Abstract_Chapter 1

This chapter sets out how work-life imbalance in architecture in a neoliberal age can detrimentally affect wellbeing. It broadly introduces literature on work-life balance and in relation to the construction industry and architecture. It then sets out a brief history of the rise of neoliberalism and shows how it has shaped architectural education and practice in the UK. It recounts a history of board games that build skills in capital accumulation and makes an analogy to *The Game of Life* (1959) to discuss how playing the game to win impacts on career progression and success in architecture.
(97 words)

PART 1.   Life in Architecture under Neoliberalism

Chapter 1.   Work-life Imbalance in Architecture: An Introduction
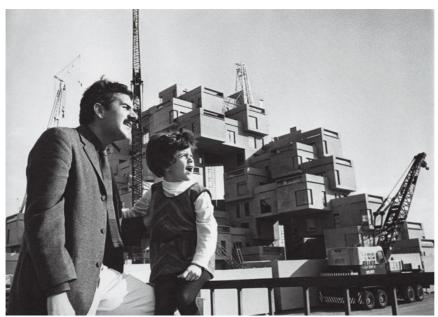
[INSERT Figure 1.1 here.]

Figure 1.1 Architect, Moshe Safdie and his daughter, Taal observe the construction of Habitat 67 in Montreal. Taal, now an architect, lived in the apartment complex. Photograph courtesy of Taal Safdie. Photographer and date unknown.

1.1 Work-life Imbalance in Architecture

Work-life imbalance in architecture has become an increasingly important issue for women and men architects to address since the feminisation and diversification of the profession, even more so post-pandemic. Many, but not all, architects with family and children – architect-mothers and architect-fathers (Figure 1.1) – to juggle balancing work and home responsibilities (Fleetwood 2006, p. 1) including family, sometimes having a detrimental effect on their health, wellbeing, job-satisfaction, work, and home life. But architecture which has always been and remains. a long and arduous course of study, roughly equivalent to studying medicine, is increasing in its

excessive toll on many of its workers with or without having demands outside work. There are a rising number of studies commissioned by Institutes of Architects, Architecture journals and independent researchers recognising that aspects of architectural education can be harmful to wellbeing and solutions need to be sought. (Troiani, 2021; McLean, Holgate and Bloice, 2020; Waite, and Braidwood, 2016) Notoriously recognised for being poorly remunerated post-graduation, life in professional architectural practice can continue to be taxing particularly but not exclusively in the early career years. Working as a practitioner in the architectural marketplace is highly competitive and as the media image of the architect becomes more powerful, the profession itself has and continues to lose efficacy and relevance in building for society. There has been a parallel decline in wellbeing and job satisfaction pre- and post-graduation for architects without notoriety.

The primary aim of this book is to study work-life balance in architecture to enhance the lives and wellbeing of architects. It seeks to improve the work lives of architects of diverse demographics who do not fit, or want to replicate, the traditional white-male architect lifestyle of working a 24-7 work life. It is written to support changing work life for an assorted range of architectural students, educators and practitioners of different gender, race/ethnicity, class, and age to enable them to sustain and flourish so as to contribute positively to the profession by offering their design and practice voice to enhance a built environment for all.

Work-life balance,[1] is broadly defined as the balance of "work, family and lifestyle" including leisure activities. (Francis, Fulu and Lingard in Lingard and Francis 2009, p. 2) Alternative meanings of balance define it as "a situation in which different elements are equal or in the correct proportions" or as "mental or emotional stability." (Oxford Dictionary online 2018) In metaphysics, balance is understood in a point between two opposite forces that is desirable over purely one state or the other; and an imbalance means stronger forces of power dominate weaker forces. In architecture, work-life balance can be understood as the harmony and equilibrium between work – which was traditionally enacted in the distinct spatial domains of the university or office – and home, but which now happens in a multitude of places everywhere and anywhere including the construction site and at times inside and outside normal 9 to 5 work hours. In this fluid space of post-industrialised and digitised work, many modern workers of which architects are only one part, struggle to find personal and professional equilibrium. This has led to a rise in the generic research on wellness, wellbeing, and work-life balance.

Wellness first appeared in the English language in 1654, "and "like adding "ness" to "ill" to make "illness" it was a way to designate the state of being well (i.e. absence of disease)". (Zimmer 2010) While it in fact has deeper origins in Antiquity, appearing in the writings of Plato, Socrates, Epicurus and Aristotle, the word fell out of favour in the 1800s to the mid 1960s, resurfacing in 1961 in the writings of the American doctor, Halbert L. Dunn who is recognised as the 'father of the wellness movement'. Dunn sought "new terminology to convey the positive aspects of health that people could achieve beyond simply avoiding sickness." (Zimmer 2010 quoted in Scaria et al. in Kim and Lindeman ed. 2020, pp. 3-4) The common everyday term, wellbeing, as the state of being well, conveys the positive attributes of both physical health experienced by avoiding sickness, exhaustion, or burnout as mental health. And while the wellbeing of workers is "a key determinant of the productivity of an economy"

(Huber, Lechner and Wunsch, 2015, p.170) and is a primary concern of employers because it has the capacity to reduce sickness absenteeism, this book focuses on the benefits to an individual's physical, spiritual, or phenomenological wellbeing and in relation to their life experiences and trajectory in architecture. This book examines how to improve the wellbeing of architects for greater job-satisfaction and retention for longer, happier careers at work, and if not always possible, to understand some of the primary reasons behind their lack of being able to do so to explore ways to make systemic changes to improve the situation in the future.

Like wellness studies, work-life balance emerged as a topic of serious research in the 20th century in the fields of public health and wellbeing. Initial research sprang up around 'work/family border theory' (Clark 2000) which adopts an outlook centred on the conflict between divided types of mutually exclusive domains of daily life activities. Subsequent research has examined imbalanced or unequal levels of engagement and satisfaction in work life and home life and adopted "a conflict-based outlook." (Ong and Jeyaraj 2014, p. 2) Management researchers, Jeffrey H. Greenhaus, Karen M. Collins, and Jason D. Shaw (2003) argue that in order to achieve work-life balance, real and psychological time must be committed to roles in both domains. Balancing commitments at home and work "is a zero-sum game where[by] committing resources to one domain is seen as taking away resources from the other." (Ong and Jeyaraj 2014, p. 2)

Work-life balance has become a catch phrase of the millennial generation, many of whom do not want to replicate the lives of the generation of their parents or grandparents, are seeking out healthy rather than unhealthy work environments that are more about 'work-leisure' or 'play-care.' (Kane 2004, p. 179) A growing sentiment is that having a life outside of work is not unreasonable, in fact it should be a priority, but achieving this differs depending on the understanding of gendered labour divisions. Whereas initially women, more so than men, struggled to achieve work-life balance because they had care commitments to juggle with work demands, nowadays architects of different gender, particularly younger generations, are becoming concerned about what a satisfying inside-outside architecture work life might be. Key ingredients that enhance job satisfaction and wellbeing are around acquiring and sustaining enough wealth to live the life one wants and aspires to live through strong networks of wealthy clients and a healthy and productive office workforce. While books like *Design your life* (Nash, 2022) offer a guide to how an architect can achieve a work-life balance through their *own* design, this book goes one step further to analyse how the possibility of doing so is premised on the limits prescribed by governmental, societal, and architectural institutional structures in which architectural work is enacted but which are out of an architect's control.

In the UK, where this book is written, and in many other countries, neoliberal entrepreneurism is the most common mechanism through which to increase social and professional mobility and acquire wealth, success and esteem. Neoliberalism is generally understood to be a *laissez-faire* economic system in which business transactions are free from economic regulatory restriction. It is driven by the desire for individual economic independence and continuous growth although it is defined positively or negatively, depending on what aspect of the neoliberal system is focused upon. Social scientist, Janet Newman (2012, p. 157) writes that unlike other scholars such as the British sociologist, Bob Jessop (2002) and Canadian geographer, Jamie

Peck (2004) who emphasise "the role of the state in securing political and ideological reform in order to enable the expansion … of corporate capital", British social geographer, David Harvey "views neoliberalism as a class-based political project of creating new means of capital accumulation". According to Harvey (2007, p. 2), "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being [sic] can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized [sic] by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." In order to do this, Harvey (2005, p. 23) maintains that neoliberalism "has entailed much 'creative destruction'" of institutions and institutional powers and "also of divisions of labor [sic], social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life, attachments to the land, habits of the heart, ways of thought, and the like." Winning in a neoliberal work environment has health and wellbeing benefits for those who are or can transition to the 'haves' of society. It can, however, be detrimental to the health and wellbeing of those in society who are the 'have-nots'.

Because of the now inextricable relationship between money and lifestyle wellbeing, most research on work-life balance is driven by promotion of what is termed here, 'the neoliberal imperative' to make workers happier, more productive and efficient. Unhealthy workplaces tend to nurture unhealthy workers which affect the health of a business. As writer, musician, consultant, activist, curator, facilitator of the 'play ethic', Pat Kane (2004, p. 179) points out, "Employers and politicians [are] both worried about skyrocketing degrees of sick leave in general and the competition for talent at higher levels." Business has responded accordingly and as such there are a multitude of self-help books in virtually every field in the popular press, mainly from a business-oriented perspective to increase productivity through flexi-time or other work-time models that allow more time for leisure and rest inside and outside work. On the main, these books avoid discussing how neoliberalism's essential requirement to deplete resources, both human and geographical, to create profits, are counter-productive to a sustainable world and a sustainable balanced model of work for a diverse group of workers in the construction industry.

In *Managing Work-life balance in Construction,* Helen Lingard and Valerie Francis (2009) uncover many of the already well-known reasons why women and men working in the construction industry suffer differing levels of 'career strain' and build upon earlier arguments, such as the one presented by Phyllis Moen (2003) that imbalances are due to a lag in governmental policy changes to support work-life balance in the industry. While the research by Lingard and Francis (2009), done in Australia, is extensive and revealing, it does not focus entirely on architecture, nor does it critique the deep institutional frameworks that create the challenges that face working women and men in architecture with demanding commitments outside work. While the book, *Design your life* (Nash 2022) addresses the topic, there is no book in architecture which examines work-life balance through the economic lens of neoliberalism, where one is constantly playing the money game, as this book does. Conflicts inside and between professional and personal life can have an unprecedented effect on an architect's ability to play the game and can, as a consequence, be life changing.

For aspiring, emerging, and practising architects, architectural education and architectural practice exist as particular kinds of games that are played. The rules of

architectural play, like any business, are premised on surviving in an aggressive and competitive gamespace. While playing the game of an architect's life is like no other profession's game, the way in which an architect's life path has been affected by capitalism and heightened by neoliberalism has parallels with tactical, competitive game play that has evolved in the development of the game industries in the UK and US. Study of the motives of neoliberal gameplay and gamespace allow a later reading of balancing life inside and outside work as an architect.

Philosophers, political scientists but not architects have critically analysed the social impact of the dramatic change that neoliberal 'governmentality' directed purely towards an economic imperative has had on knowledge, labour, productivity, education, democracy, freedom, equality of the body polis. An early critic of neoliberalism, French philosopher Michel Foucault addressed in his writings the key relationship between 'governmentality' and power exertion on the body polis. According to Foucault (2008, pp. 259-260), neoliberal power provides an "image, idea, or theme-program [sic] of a society in which there is an optimization [sic] of systems of difference, in which the field is left open to fluctuating processes, in which minority individuals and practices are tolerated, in which action is brought to bear on the rules of the game rather than on the players."

From 1978 to 1979–the eve of the elections of both British Prime Minister, Dame Margaret Thatcher and American President, Roland Reagan–Foucault examined neoliberalism through a series of lectures he delivered in Paris that considered the relationship between 'governmentality' (or "the art of government") and the exertion of power on the body politic. In the book of the collated lectures entitled *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault (2008) notes the changing association between biology and politics ("biopolitics") and the powerful role that *homo oeconomicus*–discussed in detail in the next chapter–plays in neoliberalism. 'Biopolitics' is a form of rationality applied to political governance which is used to administer everyday life and people. Foucault's theory of governmentality is deeply intertwined with a theory of surveillance and monitoring through technologies of governing. For Foucault neoliberal governments have enforced a belief in "installing 'economic' logics of calculation (constituted through discourses of markers, efficiency, managerialism, consumer choice and individual autonomy) and strategies for promoting 'self-governing' subjects.'" (Newman 2012, p. 157) In *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault (1995, p. 221) explains how under our current economic system "the two processes–the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital–cannot be separated" and are co-existent." Consumption of human labour (capitalist polity) and resources allow neoliberalism to operate as a system of growing accumulation of wealth (capitalist economy). This constructs a specific model of success where social, cultural, and economic capital defines an individual's identity and worth through accruing more and more by exploiting lower cost resources and/or human labour.

Since the late 1970s, some 40 years on, Britain, its English-speaking colonies (former and current overseas territories) and other Western countries have dramatically altered the rituals of daily life because of neoliberalism. As the American political theorist Wendy Brown (2015, p. 31) notes, "neoliberalism literally *marketizes* all spheres" and "configures human beings exhaustively as market actors" in a world where everything is for sale, and everything can be bought. Every aspect of life is nowadays quantified, monetised, and commoditised around playing the game of an economically motivated

lifestyle. Neoliberalism prioritises economisation, financialisation, careerism, creativity, entrepreneurship, corporatisation, globalisation, internationalisation, competition etc and has normalised them all in our everyday life. Its demands on the body of the worker, and here, the body of the architect, result in the challenge to attain work-life balance. It also affects the relationship an architect has with the architecture they produce.

1.2 Architecture and Neoliberalism

The neoliberal drive for increased production and consumption through economic rationalism after the 1970s is arguably the most significant factor affecting our everyday life, environment, climate, and wellbeing. Today, in many modern developed countries in the west and the east, dominant neoliberal agendas have altered the way we work and the products of our work. Here architecture is foregrounded as a professional example within a complex social, economic, and political system.

For many architects, work has changed dramatically in the neoliberal age, such that the very core of how an architect works has only scant resemblance to its former modes of privileged, leisurely autonomous artistic, socially oriented and site responsive practice. The work of the architect is commonly understood to be the design of buildings and the spaces that surround them. But in architecture, under neoliberalism, the products of architecture (buildings and the spaces in-between and around them), the nature, production process, and quality of architectural work, and body of the architect have all been radically transformed without the architect having any control.

The privatisation of the architecture profession has accentuated economic optimisation and productivity through a long work hours culture, enacted across a non-stop 24/7 global marketplace. Most architects have shifted from working in the home-artist studio to the global corporate office and something in-between and post-pandemic, to the architectural office that is everywhere, including the home. From being able to work everywhere an architect can work anywhere in the world without having to be there. No longer is architecture the stable, lifelong profession it once was where work was local or only in an architect's home country. Emerging and established architects are freer than ever before to move to work anywhere in the world from their office or own home.

Architects working under neoliberalism have exploited and benefited from its promotion of globalisation, rapid urbanisation, and development. To meet targets set by governments in many countries, the architectural workforce in Higher Education (HE) and practice has increased and the demands for global growth and productivity within architecture schools are being felt professionally, environmentally, and corporeally.

But the maximum productivity treadmill that has driven many architecture schools and practices since the increased privatisation of architectural education and practice is suffering from strain. Because architectural workers have been encouraged for decades to work across, consume, and develop local and international projects in the west and the east "with vigor [sic] and skill'–to quote Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas

(in Owen 2009, p. 1), some are or are beginning to suffer because of performance time pressures, and overwork. A growing number are questioning their career path. And it is because the image and reality of a professional life in architecture is not only what people think it will be and is also, changing so rapidly and unpredictably, want-to-be and practicing architects of all generational levels need to better understand how they can enact their professional life for better work-life, social and environmental balance.

Capital accumulation flourishes in what Polish philosopher Zygmunt Bauman (2000) calls 'liquid modernity'. Predating postmodernity and predicated on the neoliberal drive for freedom of choice, 'liquid modernity' is the current modern era in which we live that has shifted focus from citizen to individual, from state institution to corporation, from quite simply, living a life grounded in solidity to living in continual fluidity. No longer do we live in 'heavy modernity' (Bauman 2000, p. 47) where our life paths and behaviours are mostly circumscribed, we have (in theory) all the freedoms in the world to create new ways of living and working. But these freedoms bring with them additional complications and pressures that differ to those experienced by earlier generations working in architecture and, more broadly, in early forms of industrial capitalism.

Marxist economists, Ben Fine and Alfredo Saad-Filho (2019, p. 2) see that neoliberalism "represents a new stage in the development of capitalism emerging in the wake of the post-war boom". Neoliberalism draws upon the post-WW2 theory of Austrian economist, Ludwig von Mises and American economist, Milton Friedman:

> albeit in sharply dissimilar and logically incompatible ways, that differently endowed property-owning individuals exchanging goods, services and information in minimally regulated markets constitute the most desirable form for allocating resources and should prevail over an interventionist role of the state. (Fine and Saad-Filho 2019, p. 7)

By prioritising individual freedom, neoliberalism promotes an individually centred rather than 'egalitarian concept of self and society.' (Fine and Saad-Filho 2019, p. 7) In the pursuit for advancement, a neoliberal mindset seeks out individual advancement through financialisaton that sells and exploits. Many architects who are willing servants to neoliberalism are happy to play along in the game of excessively greedy capital accumulation for the individual gain of their clients most often, sometimes themselves, because they see no other choice to survive or because it suits them or because they are uncritical of the system of property development in which they work. It is the contradiction that for an architect to strive for self-worthiness, they are encouraged by neoliberalism to exploit others.

The current literature on architecture and neoliberalism focuses mostly on the products of architecture not the product of the architect. *The Architecture of Neoliberalism* (Spencer 2016) shows 'how contemporary architecture became an instrument of control and compliance'. Other writers examine architecture's relation with money and capital flows (Deamer ed. 2014; Andrachuk et. al. eds. 2014; Gabrielsson and Mattsson eds. 2017) by focusing mostly on the commonly produced objects and typologies of neoliberal architecture that directly result from increased financialisaton for private investment and capital accumulation. The non-exhaustive

list includes "shopping malls, corporate headquarters, museums, performance spaces, sports stadia, transportation hubs, and gleaming megatowers" (Sklair 2017, p. 5), and now semi-private or private university campuses, hospitals, and schools etc. in which mostly high profile or corporate architects are working with wealthy clients. The converse end of the economic spectrum are social architectures including self-build and affordable housing, civic and religious centres, public universities, hospitals, schools etc. which are for community groups or funded by the state. (Awan, N et. al. eds. 2011; Fishman and Kubey 2018) It seems that architects, to varying degrees in different countries, are dividing into different architectural social classes: those that 'work for the [corporate] man' and those that want to 'give it to the [corporate] man'.

Theorisation of architectural labour in relation to architecture serving capitalism is a growing field of scholarship of which American architect, Peggy Deamer (ed. 2015) is a leading scholar. Others examine how computational, including parametric or digitally generated, architectural design enhances neoliberal production. (Poole and Shvartzberg eds. 2015) The former divide between and production requirements of academia and practice is shifting because of rising consumerism, globalisation, corporatisation and the emergence of digital-based design in the 1990s. (Hight 2012, p. 414 in Sklair 2017, p. 30) The effects of neoliberalism on the producers of architecture, architects, has not been foregrounded in architectural literature and this book's aim is to remedy that gap in literature.

Working in architecture is unlike working in any other, even related, profession or design field and it is the understanding of architecture's *internal* institutional and cultural limitations in relation to a neoliberal, liquidly modern lifestyle that is under analysis here. So, if the neoliberal working environment does not slow down or get replaced by another political approach, how can architects better navigate their professional and personal lives at the various life stages of their career? The purpose of the book is not to provide quantitative research that work-life balance in architecture is becoming more difficult to achieve (as this is common knowledge) or to provide definitive remedial solutions. Instead, the book aims to provide a reflective qualitative guide for prospective or current architectural students, academics, and practitioners at all life stages to better understand the systems and pathways possible in architectural labour in order to best help navigate through them. It focuses on what it means to play the game of architecture today i.e., to choose to study architecture over another profession or design career in an international, global market; and to undertake meaningful work in architectural life–at university and professional practice–beyond neoliberalism. This book argues that the ability for an architect to achieve work-life balance or harmony and to successfully play the game of life in architecture is dependent a range of personal factors and on the political (neoliberal in the case of the UK), social and economic environments in which they can operate at various stages of their work life.

While it is based on secondary literature including found conversations recording the academic and practice experiences of women and men architects of all socio-economic classes working and living in various countries including the United Kingdom, Europe, USA, it goes beyond only architectural literature. It builds upon and is framed around theoretical research in philosophy, sociology, economics, business, gender studies and visual culture to offer readers an understanding of the social, economic, and professional structures in which architectural education and

practice operate. Illustrations in the book have been chosen carefully and are purposely few. Limited to two figures per chapter, they resist the neoliberal tendency for flooding spectators with images that lose impact, lingering longer than a fleeting moment. Taken from visual culture and mass media, they have been selected because they powerfully depict images of a life in architecture. In this sense, they resist the game of producing a happy flow of architectural images as discussed in the next chapter.

Playing the game of life in architecture in a liquidus, neoliberal world can mean choosing to study or work locally or internationally – in-person or remotely –, an urban or rural life, more or less work or home life, or between a career or family or both. While there is an apparent freedom to make life choices at each life stage, neoliberal governance, and a history of social stratification and modern professionalisation means that participation in a professional architectural life can have or has limits for different types of architectural workers. This book endeavours to increase criticality about what it means to live and work as an architect by examining how working in a neoliberal age is affected by the state and how governance affects the city, nature, society and the potential for genuine individual freedom. For almost 50 years, Harvey has researched the relationship between capitalism and society and his writings on the stealth rise in neoliberalism are expanded here to understand the British context of architectural labour post 1970s, which in turn will provide a context for architectural life after this period.

1.3 A History of Neoliberalism

[INSERT Figure 1.2 here.]

Figure 1.2. Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher (bottom right) visiting the Parker Family, of Ascot Close, Northolt, in London, who were among the first to buy their terrace council house from Ealing Borough Council, after the Conservatives took

In 1973, after moving from Britain to Baltimore, Harvey, born in the former dockyard town of Gillingham in Kent first published *Social Justice and the City*.[2] In it, Harvey employs a Marxist framework to analyse the relationship between the economic processes of capitalism and its impact on the 'polis' – the city and its citizens. Most significantly, Harvey expands upon the theory of economic 'reproduction' presented by Karl Marx (1970-1972/1867) in *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* to show the means by which society re-creates itself, both materially and socially and then, how the means of capital circulation dictates the socio-spatial form and evolution of the polis.

Building on his research on ghetto formation, Harvey (1972) calls for revolutionary change in order to tackle economic, social, gender, and class inequality. At the basis of Harvey's (1972, pp. 261-274) proposal is the need to understand the connection between the process of global market exchange and urban development. Globalisation, marketisation, corporatisation and monopolisation, to name but a few features of neoliberalism, are fundamental factors at play in regard to *what* land is attributed higher or lower value, *how* that land is capitalised upon – if it can be capitalised upon – by *who* had the finances to do so. Building upon the study by German art historians, Reinhold Bentmann and Michael Müller (1992) of the villas and connection to wealthy clients of the 16th century Italian architect, Andrea Palladio, Scottish sociologist Leslie Sklair (2017, p. 11) contends in *The Icon Project: Architecture, Cities and Capitalist Globalization* that "certain buildings and spaces can serve specific class interests expressed in their aesthetic and symbolic qualities." The market is controlled by the affluent classes who have wealth to play it. Their participation in urban development drives the market and creates a surplus economy through new building development and redevelopment that, in the process, depletes and exploits resources–material and human. This is a fundamental feature of the economic system of capitalism and is heightened under neoliberalism which presence itself as the system through which to allow everyone the opportunity to become a player in the global marketplace. Most architects enact their everyday life within this space of economic transaction and so it is essential that aspiring or established architects understand the socio-political history of neoliberal *laissez-faire* economics because it has a direct impact on their daily work.

In *A Brief History of Neoliberalism,* Harvey (2005) explains the emergence of *laissez-faire* economics and how it has come to proliferate in the contemporary world. He traces its origins in the United States in Lewis Powell's 1971 confidential memorandum to the US Chamber of Commerce and its steady evolution under the Jimmy Carter administration in the 1970s through to the Reagan administration of the 1980s. In the UK, Thatcher's government, inspired by Reaganomics, sought early neoliberal reforms such as the privatisation of state-owned assets, deregulation and reduction in taxes and social welfare. Neoliberal economic policy that diminished welfare support for the 'have nots' has continued ever since. While it is unremarkable that Sir John Major's Conservative government picked up where Thatcher left off, the British author and journalist, Sir Simon Jenkins (2007) claims in *Thatcher and Sons: A Revolution in Three Acts* that Thatcher's legacy continued throughout Sir Anthony (Tony) Blair's years of Labour government, manifesting itself in his economic,

domestic, and foreign policies which was later called 'Blairism'. In 2013, when Blair (quoted in BBC News 2013) was asked about Thatcher and her administration, he stated, "I always thought my job was to build on some of the things she had done rather than reverse them". In "Thatcher's Children, Blair's Babies, Political Socialization and Trickle-down Value Change," Grasso et. al (2019) conclude that "Thatcher's Babies" are in fact less Thatcherite (neoliberal-authoritarian) by nature than "Blair's Babies" inferring there is an almost evolutionary process to the rise of neoliberal thinking in subsequent generations of Britons.

Thatcherism and its spin-off governments have had an insurmountable impact on the current labour market in architecture in the UK and the neoliberal modes of production and market exchange architecture is now subject to. What Thatcherism did was pose welfare politics as 'a threat of sorts to capitalist market exchange' (Harvey 1972, p. 277). Thatcherism incited a shift in focus from the communal to the self, from social architecture to private architecture, and to the desire for increased production and consumption of everything in architecture understood to be a commodity. It is contended here the foundation of Thatcher's economic policy in fact came from her experience of growing up and seeing the running of her father's business and revolves around the value of a Protestant work ethic.

Thatcher was one of two daughters of Beatrice Ethel Stephenson and the English grocer, Methodist preacher, and politician Alfred Roberts. She grew up in provincial Grantham and was inspired by her father's advocacy of freedom through hard work and entrepreneurism. According to Thatcher (1995, p. 21), her father was an 'old-fashioned liberal'; Roberts was motivated by *On Liberty* by the English philosopher and political economist, John Stuart Mill (Mill, Philp and Rosen 2015 [1859]). In the book, Mill argues for individual responsibility and financial soundness. Having lived through the Great Depression of the 1930s and coming from a frugal but reasonably well-off middle-class family, Thatcher worked her way up the socio-economic ladder, studying chemistry on a scholarship at the University of Oxford from 1943-1947, then become a barrister and a politician, initially, Secretary of State for the Department of Education and Science (DES) from 1970-74. At the DES Thatcher worked to challenge student unions in response to what she termed 'student princes.' (Thatcher 1995, pp. 185-187) In 1974, Thatcher founded the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) for which she became the first deputy chairman. Co-founded with British politician, Sir Keith Joseph, the CPS is a non-profit making organisation funded by donations from companies and individuals that develop policies on privatisation, low-tax, and family support independent of all political parties and interest groups. It seeks to create a free society through a belief in free market economics. The British think tank "promotes policies to limit the role of the state, to encourage enterprise and to enable the institutions of society–such as families and voluntary organisations–to flourish." (www.cps.org.uk)

Only three years after forming the CPS, in May 1979, Thatcher was elected the first female Prime Minister of the UK. As Prime Minister, Thatcher and her policies encouraged women and men in Britain to work hard for personal gain to move from depending on state welfare to becoming self-sufficient and prosperous within free, neoliberal markets. In her memoirs, *The Path to Power* she admits that her "upbringing and early experience" also allowed her to gain "a sympathetic insight into ... 'capitalism' or the 'free-enterprise system'". (Thatcher 1995, p. 566) Thatcher

(1995, p. 566) claims she saw "... it was satisfying customers that allowed ... [her] father to increase the number of people he employed. ... [She] knew that it was international trade which brought tea, coffee, sugar and spices to those who frequented ... [the] shop. And, more than that, ... [she] experienced that business, as can be seen in any marketplace anywhere, was a lively, human, social and sociable reality: in fact, though serious it was fun. According to Thatcher (1996, p. 566), "There is no better course for understanding free-market economics than life in a corner shop."

Thatcher expanded the economic model she witnessed in her father's family business as the economic model for her government. Britain began to be run as a shop engaging in buying and selling for growth. In 1979 Thatcher appointed Milton Friedman, from the Chicago school as her economic advisor. "He and his colleagues had been making waves by promoting "economic liberalism" ... Within a few years of meeting Thatcher, Friedman was advising the US treasury, and most world bodies were beginning to adopt what became known as "neoliberal" ideas". (Vidal, Ncube, Bromund and Ghosh 2013) With Friedman and another of her economic advisors, Alan Walters, Thatcher embarked on a campaign to encourage privatisation of property, deregulate industry, lower taxes, withdraw funding to the public sector and debilitate trade unions to facilitate global free trade and free markets that promoted global competition to restore economic power and superiority to Britain.

According to the traditional Conservative, Roger Scruton (1979 in Scruton 1981, p. 200) in "The Ideology of the Market" Thatcher and Joseph's CPS sought three goals for British people: to improve "the standard of living, the quality of life and ... freedom of choice". But Scruton sees that because the three goals "may not be compatible", Thatcher and Joseph ironically deprioritised 'quality of life' through policy making. Joseph "impress[ed] on the British public that the freedom of the market is no more than a consequence of that higher and more generalized [sic] freedom which is the Englishman's birthright. He ... spoke of the merchant and the industrialist as 'wealth creators', who must be given again their freedom to invest, to speculate, to engage in enterprises, the rewards or losses of which will be automatically confiscated or sustained by a vigilant sovereign state". (Scruton 1979 in Scruton 1981, pp. 200-201) According to Scruton (1979 in Scruton 1981: 201), under Thatcherism, "the invisible hand of self-interest" was used as "a constitutional device".

As part of Thatcher's push to make Britons independent from the state, in August 1980, only one year after being elected as PM, she passed a Housing Act to allow tenants the 'Right to Buy' their homes from their local authority. As the British writer, journalist and academic, Anna Minton (2017, pp. 27-8) notes in *Big Capital: Who is London For?* "During the 1980s, council estates began to change. The impact of …Thatcher's flagship Right to Buy policy that saw the sell-off of millions of council homes at very large discounts, which began in the 1980s and continues to this day, is well known and cannot be underestimated." Thatcher saw the 'Right to Buy' (RTB) scheme to empower less well-off Britons to gain independence from the state by owning their own property. She embarked on a media publicity campaign being photographed with families such as the Parker Family, of Ascot Close, Northolt, in London, who were among the first to buy their terrace council house from Ealing Borough Council (Figure 1.2).

Importantly, Minton notes that the RTB scheme allowed the British government the opportunity to withdraw funding social housing so that far less housing for low-income people is available in the UK today. It remains a paramount problem in contemporary Britain. While Minton's statistics are from 2017, the picture has not changed. Minton (2017, p. 27) explains that "In 1978, the last year before …Thatcher came to power, the government built 100,000 council homes and the private sector built 150,000. There was no shortage of housing. Since 1979, while private sector house building figures have remained about the same, the government builds hardly any." Clearly only one of many factors, Thatcher's RTB scheme forced a shift in the kind of labour enacted by architects working in the UK from producing more public national projects to private and commercial national and international projects.

The legacy of Thatcher's neoliberalism has deeply affected the types of labour enacted in architectural education and practice in the UK. This is because later Labour governments did not resist the neoliberal drive to 'pay for what you get' in all aspects of life. Higher Education tuition fees were first introduced to all countries in the UK in 1998 by the Blair Labour government. Students studying architecture in the UK at state universities were initially required to pay £1,000 a year for tuition. This has steadily risen with variations in universities in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Island whose fees differ to the roughly £9,000 a year tuition implemented following the Browne Review published in 2010. Chaired by the former chief executive of British Petroleum (BP), Lord Browne of Madingley, the Review led to the removal of a price cap on university fees they can charge. This weaned universities off government funds and forced them to become more independent self-governing subjects. In 2022, Domestic or Home students who study architecture in UK architecture schools are means tested and take out student loans for tuition costs only and for living costs depending on the capital available to them through their individual/family wealth. In a spiral of rising debt before graduation from a long five-year (3-year undergraduate degree and 2-year postgraduate degree) architectural education, British graduates are increasingly matching the once shocking post-graduation debts of their American private architecture school rivals. Draft proposals have been produced to reduce the number of years of study for an architectural education and some are underway. What the increase in student fees and loans has done is force universities to become entrepreneurial.

The entrepreneurial university, and architecture schools within them, have had to revamp and restructure their 'businesses' to expand university campuses and markets by recruiting larger numbers of national and international students or in some instances, expand to create international academic partnerships. While there are large waves of international students from a range of countries around the world who have had the personal wealth and opportunity to study as international students in the West, the case of China's opening up, is discussed here as but one recent example, to showcase how it offers the potential of architectural market expansion for both architecture schools and architects.[3]

The opening up of China as a new international market and as a country able to expand into new international markets has had a startling effect on the world economy – and within it the architectural economy – particularly in the UK. Architectural labour when enacted as a global practice has been affected by the shift in the West-

East economic power relation. In Great Britain and China, architectural education and practice have been altered in the name of 'global citizenship' and in the name of internationalisation. Architects in Europe and other western countries who were unable to find work due to unemployment post the 2008 fiscal crisis or simply saw market opportunities and experience elsewhere, were drawn to China during its frenzied phase of construction. Whether unemployed or no longer wanting to be limited by small scale projects with small scale budgets in their home country, China offered many young or established architects work opportunities not available at home. The ability for Chinese students to study architecture overseas informs their practice on their return and has expanded the network of opportunities for commissions.

Architectural education, which has transformed due to neoliberalism in the UK, USA, and Australia to name but a few, has affected the study of architecture in China too. Some of these universities have entrepreneurially created academic alliances with Chinese universities, in an increased market of privatised architectural education, so that Chinese and other international students can experience a UK or US accredited architectural education *in* China. Students from China and other wealthy Eastern countries have also become at times a high proportion of commodity stock of many British universities, providing essential money to subsidise and increase the profitability of UK universities. What is clear is that from the UK to the USA and Australia to the PRC architectural practice and education is at the mercy of government policy changes enacted within competitive world markets and the volatility of crises outside industry which have economic impact. Neoliberal *laissez-faire* economics has a knock-on effect on consumption and production of architectural labour and on the body of the architect entering or operating within the architectural workforce. Making the choice and having the opportunity to decide where to study and work in architecture relates to how to play the game in the profession. Because it has marked parallels with the evolution of competitive board games that build skills in making life choices that improve one's economic positioning, *The Game of Life*, as a game that teaches skills in accumulation of capital will now be discussed.

1.4 Playing *the Game of Life*

The Georgian era (1714 to c. 1830–37) in Britain was a period that saw large social change due to the Industrial Revolution. It was a time in which class divisions and divisions of labour were intensified due to new modes of industrial production and consumption. It was also the period in which boxed games, a product of industrialised processes of printing production, emerged as a form of leisure and moral teaching about decision making in the modern world. During the Enlightenment Age, the notion of game playing was a means of self-improvement. Games like chess were as much about learning morals as partaking in 'idle amusement' because playing chess developed "several very valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, ... for life is a kind of Chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and ill events, that are, in some degree, the effect of prudence, or the want of it." (Franklin 1750)

Continuing in this vein of learning life skills through play, in 1800, the English children's author and game designer, George Fox designed the children's game, *The

Mansion of Happiness: An Instructive Moral and Entertaining Amusement. The game encourages players to choose between virtues and vices, the former allowing players to advance in contrast to the latter which resulted in retreat from the goal. Fox's *The Mansion of Happiness* showed gamers in the UK and beyond, to America, how life choices needed to be made carefully to succeed.

Responding to the aftermath of an America that was reeling from major recession (1837 to the mid 1840s) the American boxed games industry began in 1843 with William and Stephen B. Ives's path game, *The Mansion of Happiness*, a version of Fox's game. In keeping with the desire to teach the player about morality at the time, it rewarded virtue and punished vice (Whitehill 2004, p. 28) and became an instant success with the public of all ages leading to the growth of other board games concerned with wealth acquisition. Like *The Mansion of Happiness*, *The Landlord's Game* patented by Elizabeth Magie in 1904 sought to teach its players about the moral relationship between wealth and society through acquiring property. Magie designed *The Landlord's Game* (which later became *Monopoly*)[4] to teach players the theories of political economist Henry George (1879), specifically his 'Single Tax Principles' and other philosophies set out in *Progress and Property: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy.* (Whitehill 2004, p. 72) *Progress and Poverty* studies the paradox of rising inequality that accompanies economic and technological progress and particularly how anti-monopoly reforms can remedy social injustice.

Following on from the popularity of these games, in 1860, the American business magnate, game pioneer and publisher Milton Bradley, also inspired by *The Mansion of Happiness,* created his first morality board game, *The Checkered Game of Life,* using the pattern of a standard checkerboard. Based on a snakes and ladders approach to winning or losing by climbing the ladder, the object was to be the first player to reach '"Happy Old Age" while trying to avoid "Ruin"'. (Miller 2005, p. 24) The modern version of *The Checkered Game of Life*, co-designed by game designer Reuben Klamer in 1959 is *The Game of Life* (or *Life*). Still popular today it is a simulated search for the "meaning of life" (Lou 2003: 10) that follows the traditional path developed in 1950s America centred on the 'American dream'. In *The Game of Life* players replicate a person's travels from university to retirement, with jobs, marriage, and having children as options to choose from on the way. They can choose a College Path, a Career Path, Get Married, Start a New Career etc.

From 1959 the rules changed to suit the times, swinging between societal and moral responsibility and personal gain and ambition. The 1960s version of *The Game of Life* allowed a player who had reached the "Day of Reckoning" "to choose between moving on to "Millionaire Acres" (if they had a lot of money), or trying to become a "Millionaire Tycoon" (if they had little or no money) with the risk of being sent to the 'Poor Farm'" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Game_of_Life). In 2007, *The Game of Life: Twists and Turns* was released as a way to learn to better negotiate life's challenges. Moving with the zeitgeist, *The Game of Life Fame Edition* (2013) allows players to be a music artist, supermodel, or other type of celebrity to build instant fame and wealth. Responding to the digital generation of gamers, the video game, *The Game of Life: 2016* for iOS and Android made by Marmalade Game Studio allows children to play online with their friends, teaching them how to compete early on in a real-life fantasy game space.

No matter what version, like *Monopoly*, each path in *The Game of Life* aims for the gradual accumulation or growth of property, which in turn presents more options from which to potentially accrue more capital. In Harry Lou's (2003) book, *The Game of Life: How to Succeed in Real Life No Matter Where You Land*, he argues that the game was invented and is played because it allows the gamer or player to have "one foot in fantasy and one in reality." (Lou 2003: 10) Lou claims the game isn't about acquiring wealth, but instead it is about living life. Nor is it about finding happiness because the game is paved with setbacks and obstacles[5], much like everyday life (Lou 2003, p. 11). What is key to playing in *The Game of Life* is the importance of making the 'right' choice at a given moment on an individual's journey (as game play) for optimal end of life rewards. While there is no version of *The Game of Life* for Architects, it presents a useful aperture through which to analyse career ambition and the potential for success through beating the competition. Competitive gaming, whether friendly or not, moral, or not, can be seen as a seminal aspect of learning life skills for navigating everyday life.

According to the Australian new media theorist, McKenzie Wark (2007, p. [001]) in the contemporary world the 'gamespace' of a board game or a video game or indeed everyday life is "everywhere" and is a "speculation sport" enacted in an "atopian arena". To explore the philosophical limits of "gamespace', Wark creates a fictitious computer game called 'The Cave[TM]', which is based on Plato's Allegory of the Cave. As a site of contest and struggle, gamers focus in 'The Cave[TM]' on "the act of targeting" which assigns "a unique value" to the target (Walk 2007, p. [149]). 'The Cave[TM]' has an interior world in which we choose to participate (or not) that legitimates targeting carefully and being victorious over rivals. 'Gamespace' also has an external world of spectatorship. "OUTSIDE each cave is another cave; beyond the game is another game. Each has its particular rules; each has its ranks of high scores." (Wark 2007, p. [014])

Wark (2007, p. [011]) contends that gamespace, like neoliberalism, while seeming to be devoid of the old class divisions in fact conceals them "beneath levels of rank, where each agonizes over their worth against others as measured by the size of their house and the price of their vehicle and where, perversely, working longer and longer hours is a sign of victory. Work becomes play." Players are required to become a team player where "your work has to be creative, inventive, playful—ludic." (Wark 2007: [011]) When you are in creative control of the gamespace you are no longer the worker who engages in 'dull, repetitive work', instead it is lively, as Thatcher wished it to be, because the "the commerce of play—making it into the major leagues" insists that "play becomes everything to which it was once opposed. It is work, it is serious; it is morality, it is necessity." (Wark 2007, p. [011])

Replicating the neoliberal disbelief in the welfare system, Wark (2007: [012]) notes that no longer is the gamer "interested in playing the citizen". Gamespace in fantasy or real life is premised on the competitive self but unlike reality, the gamespace of the board or virtual game requires successfully completing levels, in adherence to strict rules. Anthropological research reiterates the value of competitive playing-to-win in all facets of life and in the formation of socio-cultural value-creation.

According to the Franco-American literary critic, philosopher, and essayist, (Francis) George Steiner (in Huizinga 1970/1949, p. 10), "Play, as [the Dutch cultural historian, Johan] Huizinga defines it, is an activity which proceeds within certain limits of time and space, in a visible order, according to rules freely accepted, and outside the sphere of necessity and material utility". Huizinga, as does Wark, agrees that play is enacted with utmost seriousness, which opposes the very concept of what it means to play. "Thus the cheat is far less hated or chastised than the spoil-sport, the man who somehow subverts and shatters the validity, the importance of the game." (Steiner in Huizinga 1970/1949, p. 10).

In *Homo Ludens* (which roughly translates as Playing Man), Huizinga (1970/1949, p. 48) states that the 'play-instinct' underpins almost every aspect of civilized social behaviour. Culture arises from and evolves through play "between two parties or teams." (Huizinga 1970/1949, p. 67) "When two people are pitted against each other–whether they are philosophers or warriors, artists among their peers or jurists in a court of law–their intention is to win or succeed. And their weapons are the techniques of play: imagination, simulation, the chance moment ..." (Kane 2004, p. 54)

But play against an opponent involves uncertainty that puts success at stake. "Success gives a player a satisfaction that lasts a shorter or longer while as the case may be." (Huizinga 1970/1949, p. 70) Winning in any gamespace is a sign of superiority which conjures up more than simply the winning of the game played but also "honour and esteem" which "accrue to the benefit of the group to which the victor belongs." (Huizinga 1970/1949, p. 70) The essence of gaming is a spirit of competition and a drive to win and succeed. For Huizinga, it manifests most strongly as 'sportive competition' as a cultural phenomenon played by *Homo Ludens*.

Paralleling broadly to Harvey's definition of neoliberalism, these board games are "a …political project of creating new means of capital accumulation" through 'sportive competition'. The board game and life motives and choices analogy, enacted in the spirit of play in gamespace, provide an aperture through which to contemplate the game of life to accrue personal and professional capital – social, economic, and cultural (Bourdieu 1986/1983 in Richardson 1986, pp. 241-258) – when architecture is chosen as a career path. The professional gamespace in which architects operate today occurs mostly through neoliberal rules of competitive play. It follows Thatcher's (1995, p. 566) argument that the game of business "though serious [... is] fun" and offers everyone new freedoms and liberties that have not been imaginable under any previous form of governance. But the paradox of neoliberalism enacted in architectural life is that it offers the promise of individual freedom, but often does so through taking freedoms from others. Consumption of human labour (capitalist polity) and resources allows neoliberalism to operate as a system of growing accumulation of 'self' wealth (capitalist economy). This constructs a specific model of success where social, cultural and economic capital defines an individual's identity and worth through knowing how to play the game, accruing more and more on the way by exploiting lower cost labour or resources. The ability and need to progress is uneven for women and men (at the time of writing this book) for example because an individual can start at a different point of advantage or disadvantage, so the playing field in which they have come differs. This is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

For an architect to participate, win or lose in the game of an architectural life it is important to understand: 1) image/identity formation under neoliberalism; 2) work-life choices identified at different life stages of professional progression in academia or professional practice; 3) the effect of neoliberal demands on where, how and when architects work and live life in relation to their wellbeing and the future of work-life balance beyond neoliberalism. The three-part structure of the book examines these 3 themes.

PART 1 discusses 'Life in Architecture under Neoliberalism' and consists of this chapter, 'Work-life Imbalance in Architecture: An Introduction'; Chapter 2, 'Celebrity Architect as *Homo Oeconomicus*'; and Chapter 3, 'Starting from a Different Position: Architect as *Femina Domestica*'. Chapter 2 examines the space of an architect's labour and identity positioned as Foucault's *homo oeconomicus* – economic wo/man – and discusses the architect (without any family care responsibilities) who is committed entirely to work in an effort to achieve global brand status through 24/7 global practice. Chapter 3 examines the female and male forms of Brown's *femina domestica* –domestic wo/man – who divides their labour between work and non-work/home. It sets out the traditional white male model of *homo oeconomicus* architect, which many female and male architects replicate, and examines how gender, race/ethnicity, class and age have been historical factors of discrimination that create intersectional inequalities in architectural career progress for those who do not fit the traditional white male model. The dreams all diverse groups have about their personal and professional identity brand formation are discussed in relation to the neoliberal enterprising self.

PART 2 is entitled 'Gameplay Moves: Become an Architect (or Not)'. It consists of three chapters which follow the progression of choosing (or not) to enter or progress into a later stage in a life in architecture. Chapter 4, entitled 'The Choice to Study Architecture or not' discusses some reasons girls or boys choose from a young age to study architecture rather than another creative industry. Chapter 5, 'Academic Capitalism and Architectural Education' sets out the working life of students of architecture and architectural educators within the context of 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter and Leslie 1997) and reveals how it can positively or negatively affect the minds and bodies of architecture workers in Higher Education. Chapter 6, 'A Neoliberal Life in Architectural Practice' discusses the intrinsic relationship architecture has with capital (its production of buildings, land value, development practices) and capital consumption (of the environment, resources and human labour, its own workforce) within a neoliberal society that encourages a profit-oriented entrepreneurial, corporate 'big business' philosophy at the higher echelon. It outlines some of the neoliberal effects on the professional, personal and societal life and wellbeing of women and men 'starchitects'.

PART 3, 'Work-life Balance in Architecture Beyond Neoliberalism' consists of three chapters. Chapter 7, 'The Sites of Neoliberal Architectural Labour: Work, Home, Everywhere' discusses where architectural labour has taken and takes place in the university, office and remotely. A balance of onsite and remote work can also offer positive areas for future change in the life work patterns of architectural workers at all career stages. Chapter 8, '24/7 Architectural Capitalism, No Time and No Sleep' centres on how the time and modes of production to produce and administer

architectural students and architecture for a global market operating 24/7 (Crary 2014) affect the architectural worker's wellbeing. Many architectural workers have suffered mental and physical health problems or death from overwork and so the culture of architecture work must change. The book concludes with Chapter 9 entitled 'Playing the Game of Life in Architecture beyond Neoliberalism'. It summarises the current game of playing out a life in architecture as discussed in previous chapters and reflects on Aristotle's notion of 'eudaimonia' in relation to long-term rather than short-term job and life satisfaction. In *The Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle (1947) argues that 'eudaimonia' is not about short-term pleasurable sensations, as 'liquid modernity' encourages contemporary society to believe but is the possible outcome of the totality of one's life, how we participate in life-in-full, across the private and public domains. This final chapter argues that if architects are to regain balance in their work life, the rules of the game in which they operate need revising in terms of architecture's relationship to neoliberalism.

The main purpose of the book is to encourage architects to make careful life choices for personal, societal, and environmental balance. It aims to challenge the dominant image of a 'successful' architectural life in the public domain as that of the architectural worker devoted entirely to work, consuming themselves and all around them. It asks deeper philosophical questions about what neoliberalism demands of the architectural 'self as enterprise' (Kelly 2006) versus the enterprise of the architect self. In order to do this, the next chapter will examine the relationship between identity formations in architecture to establish the current dominant models and patterns of architectural work-life to later consider them in relation to more diverse groups of people entering the profession. Those identity formations rely arguably, as Sara James (2017, p. 296.9) notes in *Making a Living, Making a Life*, on the choice to balance or not "fulfilment in work and love". The next chapter looks at the architect's dream to be solely in love with their work.

(9,987 words including 169 words as endnotes + 1,415 words for References)

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[1] While the phrase work-life balance continues to be used and is adopted here, it has arguably been debunked by 'work-family balance' (Frone 2003) or ''work-life harmony' (Ong and Jeyaraj 2014) or "work-life integration". While many writers on the subject abbreviate it to WLB, this research refrains from doing so because it is important to keep the word meanings present for the reader.

[2] Inspired by East Coast American student activist movements with which he became affiliated, the book was a departure from Harvey's earlier scholarship undertaken at the University of Cambridge that used traditional quantitative research methods in geography.

[3] This is because of the author's personal experience of having worked in a satellite campus of a UK based university between 2018 and 2020.

[4] Ironically, as the game became popular across college campuses, it lost its Georgian ambitions and turned into a game that improved the skills for profit making.

[5] Setbacks in the game include being robbed, losing money after a slump in the stock market, having to pay taxes etc.