is unacceptable and interferes with efficient spatial practice. In contrast, Greg felt that the 'little bit of hustle and bustle' created by the open plan space, was an improvement on his small shared office at Didsbury as the background noise gave just enough confidentiality to avoid the 'feeling of being overheard'.

7.1.4 Increased visibility and surveillance

For many of the interviewees the amount of glass used in Brooks Building and the increased visibility of movement that this provided was a source of concern. As the architects' CAD walkthrough of the building notes it was designed with a 'sense … of stunning light and scale with five storeys of glass' (MMU, 2016). Glass was used to permit a clear view from the main atrium and other vantage points into academic working spaces. In addition, most of the teaching spaces, formal meeting rooms and student pods were glazed to the front and used applied film in various patterns to provide a partial sense of privacy while still allowing light to enter from the corridor space (see Chapter 6). There was a feeling, from many participant interviews, that the space had been specifically designed to deny privacy, contributing to a feeling that 'there is nowhere to hide'. One participant noted 'I actually sat and realised the other day you can't sit anywhere except in the toilet and not be seen'.

> I'm not a great fan of glass walls where you know they can look out and you can look in as you're walking down the corridor. (Ian, Research Manager)

Feelings of being 'on display' – commonly articulated in the interviews – made some participants uneasy. Some occupants attempted to combat these feelings of 'exposure' by repositioning moveable screens in front of glazed teaching room partitions in order to reduce visibility from the corridor (see Figure 7-2). Dale and Burrell (2008) discuss the use of glass in 'democratic architecture', its transparency suggesting an absence of division between groups within a building.

> You know even as we're sitting here now, I am very mindful we can be seen…You know and sometimes that feeling is not comfortable. (…) you can't actually just sometimes just shut yourself away for a little bit because you're always on show somewhere. (Melissa, Lecturer)

The underlying paradox in the use of large amounts of glass, is that it gives both a sense of transparency and openness, but at the same time unwanted visibility adds to perceptions of personal monitoring. Dale and Burrell (2008, p. 259) discuss this ambiguity, describing a glass wall as 'a sensory contradiction' where glass-walled spaces only add to a sense of 'pseudo-privacy' (Baldry & Barnes, 2012).

Figure 7-2 Staff members 'tactically' repositioned a moveable panel in front of teaching room window in order to reduce visibility in and out

The effects of greater staff visibility were apparent to a number of staff, one of which had clearly considered the philosophical implications:

> So in terms of Foucault etc. I think it's a lot more controlling – people will be able to see what I'm doing at all times that I'm in that building … whereas at the moment (…) cos it's all glass you know. (Amber, Lecturer)

This quest for greater visibility and reduced privacy is an ongoing architectural project across several MMU buildings. Vice Chancellor John Brooks said of the Art School Building in an architectural magazine interview:

> Private spaces no longer exist, (…) What you'll find are lots of spaces that are intersected by passageways, walkways, stairwells and glass partitions, so whatever you're doing is almost like a performance (Dezeen, 2014)

This sense of being on display is apparent in the other recent university builds and continued in the Brooks Building, where floor to ceiling glazing has become the norm for teaching rooms and offices. This adds to the underlying notion that the teaching, research and administrative functions are commodities on show behind a shop window. However, in contrast to Foucault's descriptions of 'panopticonism' (see Section 2.1.4) where visibility is in one direction, the self-disciplinary possibilities move both ways where those being watched are also the watchers.

There was an overarching theme of spatial control throughout the interviews. One participant described the Brooks Building as 'Orwellian', which conjures up an image of an oppressive regime characterised by surveillance, lack of personal freedoms and a disintegration of personal identity in favour of a collective one. In addition to feelings of increased visibility caused by the amount of glass in the Brooks Building, many interview participants remarked on a sense of being surveilled as a result of the open plan layout. The detailed knowledge of where particular staff were at a given time – for some with managerial responsibilities – seemed like an additional, unwanted responsibility especially in areas of the university where staff autonomy and free movement was deeply rooted custom and practice and inseparable from the status and nature of the role.

> (…) it'll certainly be very visible when people aren't in. So, whether I
> have to chase them (laughs) … now it's suddenly you know in front of
> their line manager (laughs) … and that may or may not make people
> comfortable. (Ian, Research Manager)

Many staff believed that the open plan offices would heighten team awareness of who was in and who was not, creating a culture of self-monitoring which would not have been possible in the corridors of individual offices of Didsbury or Gaskell, adding to the increasing sense of a disciplinary 'gaze' (Foucault, 1979) inward. This is what Dale (2005) refers to as a move from vertical forms of hierarchy to horizontal forms that 'involve team and peer surveillance'

> So, I guess when we're sitting in groups of fours and we're more visible
> I'm sure some of that will change. (Kate, Lecturer)

This sense of surveillance is heightened by the building's single entrance/exit, which controls all movement in and out and where all movement in or out can be monitored by the reception desk.

> it's going to be much more policed and surveilled you know (…)
> everyone comes in through the Spanish steps, you know there's so
> much more control over where you are and what you can do. (Amber,
> Lecturer)

While the disciplinary properties of the Brook Building's glazing may be overstated by the interview participants; it is clear from the interview data that the perception for many was one of being constantly watched by colleagues, students and management. This perpetual feeling of being monitored heightened the need for private space away from the gaze of others.

7.2 Perceived wellbeing

This section discusses how the new spatial practices, demanded by the move to the Brooks Building, influenced participants' perceptions of wellbeing. This is the second of the three *global themes* identified in this analysis. This theme is displayed graphically as in a network diagram below (see Figure 7-3). Shea and colleagues (2011) emphasise a link between psychological wellbeing and productivity, creativity, and job satisfaction. Wellbeing, both personal and collective, is discussed in the broadest of terms, focusing on personal perspectives. This section examines

participants' descriptions of coping mechanisms and changes to established spatial routines, rather than specific medical or health and safety issues.

For Lefebvre, the routine of work, and the worker's need to work in pursuit of material security, deadens the senses and the human spirit. Lefebvre emphasises the worker's moral and psychological alienation:

> As a result [of the need for money] the worker stops feeling the simplest needs, which are also the most difficult needs for workers to satisfy: the need for space, for fresh air and freedom, for solitude or contemplation (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 162)
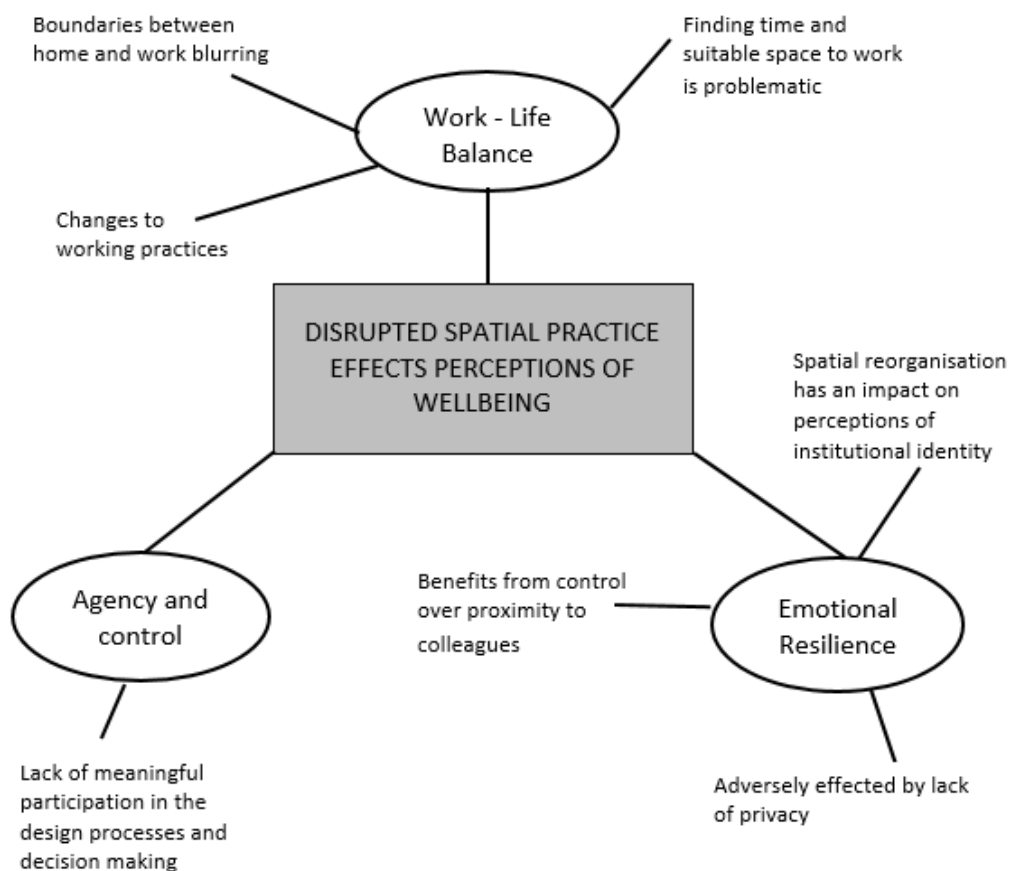
Figure 7-3: Thematic network for 'disrupted spatial practice effects perceptions of wellbeing'

Discussions with participants drew out three dominant *organising themes* associated with the idea of wellbeing. The first, agency and control, discusses the importance of meaningful participation in the design process for minimising disruptions to spatial practice. The second theme, work-life balance, emphasises the knock-on effect that changes to the work environment may have on the boundaries between home and

work. The final theme, emotional resilience, discusses how closer proximity to colleagues and difficulties maintaining private spaces may affect morale in the workplace.

7.2.1 Agency and control

One of the dominant themes apparent in the participant interviews was a perceived lack of agency and control over the spaces in the Brooks Building, both in terms of the resulting *spatial practice* (how the space influenced daily routine) but also in the lack of meaningful access to the building's *conceived space* through participation in the design process. Dovey (1999, p. 1) describes the act of 'placemaking' as an 'elite practice', in accord with the interests of management rather than the worker, in 'pursuit of amenity, profit, status and political power' (p. 1). There was an impression gained from the interviews that although there had been plenty of opportunities – especially in the early days of the project – to engage in a consultation process with architects and managers much of this work had been tokenistic.

> I mean I've spent hours in conversation with architects about what our needs are and how best to try and meet them (...) but not a single word I've said has been taken into account. It's probably one of the most frustrating experiences I've had in thirty years of higher education. (Ian, Researcher)

Many interviewees said they had been 'over consulted', yet their voices lacked influence. There was a perceptible gap between early agreements about occupancy levels of open plan office and the final design.

> I went to a whole series of meetings with the architects where they consulted on what we actually need. And then in the way of all good consultations they ignored it. (Paul, Lecturer)

There was also a suspicion that the power to effect change operated at a number of levels and that individuals were only allowed to exert influence at an insignificant 'micro level' rather than the big picture. To some participants like Alan, the consultation process seemed tokenistic.

> It's like when you are in school and you are talking about democratic schools, we used to talk about the student voice, and you kind of go, 'let's get the Year 9s student council to decide what they can sell in the

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> tuck shop' – and that's seen as consultation and democracy. (Alan, Academic Manager)

In a number of examples the final design approach had been exactly the opposite of agreements reached in the consultation period, and guarantees given early on in the project had been broken.

> …well it's a cynicism of mine that it's been decided anyway (laughs) and it's paying lip service to consultation. (Alan, Academic Manager)

Many of the interviewees, like Amber, considered that the architects had not kept pace with the changing requirements of the brief, especially in terms of student numbers, and there was a suspicion that the design process had taken a step backwards, with much agreed work lost, when architectural control passed from one architectural firm to another (see Chapter 4).

> I think in the design stage it was at a time when our programmes looked different and numbers from the government looked different, the political party in power at the time was different – everything's changed since the original spec went to the architects. So what we have as the output, the product, doesn't match necessarily what we're doing (Amber, Lecturer)

There was also a feeling that individuals could not effect real change and that most trickled down from the architects to users of the space rather than vice-versa. Foucault (1990) would disagree with this assessment, maintaining that power cannot be in the hands of particular people stating that 'power is everywhere' (p. 93) and does not trickle down the hierarchy from top to bottom. Employee participation in the design process was used to cultivate the appearance of agency in an example of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1988), where a subject's agency is cultivated in particular ways to enable management to cherry pick local knowledge and involve participants in their own domination. Cooke and Kothari (2001) suggest that participation is a form of power with domination effects, and can be used to reduce opposition to outside plans for development and to legitimise particular approaches.

The interview extracts in this section illustrate some of the frustrations felt by interview participants that their spatial practices had been poorly interpreted

resulting in a mismatch between architects' *conceived spaces* and the *perceived* and *lived* experience of the users of the building.

7.2.2 Work–life balance

Many of the interview participants indicated that the new building may multiply existing problems with academic work-life balance (see Barrett & Barrett, 2008; Kinman & Jones, 2004). For some of the participants, the envisaged *spatial practice* suggested by the new building, compounded by an increased workload and timetabling problems, would have a further detrimental effect on the amount that work encroached on other aspects of their lives. For many staff, the combination of proximity to colleagues and an inability to adapt to the new environment – because of lack of access to books and other resources, noise levels and regular interruptions – meant that working from home on a more regular basis was the only viable option.

> (…) if not a lot of people come in I can just sit in the corner and do my work as I have done. If loads of people come in all the time and I find it not easy to read and stuff, then I guess I'll work from home more. (Colin, Researcher)

> I mean as a manager of a team I couldn't hand on heart say 'No you must come into the office, because actually I think they're going to get more productive work done not in the office. (Paul, Lecturer)

Academic work has long had a tradition of home working especially for certain tasks such as research and writing papers, developing funding applications and marking student work (Kinman & Jones, 2004). The environment at Brooks, however, has extended this practice – and it is often encouraged by management. This is an example of what Dovey (1999, 2010) would call *manipulation* where a subject is framed in a situation that appears to be free choice – for example 'you can work at home if you like'. The data from participants revealed that working from home had become the preferred working strategy for many academic staff when not timetabled to teach.

> (…) when people have anything private, anything to do that involves study and quiet, anything to do that involves spreading themselves out. So, in terms of the amount of space they've got, like marking where you might have to have 5 or 6 folders out – they will stay at home. (Alan, Academic Manager)

Many of the participants indicated that because of their perception of environmental conditions in the new building (for example, noise, privacy, proximity to others and confidentiality) they would be working at home more often and coming into the new building less frequently than before the move.

> I no longer come in to any degree to the same extent that I used to. I mean when we were at Didsbury I worked literally 8 in the morning till 6 in the evening in my office – that was where I worked. My door was always open, so people knew that if I was in they could come and have 5 minutes confidentially (Ian, Researcher)

Working from home is sometimes presented to employees as a benefit and can give greater flexibility and control of the working day (Kinman & Jones, 2004; Rockmann & Pratt, 2015; Salomon & Shamir, 1985). However, many of the same studies have also highlighted the potential negative effects of increased computer-mediated home working (Kinman & Jones, 2004; Salomon & Shamir, 1985). According to Felstead and colleagues (2003) home working can be associated with feelings of remoteness, loss of small group solidarity, work escalation, longer hours and tensions with family and friends. For Emma, technology seemed to be working alongside poor workspace design to accelerate the practice of working from home. This is analogous with Nippert-Eng's (1996) conception of 'boundary work' where the physical, mental, emotional and social aspects of work life intrude into the home and vice versa.

> There is a real sense that we take on more and more of this labour and (…) there is a sense also there's no division between – and it's hard enough making that division – work and personal life actually as it is. (Emma, Researcher)

> You know the way that technology works, I'm guilty of this on the weekends, I check my emails, it's like that you are always accessible, it seeps into every part of your life. I think you know, when you start creating a workplace where people can't work and the expectation that that work happens at home. (Emma, Researcher)

For Emma, there is a sense of being coerced by the physical environment to work in particular ways. In this respect, 'working from home' and other flexible approaches to labour, rely on self-scrutiny – where the individual becomes accountable for their own discipline (Rose, 1999). Responsibility for work output migrates from the external control of the manager to internal – culturally-mediated controls – devised

by the individual worker. In this example, these 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999) – including the perceived freedom to choose one work space over another – may offer Emma the tools to transform herself by regulating her work patterns to suit other areas of life. However, this comes at the cost of further eroding the boundaries between home life and work life. As Lefebvre reminds us:

> … spatial practice — the practice of a repressive and oppressive space
> — tends to confine time to productive labour time, and simultaneously
> to diminish living rhythms (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 408)

Transferring aspects of the spatial practice of work to the home can have physical implications for domestic life, further blurring the boundaries between work and home. A number of participants admitted to modifying their homes in order to store paper-based work materials that could not be accommodated in the new office design. Nancy, a researcher, had moved from her flat into a 'bigger house' in order to have room for a study, and had 'bought extra bookcases'. Others, such as Helen and Ian, 'completely redid' and 'stripped out' rooms within their domestic settings in order to store academic books and papers. Aspects of the everyday spatial practice of academic staff were not anticipated in the design of workspaces and some staff felt that particular 'spatial competencies' (Watkins, 2005) that enabled effective working had not been accommodated.

> We were absolutely guaranteed that you would be able to have two
> people sitting together at a desk. So if you were analysing qualitative
> data together you would be able to do that – clearly not possible.
> (Helen, Research Manager)

The size of workstations meant that staff could not spread out work, requiring changes to engrained aspects of marking, planning and researching routines. However, rather than relearn these practices some staff simply relocated certain activities to their domestic setting.

> I ended up working in the living room, which is very open plan (…)
> because I spread out everything [marking] was all over the floor (Kate,
> Lecturer)

> I can see myself having meetings in my kitchen, because it's easier than
> booking a room at Birley [Brooks]. (Helen, Research Manager)

The interview extracts in this section have illustrated that for some participants working from home provides the only practical way of maintaining productivity at work. Paradoxically, this effect contradicts the design intent of the conceived space which was specifically designed to encourage team working and reduce the 'silo mentality'.

7.2.3 Emotional resilience

Some participants, although perceiving themselves as personally resilient, were worried about the effect that the new space was having on the mental wellbeing of their colleagues, with one participant noting that 'some people feel quite sort of down about some of it'. It is possible that this participant is putting on a 'brave face' and using 'some people' to articulate personal concerns. Alan links the lack of privacy available in the new building with staff wellbeing noting that the building does not afford the type of space suitable for emotionally unwinding.

> (…) there is no privacy anywhere in the building I think is detrimental – I don't think that that's a good thing for people's wellbeing. (Alan, Academic Manager)

> where do you go as a member of staff if you're just not feeling very well or if you've just been into a session and it's been emotionally you know draining, or if you've just done three hours' teaching (…) you know where do you go to decompress? (Alan, Academic Manager)

For some participants, working from home became an approach necessary to preserve health and happiness.

> I'll be really honest I come in here when I absolutely have to and that's it. That's my strategy. As somebody said that's not a very collegiate strategy, but it helps my (…) wellbeing. (Kate, Lecturer)

Douglas, a Lecturer in the Health Faculty notes that the proximity of individuals to each other afforded by the open plan office environment has an effect on overall morale, but also increases awareness of the social–emotional rhythms of the workplace.

> (…) you can clearly tell if a colleague is in a bad mood, or something's going on in their personal life. You notice people's tempers more easily (…) I mean literally (…) and I'm not you know making this up … but people have said that you know sometimes they're coming in to work,

kind of not dreading, but concerned over what's going to meet them
when they get there. (Douglas, Lecturer)

This close proximity to colleagues has a knock-on effect on the morale of others and affects the ability of those in the same space to perform well. The open plan spaces do not allow sufficient quiet space to retreat to, and adequate separation to occur when the pressures of work or home life spill over into shared spaces.

(…) you kind of don't know what days you're going to have because you
don't know what mood other people are going to be in. And you can't
close yourself off and just get on with your work (Douglas, Lecturer)

Douglas is not suggesting that there is a causal relationship between the open office and negative feelings in the workplace, he is proposing that emotional outbursts are more visible in an open environment. However, if a worker is already in a bad mood, noise and constant interruption is unlikely to help. Laurence and colleagues (2013) link emotional exhaustion with decreased privacy and diminished levels of control in open offices.

The interview extracts in this section illustrate the challenges to existing spatial practice caused by the move to the Brooks Building. Many of the interview extracts illustrate the knock-on effect of renegotiated spatial practice on work–life balance and wellbeing at work.

7.3   Perceived identity

This section discusses the final *global theme*: how the new spatial practices – demanded by the move to the Brooks Building – influenced participants' perceptions of identity. This global theme relates to the idea – expressed by participants – that the spatial practice required by the Brooks environment inscribed the setting with particular new meanings, symbols and models of working (Figure 7-4). These properties in turn worked to define new identities and destabilise 'redundant' identities and working practices carried over from the old campuses.

Didsbury and Crewe [another satellite MMU campus] have always had
identities. We're a separate campus, we have separate ideals, we have
separate ideologies, we have separate ways of working because we are
a separate campus. (Melissa, Academic Manager)

For Melissa, the spatial separation of the satellite campuses from the managerial centre in the main All Saints campus had allowed different spatial practices and characteristics to develop over time, giving each campus an individual feel. For some, the move to the Brooks Building meant abandoning many of the established *spatial practices* required by the old satellite campuses. Just as the new spaces afforded particular ways of working, the spatial practices 'embedded within the tangible physicality' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 227) of old campuses also reflected and regulated the sometimes idiosyncratic rhythms and routines of the academic year. For example, one participant remembered the annual round for teacher trainee placements.

> I mean I can remember with Didsbury (…) lines of students sitting on the floor in the corridor … just waiting to see members of the staff (...) it looked like a refugee camp. (Stephanie, Lecturer)
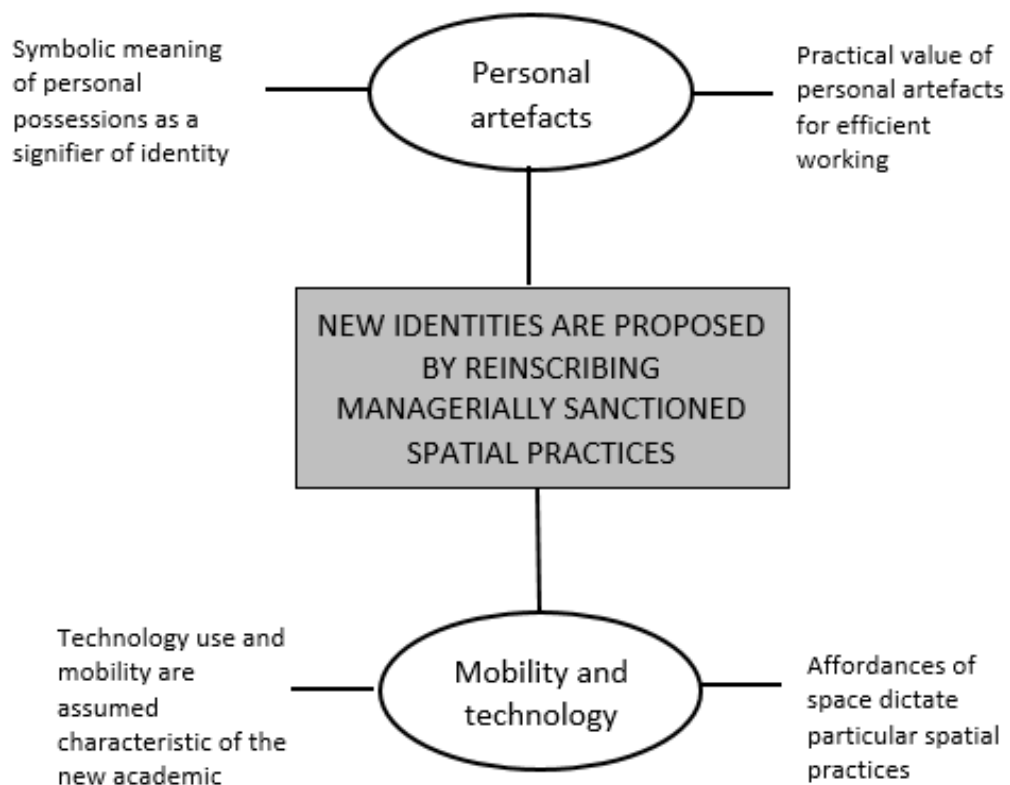
Figure 7-4: Thematic network diagram showing 'new identities are proposed by reinscribing managerially sanctioned spatial practices'

Part of the rationale for the consolidation of campuses was to gain efficiency savings and avoid duplication of services, but also to disestablish individual campus-specific identities (see Chapter 6). Lefebvre reminds us that:

> Spatial practice thus simultaneously defines … spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 288)

However, this does not mean that these power effects yielded the desired results, or could completely outweigh the power of individual agency (see Chapter 8). Spatial practices are significant in understanding how staff perceive themselves, their role and their relationship with colleagues (Dale & Burrell, 2008). This section discusses how the materiality of university life in the Brooks Building emphasised particular spatial practices such as the use of mobile technologies to teach, research and organise; and weakened others such as scholarly activity reliant on physical resources.

7.3.1 Mobility and technology

The Brooks Building was recognised – by some participants – as part of a larger, underhand reconfiguration of the academic workforce, with the longer-term goal of replacing existing 'outmoded' practice with newer ways of working. For Alan, this managerial project was rooted in disrupting the spatial practice of the established routines, routes and networks inscribed in the Didsbury campus. Alan speculates that as a calculated result of these disruptions, new model academic workers are being spatially constituted who may be younger, more adaptable, and more attuned to current managerial philosophy.

> You know, that the building is being used to break conventional ways of operating – but that has never been explicit. (…) It's about a model of the 'new lecturer' the 'new academic' who doesn't need books, works from an iPad, probably cycles into work and doesn't need a car park – therefore lives in Manchester is probably in the 20–30 age group, has a PhD. (Alan, Academic Manager)

This idea of the highly mobile, flexible academic worker is framed by MMU as a staff development issue; 'capacity building' in order to enable individuals and teams to 'respond flexibly to challenges and adapt to new situations and contexts' (MMU, 2014d, p. 23). Emma highlights that there are spatial barriers, and that this pursuit of 'new academics' who are highly mobile and flexible in their approaches to work excludes particular groups.

> (…) that an academic who's highly mobile, is an academic who'll work
> from home. So that raises questions about who can work from home –
> if you are a mother or a father and have small children how you can
> use that space. (Emma, Researcher)

There was an emerging sense from the interview data that the physical space of the Brooks Building was working in tandem with virtual space and networked computer technology to encourage particular approved approaches to work, which were in turn linked to notions of flexible working and 'enforcing mobility' (Thrift, 2005). This perception is illustrated succinctly by Helen, a senior researcher, who claims:

> I've been told I am completely out of date, all an academic needs is a
> bean bag and an iPad. (Helen, Researcher)

Interview participants mentioned iPads and laptops several times in the data. As part of an earlier initiative, the faculties of Education and Health had supplied each academic with a personal iPad. Staff at MMU had been using laptops rather than desktop PCs for a number of years and were expected to use these devices to aid mobile working and re-invigorate teaching practice.

The idea of a peripatetic academic working across a range of physical locations was appealing to some of the interview participants, especially as it allowed an escape from the environmental distractions of the open plan offices. However, other participants were less enthusiastic (see Figure 7-5).

Figure 7-5: Portable devices and physical mobility through the building are key to 'successful' spatial practice

> I find it much easier to sit at the top of the Spanish Steps with my laptop and get some work done than sitting in the big shared offices (Paul, Lecturer)

> You know that all you need is your laptop or your iPad and you go off and spend your life kind of browsing. I don't buy it, I just don't buy it. I think it's wrong. (Alan, Academic Manager)

Much of the envisaged spatial practice of the Brooks Building was predicated on the idea that staff would move effortlessly around the building between locations and tasks, occasionally 'touching down' at their personal workspace (Hardy et al., 2008).

> Again it's this idea of academic bodies without books, you know, you can have a laptop and that's about it and you can move around the space and that's about it. (Emma, Researcher)

This conception of the mobile academic, skilfully navigating the spaces of teaching, research and university bureaucracy downplays the practical and symbolic nature of personal artefacts and the part that they play in establishing social identity in the workplace (Lave & Holland, 2009; Taylor & Spicer, 2007).

7.3.2 Personal artefacts

For many of the participants the accumulation of books and other professional artefacts were synonymous with their self-identity as an academic; this was true for both specialist teachers and researchers. Many of the academics interviewed had accumulated large amounts of teaching and research materials over the course of a career. The reduced allocation of space for each academic in the Brooks Building meant that difficult choices were forced on staff about the amount of work-related material they could accommodate in the new office space. For Helen, the move meant that key resources would be less easily available, and that the time and effort spent curating her journals for easy access would be lost.

> I'll miss ready access to journal articles. I've got about 20 years' worth of journal articles, all filed in alphabetical order by subject area – and there won't be any room to put them. (Helen, Research Manager)

By restricting the amount of personal material allowed in the new building management have inhibited personal expressions of academic identity within the workspace.

> What I don't have, because we don't have enough space, is books … I've had to take all the stuff that I need home, because there's nowhere else to put it and it is actually a resource that the university should have, not me personally. (Nancy, Researcher)

Academic material cannot simply be seen as 'the stuff of the world' (Law & Hetherington, 2000 cited in Dale and Burrell, p. 210); material artefacts are imbued with cultural, imaginative and linguistic resonances (Dale & Burrell, 2008). For many participants their material possessions had a symbolic value beyond their utility (Berg & Kreiner, 1990) and helped shape the nature of their social and professional identities (Tian & Belk, 2005; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). For academics like Emma, there was a specific attachment to particular material artefacts such as her desk, which afforded personalised working practices that she felt could not be replicated in the new location.

> …things that are passionate to me and there's a sense that I can't take any of that with me. Just this desk that's used in a very particular way and a very limited way (Emma, Researcher)

Alan points out the practical importance of academic materials for both self-study and sharing knowledge with others. Having materials close at hand for tutorial sessions and student supervisions enables academics to tailor the session to the particular needs of the student.

> (…) most people are used to having shelves with books and teaching materials and things that they can share with students, and things that they can consult on a daily basis (Alan, Academic Manager)

This was reiterated by Amber, who emphasised the importance of having materials 'to hand', and being able to respond 'in the moment' by finding appropriate resources accumulated over many years of teaching practice.

> (…) I can do a tutorial with a student, like maybe I've got a head teacher from a local school, he's doing his dissertation I can then draw on 'Ah … this, ah this' (…) no matter what someone's topic is, I'm certain I could find something there that they'd say 'Oh great, can I take this?' (Amber, Lecturer)

For Alan, this 'downgrading of resources and materials' was an attack on the intellectual tradition of academic scholarship and part of a more wide-ranging ideological assault on what it is to be an academic.

> (…) he was saying that you know he's been to places where the professor's line in the department has been that you don't need books, academics don't need books anymore. And of course that's the ideology that we're operating there. (Alan, Academic Manager)

The material–spatial importance of teaching and research materials is entangled with what many academics would consider good teaching practice which often happens in-the-moment, and is reflected upon 'in-action' (Schon, 1983). Access to appropriate resources is central to many theories of social learning where the academic scaffolds the teaching by discussion (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976) and facilitates learning by organising and making suitable materials available (Rogers, 1969).

While some of the interview participants had adapted their spatial practices successfully to accommodate the affordances of the new environment, others felt that the combined forces of enforced mobility, symbolic and practical demotion of professional artefacts. Moving to a new location prompted unwanted changes to

established spatial practices for these participants and the affordances of the new building compromised their sense of professional identity.

7.4 Conclusion

The data collected from staff interviews suggest that staff have had to modify their spatial practices based on the new arrangements dictated by the Brooks Building. For a number of the participants, particular working practices associated with the single occupancy office spaces and working at a satellite campus had been 'embedded within the tangible physicality of space' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 227). Some of these practices, such as the way tutorials and student interviews were carried out, had become routinised through years of repetition, and rooted in the custom and practice of these spaces. These particular spatial practices ensured that the everyday tasks associated with academic life in these locations were carried out with 'continuity and some degree of cohesion' (p. 288) enabling a socially acceptable level of performance.

The move to the new Brooks Building forced staff to re-examine some of their working practices in line with the limitations and affordances of the new building. Staff found novel ways to modify their spatial practice to avoid the difficulties caused by the open plan office areas, including wearing noise cancelling headphones and finding alternative work spaces. Many interview participants linked the required changes to their spatial practice to their professional identity. The data suggested, that for some academics, the new building, and the working arrangements implied by its 'paperlessness' and accentuation of mobile working, were an attack on deeply held identity values related to teaching and scholarship.

Many of the interview participants found it difficult to adjust their practice to suit the demands of the new space and felt that their work performance – and in some cases wellbeing – was compromised as a result of perceived environmental problems. Recurring issues with ambient office noise, proximity to colleagues and reduced access to professional artefacts were highlighted in the data. The research presented in this chapter concurs with a raft of academic literature that links the perceived environmental problems associated with open plan offices with decreased work

satisfaction, productivity and wellbeing (Baldry & Barnes, 2012; Brennan, Chugh, & Kline, 2002; Kim & de Dear, 2013; Lee & Brand, 2005; Maher & von Hippel, 2005; Wells, 2000).

This analysis of perceived space resonates strongly with Peltonen's (2011) study of University of Oulu in Northern Finland which emphasises the persistence of earlier conceptions of space regardless of design changes. Even though the University of Oulu and Manchester Metropolitan University are culturally very different institutions, many of the observations that Peltonen (2011) makes about the longevity of 'material-social forces' and the disconnect between architectural concept and spatial practice are echoed by the analyses in this chapter.

This chapter has focused on the perceptions of staff in the Brooks Building and how they have adapted their spatial practice to accommodate the affordances of the new building. The following final analysis chapter, examines the *lived* experience of staff, highlighting the emotional context of the workplace and focusing on the practice of workplace personalisation by some staff.

8 Lived space: expression of personal and professional identity

This chapter focuses on the third aspect of Lefebvre's (1991b) spatial triad, *representational space*, and the lived experience of staff. Lefebvre describes this as 'the passively experienced space, which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate' (p. 39). This is a space layered with meaning, located in 'social history', 'as well as in the history of each individual' (p. 41). Representational space is the space of everyday life, 'as directly lived through its associated images and symbols' (p. 39), whether these are constructed by the organisation or the individual. Because lived space is unique to each person, it is problematic to interpret individual and collective meaning. Elden (2004) highlights the ephemeral nature of using Lefebvre's triad to interpret the significance of space as it is 'adapted and transformed as it is perceived and lived by social actors and groups' (p. 191). Schmid (2005, p. 230, cited in Beyes & Michels, 2011, p. 534) attempts to differentiate between the individual and the social aspects of spatial practice. He clarifies the relationship between the three elements of the triad, stating that according to Lefebvre, an individual may integrate *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* concepts of spatial practice in their everyday life, whereas Lefebvre reserves the specific terms *representations of space*, *representational space* and *spatial practices* to refer to 'social processes of production'. However, Schmid (2005) concludes that neither the individual nor the collective can be given precedence as they are 'dialectically intertwined' (p. 244). The inseparability of the personal and shared understandings of lived space are echoed

by Fahy, Easterby-Smith and Lervik (2013) who describe it as 'the construction and enactment of individual and collective identities'. For Lefebvre, *lived space* acts as a bridging concept between *conceived* (pure idealism) and *perceived* (pure materialism) space (Elden, 2004; Zhang, 2006).

While earlier chapters in this thesis concentrated on the effects of designed space, place and materiality on organisational and workforce identities, the emphasis of this chapter is on individual academic workers and their emotional relationships with their workspaces. In order to untangle these individual experiences of the workspaces provided in the new Brooks Building for the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Health, Psychology and Social Care, the minutiae of the academic offices are examined in order to derive meaning. This chapter focuses on the practice, by some academic staff, of attaching personal symbolic value to the functional space of work by personalisation and decoration. Photographic and interview data were analysed using a variety of techniques (see Section 5.5.3) to investigate how and why academic staff modify and subvert the architectural form around them by personalising their working environments. This use of space, in ways that the designers had not envisioned, demonstrates a creative resistance to organisational plans and rules (Baldry, 1999).

Much of the mainstream literature on workplace personalisation privileges rational approaches to the analysis of artefacts and focuses on management-centric arguments based on business efficiency and worker productivity (Elsbach, 2003; Laurence et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2001; Samani, 2015; Wells et al., 2007). These contributions are useful to this research but tend to neglect discussion about the emotional, imaginative and symbolic aspects of personal space, and the meanings that workers attach to them (Halford, 2004). It is these characteristics that are intrinsic to Lefebvre's concept of *lived space* and which give particular spaces their quality of meaning. The literature on organisational symbolism (notably Gagliardi, 1992) and organisational aesthetics (notably Strati, 1996, 1998, 2010) has been helpful in plugging this gap (see Section 2.1).

For Strati (2010) aesthetic approaches give the researcher a greater insight into 'feelings, desires, tastes, talents and passions' (p. 880) and for Gagliardi (1992), the materiality of organisational space enables the consolidation of organisational knowledge, evoking the images, impressions, recollections and beliefs in the workforce (Cairns et al., 2003). These aesthetic approaches seem methodologically useful in interpreting the symbolic nature of Lefebvre's (1991) concept of *representational space*, which he described as 'more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs' (p. 39). For Lefebvre, the three elements of his spatial triad are inseparable and interlocking (see full discussion in Chapter 2); however, for the purposes of analysis in this chapter the discussion falls principally on the *lived space* of the Brooks Building working environment. In summer 2014, staff moved from the two older campuses where the *representational spaces* were saturated with history, memories and imagination and where personal workspace was private, architecturally idiosyncratic and unique. In contrast, the *representational space* in the new building did not have the same resonances and the space was yet to be lived by MMU staff. The space of the new building had yet to appropriate itself on individual's imaginations and it had not yet had time to permeate deeply in organisational culture. It is, however, important to note, that for the residents of Hulme, the site was steeped in the memories and history of the local community (see Chapter 4) and already possessed a rich spatial narrative.

There was a recognition among some participants that their conceptualisation of self and professional academic identity was wrapped up in the history of the buildings that they were leaving. These personal feelings of affinity with particular environments are in accord with Proshansky's place-identity theory (Proshansky et al., 1983). Proshansky and colleagues (1976b; 1983) link conceptions of self to memories, ideas and feelings contributed by personal perceptions of place. Although many of the shortcomings of their current physical settings were acknowledged – and even joked about (environmental and maintenance problems mainly) – there was a feeling of sadness expressed by many participants that a sense of their belonging was being lost.

> In a strange way even though it is very much run down and needs work doing to it, it's kind of homely, but, I think homely can be a term associated not just with a structure of somewhere but also the group of people that you work with as well. So yeah, it is quite a homely place. (Douglas, Lecturer)

Many personal and professional perceptions of identity were consolidated by the history, character and permanence of the spaces around them, noting that individuals contributed to and were the product of their surrounding space. In this way, places add additional meaning and resonance to working life (Brown et al., 2005; Heerwagen et al., 1995). Many participants focused on the social–environmental aspects of working life by drawing connections between belonging to a particular place (Proshansky et al., 1983; Tuan, 1979) and belonging to particular groups (Altman, 1975; Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1982).

> I think I'll miss that sense of being part of a … that places give you a bit of a sense of an identity, and that when you join it you become part of that and you grow into that identity (…) for better or ill. (Melissa, Lecturer)

Some drew comfort from the fact that they had contributed to an ongoing narrative of professional practice in a particular location (especially the Didsbury site) and were saddened that the new building would not provide the same back-story. Teacher training in one form or another had been carried out at the Didsbury site since 1946 (Pickard, 2016), and the campus acted as a constant in a changing professional world.

> I like old buildings, I'm not particularly fond of buildings without character or soul or however you want to put it. I like the historical notion that there has been teacher training here for a long time. The buildings have got history. (Alan, Academic Manager)

> … But, it's got character and history, and there's got to be stories here you know, that obviously we're not going to have (that) at the other place. (Anika, Lecturer)

Connections to particular local schools stretched back in time as consecutive generations of teachers were trained in Didsbury. Many graduates would find employment in local schools and would eventually be in a position to employ new Didsbury graduates continuing the narrative and the spatial connection (Pickard, 2016). There was a genuine concern among some staff that it was a narrative 'still to be created' in the new setting.

> (…) there is something about inhabiting spaces that you know have been inhabited for lengths of time doing similar sorts of things (…) So if these walls could talk (...) again it's the same thing about the notion of a building as being used for something for a long period of time – develop a sense of (...) there's a sort of accumulated wisdom within the buildings (Melissa, Lecturer)

One member of staff, who talked in detail about the accumulated emotional ties to the Didsbury campus and how the campus was a living memorial to a recently deceased colleague, acutely felt this sense of loss. For this staff member, the Didsbury campus acted as a positive physical reminder of particular friendships and working relationships and a collective shared memory.

> I mean you grow into spaces, and I've now become one of those people that can see what you can't see (...) like because I've been on this space for so much longer I've got all these traces of the past around me, which I still see. Like the person who had the office next to me – she died two years ago, three years ago, [colleague's name] – so outside we've planted all these daffodils which came up, you know. So I still see [colleague's name], and I still hear and see the conversations I've had with [colleague's name], she will never (...) but you know going to another space, all these ghosts and whispers and traces of the past. (Amber, Lecturer)

These memories of a common or shared past add to a sense of *place identification* (Altman & Low, 1992; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010) and *place attachment* (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001) that can lead to a particular affinity with a place and an allegiance to its associated ideals. From a management point of view, the old campus and its history of teacher training was framed in particular ideologies and might be more rooted in the institution's past than its future. Therefore, breaking ties to the old campus could be seen as a symbolic break with outmoded working practices.

> We're a separate campus, we have separate ideals, we have separate ideologies, we have separate ways of working because we are a separate campus (Melissa, Lecturer)

The pictorial and interview data used in this chapter documents a period of change, where staff from the faculties of Education and Health, Psychology and Social Care were relocated from two older campuses (Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell) to the new purpose-built Brooks Building on the Birley Fields campus site. The older campuses exhibited a high degree of 'architectural privacy' (Laurence et al., 2013) where staff

enjoyed more 'traditional', single-occupancy or shared, offices and a seemingly relaxed attitude to spatial personalisation. The open plan offices and identical workstations in the Brooks Building, by contrast, reduced personal space. In addition, management discourse about the new building actively discouraged particular personalisation activities (see Chapter 7 for a full discussion). For example, this extract from the staff guide to the new building:

> Staff are advised:
> - Not to write on glazed screens
> - Not to drill/nail/pin into walls or ceilings except for designated pin boards and display cabinets
> - Not to attempt to move desks within staff areas
>
> (MMU, 2014, p. 6)

Opportunities to display material in the new building were controlled and limited. Kitchen areas were equipped with pin boards while the circulatory spaces contained lockable display cabinets. Some staff were able to access metallic panels where artefacts could be displayed using 'fridge magnets'. In a few areas, there were additional wipe-clean white boards designed for idea generation (see Figure 8-1).

Figure 8-1: Workspace (W26) with wipe-clean whiteboard and showing an example of the spatial restraints implicit in the 'conceived' space

Although spaces for display were provided, areas such as the corridor display cases were managerially controlled and the kitchen pin boards seemed to have a semi-

official role. These spaces were usually reserved for 'serious' communications such as invitations to union meetings. Overall, the amount of space available to each staff member for individual personalisation was reduced in comparison to the older campuses. The condensed physical space for storage and displaying professional artefacts was seen by some as a personal attack on their status within the organisation and consequently their workplace-identity (Elsbach, 2003). For example, Emma, a full-time researcher, draws strong connections between her material possessions and her professional-self.

> I think what's part of my identity as an academic, what's important to how I feel about my work is having hard books. The book that I have a part of my identity, signify who I am, things that are passionate to me (Emma, Researcher)

8.1 Whether or not to personalise

The desire to personalise office doors at the Didsbury campus and workstations in the new building was by no means an all-inclusive practice. For some participants like Paul, the Brooks Building campus workstation was just a base to store equipment, books and papers (see Figure 8-2). This picture illustrates the range of artefacts required to engage in the spatial practices of teaching, research and administration in contrast to the organisationally sanctioned (conceived) spaces provided.
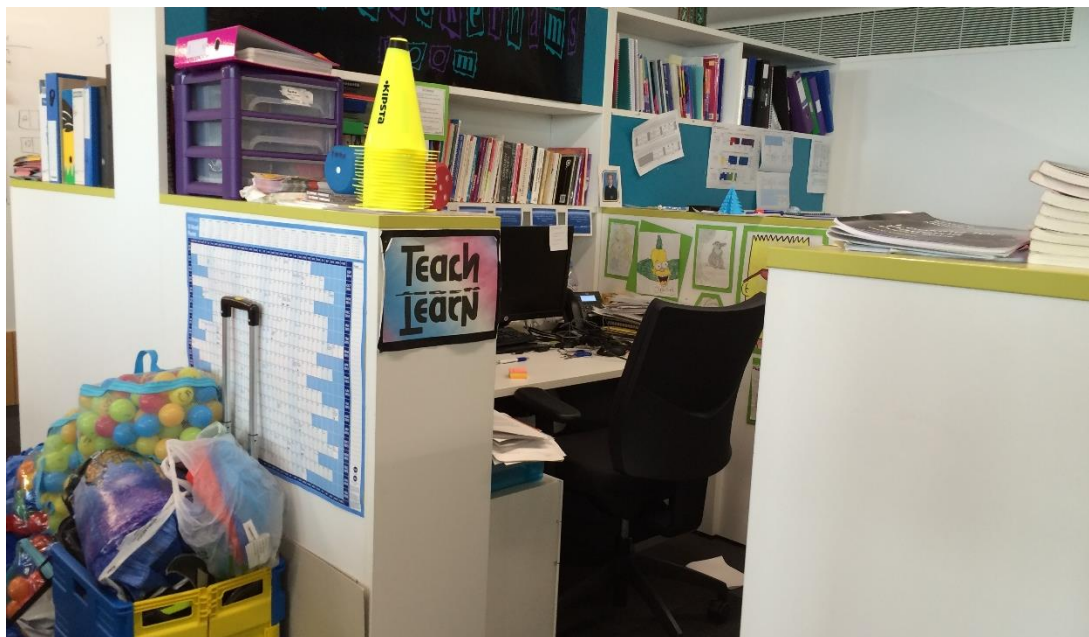
Figure 8-2: Dumping grounds or organised chaos (W15).

Personalisation was more common in certain discipline areas than others (for example, Mathematics, Modern Foreign Languages, Social Care and Social Work) and many doors and workstations remained without adornment. However, even this conscious decision 'not to decorate' could be construed as a statement about the nature of academic work and the individual's place within this field. As Greg explained:

> I'm not one for kind of, never been one to kind of personalise my desk space and for the past few years I've tried to keep all my work stuff to an absolute minimum (Greg, Technologist).

For Greg there was a clear link between his particular specialist area and his attitude to space and possessions. Because Greg worked in an educational technology support capacity, working extensively online, there was less of a need to accumulate large quantities of teaching and research material. Greg stated that 'obviously with a lot of stuff being digital now I tend not to print things off unless I really need to'.

At the other end of the spectrum. For Emma, a technically adept younger researcher, there was something important about the material objects associated with her work that could not be replaced with a digital alternative.

> (…) we need so many other actual physical things: books, paper. Where, regardless of how much technology we use, there are certain things that you need to have that are absolutely significant (Emma, Researcher)

For other participants there was a sense that because the workspaces provided in the new building were uniform in design there was little point customising them with personal objects, regardless of any benefit or easing feelings of alienation that making a personal mark may have overcome (Tian & Belk, 2005). For Alan, the blandness and anonymity of the workspace neutralised any feelings of belonging to the space or control over it.

> But I suspect because where I am is in the (…) you know the grey kind of management suite part of it, I don't feel that it's mine, I wouldn't (…) you know what I mean, there's no ownership of the space whatsoever – it's just a desk, I could be anywhere, could be anywhere. (Alan, Academic Manager)

This response echoes findings by Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl (2014) who noted that non-personalisation could be interpreted as an indicator of 'insecurity and job instability' and the worker having no sense of belonging and work satisfaction' (p. 115).

8.2   Categorising artefacts

The process of categorising personal artefacts recognises that personal possessions can carry considerable personal symbolic value and meaning, and that the act of personalising a working area is, in itself, a communicative event (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014). In this conception, an individual's personalisation of his or her working area (whether office doors or workstations) is designed to convey meaning about the self to others and is an act of self-extension (Tian & Belk, 2005). However, in attributing meaning to this this communicative process, it is acknowledged that the meaning assigned to objects by the owner – and therefore the message – may not be the same as that received by the reader of these artefacts. Therefore, in this respect, artefacts and the interpretation of their meaning, are approximations, and are never complete representations (see Chapter 3). The artefacts used to personalise both the Didsbury doors and the Brooks Building workstations were sorted into three communication types: *personal, political* and *professional* (see Section 5.5.3 and Appendix L).

There was, however, considerable overlap between these groupings and many of these artefacts seemed to fit into several of these categories (see Figure 8-3) with some falling into all three groups. In order to make these connections between artefacts, a certain amount of contextual knowledge is required about the occupier of the office or the owner of the workstation. Some of the door and workstation owners were well known to the researcher as colleagues and friends; others were passing acquaintances, and some were only known by name and reputation. Where necessary, background research was carried out on the individuals via the university's website in order to find out about their professional activities.

1. Professional–Personal   2. Political–Professional   3. Personal–Political

Figure 8-3: Professional–Personal (D9) Political–Professional (D16) and Personal–Political (D14) artefacts on the Didsbury doors showing the complexity of categorisation.

The first image presents a *professional–personal* overlap, where the handwritten sticky note shows 'DR' with a smiley face drawn underneath, communicating that the occupier of the office now has a doctorate (and is happy about it).

The second image is an example of a *political–professional* overlap, where the occupier of the office has displayed a poster in Spanish for a political demonstration in Madrid against the war in Iraq. The image is overtly political but also acts as a professional signifier, as the occupier is a Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) specialist.

The third image demonstrates a *personal–political* communication. The occupier is communicating his love of pop music (he has written widely on the subject) by displaying a 45-rpm single cover in conjunction with political message and image of Nelson Mandela.

Some artefacts were classified as having all three communicative dimensions, *personal–political–professional,* for example, those of the occupier of the office displaying the postcard stating 'I was meant to lead the revolution, not teach' (see Figure 8-4). The occupier is communicating a *personal* message (whether true or not) through the use of the personal pronoun 'I', and through the use of humour (it is something that the occupier finds amusing). The reference to 'lead the revolution', although tongue-in-cheek, implies personal activism and a desire to affect political or organisational change. The reference to the occupier's profession, teaching, places

this also in the *professional* category. The subtext in this example is that, for the occupier of the office, and many Teacher Educators at the Didsbury campus, teaching is necessarily a revolutionary activity imbued with political context and meaning.
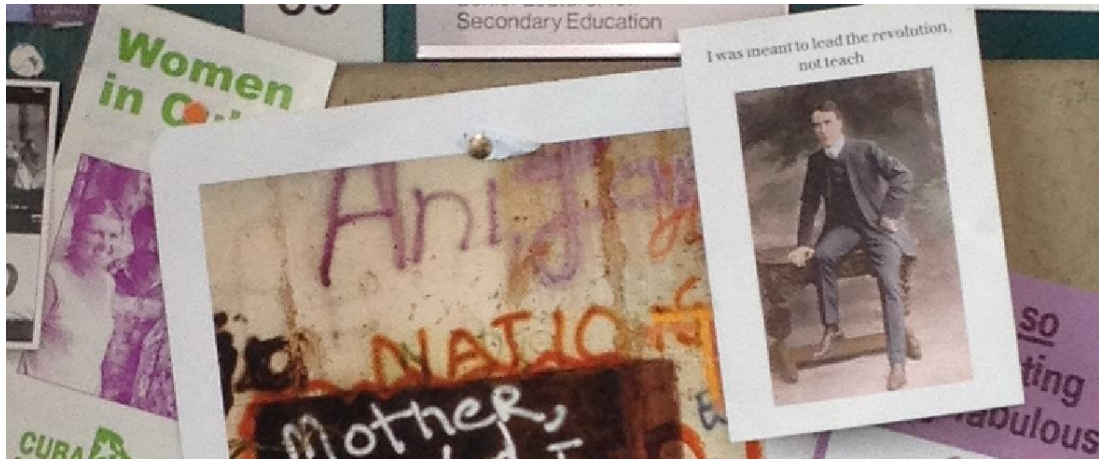
Figure 8-4: 'I was meant to lead the revolution, not teach' (D17) an example of an artefact spanning personal-political–professional classification

8.2.1 Personal artefacts

Many of the spaces examined suggested that staff wanted to display artefacts that give insight to others about their life outside work, and 'establish a desired boundary or integration between work and 'nonwork'' (Laurence & Byron, 2015, p. 298). In personalising their working environments, staff were able to exert control over the balance between their private and public selves they wished to reveal (Tian & Belk, 2005). Many staff displayed items with personal meaning, including postcards from friends and colleagues, pictures of places with particular personal resonance, collections of objects, pictures of family members, children's artwork and pictures of the owner engaged in activities outside the workplace. The display of each of these items giving a small insight into the 'nonwork' self, blurring the boundary between the academic self and other selves (for example, mother, footballer, artist, dog owner).

There were a variety of items on show, including material that suggested staff members' sexual preferences (for example, lesbian support group's leaflets, LGBT awareness, which are simultaneously personal and political). Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl (2014) suggest that personal artefacts can mediate communication, 'generate talking points' and help to 'build rapport' between individuals. These personal artefacts

often served an additional social function (Crilly, 2010), signposting networking opportunities and communities both inside and outside the workplace.

Many of the artefacts endorsed particular hobbies, pastimes and other personal interests (for example, promotional material for plays, exhibitions and music events) allowing colleagues – and in the case of the Didsbury doors, students and visitors – an insight into personal passions and interests beyond work.

In addition, there were many examples of artefacts that seemed to be on display purely for their aesthetic or decorative value (for example, pictures of flowers and trees). These objects frequently connected the owner to the natural world via material such as postcards, photographs and posters presenting geographic locations, often of holiday locations either visited or desired. Warren (2008, p. 572) describes personal images of visited locations as 'richly infused remembrances and memories of "being there" and apprehending the artefact in the photograph'. Personalising workspace with 'spatial imaginaries' (Warren, 2002) may assist staff in evoking sensory memories to aid visualising of a place beyond the work setting. Other geographic material on display, showed places that the member of staff or students had visited, or were items that denoted allegiance to particular locations, towns (for example the door decorated with a 'Made in Preston', North End Soul and 'Preston is my Paris' signs, see Figure 8-5).

Figure 8-5: An assemblage of geographically meaningful artefacts pertaining to the town of Preston (D13)

8.2.2 Political artefacts

The Didsbury doors, and to a much lesser extent the Brooks workstations, revealed that academics from teacher education and social work were prepared to share material on their doors which was explicitly political, and which showed their political allegiances and affiliations. Some of the material promoted support for particular international struggles (for example; 'Hands off Cuba' and 'Solidarity with Palestine' see Figure 8-6 and Figure 8-7).

Figure 8-6: HANDS OFF CUBA! (D17)

Figure 8-7: Solidarity with Palestine (D16)

Other concerns were UK centred (for example, the obituary of left wing MP Tony Benn), or related to activism within higher education (for example, UCU membership and campaigning material). Although, by no means all doors carried political messages, all of the doors in the photographic data that did carry political content were politically left-leaning. This may be unsurprising given the union traditions and

background of teacher education and social work. Displaying artefacts signifying broadly left-wing sympathies appeared to be the culturally accepted norm within the faculty, and revealing these allegiances was a safe activity that did not attract management sanctions. These displays may even be construed as contributing to particular social identity-forming activities (Strati, 2010) allowing staff to find common ground (Laurence & Byron, 2015) and displaying solidarity (Warren et al., 2014) with particular political perspectives. By creating this environment, perhaps staff were creating a safe space for expressing views that were otherwise marginalised within the wider cultural sphere. Equally, these displays may have had the effect of subduing the formation of dissenting identity groups. It is questionable whether the display of material expressing a divergent view would have been equally tolerated. Although the data did not appear to show any ideological conflicts, the display of overtly political material in the workplace begs many questions about the balance between an individual's rights of expression verses the rights of the many. In this environment, certain political views may become normalised and inhibit the expression of contrary political views by marginalised workers and students (see for example, BBC & Bettiza, 2017).

The Didsbury doors also displayed material that implied particular political allegiances, often through satirical images and comedic verse. One door displayed a poster featuring a series of images of Michael Gove (then Minister for Education under the UK Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition government), comparing his various facial expressions to a weasel (Figure 8-8). The poster described itself as a 'print your own teachers' edition' and carried the advice 'please remember to take me down in the event of Ofsted visiting'. This is a sly meta-joke, on one hand, encouraging teachers to mock the establishment, but on the other, warning teachers to take care not to be caught in the act by inspectors from the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted).

Figure 8-8: 4 weasels that look exactly like Michael Gove (D02)

Gove presided over, and was seen by many to be the architect of, many structural changes to the UK school system and was regarded as something of a 'bogeyman' (The Guardian, Tickle & Ratcliffe, 2014) by academics involved in teacher education (Times Higher Education, McQuillan, 2013) including many of those at the Didsbury campus. In fact, at this time Gove appeared to be at war with Faculties of Education up and down the country. He described the 'academics who have helped run the university departments of education responsible for developing curricula and teacher training courses' as 'enemies (of promise) within' and, 'Marxists, living on another (Red) planet' (Michael Gove quoted in McQuillan, 2013, p. 1). It is little wonder therefore that academics felt their professional identities were under threat. By displaying a satirical poster deriding a prominent government figure in the work setting, the occupant of the office was perhaps acknowledging the external threat posed by the government to particular values and norms held as important by the teaching profession. However, by using humour, they are retaining a sense of distance from the threat and displaying a feeling of mastery over it (Henman, 2001). In sharing this small gesture of resistance, the occupant was not only defending their personal, professional and political identity, but drawing together support against a common adversary.

8.2.3 Professional artefacts

The academics behind the Didsbury doors and the users of the Brooks Building workstations displayed subject and discipline-related material. However, at Didsbury the artefacts were on general display and were visible to students, staff and visitors

to the building. Whereas, in the Brooks Building workspaces were not accessible to students, although some were distantly visible through the internal glazing from public areas of the building. Therefore, presumably, artefacts displayed on workstations were for personal satisfaction and for the benefit of colleagues rather than wider consumption.

At Didsbury, doors were used by some academics as to disseminate promotional and organisational material to their students. Doors functioned as personal notice boards displaying material promoting university events, which were often linked to the discipline area of the office occupier such as geography field trips and Erasmus programmes. There was a highly practical side to this: a number of doors featured organisational material such as student timetables, office hours, contact details and course handbooks. For some, the door operated as a two-way device for staff-student and staff-staff communication (see Figure 8-9). It was common for doors to have plastic pouches attached for students to leave work for feedback, or for staff to leave information for students who had missed lectures. For some, the doors were a place to leave interesting journals and articles for students and colleagues alike. In terms of professional communication, and distributing teaching and research resources, the doors had a similar function to the university virtual learning environment (VLE), albeit in an analogue rather than digital form.

Figure 8-9: Using office doors as a two-way communication tool

In addition to organisational and promotional material about the process of teaching, some occupants of the Didsbury offices displayed artefacts that implied particular pedagogic approaches or preferred educational philosophies. These personal beliefs about learning and teaching were frequently expressed through humour. For example, the cartoon (Warren, 1989) of a teacher stating 'I expect you all to be independent, innovative critical thinkers who will do exactly as I say' highlights the difficulty faced by trainee teachers and Teacher Educators alike, of achieving discipline in the class without stifling self-directed learning (see Figure 8-10). Perhaps the occupier of this office is speaking to both students and colleagues through this display.
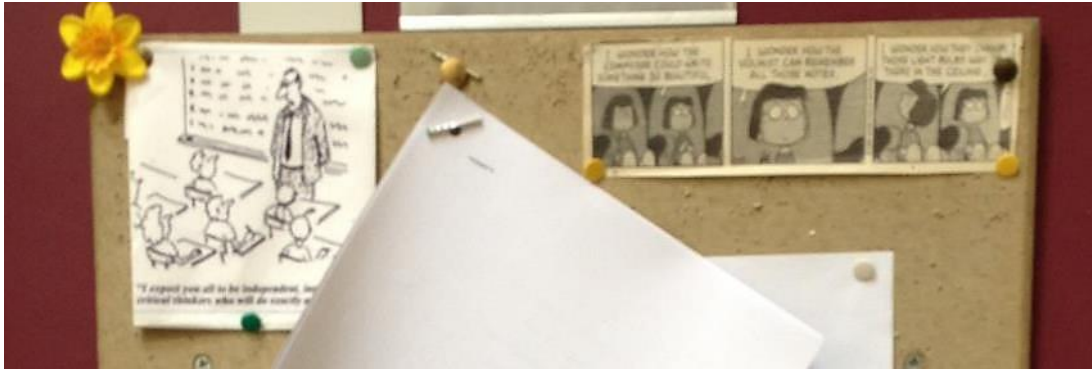
Figure 8-10: 'I expect you all to be independent, innovative critical thinkers who will do exactly as I say'

Material displayed regarding teaching philosophy tended to reinforce critical and dialogic approaches to pedagogy (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 2001), where learning is constructed as an emancipatory activity and teaching positioned as revolutionary practice. Inspirational quotes and posters displayed, featured subject matter designed to motivate students (and perhaps colleagues) to *transgress* conventional classroom boundaries (hooks, 1994) in order to challenge the structural inequalities associated with racism, sexism, class division and poverty.

A large amount of material on display related to particular academic interests. Many staff specifically connected their academic work to particular artefacts. In some cases, these artefacts were more than mementoes of particular projects, they held additional insights into academic practice:

> I've got a lot of stuff I've brought back from India which I keep because ... because it says something about the kind of research I do ... it's up there, a piece of Dogra [art] work of a woman feeding a baby for example, and she's lying down. Well in the west, you ... wouldn't feed a child lying down. It's generally considered very, very bad practice – the child will choke, but um ... but their babies don't. So, you know there's things that are academically and personally interesting that I like to keep (near) me, which I expect not to be able to in future. (Helen, Research Manager)

It is clear from this interview extract that, for Helen, the Dogra artefact has an academic value beyond its obvious outward appearance. The artwork represents a deeper connection to the process of research, and contains valuable lessons about diversity and the dangers of making assumptions when researching in different cultural contexts. This finding draws parallels with Scheiberg (1990) who notes that

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workplace personalisation can be used reflexively to trigger particular associations, emotional and intellectual memories (p. 335).

In the example of Didsbury door D14, the collection of images closely aligns with the academic's research interest in the portrayal of identity – and particularly representations of men and masculinity in pop and media culture (Figure 8-1). As a curated group of images, they give insight into the detail of this academic's work, and a snapshot of changing notions of masculinity over time, such as the lyrics from Manchester indie band The Smiths' song 'This Charming Man', which explores themes of sexual ambiguity; a portrait of British comedian Frankie Howerd who had a notoriously difficult relationship with his own sexuality, which was compounded by homosexuality's illegal status in 1960's Britain; and a photograph of a 'playboy' Formula 1 racing driver smoking and drinking.

Figure 8-11: Door showing areas of personal and professional interest and pop-culture (D14). This academic writes extensively about masculinity and pop and media culture.

Many of the Didsbury doors in the study displayed items that indicated that the office owner might exhibit particular, conventionally undesirable, personality traits (for example, messiness and erratic behaviour). Drawing attention to these qualities might, in other professions at least, be seen as highlighting negative attributes or weakness. In this context however, the office owner is playing with the stereotype of

the scatty but brilliant academic and the idea that messiness might be a proxy for intelligence and creativity. Humour was used frequently in these superficially self-deprecating artefacts. Linking professionalism and the stresses involved in teaching to humorous materials was a common practice (for example the card reading 'In her prime, but teaching has taken its toll', see Figure 8-12).
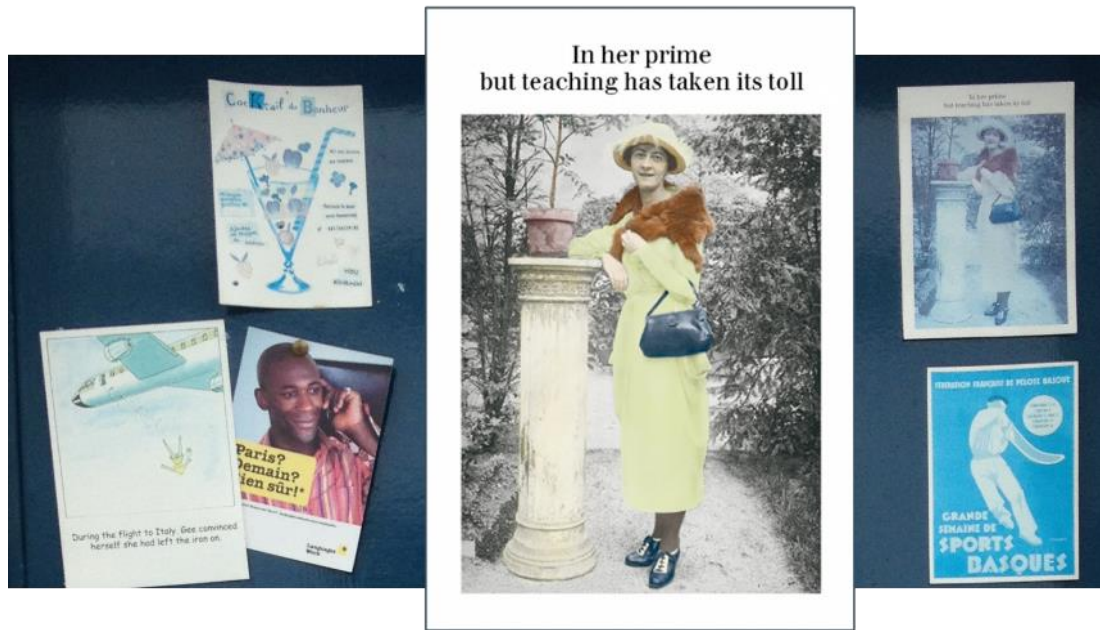
Figure 8-12: Knowing humour was often deployed on the doors at Didsbury (D11) for example the card reading 'In her prime but teaching has taken its toll'

These are insider jokes that only someone involved in teaching would fully appreciate and are knowingly targeted at colleagues and students, who in this case are mainly teacher trainees. Holmes and Marra (2002) note that studying humour at work can provide an insight into workplace culture. The research emphasises the role of humour 'to construct and sustain relationships which contribute to workplace harmony by expressing solidarity' (p. 1687). They draw on Wenger's (1998) communities of practice theory, which suggests a number of ways in which a community of practice might coalesce, including the use of 'local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter' (p. 126). Strati (2010) emphasises the role of organisational aesthetics in providing 'sense and value to social practices in organisations' (p. 880) as part of an ongoing negotiation of meaning. The materials displayed on the Didsbury doors suggest that the owners were comfortable sharing perceived weaknesses and were confident enough professionally not to take

themselves too seriously with humour adding to this sense of aesthetic negotiation. There is also an inference that these are in-jokes aimed at colleagues and others who know them well, bridging the gap between their serious professional identity and a more fun-loving personal identity, providing a 'point of connection between people' (Warren et al., 2014, p. 291). This link between materiality and identity draws strong parallels with Tian and Belk's (2005) theory of extended-self, where identity is constructed and expressed through 'a concrete set of persons, places and things' (p. 297) rather than intangible internalised notions of self.

Some of the material displayed on the Didsbury doors was more institutionally subversive and poked fun at the perceived inadequacies of the university (see Figure 8-13). One example is the sign reading 'Welcome to MMU – all the right words, but not necessarily in the right order' alongside a picture of the famous 1971 Morecombe and Wise sketch with conductor Andre Previn. The sign insinuates that the university is sincere but incompetent or perhaps well-meaning but dysfunctional. Morecombe and Wise were famous for their irreverence for establishment figures of their day.

Figure 8-13: Iconic anti-establishment TV comedy featured on one door (D15)

The same academic also displayed a picture of Sergeant Bilko adjacent to their office drop in times (Figure 8-13). The television character Bilko was famous for his get-rich-quick schemes and trying to avoid doing any of his prescribed work at all costs. In these examples, the occupier of the office is, perhaps, identifying themselves with these mildly anti-establishment characters, positioning himself or herself as

someone who does not always toe the institutional line. Unlike the overtly political material on display, these mildly nonconformist displays which poke fun at MMU were always tinged with affection and give an insight into how these individuals identified (or not) (Warren et al., 2014) with the wider university.

8.3 Personalisation as a territorial activity

The photographic data suggest that staff asserted territorial claims over their personal space using a number of techniques including: the prominent display of artefacts with *personal*, *professional* and *political* meaning as discussed in the earlier sections in this chapter; moving furniture in order to delineate personal space from collective space; and using personal effects to create visual barriers. Such practices have been interpreted variously as a form of territorial marking (Brown et al., 2005) and identity expression (Sundstrom & Sundstrom, 1986) and identity communication to others (Laurence & Byron, 2015). Workplace personalisation may also be viewed as an expression of spatial ownership and demarcation (Altman, 1975; Brown et al., 2005).

Although the Brooks Building workstations were heavy and constructed in such a way as to be immovable without specialist equipment, in some areas of the building, staff managed to evade the *conceived* plans of management and architects, disrupting the homogenous grid of workstations by moving low-level storage units into a 'defensive corral' (Figure 8-14) to create a boundary between personal workspace and office corridor.

Figure 8-14: Low-level bookcases moved to form a 'defensive corral' shielding personal space from the public corridor

Another noticeable 'tactic' (de Certeau, 1984) in the Brooks Building offices was the practice of 'wall building' with personal belongings in order to improve privacy and to maintain and strengthen existing boundaries. Some of these constructions may just be as the result of accumulated mess, poor 'housekeeping' of personal workspace, or lack of suitable storage space. However, the practice was so common, with some of the walls purposefully constructed rather than occurring by chance that the occurrence is noteworthy (see Figure 8-15). Interestingly, most walls were built between desk and corridor or behind staff, rather than on the similar space between colleagues where desks butted together. Perhaps building on this adjoining wall would have appeared impolite.

Figure 8-15: Wall building activity on unit behind desk even where there is plenty of storage space (W28)

8.4 Personalisation as a subversive activity

Research into the social production of space highlights the ongoing negotiation between formally designed environments and their appropriation in everyday life by those who use the space (de Certeau, 1984). In this respect, architectural space can be envisaged as a frontier, where its approved use – *conceived* by architects, planners and managers – is challenged by its *perceived* and *lived* use facilitated by 'imagery and symbolic elements' (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 41). Dale (2005) specifically links these little acts of resistance to Lefebvre's idea of *representational space* in which employees are engaged in an ongoing 'social creation of space' where personal 'signs, images and symbols are made material … through, for example, cartoons, personal email messages and family photographs' (p. 657). These symbolic artefacts and others such as promotional posters and inspirational quotes were evident in the academic spaces in both the old Didsbury campus and, to a lesser extent, in the new Brooks Building.

Interview data suggested that some staff relished the opportunity for subverting organisational rules that personalisation presents. For Kirstin, a Lecturer in Social Care, there is an almost childlike excitement associated with 'bucking the system', albeit in a minute act of rebellion.

> (…) as soon as I had the space I did something to personalise it and
> somebody said you can't do that. You can't put things up with Blu Tack
> and I said I can. (laughs) I'm going to do it. (Kirstin, Lecturer)

These small acts of resistance can be viewed as a form of spatial 'poaching' (de Certeau, 1984, p. xii) by the consumers of space from the producers, whereby the consumers use everyday practices to construct meaning that may not necessarily match those anticipated by its producers (de Certeau, 1984). Or in other words, by personalisation, the user of the space, in a small way, attempts to 'challenge the prevailing notion of order and the bureaucratic purity of the site' (Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2011, p. 762). Ng and Höpfl (2011) also suggest that these unofficial uses of resources resonate with Goffman's (1961, p. 180) idea of 'secondary adjustments' where employees of an organisation use unauthorised means to challenge official perceptions of what they 'do' and how they should 'be'. Goffman describes these

unsanctioned activities, where they become commonplace and move from being individual to collective activities, as organisational 'underlife' (Goffman, 1961, p. 182). Lefebvre (2005) also commented on the continual battle between officialdom and the individual:

> (...) the politico-bureaucratic-state edifice always contains cracks, chinks, spaces. On the one hand, administrative activity strains to plug these gaps (...) On the other hand, individuals seek to enlarge these cracks and pass through the interstices (2005, p. 127)

In some areas of the new building, the customisation of personal space took an almost surreal turn with complex displays of unusual artefacts carefully placed and curated (for example, an inflatable moose head, oriental rugs, and a stuffed cat)(see Figure 8-16 and Figure 8-17). This was most notable in the Education and Social Research Institute (ESRI), where the – sometimes elaborate – arrangement of objects could be described as a 'cabinet of (personal) curiosities'. ESRI has a tradition of challenging the accepted notions of what constitutes qualitative data in educational research and the presentation of artefacts by many members of this group could be interpreted as an extension of this practice as well as an attempt to assert control over the uniformity of the personal space provided. In this context, the incongruous juxtaposition of these artefacts against the corporate backdrop of the open plan office acts as a provocative miniature act of resistance against the organisational machine. This practice resonates with Wasserman and Frenkel's (2011) idea of 'aesthetic jamming' (based on earlier work on culture jamming by Kalle Lasn) where institutionally-sanctioned identities and notions of *lived space* are tested by employees as they challenge managerially-approved identities in 'deliberate, and sometimes systematic attempts to transgress and ridicule management's aesthetic' (p. 518). In terms of Lefebvre's spatial triad, these elaborate displays can be understood as 'discursively challenging the conceived space, physically challenging the perceived space, and interpretively challenging the lived space' (p. 514) in an attempt to ridicule the '[managerial] symbols that are meant to represent respectability' (p. 514). This practice connects closely to Lefebvre's idea of *representational space* being the space of imagination and of potential. In fact, Lefebvre maintained an extended interest in the work of the surrealist movement

and enjoyed its potential to 'surprise and shock' and 'humorously' look at everyday day life (Shields, 1999, p. 54) from other perspectives and disrupt conventional understandings and practices of space (Stanek, 2011).

Figure 8-16: Surreal displays of artefacts carefully curated and arranged (W20).

Figure 8-17: Unusual artefacts on display in the Brooks Building (W1 left, W19 top right and W10 bottom right)

In a few cases, the practice of scene building moved beyond personal space, and beyond the work of the individual and extended into collaborative practice in public areas of the building. An unusual example of this was in the ESRI office where – over time – an elaborate scene was constructed on the floor space, directly beside the department manager. Starting with a couple of Persian rugs, and, over time, growing to include a stuffed cat, a stuffed crow, smaller birds, eggs, leaves, feathers, a spider and bowl of (replica) milk for the cat (see Figure 8-18).

Figure 8-18: An elaborate surreal scene, constructed over time as a collective appropriation of space (W40)

8.5 Personalisation and maintaining professional histories

The lack of personal display space in the new building caused concern for some participants who drew connections between objects and personal/professional networks. There was a fear that without these artefacts on display historic links with their department, discipline and aspects of the unique atmosphere would be lost. Helen, a Senior Researcher in the Faculty of Health, Psychology & Social Care, articulates this neatly:

> I think it's likely to be very sad that we won't be able to have any artefacts, pictures and so on which make a place more personalised, which give character. We've got a very beautiful quilt that was made by a previous member of staff … and we don't know at the moment whether there would be anywhere to hang it. (Helen, Senior Researcher)

For Helen, the quilt represents an important link between past and present. There is a significant emotional investment at stake; the ex-staff member must have taken a great deal of time and effort to create the quilt, which was unique and personal. By finding a place to display the quilt in the new building, Helen could acknowledge the persistence of core values and continuity amidst considerable change to her working environment. This articulates closely with one of the functions of Lefebvre's *representational space*, the ability to capture the 'dynamic, multifaceted, divergent space of people's life stories' (Thompson-Fawcett, 2003, p. 69). Ruth (2015) notes the importance of the socio-material to academic life emphasising the association of personal objects with professional connections and academic practice. This

entanglement between the social and the material aspects of university life is enacted through the personal decoration of office spaces and may affect the quality of individual and institutional performance (Ruth, 2015).

8.6 Personalisation and the permeability of home and work

A number of participants connected the idea of workspace personalisation with home life. This is significant for a number of reasons. The balance between work and home had already been disrupted by the move to the new building, with many members of staff noting that the amount of time that they would have to spend at home would increase because of the noise and the lack of privacy in the new environment. Some staff also mentioned that they would have to make changes to their home environment (converting spare rooms into offices, putting work materials into the loft and purchasing storage solutions) to accommodate material that could no longer be housed at work (these changes are discussed at length in Chapter 7). These changes were concomitant with a well-documented blurring between work and home life for academic staff (Kinman & Jones, 2004) and in the literature on organisational space more generally (Taylor & Spicer, 2007). Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl (2011) discuss the idea of workplace personalisation using the term 'objects in exile' to highlight the way that artefacts can be used to soften the divide between the hardness and stress of the workplace and the comfort of home. These authors view the practice of bringing personal possessions into the workplace as an attempt to stem the tide of work creeping into all aspects of life and to compensate for the lack of individuality offered by work. For Pippa, a Senior Researcher, there was a strict demarcation between home space and workspace:

> my personal stuff is at home, so I have what I need around me, more or less … Well I mean you sort of personalise it in that I've got a picture that my granddaughter made for me, but you know nothing really, because I mean my workspace is for work. (Pippa, Senior Researcher).

For others such as Melissa, the decision not to personalise was a personal one, claiming that it was not in her character to home-build at work in this way.

> I'm not a huge nester, so I wasn't too bothered about, I'm not too bothered about not having lots of space to put my things. (Melissa, Academic Manager)

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The word 'nester' has connotations of settling down and permanence. Melissa worked across a number of university sites and had a job that required travel around the region so the decision not to accumulate personal belongings also had a pragmatic basis. The literature suggests that personalisation activities are associated with 'familiarity, comfort [and] putting down roots' (Warren et al., 2014, p. 294). Yet, this was not the case for all staff. Helen expressed the value of creating a little bit of home at work. She talks about this, as if the personalisation offers some form of compensation for the sacrifices required by work, making the process of work more homely.

> I reckon if I'm going to be somewhere for around 50 hours a week it needs to feel more homely, so yeah to my right there's a whole wall of stuff (Helen, Research Manager)

Rather like de Certeau's (1984) idea of 'la perruque' (the wig) to describe the time stolen or hidden by employees from their employers to work on personal projects, in this example the currency of compensation seems to be space rather than time.

8.7 Conclusion

The move to the Brooks Building required staff to reassess the number of personal possessions they could take with them from their previous locations in the Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses. Prior to the relocation, staff were asked to condense the volume of their accumulated personal and professional artefacts into a single crate, with the understanding that they would only have a maximum of a meter and a half of dedicated shelf space in the new building regardless of status within the organisation. The open plan environment and uniform workstation design was an experiment in mapping out the university's supposed flatter and less hierarchical management structure in physical form, leading Alan, a senior academic, to quip 'at least it's equal misery isn't it'. The thinly hidden subtext points to a series of management moves, *conceived* in Lefebvrian terms, to diminish the overall status of the individual employee by spatial and discursive means to achieve a particular 'social and technical division of labour' (Lefebvre, 1991b, pp. 97–98). The loss of the individual office and its ability to store a lifetime's professional and personal artefacts, and its replacement with a uniform workstation, clearly signals a

management regime that places less emphasis on the individual and more on a pool of labour where each individual is replaceable. Higher value is placed on the notion of a leaner, lighter, more flexible workforce that can be uprooted and redeployed swiftly depending on particular business requirements, rather than nurturing particular *place attachments* where individual and collective notions of *lived space* are developed over time based on combinations of aesthetic, historic, intuitive and symbolic responses. In this scenario, encouraging staff to form particular spatial-allegiances would be inefficient.

The analysis in Chapter 8 shows that the decision to personalise or not depended – to a certain degree – on participants intellectual and emotional separation of 'work' and 'home', resonating closely with the work of Yuk-kwan Ng and Höpfl (2011, 2014). Personalisation activities at the Didsbury and Brooks campuses aided identity formation (Strati, 2010) allowing staff to build group cohesion (Laurence & Byron, 2015) and display solidarity (Warren et al., 2014), and to express facets of the character perhaps not overtly apparent in the course of work. The loss of personal offices reduced the opportunities for staff to 'home-build' in the workplace, reducing the number of *personal*, *professional* and *political* artefacts that they could store, display and have access to. Interview and photographic data suggested that staff personalised their areas as an example of Tian and Belk's (2005) theory of 'extended self', an ongoing negotiation between aspects of the 'work self' and other expressions of the self which reside elsewhere.

The lack of personal doors in the new building denied staff the additional possibility of a door demarking their space from shared space, and in doing so removed a convenient way to share stories (about the constructed-self) with colleagues and students. By removing this communication mechanism and replacing it with more formalised, architecturally-sanctioned, methods of communication (such as display cases and pin boards) the building reduces the opportunities for human stories to be told. It could be argued, that this in turn, reduces the number of possibilities for sharing knowledge of the self, and consequently diminishes genuine human interaction between students and academics, and between colleagues. By reducing opportunities for shared material to trigger dialogue, *personal*, *professional* and

political linkages may not be formed as readily, weakening shared social identity and reducing a sense of shared belonging. As discussed in Chapter 7 dismantling unofficial allegiances (to discipline, subject area, Faculty or profession) while at the same time promoting corporate loyalty (to the university as an organisation) is an unwritten goal of the wider re-spatialisation of the university.

The affordances of the new building may be seen as contributing to a range of material, spatial and discursive 'technologies of power' aimed at neutralising personalisation and the dissemination of personal ideals to others. By reducing opportunities for spatial personalisation, university management is reducing the amount of individual control that employees have over their working environments.

This chapter has detailed the final analysis presented in this thesis and described one aspect of the *lived* space of staff as they transitioned from the older campuses to the new Brooks Building. The following concluding chapter pulls together the three moments of Lefebvre's spatial triad and distils the findings of this research, highlighting key findings and areas for future research.

9 Conclusions

This chapter brings together the main findings of this thesis with regard to the research questions presented in the three previous analysis chapters. These are further explored, combining the ideological, practical and symbolic conceptions of space discussed in these chapters, and positioning this research in the broader field. The strengths and limitations of the thesis are considered and recommendations for further research into university space is presented. This chapter concludes with a postscript detailing the key events in the MMU campus redevelopment agenda since the completion of the research described here.

9.1   Summary of research aim and findings

This research was intended to study *social production* of university space and explore the impact that a built environment has on the institutional, social and individual identities of the staff who work in it. This study was carried out using Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad as a lens to critically analyse the *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* spaces of a university at a time of intense managerial transformation. By examining management and architectural discourse, interview transcriptions and photographic data, it was possible to construct a detailed case study of a large-scale campus redevelopment project. The study focused on the relationship between the new architecture and the changing power dynamics within the University. The thesis considered three main research questions:

RQ1: How do the conceived spaces of a new university building influence institutional identity?

RQ2: How do the spatial practices of everyday university life affect staff perceptions of identity, productivity and wellbeing?

RQ3: How and why do staff express personal and professional identity in university spaces?

In order to answer these questions, three analysis techniques were used, each loosely aligned to a 'moment' of Lefebvre's triad, and each aligned to a particular question. These research questions are discussed in detail in the following sections.

9.1.1 Conceived space and constructed identity

The first research question was explored in Chapter 6; it centred on institutional identity from internal and external perspectives. In other words, what the university does to project a particular image both to those within the institution and those it wishes to influence outside. This question used Lefebvre's (1991b) concept of *conceived space* (the ideological space of university managers, architects and facilities departments) as a theoretical starting point, and drew on Foucault's idea of the dispositive as a method of analysing the complex power/knowledge relationships involved.

The data from the corpus of management documents show a considerable entanglement between the discourses of neoliberal transformation and the 'spatial fix' of campus redevelopment. The analysis noted that, as their first priority, the spaces *conceived* by university management and their architects are designed to 'plug the leaks' caused by changed 'market conditions'. The buildings are overtly re-active, hoping to capitalise on, rather than challenge the dominant neo-capitalist hegemony. There is little in the data to suggest that the new spaces of MMU are created with any other intentions than increasing market share, changing perceptions of brand, improving operational efficiency and influencing working practice. Key to this process is the control of the specialist discourse of university space by university management and their architects. Spatial meanings, symbolism and interpretation are curated and legitimated through a range of discursive techniques. Furthermore, the physical form of the new buildings are 'put to work'

through their sheer monumentality to further legitimate the construction of the identity of 'The University for World Class Professionals'. The analysis of management documents (see Chapter 6) suggests that a number of discursive and material practices are brought into service in order to propagate the dispositive of a *Model University* and influence perceptions of its identity.

In addition to the spatial fixes at university level, discourse, action and materialisation of space are also knotted together with the implicit aim of producing both students and academics as neoliberal subjects. While the exterior and interior spaces of the Brooks Building cannot be construed as neoliberal in themselves, they exhibit many of the traits described in recent literature linking the built environment with modern capitalism (Spencer, 2016). This is most evident in the spaces geared to producing mobile, entrepreneurial and self-disciplining subjects. The analysis suggested that certain spaces, for example staff open plan offices, were conceived to capitalise on ideas linking proximity to team working and knowledge-sharing. At the same time these spaces symbolically emphasise the impermanence of employment and the need for a self-regulated flexibility towards work. The data suggested that designed space was purposefully conceived to alter working practices to fit with current managerial notions of the *Model Academic* and *Model Student*.

9.1.2 Perceived space, productivity, wellbeing and identity

This second research question, discussed in Chapter 7, examined how staff in the Brooks Building adapted their *spatial practice* to accommodate the new environment and how the perceived qualities of the space affected their self-assessment of identity, productivity and wellbeing. Spatial practice refers to the routines of everyday life and is mediated by tangible and measurable space as perceived by the senses (Lefebvre, 1991b).

Staff interviews about working practices in the Brooks Building revealed a considerable disconnect between the space – as conceived by management and architects – and the everyday spatial practice articulated by academics and other staff members. Many people described ways in which they had adapted their teaching, administrative and research activities to accommodate the new

environment and that some of these changes had led to undesirable consequences on their productivity and wellbeing. A key concern among staff was about the perceived negative effect that open plan working would have on their abilities to perform aspects of their work that required concentration. Academic staff clearly articulated apprehension before and after the move to the new premises. This was focused on a range of related issues including: the transfer of noise; proximity to others; lack of privacy; lack of confidentiality; the size, flexibility and layout of personal space; and lack of control over these and other environmental factors.

Many staff were sceptical about the promised 'social benefits' of the new environment, such as improvements to team working, enhanced creativity and knowledge sharing opportunities brought about by closer working and more frequent contact with colleagues. For many participants, the *spatial practice* dictated by the Brooks Building actually undermined chances of meaningful social and professional interaction by encouraging a greater reliance on home working.

Several staff perceived that the Brooks Building – in conjunction with managerial discourse – was being used to disestablish particular working practices, cultures and identities. The most notable changes to working practices were evident in the move from individual cellular offices to large open-plan workspaces and their separation from students by way of swipe-card entry. These changes – although theoretically designed to produce efficiencies, promote greater social cohesion and engender team-based approaches to work – had a detrimental effect for many staff on the quality of the relationships that they enjoyed with colleagues and students. This managerial apparatus contributed to a sense that older, more experienced staff, were slowly being edged out in favour of younger less experienced (but highly qualified) staff. These 'fast subjects' (Thrift, 2005) would be personally and professionally flexible, computer adept, mobile workers for whom personal space was less important. These model workers would demonstrate working practices and values more attuned to management thinking.

9.1.3 Lived space and workspace personalisation

The final research question was addressed in Chapter 8. It considered the *lived*, or *representational,* space of the old Didsbury campus and the new Brooks Building. This question focused on the personal and collective meanings associated with particular spaces (Lefebvre, 1991b) and the way that these change over time. The analysis of photographs investigated the practice of personalising spaces with images and artefacts, and considered how this may contribute to identity building. For some staff, the work environment was tightly connected to their senses of 'self' and had resonance beyond its purely functional, practical and *perceived* facets. The interview data from some staff resonated with theories that emphasise attachment to, and identification with, particular places (Altman & Low, 1992; Tuan, 1974; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Staff accounts echoed Lefebvre's (1991b) description of *representational space*, where spaces gain significance over time and are saturated with personal and collective histories, memories and imaginations. Several of the interview participants expressed a sense of loss both personally and professionally at the thought of moving campus.

Staff at Didsbury and later in the Brooks Building, created elaborate displays of political, personal and professional artefacts in order to 'claim' particular spaces as their own. These displays on the doors at Didsbury, and on the workstations in the Brooks Building, had a number of purposes. The data suggested that personalisation of workspaces provided staff with an outlet for self-expression, and that those who personalised their spaces were able to give a closely controlled and manufactured insight to others about their inner selves. Through personalisation, staff were able to share complex information with others about their teaching and research philosophies, sexualities, political sympathies, hobbies and interests, senses of humour and friends and family. When examined as a whole, these personalisation activities can be viewed as attempts to build and consolidate existing communities of practice. The display of particular personal, professional and political artefacts was significant as a method of tacitly developing group cohesion and expressing solidarity. These personalisation activities resonate with de Certeau's (1984) description of spatial *tactics* as practices that subvert officially sanctioned uses of

space. These displays allowed staff to collectively and individually 'let off steam' through humour and poke fun at university management.

The data revealed a lack of recognition by management of the importance that physical artefacts and personal space play in the lived experiences of academic staff. The Brooks Building purposely limited the space available to each staff member for personal storage and discouraged personalisation activities through management discourse. Diminishing the status of material expressions of 'self' carried strong messages about the types of professional identity valued by the institution.

9.2 Contribution to knowledge

Considering the wealth of theoretical literature on organisational and institutional space and the renewed interest across the social sciences in space as a primary thinking tool (Beyes & Michels, 2011; Clegg & Kornberger, 2006; Dale & Burrell, 2008), there are relatively few examples of empirical socio-spatial analyses of large organisations. There are even fewer studies that focus exclusively on universities. This research aims to address this deficit.

This thesis makes theoretical contributions to the study of university space in three areas. First, it exposes discursive and material links between the built environment and the construction of model identities. Second, it highlights problems in the design process which exacerbate inconsistencies between the *conceived* spaces of management and the *lived* experience of university workers. Third, it documents the importance of workplace personalisation as an individual and collective identity building activity. Finally, it exposes the detail of how university spatial production operates at a number of scales; where spaces are created and dismantled on an urban, architectural, social and individual level to further the specific neoliberal agendas expected of universities under modern capitalism.

The research disentangles the managerially sanctioned 'model identities' proposed for the university, staff and its students and illuminates the complex mechanisms used by the university to bring these about. This study provides insights into management attempts to solidify these new identities via institutional discourse, non-discursive practices and the physical environment. The dispositive analysis

(Chapter 6) shows in detail how a variety of legitimation techniques, linking the new university architecture with its aspirations to become *world-class*, are used to alter stakeholder perceptions and staff behaviours. These new identities are not only legitimated through discursive means. This thesis argues that the material space of the new university building has been deployed to the same end. This argument draws on Foucault's (1977) assertion that it is discourse that makes reality and describes the function of what is considered 'true' within a given society. So, by repetition, legitimation and consolidation the discourse of the Brooks Building has enabled particular viewpoints to gain traction and others to fade. The discourses surrounding the new campus are connected to the grand narratives of 'progress', 'development' and 'transformation', but these are situated in the context of academic capitalism rather than alternatives that emphasise the social or liberating potential of designed space. For Lefebvre, socially produced spaces combine historical, physical, physiological, linguistic and mental resonances; in capitalist society these aspects of space are all put to work in the service of capital accumulation (1991). To this end, Lefebvre argues that 'every form of society produces its own form of space' (Neary et al., 2010), which in the case of modern universities, has come to reflect the prevailing economic, social and political conditions commonly associated with neoliberalism (see Section 3.1).

Inconsistencies between the *conceived* space of university management and their architects, and the *perceived* and *lived* experiences of their users are exposed. The relationship between spatial practice and the affordances of the new university spaces is highlighted showing clear discrepancies between spatial practice and the ideological space of management. This study provides a particular contribution to knowledge by providing concrete examples of how changed spatial practice has had a detrimental effect on perceptions of academic productivity, wellbeing and identity. The Brooks Building has created an environment where concerns about the welfare of individual employees appear to be subordinate to the efficient operation of the building as a whole. Staff are expected to self-regulated and self-organise in order to solve these spatial dilemmas. What is particularly notable in this study is manner in which staff renegotiate their spatial practice to 'make do', whether this is in increased

homeworking, changing their domestic spaces to accommodate the shortcomings of their official workspace or *tactical* uses of noise cancelling headphones to block out background distractions. These accommodations by staff only serve to disguise the limitations of their new workspace, and left unacknowledged will only perpetuate further design problems.

This study complements existing research into organisational aesthetics, and draws attention to the practical and symbolic importance of personal artefacts in the establishment of individual and social identities at work. It adds to an existing body of organisational aesthetics research using photographic analysis to examine workplace personalisation (Engels-Schwarzpaul, 2012; Tian & Belk, 2005; Warren, 2002, 2006; Warren et al., 2014; Yuk-kwan Ng & Höpfl, 2014) (see Chapter 8) and provides further evidence that workplace personalisation is an important part of identity formation and transmission. Notably, the research identifies a social dimension to the personalisation of workspaces and detects a collective aspect to the use of personal artefacts as an act of shared resistance (see Section 8.3). These collaborative acts of resistance to authority are barely mentioned in the literature and this research contributes to the small number of studies that mention this phenomena.

This study makes an additional empirical contribution as a multi-scalar case study of a post-92 university manufacturing a physical identity that responds to the neoliberal agenda pervasive in higher education (Brady, 2012; Giroux, 2002, 2014; Ingleby, 2015; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Radice, 2013; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). The study has demonstrated a spatial dimension to the embedding of neo-liberal thinking within universities. This study can be seen to partly redress Peck and Tickell's (2002) observation that many studies of neoliberalism concentrate on discrete macro- or micro-analyses without highlighting the relationships between these scales. A Lefebvrian analysis is useful in this respect as it attempts to unpick the ideological, practical, emotional, and historic resonances of new university space in an attempt to expose the contested nature of such spaces. Although this thesis prioritises the spatial experience of academic staff it recognises that the Brooks building is not perceived in the same way by all who come in contact with it and it elicits different

emotional and physical responses accordingly. For example, for some staff, the building was complicit in eroding important aspects of their professional practice and actively diminished aspects of their working lives. For some community activists, the building was symbolic of a broader gentrification and 'studentification' of the Hulme area of Manchester, irreversibly altering the character of the area and erasing its working class histories. For students, the building was designed to be aspirational, responsive to their needs and redolent of the working environments that they would encounter in their future careers.

The study presented in this thesis not only establishes that the language used to describe university building projects is rooted in the discourse of neo-liberalism, but that the spaces created and dismantled in this process are put into the service of a neoliberal agenda. This neo-liberal spatial positioning is notable at a range of scales and dimensions from the urban to the social and the individual. Returning to Radices (2013) definition of neoliberalism as an economic philosophy that emphasises privatisation, deregulation, financialisation and globalisation; this study describes a university that has become a major player in the redistribution of urban space, moving spaces from university ownership to private and corporate ownership. This process is demonstrated by the sale of the satellite campuses at Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell for luxury accommodation and private hospital facilities respectively (the latter, paradoxically put on hold because of unfavourable market conditions). These developments, and the development of the Birley Fields pocket of land in Hulme to build the Brooks building and public realm, implicate the university in a broader move, not only transform its own fortunes and identity, but to influence those of the city as a component of a wider image-building strategy.

The Brooks campus was conceived as a redevelopment project, where large areas of city space were moved from civic ownership to university ownership (at minimal cost to MMU). This move has affected the city and university alike; adding to the brand of the university and simultaneously the (place) brand of the city. This joint venture approach between institution and city has had a number of effects; most notably the re-imagining of the Birley Fields area of Hulme as a 'student ghetto' (RIBA, 2009a) or 'academic oasis', and by doing so, it has initiated a process of academic colonisation.

Over time this development may edge out the resident working class population from Hulme freeing up prime city centre real estate for further capital exploitation. At the scale of the city, the university has become a useful partner enhancing the centre's 'special properties' as a hub for knowledge generation activities and as an 'academic destination' where the campus becomes a 'physical expression of the knowledge economy – where intellect and experience feed a multiplicity of successful ventures' (Corridor Manchester, 2009 p.5).

The sheer scale and dominance of branded iconic buildings on the skyline, the personalisation, by the university, of spaces that were previously in public ownership or neutral (via academic graffiti along urban circulation routes, massive logos built in stone that line routes and access ways between areas of the city centre campus) all add to this academic territorialisation (see Chapter 6). Naturally, these discursive and material 'place branding' (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Giovanardi, Lucarelli and Pasquinelli, 2013) activities are designed to increase the marketing 'pull' of MMU to prospective students adding to the 'Manchester student experience', but also to sufficiently 'brand' MMU as an attractive destination for 'global academic talent'. These factors all contribute to a sense that MMU is adding, albeit in a small way, to a state of inter-urban competition where cities vie to demonstrate 'uniqueness' within a global market in order to extract maximum return (Harvey, 2002).

The same competitive logic is also evident at the scale of the architecture and interior design of the Brooks Building. The building, while materially and spatially attractive, betrays an ideological void, both on the part of the university and their architects. The data examined in Chapter 6 demonstrates a hollow rationale for the building, where the focus of the architects and university leadership is on the 'positioning of the student as consumer', altering working practices and developing 'brand power' rather than providing a detailed response to the spatial practice of students, staff or other users of the building. The impetus for the development was driven for the most part by a stated 'urgent need' to transform staff and student attitudes, competition, marketing and differentiation, efficiency, and sustainability (MMU, 2008b). The shiny spaces, designed to appeal to students, are seductive, coercive (Dovey, 2010) and designed to enchant the senses (Dale and Burrell, 2008) offering a glimpse a future

world of (corporate) employment. Spaces and materials are exploited to ensure that intelligent student consumers know where their fees have been spent and are contented enough not to exercise 'free market' choice and look elsewhere for an education. The spaces designed for the Brooks Building exploit this ongoing commercial shift, where acquisition of knowledge becomes subservient to an environment that allows the skills of work to be practiced (Spencer, 2016). Unlike the building's public spaces, the staff workspaces do not enchant. These have been designed to coerce particular practices (team working, efficient student encounters, mobility and flexibility). The homogenous and inflexible nature of the staff spaces push staff to explore homeworking alternatives to compensate for the unsuitability of their personal work spaces. This increase in homeworking further dissolves the boundaries between work and non-work, normalising the appearance of work that seems casual, informal and indistinguishable from leisure. This is a spatially-mediated smokescreen that disguises the demands of academic labour and exploits the neoliberal concept of the agile, entrepreneurial, self-interested, self-organising (Bailey, 2013; Olssen and Peters, 2005) model worker. The Brooks Building exploits the once private spaces (offices and teaching rooms) as marketing capital and has been deliberately designed to expose the inner workings of the university so that research, administration, teaching and even informal social interaction are commodified and assigned value. Everything is on display, everything is for sale and everything is a performance.

As well as its theoretical contributions, this thesis also makes methodological contributions to the study of university space in two areas. First, it provides a clear example of Lefebvre's spatial triad (Lefebvre, 1991b) 'put to use' (rather than used simply as a theoretical construct) in analysing a substantial university spatial transformation project. Second, it describes a new use for Foucauldian dispositive analysis as a tool for analysing the complex power/knowledge mechanisms at play in a university redevelopment setting.

This thesis provides a rare example of Lefebvre's spatial triad (Lefebvre, 1991b) applied to a particular spatial setting. Although the triad is commonly used as a thinking tool and a structuring device for academic research into institutional space

(for example, Boys, 2011), examples of a systematic use the triad, as an analytical device, over a sustained period of time, are unusual in the literature. Use of the triad to analyse university space are even scarcer (notable exceptions include Peltonen, 2011; Zhang, 2014). Although Lefebvre (1991b) considered the spatial triad to be an expansive 'unitary theory of space' (p. 21), *The Production of Space* does not consider the methodological challenges posed by application of the theory. This research makes a clear contribution in this area by aligning the three elements of the triad, *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space, with additional, sympathetic literature to assist in the analysis of these spaces (see Chapter 5). Foucault's work on power, discourse and the disciplinary mechanisms apparent in particular spatial arrangements was particularly useful to inform the analysis of conceived space. The literature on organisational space and its effect on productivity, wellbeing and identity was a helpful addition to the analysis of *spatial practice*. In addition, further insights were gained about the *lived space* of the university by combining Lefebvre's ideas with de Certeau's (1984) concept of *tactics*, which emphasise space as a site of personal resistance to power. Linking the idea of *lived space* with the literature on organisational aesthetics and personal artefacts enabled richer discussion of the emotional resonances of space. In providing a concrete example of a large-scale study using Lefebvre's spatial triad, and connecting this with a broader base of useful literature, this research extends the application of Lefebvre's theory by demonstrating that spatial effects operate at a range of scales from the urban, architectural, interior design and individual space. This study shows that Lefebvre's theories are applicable at all scales and that the triad operates in the same way whether discussing space at macro, meso or micro levels.

The research makes a second methodological contribution by providing a new use for Jäger & Maier's (2009) model of *dispositive analysis* as a way of understanding the managerial apparatus apparent in campus redevelopment. In analysing the non-discursive and material elements of a university's transformation agenda and clearly showing the entanglements between these and managerial discourse. The analysis described in Section 6.3 provides a rare and detailed example of dispositive analysis 'put to work' across three constructs: the *Model University*, the *Model Academic* and

the *Model Student*. Together, these analyses provide a case study of how the *conceived space* of the Brooks Building has been used by MMU to legitimate particular managerially endorsed identities and working practices at the expense of those carried over from the older campuses. Using the idea of the dispositive in this way offers researchers a method of combining the disparate elements of discourse, actions and materialisations in a single analysis. This has particular benefits for researchers interested in the power/knowledge dynamics inherent in institutional spaces.

9.3 Research limitations

The scope of this research is wide ranging, in that it examines university space at a range of scales, from the large-scale managerial urban planning and campus development, down to the micro-practices of workplace personalisation by individuals. This is both a strength and a weakness of the research. Methodologically, using Lefebvre's spatial triad as a structuring device and thinking tool for the three analysis chapters has accommodated these differences in scale of analysis well. However, by analysing each element separately, the thesis artificially separates the three 'moments' of Lefebvre's triad rather than dealing with them holistically.

The research focused on the *social production* of space through the discourse, actions and materialisations of university space by staff and their agents, privileging the views of senior management, architects, and project managers, academic, technical and administrative personnel. As such, the experiences and discourse of other stakeholders such as students, visitors, and the community was deliberately not included in order to focus on the staff perspective. There were a number of reasons behind this decision. Originally, it was intended to track both the student and staff experience over the course of the move from the satellite campuses to the Brooks Building. However, very few students moved from one location to the other because of the semester structure and the fact that many students from both Health and Education were registered on courses with a large practice-based element. As a result, many students were on their nursing or teacher training placements for large periods of time, and access to them as potential research participants was limited.

The community perspective would have also been an interesting addition to the research, especially considering that one of the main drivers for the Birley Fields development was to provide a community-accessible ground floor space. Again access to suitable participants would have been a problem, and a number of ongoing community-focused research initiatives and outreach projects had already commenced by the time the research began (see Kagan & Duggan, 2010a, 2010b). These limitations gave the research a particular focus on the staff experience and because of this emphasis, much of the interview discussion from both management and staff concentrated on personal staff workstations and office accommodation, with teaching and social spaces in the building proving less contentious. As a result, the analysis chapters reflect this balance.

Managerial and architectural text sources were collected over a three-year period and were in the public domain at the point of collection; additional (removed) documents were sourced using The 'Wayback Machine' (web.archive.org), an internet archiving resource. Although a large corpus of web (and print) data was collected, and in-depth interviews were carried out with those responsible for designing and commissioning the Brooks Building, many documents that may have shed greater light on the design process and management intent were either unavailable or private. Therefore, some of the subtleties of the design development and intent may not be apparent.

The academic participants interviewed about their use of the new Brooks Building were all from the Faculties of Education and Health, Psychology and Social Care at Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU). Participants were mainly research and teaching specialists within these areas, and were often experts within particular disciplines (for example, Early Years Teaching, Social Work, Paediatric Nursing, Geography Education) having worked in their fields for many years prior to working in higher education. Many of these participants had complex and diverse professional identities combining vocational, discipline and academic affiliations. Therefore, the applicability of these findings more broadly to academics who teach in other areas, where there are so many different approaches to research and teaching, should be treated cautiously. As a result, conclusions should only be drawn

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about this particular context and should not be taken as evidence for similar social phenomena elsewhere without further consideration.

All the staff who were interviewed as part of this research were volunteers willing to help with a colleague's research. In this case volunteer bias (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1976) may be an issue, where those who participated in the research may not be representative staff members. In addition, because the move to the Brooks Building was contentious among staff, with frustrations running high, those who volunteered may have had particular vested interests. Additionally, because the research was carried out within a personal work setting, and a number of the volunteers were professionally and personally known, participants may have modified their responses to seek approval or aim to be perceived in a certain way.

9.4   Recommendations for further research

This research suggests that additional study of the socio-spatial aspects of university life is required from both student and staff perspectives. Literature in the area of academic space is patchy, and the spatial aspects of the institutional identity of universities are still poorly understood.

There are three areas where future research would be particularly productive. First, more research is required into the types of space that might support academic productivity and wellbeing. Greater attention is required to the increasing variety of roles and responsibilities apparent in modern academia, and how university environments can be designed that can accommodate a range of spatial practices concurrently. Particularly important in this regard, is the requirement for further research into the effects that open plan office environments have on academic working and wellbeing. As open-plan office design becomes more common in the construction of new university spaces a wider perspective is required which sensibly balances the interests of the worker against the demands of academic work.

Second, further research is required into the 'organisational aesthetics' of universities, particularly regarding personalisation and personal control of working environments. The research presented in this thesis highlights the significance of personal and professional artefacts to staff, and the role that these play in identity

presentation, social identity and the process of identification with a particular organisation.

Finally, further research is required into the consequences of academic staff working from home. This should be addressed from a number of perspectives that consider the effects of extended home working on wellbeing, productivity, and job satisfaction and worker identity. Particularly productive areas of study might include: the effect that mass working from home has on institutional identity; the moral and ethical responsibilities of employers who promote working from home or do not provide satisfactory alternative working arrangements for staff; and the eventual effect that mass working from home may have on physical campus design.

This study suggests a crisis of confidence within the university sector. Spending large sums of money on lavish architecture by universities might seem superficially to be a gesture of extreme self-assurance and a considered and strategic response to external market pressures. However, the data examined, across Chapters 6, 7 and 8, paint a picture of an organisation reacting to the external forces of neoliberalism rather than engaging with the alternatives. Lefebvre (1969, p.139) reminds us that universities only survive because of 'a strong unity between institution and ideology'. It could be argued that the current wave of university architecture is responding in a range of material forms to the ideology of the market.

Universities have shown a distinct lack of radical, forward-looking thought about the types of spaces that may be required in the future and the means by which this space could be produced. More worryingly, there is a homogeneity about modern university spaces (for example large atria, use of glass, open plan working, and enforced socialisation) and the discourses that surround them. This restricts what can be said about universities and the forms they might take. Similarly there is a suspicion that the architectural profession is exhibiting a similar crisis of confidence. Harvey (2000) asserts that architects (perhaps like universities themselves) should be speculative and heroic and capable of generating alternate visions that rely less on recapitulating dominant capitalist archetypes, suggesting that:

> One such resource lies in the tradition of utopian thinking… Utopian thinking of spatial form typically opens up the construction of the political person to critique. They do so by imagining entirely different systems of property rights, living and working arrangements, all manifest as entirely different. (pp. 237-238)

Campus design offers a significant opportunity for university management to rethink their relationships with their staff, students, local communities, and host cities and regions. Universities have a key role to play in the radical social change required to meet national and international challenges. The research presented in this thesis depicts universities as complicit in the perpetuation of a neoliberal hegemony through the maintenance of the discourse of academic capitalism and its material form. If universities are to move beyond this dominant narrative, rather than creating spaces that simply reproduce repressive capitalist configurations of power, or draw on unsuitable models from commerce, there is potential to explore ideals that emphasise higher education as a 'social good' where knowledge is important 'in its own right'. Only then can spaces be designed that truly re-imagine teaching, learning and research in more progressive terms. For this to happen, a complete volte-face in the way universities commission and design their buildings would be required moving from an 'elite activity' reserved by university management and their architects, to one that privileges the views staff and students in the planning process. A more participatory design approach would allow a deeper, more authentic, collaboration between staff, students and management in the design of university environments. This approach could potentially offset the disparity between the *conceived space* of university management and their architects, which is abstracted and ideological, and the practical and emotional space of the lived experience of university staff and students.

9.5 Postscript

The time period covered by this research is topped and tailed by the tenure of John Brooks as Vice Chancellor of MMU and broadly covers the period from 2005–2015 culminating in the design, construction and occupation of the Brooks Building. Most of the data gathering took place during the final period of the development. Since the retirement of John Brooks (2016), and the conclusion of the data collection

period of this thesis, staff have continued to use the Brooks Building adapting their *spatial practice* as required. Staff accommodate the new environment and find new ways to use, and subvert, the space. Some features of the original *conceived space* of the Brooks Building have changed, having proved unworkable for their users. For example, some of the larger open-plan spaces have been further subdivided to form shared cellular offices and bookable meeting spaces co-opted for senior management use, reasserting traditional organisational hierarchies. It became very noticeable that staff were not using their open plan workspaces as intended and that occupancy of these areas was low. Many staff increased the amount of time that that they worked from home or at least were more notable in their absences. MMU management carried out a space utilisation survey of the offices at the Brooks Building stating that:

> Staff workspaces will be surveyed once a week to ascertain indicative usage and where desks may be unused, and all other spaces will be surveyed hourly from 09:00 to 18:00 Monday to Friday (MMU, 2016)

It is unclear what the information from this survey will be used for, but perhaps it will lead to the provision of more non-territorial space, hot desking arrangements and fewer personally designated workstations. This further underlines the general commodification of space in universities and draws attention to the routine surveillance of university staff where the position of their bodies are recorded in time and space (Foucault, 1991).

In June 2015, the new Vice Chancellor, Malcolm Press, began work at MMU having previously been Pro-Vice-Chancellor at the University of Birmingham. In June 2016, MMU's campus consolidation continued with the announcement that the remaining Cheshire campus at Crewe would close in 2019 despite £70 million pounds investment in new buildings in recent years and union opposition (University and College Union, 2018). With this closure, MMU would effectively become a single campus institution, with the All Saints and Brooks campuses being considered part of the same whole. However, further building projects were announced and their ambitions endorsed by Manchester City Council (2017). These expansion plans

include an Institute of Sport on the Etihad Campus beside the Manchester City football ground, swiftly returning MMU to a multi-campus format.

In June 2016, Lord Peter Mandelson was invested as chancellor of MMU. Mandelson had earlier stood, and failed to be selected, as chancellor of The University of Manchester. The choice of Mandelson as chancellor was strategic from the university's perspective. However, as a minister in the New Labour government he was responsible for commissioning the Browne Report, and has been an advocate of higher student fees, so is a controversial choice for some.

Three cohorts of students have now used the Brooks Building and for most of the current intake of undergraduates in the Faculties of Education and Psychology, Health and Social Care it is all they have ever known of MMU. Their spatial practice has not been informed by the older campuses. Similarly, the number of staff who remember working on Didsbury and Elizabeth Gaskell campuses is diminishing through a combination of natural wastage, re-structuring and redundancy.

Over time, memories of the *lived* spaces of the older campuses will disappear entirely from collective staff memory. A combination of discourse, action and materialisation of the new buildings will have successfully erased unwanted identities (corporate, social and individual) and replaced these with managerially sanctioned versions. In years to come these new identities will also inevitably be modified as further transformations are made to the university's estate and the discourse surrounding their construction.

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Appendix A: Dispositive Analysis list of text sources

The table below describes the sources used for the three dispositive analyses described in Chapter 5:

SOURCE NAME	SOURCE DESCRIPTION	QTY	AUTHOR	INTENDED AUDIENCE
MMU Success Magazine	MMU's in-house marketing magazine. Issues 11-19 (autumn 2012 – summer 2015). Early editions available as downloadable pdf and print, now as web-embedded document reader. Equivalent to 30 A4 pages, high production values	9 issues	MMU marketing, communications and development department	Alumni, international students, potential business partners. Additionally staff and students
MMU ManMetLife **web articles** **Selected from corporate communications referring to MMU building projects**	MMU's ManMetLife is the primary communication channel for staff news. Web-based, it averages 2,500 visitors every week, bringing staff over 600 stories per year.	15	MMU marketing, communications and development department plus stories contributed by staff	MMU staff
MMU News & Events **web articles**	News & Events is the primary communication channel for staff and MMU website visitors. Selected news articles from this source are also aggregated into ManMetLife, student news feed, email digests	11	MMU marketing, communications and development department	Students and staff. General external marketing
MMU Birley Fields Newsletter **web documents**	Downloadable PDF documents created to keep community groups and local residents informed about the Birley building works	6	MMU Public engagement manager	Local community groups

MMU Birley Fields sub site	Webpages available on http://www2.mmu.ac.uk/birley		MMU corporate	Variety of internal and external stakeholders
MMU Corporate Documents	Variety of MMU corporate documents including:	9	MMU marketing, communications and development department	Variety of internal and external stakeholders
web documents	Brand guidelines			
	financial statements 2010 – 2014		MMU Senior Management	
	Corporate Planning document 2009 – 2011			
	MMU Engaged – wider benefits document			
MMU miscellaneous webpages			MMU marketing, communications and development department	General audience

Non-MMU sources web sources

SOURCE NAME	SOURCE DESCRIPTION	QTY	AUTHOR	INTENDED AUDIENCE
External news sites	Various national and local news and information sources	13	For example BBC, Times Higher Education	General public
Architectural news sites	Various specialist architecture sites (for example RIBA)	4		Architects and planners
Architects marketing sites	Relevant web case study pages from FCB and SR	2	FCB Architects and Sheppard Robson Architects	Other architects and potential clients
Facilities management	Downloadable PDF best practice guide – with lengthy MMU case study	1	AUDE (Association of University Directors of Estates)	UK University facilities management and senior staff involved in campus

				design and development
Planning documents	Various strategic planning documents both for the BF build and wider agendas (for example Manchester urban regeneration)	5	Various consultancy firms and Manchester City Council Executive	

Print sources

SOURCE NAME	SOURCE DESCRIPTION	QTY	AUTHOR	INTENDED AUDIENCE
Your guide to the Birley Building	User guide to the new Birley Building given to all staff on the first day of opening	1	MMU	Birley staff
Prospectus and marketing material	Undergraduate prospectus and other marketing brochures (Education and Health)	3	MMU	Prospective Students
Master planning documents	Large printed proposal booklet	1	John McAslan Ltd	MMU MCC
Architects drawings	Relevant web case study pages from FCB and SR	4	Sheppard Robson Architects	MMU

Image sources

SOURCE NAME	SOURCE DESCRIPTION	QTY	AUTHOR	INTENDED AUDIENCE
Illustrative photographs	Details of MMU buildings and artefacts	40	MMU	Prospective Students

Appendix B: Dispositive Analysis of 'world class'

Analysis of the term 'World Class' in 'Model University' dispositive described in Chapter 5.

Issue	quantity	world-class	characteristic
#11	9	the University for **World-Class** Professionals a truly **world-class** campus the city will have another **world-class** resource [MMU] is "**world-class**" and at the "cutting edge in people management" our new **world-class** building our **world-class** universities also help Manchester … "The facilities are **world-class**…" **world-class** expertise developed at MMU x2 **world-class** artists to go on display at MMU	strapline space space expertise space attribute space expertise contacts
#12	6	the University for **World-Class** Professionals x2 our facilities to support **world-class** learning Our students aspire to become **world-class** business leaders To be true **world-class** leaders a **world-class** University campus	strapline space attribute attribute space
#13	4	A £350m investment in **world-class** buildings The University for **World-Class** Professionals x3	space strapline
#14	5	The University for **World-Class** Professionals x2 will have **world-class** facilities for teaching and research now enjoys **world-class** teaching, studio and workshop spaces the experience students receive at MMU – a **world-class** higher education	strapline space space attribute
#15	2	MMU already has strong pockets of **world-class** research	expertise/output
#16	1	the University for **World-Class** Professionals	strapline
#17	10	Both exemplify **World- Class** Professionals conducting **world-class** teaching and research the University for **World-Class** Professionals x3 "… we needed **world-class** facilities." x2 **world-class**, student-centred, sustainable urban campus links between some of our **world-class** organisations bringing **world-class** sport to our communities	attribute expertise strapline space space contacts output

#18	14	world-class partnerships	contacts
		World-class areas were notably, art and design	outputs
		The NWFA is recognised for the world- class care it provides	contacts
		drive world-class research and knowledge	
		to flourish as world-class professionals	expertise
		University for World-Class Professionals x4	attribute
		we must offer world- class facilities	strapline
		world-class quality	space
		create world-class environments	attribute
		to attract and retain world- class knowledge workers	space
			attribute
#19	9	University for World-Class Professionals x2	strapline
		where world-class design inspires scholarship	space
		the University has world-class buildings	space
		Our world-class expertise	expertise
		merges world-class knowledge	expertise
		become world-class professionals	attribute
		World-class Design	output

Appendix C: Dispositive Analysis key document descriptors

Key documents	topics covered	information	Genre, illustration, style	special characteristics
MMU 20/20 Vision strategy *The Institutional Strategic Plan 2007–2020* **(2008)**	Links MMY vision and mission statement to a variety of institutional transformation initiatives	Designed for staff. Not intended for wider circulation although available on open web	Corporate report Available on the web	Modified on a regular basis as corporate priorities changed
MMU *Success Magazine* **(2012–2015)**	As the title suggests it promotes positive stories about MMU across a range of topics including facilities, research, innovation, events	Designed for staff, alumni and other stakeholders	Corporate magazine. Glossy and promotional with professional production values	Each issues features an editorial from the VC written in conversational style. Commonly features VC and other staff photographed against a backdrop of corporate architecture
MMU Annual Report/Reviews (2005–2014)	Financial and strategic information	Designed for corporate stakeholders, financiers and the media	Corporate report More recent reports are glossier with higher production values	University has corporate responsibility to publish this information. Detailed financial information presented in a user friendly way
***Your Guide to the Birley Building* (2014)**	Getting around the building Office Etiquette Security	Designed for staff to help them adjust to the new building	Small format glossy brochure illustrated with plans and phots of Brooks Building	Placed on the desk of every occupant of the Brooks Building prior to move in date
Association of University Directors of Estates (AUDE) *Delivering Value from the Higher Education Estate Report* **(2015).**	Case studies of key university building projects. Includes detailed case study of MMU campus development programme	Designed for members of AUDE and those with a professional interest in campus development	Best practice report with some photo illustrations	The emphasis of this report is on value and efficiency

Appendix D: Dispositive Analysis example

| DISCOURSE | ACTION | MATERIALISATION |

WORKING WITH COLLEAGUES

DISCOURSE

What we were trying to do throughout the transformation of the university was **to create high performing teams** (…) to get the best out of your people **they work better in teams and to get high-performing teams you want the right environment for them to work in.** (Design and Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

(…) and you want to create more opportunity for informal social interaction than if you're stuck in a silo you know that's what you are. You're working on your own, **so we're trying to create much more of a team environment.** (Design and Management, Participant D, emphasis added)

ACTION

Create policies that highlight and promote team working (see: *Guidance on Team Briefings; Performance Management Guide*)

Create systems and performance monitoring activities that reward team working (see: *Recognising, Rewarding and Engaging your Team*)

Create guidance for identifying poor team performance (see: *From Review to Action: Diagnostic Tool for Managers and Teams; Continual Monitoring and Improvement Plans*)

MATERIALISATION

OPEN PLAN OFFICES
Another key area that we've sort of moved away from, which has evolved over time is the single cell staff offices. … In Birley [the Brooks Building] for example you know the spaces are more cluster group spaces. (Design and Management, Participant C)

CIRCULATION SPACES
So people just should bump into each other more often. Circulation is centralised (…) gives you much more insight of what's going on than formal meeting every two months (Design and Management, Participant A)

HYBRID WORSTATIONS
(…) with the cluster working groups, you're probably coming into contact with more colleagues on a daily basis than perhaps what you would if you were in your own office. (Design and Management, Participant C)

Appendix E: Participant Information Sheet

PhD title: Re-imagining universities:

The aim of the study is to:

- investigate the relationship between architects, the university (as a corporate institution), students and staff in the process of designing new university spaces

Research questions

- What are the political and pedagogic factors that influence the design of university buildings, and to what extent?

- What do architects perceive their roles in designing university spaces to be, and to what extent do they appreciate the inherent power dynamics?

- What are the perceptions of stakeholders (e.g. architects, students, staff) of the value and role of augmented reality in designed and emerging university spaces?

Why have I been asked to take part?

You have been invited to take part as you are currently a staff member in the Faculty of Education/Health, Psychology and Social Care at Manchester Metropolitan University and will be moving to the new Birley Fields campus in Autumn 2014, and I am interested in the staff perceptions of new and old university spaces.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not you take part. If you do decide to take part, I would like you to sign the attached consent form. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time or a decision not to take part, will not affect you in any way.

What will I have to do?

If you agree to take part in the study you will be interviewed about your thoughts on university working spaces with reference to the new Birley Fields campus. You do not

have to have seen, or have been to, the new campus to take part. As part of the interview process, your voice will be digitally recorded and the interview may be transcribed.

Will my name appear in any written reports of this study?

All information that is collected about you during the course of the study will be kept strictly confidential. Any information about you, which leaves the Manchester Metropolitan University, will have your name removed so that you cannot be recognised. When the results of the research are published direct quotes may be used. These will all be anonymised, but you can choose to have your comments excluded from this part of the study by indicating this on the consent form.

What will happen to the data generated?

All digital data will be kept in a secure online space, to which only I will have access. Paper documents will also be digitised and paper copies destroyed. All data reported as part of the project will be anonymised.

If you would like to take part in the research please read and complete the attached consent form. Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Yours sincerely

Peter Whitton

Researcher

p.whitton@mmu.ac.uk.

Appendix F: Interview Consent Form

Title of PhD: Re-imagining universities

Researcher: Peter Whitton

I have read the information sheet and I am aware of the purpose of this research study. I am willing to be part of this study and have been given the researchers contact details if I need any further information.

My signature certifies that I have decided to participate having read and understood the information given and had an opportunity to ask questions.

I ……………………………………………………….give my permission for my data to be used as part of this study and understand that I can withdraw at any time and my data will be destroyed.

Signature…………………………………………

Date………………………..

Direct quotes

I …………………………………………………….give my permission for direct quotes from my interview to be used as part of this study.

Signature…………………………………………

Date………………………..

I have explained the nature of the study to the subject and in my opinion the subject is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent to participate.

Researcher …………………………………………

Date………………………..

Appendix G: Interview question prompts (tranche 1)

1. Can you introduce yourself and tell me what your job is at MMU

2. How long have you worked at MMU/Faculty of Education/at the Gaskell Campus

3. How has your role changed over the time that you have worked here?

4. How would you describe the Gaskell campus?

5. How suitable do you think our space here at Gaskell is for teaching, learning and research?

6. What will you miss most about the Gaskell campus space?

7. What will you miss least about the Gaskell campus space?

8. What are your feelings about to moving to Birley Fields?

9. Have you been to Birley Fields?

10. Have you seen the Architect's 3D animations of the space? Would you like to?

11. What is your initial impression of the staff spaces at BF?

12. What are your initial impressions of the facilities for students at BF?

13. Do you think that moving to Birley Fields will influence the way that you work?

14. Do you think that BF will change the way that you teach/research?

15. Do you think that BF will change the relationship that you have with students?

16. Do you think that it will change relationship that you have with colleagues?

17. What do you think the development of Birley Field says about the aspirations of MMU?

18. What do the aesthetics of Birley Fields say to you – what imagery?

19. Do you think BF looks like any other buildings that you have seen?

20. Do you feel that you have been adequately consulted in the design of Birley Fields?

Appendix H: Interview question prompts (tranche 2)

1. Can you introduce yourself and tell me what your job is at MMU

2. Now that we are all settled into the new campus, what are your initial impressions of the overall space

3. How would you describe the Brooks Building/Birley campus?

   a. How does it make you feel?

   b. What are your favourite parts of the building?

   c. Has anything about the building surprised you?

4. How would you describe your personal workspace in the building?

   a. Have you done anything to personalise the area that you work in?

5. Do you think that moving to Birley Fields has influenced the way that you work?

6. What are your impressions of the facilities for students at BF?

   a. Have you had any feedback from them

7. Do you think that BF has change the relationship that you have with students?

8. Do you think that BF has changed the way that you teach/research?

9. Do you think that BF has changed relationship that you have with colleagues?

   a. One of the ideas is that the open nature of the offices would facilitate make/greater number of interaction with colleagues

   b. Communal kitchen facilities provide great chance of social interaction

10. Do you think that the design of the space and public realm is going to allow more / better interaction with the local community and the public at large

11. Do you think that the facilities available on site allow you and your students to do work productively?

12. What do you think the development of Birley Field/Brooks Building and some of the other recent builds by MMU such as the new Student Union, The Art and Design Building and the Business School – says about MMUs vision of HE in the future?

a. Do you think it is necessary to build in this way in order to compete with other HE providers – UoM and Salford are engaged in building projects?

b. Do you think that these types of building reflect the expectations of the modern fee-paying student?

13. Now that you are working in the Brooks Building, what do the aesthetics of the building say to you – what imagery?

a. Is it like any other spaces that you have been in?

14. What do you think about the re-naming of the building?

Appendix I: Interview transcript example

I: interviewer, R: respondent

I Okay so now that we're settled into this new campus, can you tell me what your initial impressions of the overall space are?

R Overall space? Um … it could be bigger (laughs) um … for a number of reasons. But I mean the building as it stands I think is a beautiful building, I think it's very impressive. I love the atrium as you walk in, I love the fact where I'm sat, I overlook that. It gives me a feeling of space, being where I am. Yeah overall I would say yes it's nice.

I And this is actually an amazing room, I've never been in this room before, but seeing the space and through the offices and beyond almost, just from this one place that we're sitting is amazing isn't it?

R Well yeah, and also you can see from where we're sat now the difference between our office and everyone else's office. We specifically opted not to have those tall shelves because we felt that … because we were going to be in an open plan office and it was so wide, if we had them it might make us feel boxed in … so we went for the option without those tall book cases … and actually it does kind of feel a bit more …

I Even now you can see from the way the shadow is projected on the floor, you know essentially the tall book cases acts like a little wall and does put a lot of dark … well not quite darkness in the room, but casts quite a lot of shadow in the room doesn't it?

R It does yeah.

I In a way that your office doesn't have.

R Yeah so that's a bonus, there's also a negative to that because we've got less privacy. Those bookcases I think create a sense of privacy as well that we don't have. (both laugh)

I So how would you describe the Brooks Building, Birley campus?

R Um … I'd describe it as very modern. It seems very clean and streamlined, very very open plan. But at the same time kind of … I don't know if the word 'tinny' is the right word, it's … when you walk around the floors don't seem

structurally sound, they're not concrete floors … it just feels like you're walking on something that's not quite finished.

I   Right.

R   I don't know if you know what I mean.

I   Sort of yes.

R   Yeah, it's all kind of … you know, it's almost like they've just put the flooring onto …

I   Mm, I think it's the sort of modern methods of construction isn't it?

R   Yeah yeah.

I   Everything comes as part of a kit you know, kind of clips in.

R   Almost, almost yeah. Almost like it's a Meccano building.

I   So how does the space make you feel?

R   Generally or in …

I   Yeah.

R   … the office? Generally I like it. I think in most areas there feels like there's a lot of light. Unfortunately some of the rooms don't have windows or any outside space to them at all. So …

I   Some of the teaching rooms, which I think is a bit strange.

R   Yeah, yeah that's not … it doesn't seem very nice. Don't know if 'nice' is the right word but … um … there's a lot of very small rooms, like this one, that are good for something like this but I'm not sure what other use they'd have. I mean to say how short we are on teaching space, it seems that they've put a lot of very tiny pod rooms in the building, whereas we needed more classrooms … we ideally needed another floor in the building to be honest, we could have done with another floor. I think when they designed it they didn't look far enough into the future of the University and how it might expand, and now they've built it and we're here it's almost like the University has now got to consider 'Okay what are we going to do now, because we may need some more space'.

I   Right.

R   I think it's great what they've done, I just don't think they've had the foresight … they could have done it better. Like I say, they could have put another floor on the building, and the space would have been used 100% - it would have been used.

I   Yeah I noticed it, certainly at certain pinch points in the year there's definitely not enough of the kind of what I call the medium size classrooms, you know 40 capacity … they could even do with some sort of intermediate 40 to 60 capacity sort of rooms I think. I was speaking to someone the other day who said you know at certain points in the year they would do with more big lecture spaces now.

R   Yeah I mean especially around … I think it's especially around like September, and then again around January time we seem to struggle for space. And even in Nursing … cos we've always been limited to how many students we take on, because our numbers are commissioned by local authorities … but already since we've been here they keep pushing us to increase those commissions because there's a shortage of nurses. And we do what we can but we're limited …

I   You're actually limited by …

R   … now by the clinical skills areas that we have. While we have fantastic clinical skills you know facilities, if we start taking more students on we end up having to teach the same thing cos … we have to do it in small groups, at the moment we have to teach it four times.

I   Yeah.

R   Now if we increase (inaudible 00:06:04) more we'll have to look you know at teaching things five times each time. Yeah. And then that has a knock-on effect to staffing and stuff like that. But yeah, the building as it stands is lovely – I do like the feel of working here.

I   So what are your favourite parts of the building?

R   The favourite parts I think are the break-out spaces and most of the classroom spaces. I have to say my least favourite is probably the open plan office.

I   Okay.

R   A lot of us are still struggling with that.

I   And has anything sort of surprised you about the building, now that we're here?

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R   Well it's not a very good thing, but the one thing that did surprise me is how inept they seemed to be at getting it right at the beginning. And not just getting it right at the beginning, but … there was an issue with the heating when we moved in that wasn't resolved for something like 4 or 5 months. And this was throughout the winter, and people were … I mean they were in the other office to us … were there with coats, gloves and hats on – it was absolutely freezing, and I was so surprised that they couldn't work something out to actually … and they weren't willing to give us extra heating or … it just seemed really silly. But yeah that surprised me. Um … I don't know if anything else surprised me, I kind of … everything else was what I expected I think.

I   So how would you describe your personal workspace in the building.

R   Small, inadequate, almost imposing. It's a struggle to identify it as your own workspace because you have a desk – that's it.

I   That kind of leads me on to my next question – have you done anything to personalise your workspace? I noticed that you know some colleagues have.

R   Yeah some people … yeah I mean I've got a plant on the top of the desk. Um … it's personalised in that it has my belongings on it. I guess some people have put like family photos around on their desk and things like that. I haven't gone to that extent … only because I never had that in my own office in the last campus we were based at. It just … I don't know … there's no privacy at all, there's just no privacy. Even when you take a phone call everyone can hear exactly what your conversation is – whether they want to or not. And yeah we're told 'Oh there's a phone in the pod, you can transfer the call to one of those and go and have a private phone call' but it's almost like 'Why should I need to do that?' – I'm sat you know in my office area now, if I need to take a call I need to take a call. But …

I   And then you transfer the call and you think 'Oh I need that bit of paper that …'

R   Yeah yeah, and it's just not convenient to do that. And also you hear everyone else's conversations within the office. I mean we were told one of the ideas behind having an open plan office is it would encourage staff to talk more and it would encourage them to work together better, it would encourage you know more collaboration on different projects and things like that. To be perfectly honest, how I feel … and other colleagues have spoken to me about it as well … it's created lot of animosity between the staff because some staff are louder than others. And it's created … you know when you try and have a conversation other people butt in … you know you can literally be one end of the office and not be talking loud, but other people can hear quite clearly, and they stand up from their desk and they join in that conversation from the other end of the office, and it's like 'Oh okay, it was a private conversation …'

I   (laughs)

R   And no doubt we would be told well if it's a private conversation you should go to one of the smaller offices, one of the pods. But again it's …

I   So do you think that moving to this building has influenced the way that you work?

R   Um … I suppose it has in a way, yeah. Um … I struggle to concentrate here more than I did where we were before. Having an individual office and having the privacy and the quiet was more conducive to getting more done. And also it was more conducive to seeing the students cos they could just come and knock on the door and just drop in. Now they can try and do that now, but it's subject to you know somewhere being available to go and talk. And they say if one of these smaller pod offices is taken, there's always break out spaces, but if it's a lunch time, which is when you know they're going to come and see you, all the breakout spaces are full of students having lunch because the capacity in the cafeteria is not sufficient, so the students have to go elsewhere and have their lunch. So … yeah … I mean I don't know how the students feel about it, but we've tried to set up things where we show our availability online to students, we set aside specific times when they can just drop in and see us. You know we say just email us or you know ring us and we'll arrange appointments, we try to accommodate the students as best as we can. It's just that it's impossible to accommodate them as much as what we used to be able to … but some would say we've probably accommodated them too much before.

I   Yeah, so I suppose it's influenced …

R   Yeah it's influenced how we've worked definitely.

I   So what are your impressions of the facilities for the students?

R   Um …

I   And have you had any feedback from them about …

R   Well initially there were issues and problems with the IT facilities in that there weren't enough IT facilities for them. Putting two campuses together and having what in effect is … someone told me approximately 6000 students here or something.

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Appendix J: Thematic Analysis boundary descriptors

Code/s	Coding boundary definition	Theoretical foundation
Locations *named* *generic* *possessive*	Spaces required by particular groups for particular functions. This coding group includes particular named places such as The Brooks Building, The Spanish Steps, The Business School or The Crewe Campus but also generic places such as classroom, pod or hub. This definition also includes places described with possessive pronouns (my, mine, our). For example, 'my office', 'our space' or 'my desk'	the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33)
Characteristics *sensory* *personal* *metaphors* *similes*	Individual perceptions and descriptions of spaces. This coding group includes sensory (sight, touch, smell) descriptions of spaces for example cramped, bright, warm or noisy which make note of environmental conditions. This definition also includes personal perceptions of spaces, for example; private, intimate, lonely. Additionally this coding group contains uses of metaphor and similes to describe spaces; for example, 'rabbit hutch' or 'like a prison'	Spatial practice thus simultaneously defines … spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 288) … space has a perceivable aspect that can be grasped by the senses. It comprises everything that presents itself to the senses; not only seeing but hearing, smelling, touching, tasting. This sensuously perceptible aspect of space directly relates to the materiality of the "elements" that constitute "space." (Schmid, 2008, p. 39) phenomenologically experienced spaces, they may be taken for granted through the habits of the body (Dale, 2005)
Performance	How spaces effect individual and collective ability to work. This coding group includes personal assessments about how space impacts ability to carry out tasks at work and for text which links the qualities of space to perceived work performance, for example; concentration, attendance, efficiency or motivation	But spatial practice — the practice of a repressive and oppressive space - tends to confine time to productive labour time, and simultaneously to diminish

		living rhythms (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 408)
Routines *formal* *informal* *practice*	The everyday practices of working life. This coding group is used to highlight spatial relationships to everyday (sometimes mundane) practices for example; travelling to work, meetings, teaching, writing, researching, supporting students, chatting, eating and walking between locations. Also captured in this definition is the idea that spatial practice is habitual based on repetition	Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance. (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 288) Spatial practice regulates life (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 358) Spatial practice is manifest in daily life/routines and the ways in which those routines are embedded within the tangible physicality of space (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 227)
Adaptions *new uses* *territories*	How space has changed or been adjusted over time to reflect new requirements. This coding group includes references to territorialisation, particular unexpected usage, redesign	physical arrangements and how these change over time (Dale, 2005)
Linkages *physical* *virtual* *other relationships*	Connections and associations between spaces. This coding group includes references to particular physical connections between spaces, particular well-trod paths, roads bridges, particular routes. It also contains ideas about spaces connected by function for example work-office and home-office	buildings, infrastructures and "routes and networks" which link up places of work, private life and leisure (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38) [Spatial practices enable] Perceptual "imageability" of places—monuments, distinctive landmarks, paths … —aid or deter a person's sense of location and the manner in which a person acts (Merrifield, 2006, p. 110)

Appendix K: Thematic Analysis example coding

Codes (step 1)	(issues discussed)	Themes identified (step2)
LOCATIONS • specialist spaces • pods • other spaces • office • meeting rooms • library • lecture theatres • informal spaces • classrooms • desk/workspace	• Additional bureaucracy of booking pods and meeting rooms • Pods impersonal • Pods not suitable for difficult conversations • Noise transfer in meeting rooms/across office • Too far from library • No personal storage • No storage in classrooms • Glazed classrooms	routine tasks disrupted by size issues **Simple spatial practice made more difficult by additional bureaucracy** Environmental problems in private spaces **Personal and professional artefacts demoted** **Personal and professional artefacts important for perceptions of identity** **Artefacts have a practical value for productive working**
CHARACTERISTICS • Temperature • Security • Size • Privacy • Overcrowding • open office • noise	• Freezing/temperature regulation • Security poor in old campuses • cramped conditions • no growth/outgrown • smaller than old site • small social space • budget space too small because of cost restraints • Lack of personal space • Private phone calls • not private but not open either • Space highlights confidentiality issues • not confidential • discipline and personal issue • Space not suitable for difficult conversations face to face or on phone	**Wellbeing and productivity are influenced by a lack of control over environmental conditions** Space not large enough to function properly Size of space has knock on effect for working day **Spatial practice inhibited by lack of personal space** **Spatial practice inhibited by lack of privacy**

• natural light • lighting • lack of flexibility • efficient use of space	• logistics Engineering privacy is problematic • confidentiality improved by open space • Background noise in social spaces aids confidentiality • space solution worst of both worlds • Not large enough for existing numbers • Too close to colleagues	**Disrupted physical and auditory confidentiality**
• metaphors • similes • hearing • seeing • smelling • meaning • identity	• working space • can't accommodate agreed working practices • Open without being open • type of space • Not enough classrooms perhaps too many pods • No private space • Highly visible • Being watched • Autonomy • Glass • Feelings of being watched • policed • surveillance • See colleagues at a distance • View into private spaces • call centre • prison • rabbit hutches • panoptic/Foucauldian • barcode • the building looks cold and impersonal • an outpost • Orwellian • the building looks bureaucratic, business-like • controlling • like cyclops • corporate • a massive brick • the building is the wrong scale for its setting • overblown/pompous • intrusive	**Perceptions of always being 'on show'** **Attendance within teams more noticeable** space shows a university embracing HE market economics space demonstrates university investment strategy customer-focused space asserts status of university to city, community and region shows a university aware of its brand and the presentation of its image

	• dropped from space • the building is not in keeping with the environment • Marmite - the building divides opinion	Space shows a university connected to the fabric of urban life
	• committed • welcoming • student-focused • competitive • campus-based • regional • commodification/marketing	**Space models notions of professional identity as a student and beyond** **meeting expectations** connection to university rather than faculty
	• professional/ students and staff	**Space responds to student identity as customer**
	• impressive • internally the building has strong visual identity • amazing • impactful • sugar cube • stylish • the building looks visually attractive • beautiful	
PERFORMANCE • targets and goals • professionalism • efficiency • productivity • confidentiality • wellbeing	• recruitment targets • multitasking • thinking space • spatial ownership • spontaneity and creativity • extending academic day • timetable • sterility of space • concentration • output • artefacts • privacy • view of outside • anxiety/vertigo • shared space/shared problems • inefficiencies hidden behind presentation layer • inner workings • Space at odds with other business processes • Interruptions • Recharging batteries • Not involved in the design process • Ideas ignored by designers	**personal productivity related to concentration and thinking time/space** **personal productivity and creativity related to material artefacts** **personal wellbeing is associated with privacy** **personal wellbeing associated with desirable environmental factors** **personal wellbeing is associated with spatial freedoms and agency** **personal morale influenced by proximity to others and their moods**

| | | diminished sense of professionalism caused by impoverished space

Emotional resilience affected by proximity to colleagues

Lack of agency in big decisions |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **ROUTINES**
• teaching
• student support
• research
• meeting
• management
• entrepreneurial
• conversation
• collaboration
• administration | • can teach anywhere
• Not conducive to concentration / big books
• Impersonal support for students
• Bump into people more often
• Conversations plentiful but trivial
• Multi-disciplinary working
• Technology
• Ipads and laptops
• Working away from desk /mobility

• Administration efficiencies | **Routine academic tasks disrupted by spatial change**

Proximity aids certain administrative tasks

Technology use and mobility are assumed characteristics of the new academic |
| **ADAPTIONS**
• changed layout
• changed home | • working from home
• changed home environment/bookcases/home office
• Coping strategies | **Boundaries between home and work life blurring**

Finding time and space is problematic

Spatial reorganisation has an impact on identity

Affordances of particular spaces assume particular spatial practices |
| **LINKAGES**
• home working | • Out of necessity
• Privileges certain types of people | |

Appendix L: Photographic Analysis boundary descriptors

Classification	Boundary descriptor
Personal	Artefacts classified as *personal* included those that emphasised (non-academic) interests or hobbies, aspects of personal character and specific personality traits. This group also included material where the owner expressed their sexuality, ethnic identity or gender identity. Personal communication also included items that referenced friendships and family or that people had displayed purely for decorative or aesthetic reasons. Material that was either handwritten or handcrafted was also categorised as personal.
Political	Artefacts classified as political included those that implicitly or explicitly referenced political figures, events, ideologies or causes. This included material about affiliation with particular political groups or strongly evidenced political activism.
Professional	Artefacts classified as professional included those that have a particular function in the world of work. This included material that expressed specific attitudes or philosophies associated with professional life in Higher Education, disseminated scholarly interests, or were used as 'academic triggers' or mnemonics for research or teaching activities or concepts. Also included in this group were items that denoted professional status and achievement or indicated membership of particular professional groups or disciplines.

Appendix M: Photographic Analysis example coding

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D1/1	Information about occupants	Large paper	X			
D1/1	Marketing material for a conference	In acrylic holder on door	X			

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D2/1	Welsh National Opera	Postcard	X	X		Songs of love, loss, work and winning
D2/2	Portrait of musician Desmond Dekker "Things will get better if you just hold out long enough"	Postcard	X	X		Jamaican Rocksteady/Ska musician
D2/3	Card with photograph of child with a box on head "The best pace to go with a child is their imagination"	Card	X	X		Humour
D2/4	Card with "Like a lot of creative people Van Gough didn't seem to see the clutter"	Card	X	X		Perhaps a thank you card. Humour, a spoof of the painting Bedroom in Arles
D2/5	Students' Union Advice Centre	Card	X			University marketing material

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D3/1	Cartoon of snooty looking cat "Any idiot can deal with a crisis, It takes a genius to deal with everyday life"	Postcard	X	X		Humour
D3/2	Photograph of balloon ride with lots of people in the basket waiving	Large picture		X		
D3/3	Pop art style joke portraits "Ghandi Warhol"	Postcard		X		Humour Spoof of Andy Warhol portraits
D3/4	4 Weasels that look exactly like Michael Gove	Small poster	X		X	Humour Put this up in your staffroom but remember to take it down before the next Ofsted inspection
D3/5	BERA Journal	Journal Booklet in acrylic pocket	X			

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D4/1	Ros Asquith cartoon about the children's literacy tuition	Newspaper cutting	X	X		From the Guardian. Humour
D4/2	Droylsden Folk Weekend	Flyer		X		
D4/3	Big Society Tory Story Blues	A4 Lyric sheet		X	X	Author unknown
D4/4	Bertolt Brecht quote	A4 paper		X	X	"From a German War Primer", part of the

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
						Svendborg Poems (1939) Brecht
D4/5	PGCE Training and Development Guide to Phonic	University Marketing in plastic wallet	X			(with post it note applied)
D4/6	Various pens	In wallet	X			Presumably for students and colleagues to leave notes

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D5/1	Staff availability times and dates	A4 paper	X			
D5/2	Note about drop in sessions for students	Paper	X			
D5/3	bell hooks quote about the transformative power of teaching and education	Paper	X	X	X	Quote from Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope (2003)
D5/4	Sufi saying quote about the three gates of good speaking	Paper	X	X		Unattributed quote
D5/5	Marketing leaflet for Benjamin Zephaniah's "Refugee Boy" Play	Flyer		X	X	Novel adapted for the stage by Manchester poet Lemn Sissay.
D5/6	"Because we are women" quotation	Paper		X	X	Part / mis quote from the Women's Liberation Broadsheet, International Woman's Day, 1975. by

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
						Joyce Stevens
D5/7	Envelope containing personal message for Ben		X	X		
D5/8	MMU Marketing leaflet about working with Young People and Community Groups	Flyer	X			

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D6/1	Newspaper article about "When Women Ruled the Pitch"	Newspaper	X		X	From the Guardian (September 2009) comparing current state of female football with 1920's heyday
D6/2	Newspaper article about support for the Women's Library	Newspaper	X		X	From the Guardian (April 2012) about celebrity endorsement for the archive of women's moment material
D6/3	Sign for feminist webs archive resource centre	Laminated paper	X		X	
D6/4	Sapphormation Flyer for	Marketing		X	X	Advertising local event

		Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
	"Women who love women"					
D6/5	Leaflet about female empowerment	Flyer	X	X	X	Partially hidden
D6/6	MMU marketing Mentor Match leaflet	Marketing	X			
D6/7	VESL.org poster about volunteering opportunities in Thailand Sri Lanka and India	Poster	X			Aimed at students
D6/8	"Your books are wanted" poster	Poster	X			Promoting the READ book project which reuses and recycles books abroad

Door	Items	Type	Professional	Personal	Political	Notes
D7/1	"People call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat or a prostitute" Rebecca West	Postcard		X	X	
D7/2	Tragomaskalos ancient Greek figure with sword and sheild	Postcard		X		The ancient Greek word tragomaskalos means 'with armpits smelling like a he-goat
D7/3	A synonym is a word that you use when you	Paper	X			Humour, directed at students

	cannot spell the first word that you choose					
D7/4	This must be the best of all possible worlds	Paper scrap		X		Artwork by Adam Simpson from exhibition
D7/5	Top 10 grammar peeves	Postcard	X			Directed at students
D7/6	Let's eat Grandma / Let's eat, Grandma Punctuation saves lives	Paper	X			Humour, directed at students
D7/7	Affect=verb Effect=noun	Paper	X			
D7/8	We don't need no education. Yes you do. You have just used a double negative	Postcard	X		X	Reference to Pink Floyd's song Another Brick in the Wall. We don't need no education / We don't need no thought control / No dark sarcasm in the classroom / Teachers leave them kids alone. A protest song against rigid schooling in general and boarding schools in the UK in particular

D7/9	Your Education, your voice	Postcard	X			Student Union campaign
D7/10	MMU Library Services	Postcard	X			