

The (Im)possible University

Inaugural lecture at the LSE

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It's my honour to engage with you tonight about what it means to think, teach and learn in what we experience and imagine as the university. I believe in the idea of the university as a social congregation for enquiry, and of diligent and caring as much as unsettling routes to understanding. The university offers us the possibility of that rare space for a shift in consciousness: a precious and lively threshold for consideration and disagreement, which offers us ways of seeing, differently. In these perilous times, where the factional is given sovereign primacy over the mutual, our obligation is to a critical and curious engagement with the difficult world around us. We're under no illusions that such engagements, particularly amidst violent turmoil, are straightforward or uncontested. But how we retain space for dissensus is surely one of our most challenging and vital concerns. Let's start then with reasserting one elemental principle: the university is for peaceful protest and not policing. As we experience the interference in academic freedom and student voice, the university must be a place to stand against heinous violence: a space to call for an urgent ceasefire in Gaza, advocating against *en masse* civilian killings and the ensuing famine. It's a space to urge for the return of the hostages. It's a space to challenge the political instruments of administrative detention without trial. As a migration scholar, I view the university as a place to refuse the legitimisation of migrant death and incarceration. The British parliament's rejection of the substantive meaning of refuge in its approval of the punitive Rwanda Deportation Bill is shameful. In the university we learn by analysing the pernicious logics of the racial calculus that some lives are worth less. And we learn by exploring the tools for transformation.

I also believe that the university is a collective sphere, most vital when invested in as an interdependent ecosystem for learning in and across territories. My intellectual and creative capacity as a sociologist at LSE, is absolutely connected to that brilliant Sociology

department south of the river at Goldsmiths, where I have drawn so much inspiration and knowledge. Our potential is tied to the multiple places of adult learning across the UK and elsewhere, that are now under threat. The structural volatility that has been ushered into the UK tertiary education sector, undermines us all. Let's extend the principles further then: a university is for learning not indebtedness; for the distribution of different kinds of knowledge not hierarchies of ranking and resourcing; for sound employment not casualisation. This opens up two questions that I want to explore with you tonight. First, 'What does it mean to enter into the reciprocal contract of learning together?'; and second, 'What are the real costs of participating in the neo-liberal university as student and teacher?'. The first question rests on our imagination and our insistence of what a university is for. Tonight, I'd like to expand on the idea of the threshold as an invitation for optimism, and an unromantic and assertive claim to space. This is about the amplification of encounters that bolster the personal and collective practices of teaching and learning together, which is our ultimate commitment to one another. This alliance, this contract of careful and challenging pedagogy and research is the absolute pulse of the university, which cannot be marketised, and without which the university would have no meaning.

To situate this idea of the threshold, it's necessary to place the UK university sector in a political economy that largely determines its structure, in how universities are able to gather resources, contend with risks, and have any relation with social justice. I refer to a political economy of harm to locate the sector in relation to the profound impact of the withdrawal of state subsidies; to the systematised circuits of mounting student debt; to the diminishment of wages and stability; all resulting in hierarchies that undermine the interdependent ecosystem of tertiary education. Thinking about this political economy is core to understanding where we are, but it's also insufficient to the task of imagining of who we are, and how we proceed together. Each of us in this room is so much more than the reduction of an employee or a customer. The inquisitive composition of learning eludes the capture of extractive circuits, even while we proceed within them. The everyday making of the university through engaged research and teaching, transcends the confines of singular rankings and the valorisations of one subject area over another. The university's strength is in its interdependent plurality, and how the varied bits and pieces are cooperatively arranged. A fundamental insistence on a fair distribution of resources across this ecosystem,

and on the right to difference in our subject areas and in our classrooms, must be claimed each day. We know that it's exhausting to occupy this space when as a student your rent is rising as fast as your debt, when as a colleague your wage is slipping, or your contract hasn't been renewed yet.

Teaching and learning are personal and connected practices, and tonight I speak with you as a colleague, a trade unionist, a teacher, and invariably, a learner. I embody a complex history that spans a colonial web from South Africa to the UK, which undoubtedly shapes who I am and the extent of what I do and don't see, as much as my pedagogic commitments. Such commitments are rooted in how we draw relations between the everyday intricacies of life, the power formations that sort and subjugate us, and the collective possibilities of how we imagine our alternatives together. Before I turn to the idea of the threshold, I want to clarify that I'm a scholar of urban migration and social life, and not an intellectual expert on the university. But I live the university, as do so many of you and so to proceed I'm going to unashamedly draw on mind and soul, accompanied by an eclectic mix of secondary sources, to think about the prospect of our university ecosystem.

I turn now to the social and spatial idea of the threshold as a dynamic realm in which we purposefully enter into an encounter, in order to learn in ways that we can't anticipate at the outset. To begin, I go back to my first year as a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, colloquially known as Wits, in Johannesburg, South Africa. I want to share my first encounter with a threshold that substantially recalibrated my sense of who I am, and what I could or could not be.

The Threshold

In 1987, South Africa was immersed in the penultimate decade of apartheid. Every vestige of life was saturated with the violence and authority of racial order. Apartheid's deathly reach wound its way through enforced divisions with horrific cruelty and destruction. There was no hint back in South Africa in 1987, of any rupture to the state of emergency that had been declared by apartheid's rulers, nor of the first democratic elections that were to come in 1994. Instead, there was a shift in atmosphere, a volatile threshold being forcefully wrought

between the convictions of white domination, and the anti-racist insistence of a future free from racial punishment and premature black death. In this frenzied period, rattling from increasing pressures inside, outside, below and above, violence made its acute presence not simply in the innumerate horrors of each act nurtured by apartheid, but in the inevitability of those acts. Violence enrolled fear by establishing the certainty that it was coming for you, without disclosing the where or when. Racial discrimination was the basis of violation that provided that certainty.

My first inkling of this unpredictable threshold was in the early months as a student at Wits in the centre of Joburg. I had left the enclaved privilege of white suburbia that had been my home for seventeen years, to study architecture. This was something that accommodated my love for drawing, while apparently also securing the promise of what my father assured me would be 'a stable job'. There were many significant days of learning in that extended period from leaving home to getting a degree, but there's one day in particular that stands out above all others. It's a day I return to often, a day I recall over and over, as if to confirm the state of play as it was and is, and my role, or perhaps my non-role, in it. As I remember it, one day in 1987, Winnie Mandela came to our campus. The apartheid state had designated her as a banned person, a contradictory designation so cruel and ludicrous, it could only have been invented by a depraved sovereign imagination. Under this carceral designation, a person was unable to hold the company of more than one other person at a time, in order to suppress their public and political, and indeed personal, activity. The state-controlled media were prohibited from publishing the words of a banned person, and contravention of a banning order by a banned person carried the risk of a prison sentence.¹

When Winnie Mandela came to campus that day, she arrived in defiance of the banning edict, and in defiance of the state, and in defiance as a political embrace of autonomous alternatives. She was accompanied by a single companion, who made it clear that they were in fact maintaining a distance from the crowd of students who had gathered on the library lawns, thereby not technically contravening the banning order. At this point, we could see a number of armed police at a distance, a hundred meters or so back from the lawns where we were seated. The police were dressed in riot gear, and some had police dogs. Winnie Mandela did not have much time to speak, but speak she did. She raised her right fist, and

connected with the crowd through the assertion: 'Amandla!'. To which the crowd replied, 'Awethu!'. The call and answer claims: 'Power: It's ours'. Within minutes, possibly seconds, the police presence escalated, taking advantage of the upper terraces of the campus to rapidly descend on the crowds with teargas, batons and dogs. We held firm....And then we ran. We scrambled in any direction we could. I looked back to see someone being grabbed by the police. I ran towards the pristine modernist building that housed the architecture and planning school, stumbling up the steps and into the glass-fronted foyer. It was cool and silent. The inside had evaded the outside. I walked quickly towards the main lecture hall and opened the door. There, in raked formation, were orderly rows of students and a lecturer up front delivering a class. Normalcy prevailed. I called out, 'The police are outside, they're hurting people!' The lecturer looked at me blankly. Then clarified, 'and we are having a class on the history of architecture.' PAUSE. The lesson continued.

Now I realise that many of us in this room might well regard the Doric column as a good friend. And I'm all for the preserve of the classroom in troubled times. But the overwhelming majority of my education in the peak of Apartheid was characterised by a severance between history and politics; between learning a discipline and understanding the violent contextual reality which was everywhere round us.

Later that same day, we watched the news report on the state's South African Broad Casting Corporation from our university dormitory common room. The event was portrayed as a disruptive student protest that had necessitated police intervention to restore 'law and order'. Students were described as throwing stones and bricks, despite the obvious context of a manicured campus of concrete and lawns. For the second time that day I saw things differently, this time through the authority of the media and its presentation of a problem and a resolution entirely detached from what I had witnessed. I saw things that day I should have seen earlier and known about earlier, were it not for the contrived ignorance of a segregated, white, suburban existence. In the condensed moments of that day, I understood that there would always be a varied arrangement of people, commitments and representations in the face of violence. Some would be sufficiently curious to pitch up, some would risk everything in turning out, some would run and escape, others would be caught and punished. Many would elect to remain detached.

None of these positions are simply matters of choice. They are a state of play partly prescribed and maintained by the categories invented to create authority, division and the preservation of the status quo. The ongoing production of domination requires these categories and representations to secure privilege and normalcy alongside subjugation and crisis. I've come to think of that day on the library lawn as a threshold; a spatial and temporal interlude in which an interruption was sustained, for some momentary, for others, expansive. Thresholds are intervals between one realm and another, and can be apparently incidental, or shape a lifetime. They are a vital part of how our perceptions are shaped and how we interact with our context. Because thresholds work not only as a sequence but also as a disruption in a continuum, they have the capacity to linger long in our understanding of what we experience, who we think we are, and how we imagine going forward in a process of change.

We can conceive of the threshold as a breach of normalcy, a space between one realm and another where the possibilities for alternatives are expanded. Because inhabiting the threshold is essentially about being unsettled, it can only emerge through practice; the threshold has to be embodied to be understood. This is the essence, for example, of the picket line. It's a space that is composed by and exceeds the call to action, because it is only in showing up and showing up together, that the strike begins to embody both an immediate experience and longer culture of solidarity that is different to, if not separate from, bargaining power. The affect of shared recognition in that practice alters us in altering how we feel about each other and what we think we can achieve together, in ways that could arguably never happen through an email or a text message. Equally, this is also the essence of the classroom. It's a space that exceeds the dull limits of an online lecture or recording and our secrete compulsions to fast forward, check our phones, or post a cheeky comment in the chat. As one person asks a question in a physical classroom where we are in proximity with one another, another expresses an opinion, another gains an understanding of an opening, or even a social connection that might have everything or nothing to do with the course content. It's in showing up, and showing up together that the classroom, the picket line, the claim to space, accumulates a reciprocity and spontaneity that is irreplaceable. The vitality of this embodied learning is cultural and collective.

The next element of the threshold I want to raise with you is captured in the questions, 'What is it within a distinctive threshold experience that encourages us to shift from perception, to understanding, to action?'. 'What is it that allows us to link the analytic with the transformative?' Here it's important to consider the differences between transit and transition, between perception and consciousness. Here we move past the idea of a threshold as an individual experience of crossing, to think about thresholds as more social and political than singular or aesthetic. This made me think about one of my first classes here as a PhD student with David Frisby. In David's class we discussed Georg Simmel's articulation of the differences in the physical and metaphysical qualities between a bridge or a door located on a pathway. Simmel contended that the abstract visual symbolism of bridge and door culturally accumulates over time, so that these objects are able to signal to us the possibility of connection or separation.ⁱⁱ I'm intrigued by Simmel's idea that 'the door speaks', that it has 'intention'. But this made me question how we acknowledge a threshold as something neither quite stable nor quite verifiable, because a threshold is not always steadily located on a linear or coherent path between one realm and another. The very context around the threshold is frequently volatile, and this precarious condition is experienced more intensely by some than others.ⁱⁱⁱ Thresholds are located within a labyrinth of twists and turns, of avenues and cliff edges, that are comprised by the contortions of inequality and social sorting. The assumptions that there are consistent pathways or equal journeys through it, remains elusive, particularly for those designated with minority status and abject categorisation.

The idea of threshold I am probing at is evoked by Gayatri Spivak's articulation of 'the imaginary activism of entering another space'.^{iv} 'Entering another space' is a lively proposition that captures the tension and possibility of learning. Here, the threshold, the entering, the about-to-be, is one that is unpredictable, and connected to encountering, risking, reconsidering, and transforming, in relation to one another. We navigate it with courage for the pursuit of alternatives, and with mutual care for the journey together. This makes me think too about the age-old rites of passage of coming of age that many cultures enact to steer the transition from childhood to adulthood. These rites of passage claim an interval for cultural navigation between the depths of traditions and the uncertainties of the future. The passage is the carefully curated through a set of orientations for that unpredictable life journey, drawing in customary practices, spiritual invocations, the wisdom

of elders and ancestors, and the company of a cohort of contemporaries. The rite requires the attentive participation of mind, body and soul. Neither the passage nor the rite is reserved for human life forms; fledgling swifts strengthen their fortitude for a life in the air by doing press ups on their wings while in the nest. PAUSE (I love that image, and I love the arrival of the swifts in London at this time in May). Teaching in a university, I couldn't help but reflect on the significance of a time and space in which largely young adults congregate to shape a path of learning about self and subject, and world. Many of them are with us in their from home to a wider society. What is our duty to these young people in supporting them to proceed justly? How do we provide them with sufficient room to experience the fluidity of their minds, their bodies and their sexualities? How do we rally against the shrinking of this threshold, curtailed by the ludicrous war on woke, the tightening limits on academic freedom, and the pervasive expansion of the cost-of-living crisis?

The political economy of harm

Let me turn now to locating the classroom in the labyrinth of spaces that surround it, to briefly glance at the unfolding political economy of the neo-liberal university. Here I want to briefly touch on a few selected reference points on the uneven distributions of debt and investment; and the shared biography of our university ecosystem.

We need to go back to 2010, when following the *Brown Review*, the state took the elemental decision to raise the student fee cap on regulated fees from £3,000 to £9,000 per annum. The logic was twofold: to address an increasing shortfall in infrastructure costs and maintenance; and to redirect a significant portion of the fiscal responsibility of tertiary education onto the student. The new fee structure came into effect for the 2012-13 academic year, and was couched in the palliative language of a 'graduate contribution system'. Shortly after this in August 2016 the student maintenance grant for lower income families was scrapped, and replaced with a wider student loan system. The premise was that the entry to university would boost earnings and employability, through what is referred to as 'a graduate premium'.⁹ But as we have come to see, the notions of 'contribution' and of 'premium' have been overtaken by significant levels of student debt. [SLIDE 1: DEBT]. The notion of education as apparently available to all - through the entry into indebtedness - is accompanied by the

highly problematic assumptions around earnings as reasonably stable and well-dispersed across sectors and geographies. It further fails to anticipate the profound cost of living crises that have become the new norm.

Evidence from the US and elsewhere reveals that student indebtedness is an inequality machine that disproportionality reinforces existing inequalities, most notably in relation to 'race' and class. [SLIDE 2: RACE & DEBT]. In their research on 'predatory inclusion and education debt' Seamster and Charrin-Chénier show how debt needs to be understood in relation to households not simply individuals, because debt is accumulated across lifetimes and within family structures. In addition, they describe debt systems as predatory, whereby 'lenders and financial actors offer needed services to black households but on exploitative terms that limit or eliminate their long-term benefits.'^{vi}

This shift in emphasis from collective state support to individualised graduate responsibility embedded several aspects of restructuring across the tertiary education sector. The student debt deficit rapidly increased to significantly high levels in ways that would eliminate any notion of a graduate premium for many graduates. [SLIDE 3: UK STUDENT DEBT]. A 2023 House of Commons report on 'Student Loan Statistics'^{vii} clarified that, the average forecast debt burden for an English student starting a course in 2022-23 is £45,600 once the course is completed; in Scotland the debt is approximately a third. But what do these figures really mean in our wider systems of value? Comparatively, the average UK student debt in 2023 is reportedly significantly higher than the average US student debt of £29,500 (\$37,088).^{viii} To borrow phrase from the conservatives, we have 'world beating' student indebtedness.

For a tongue-in-cheek but nonetheless searing note [SLIDE 4: DEBT TO REF]: in the year from March 2022-23, when student loan interest rates were set higher than those of the Bank of England interest rates, the interest accrued on student loans swelled to £4.8bn, the highest annual total on record.^{ix} In comparison, state annual contributions to universities to support research via the REF mechanism was £2 billion: the value of research it seems was worth 40% of the value of student debt. [SLIDE 5: EXPENDITURE – FEE DEPENDENCY]. In coarse terms, the decrease in public sector expenditure on tertiary education is matched by the increase in the dependency on tuition fees for income.

In the growing bid to attract students, the period following the lifting of the cap on university fees in 2012 witnessed an unprecedented investment in campus infrastructure and

construction, and with it an accumulation of institutional debt to build at this magnitude. [SLIDE 6: HIGHER EDUCATION CONSTRUCTION]. Construction market data shows a dramatic spike in the Higher Education sector spending on construction with £8.8 billion-worth of projects initiated between 2014-2018. The industry analyst Glenigan notes that this is 'nearly as much as the cost of staging the 2012 Olympic Games'. In 2018, Glenigan confirmed 'there were nine HE institutions amongst the industry top 100 clients.'^x {SLIDE 7: STUDENT HOUSING CONSTRUCTION}. Recent construction industry reports from May this year further point to the construction boom in student accommodation, with contracts up by 34%. This while the 'Save the Student' site reveal how our students are struggling to meet the cost of living crisis, a crisis in which accommodation - whether university or private sector provision - is significantly the largest living expense. Anecdotally, our students report having to live further away in the attempt to find cheaper accommodation, but that the costs of time and transport make it difficult to come to campus, other than when absolutely necessary. In London, having a campus-oriented student life seems to have become a luxury.

It's also important to note that the boom in campus construction from which we may physically benefit, is not without material consequence. [SLIDE 8: FIONN STEVENSON]. Fionn Stevenson, Professor of sustainable design at the University of Sheffield clarifies: 'Over the past seven years, capital expenditure across the higher education sector has increased by 34.9 per cent, while staff expenditure has been cut by 1.9 per cent (*source: HESA*). For some time, universities in the UK have been in a race to the bottom to produce shinier, newer, more attractive individual buildings to attract students, believing that investing more in buildings (at the expense of investing in teaching staff) is the way to grow.'^{xi} In the same article in which Professor Stevenson is quoted, architects point to the possibilities of the adaptive reuse of space. They acknowledge too that despite the significant increases in university construction, campuses remain spatial resources that are relatively underutilised, given the limited time students and faculty spend on campus across a year.

[SLIDE 9: CASUALISATION;]. As the emphasis turned to the hard infrastructures of construction as well as the ongoing requirement to invest in infrastructures of technology, we witnessed a decrease in the soft infrastructures of people. [SLIDE 10: PRECARIOUS WORK IN HE]. The University and College Union identified marked increases in wage deflation of

staff across the Higher Education sector, and in outsourcing and casualisation. UCU research shows how wages have fallen by 25% in real terms since 2009. They highlight that a third of academic staff were on fixed term contracts, with a significant of those in research contracts. (HESA).^{xii}

[SLIDE 11: THE UNLEVEL PLAYING FIELD]. The research from 2021-22 UCU report on higher education income identifies an overall surplus in university resources. But what this research also points to is marked differentials in how HE institutions depend on student fees relative to other sources of income [SLIDE 12: HE FINANCE TOOL]. And herein enters further hierarchies in the resourcing system. In 2020-21 the Department of Education lifted the cap on student numbers, a cap that had regulated the number of places available in each respective institution, to encourage and maintain a spread of students across the ecosystem of tertiary education. Some, in the sector like UUK, argued against the cap, advocating that students should have more choice. But it has effectively accommodated far more volatility in the sector, with many great institutions losing out on the vital predictability of relative numbers of students. [SLIDE 13: ASSETS AND ENDOWMENTS]. So we turn the competitive space of highly differential relations in university assets, liabilities and alternative sources of income, such as endowments. The first risk is the uneven circuit of differential resourcing across and within universities. Another risk is the real power of external influence on the part of donors as we've seen recently on campuses across the US where donors exerting considerable influence on universities with distinctly adverse effects. And while endowment bodes well for science and engineering, we've yet to find that sociology graduate out there with a penchant for critical theory, who's inclined to donate copious sums to a Sociology Department. PAUSE (you know where to get hold of me if you have a good lead though).

As we turn to the differentials between regulated undergraduate fees for home students and unregulated postgraduate fees, the competition for post-graduate and international students grows. These wonderful students bring the gift of an array of perspectives and knowledge, but fall prey to hostile border logics that seek to extract their income while failing to value their differences.

In the relatively short period of just over a decade the ecosystem of tertiary education is unravelling in favour of a marketised project sustained by debt, and by an entirely unlevel playing field of resourcing that will see not only precious subject areas, but also vital and necessary institutions, be cast to the wayside. [SLIDE 14: ECOSYSTEM] If ever there was an argument for a meaningful levelling up to be had, it would surely be in the prospect of a vitally constituted, regionally distributed ecosystem that sustains our capacities to think, teach and learn. [SLIDE 15: EDUCATION ACROSS THE UK] There are few forms of meaningful provisioning and employment in the UK that have a regional capacity for multi-centred distribution. Tertiary education is one of them, the NHS is another. The slide is illustrative and of course value is not reducible to pounds, but extends to the vitalities of work, jobs and services through which we are enriched.

What is a university?

In closing I return to the question, 'What is a university for?' It's not easy in our iniquitous milieu to consider how we work with a damaged university sector, and how we might do so in ways that are mutual and not factional. We continue to fight for a different model of how tertiary education is valued and funded. We continue to claim the university as our space where congregate to learn about self, subject and world. The congregation is nothing if it's not reciprocal, an amalgam of the personal and the collective, and an insistence on co-presence. Our claim to the threshold is a claim to learning as a precious shift in consciousness, or as Spivak has it, that vital invitation to enter into another space. In a School of Social Sciences, in a Department of Sociology, this space is forged through critical and grounded learning; through a close scrutiny of power relations in the text, in the classroom and in the world around us. The labyrinth enveloping the threshold means we are differentially positioned and scrutinised, so that this is neither an even place nor journey. In navigating it I have made friendships, I've made mistakes, I've been frustrated, but most significantly, I've been sustained by the extraordinary capacity of my colleagues and our students, and by the occasions of our solidarity. The threshold is illusive, and can only be maintained by reading together, debating, disagreeing, listening, organising. The threshold is our place to claim, for our intellectual vitality and mutual regard.

Thank you.

ⁱ Banning orders were utilised as an instrument of suppression by the apartheid government...

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_people_subject_to_banning_orders_under_apartheid

ⁱⁱ Georg Simmel, "Bridge and Door," *Theory, Culture & Society* 11, no. 1 (1994): 5-10.

ⁱⁱⁱ Simmel, "Bridge and Door", 9.

^{iv} Gayarti Spivak, "A Conversation with Gayarti Spivak and Ilan Pappé," *Exeter Decolonising Network*, 26 May, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aDK0z71ECeI>

^v Student maintenance grants abolished in England, Turn2us, <https://www.turn2us.org.uk/about-us/news-and-media/latest-news/student-maintenance-grants-abolished-in-england#:~:text=Previously%2C%20students%20from%20families%20with,university%20boosts%20employability%20and%20earnings>

^{vi} Seamster, Louise, and Raphaël Charron-Chénier. "Predatory inclusion and education debt: Rethinking the racial wealth gap." *Social Currents* 4, no. 3 (2017): 199-207 (page 199).

^{vii} 'Student Loan Statistics', House of Commons briefing, 2023,

<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN01079/SN01079.pdf>.

^{viii} Hanson, Melanie (2024) 'Student Loan Debt Statistics', Education Data Initiative:

[https://educationdata.org/student-loan-debt-statistics#:~:text=43.2%20million%20borrowers%20have%20federal,financial%20quarter%20\(2021%20Q4\).](https://educationdata.org/student-loan-debt-statistics#:~:text=43.2%20million%20borrowers%20have%20federal,financial%20quarter%20(2021%20Q4).)

^{ix} The Guardian 2023: [https://www.theguardian.com/money/2023/apr/25/record-48bn-interest-](https://www.theguardian.com/money/2023/apr/25/record-48bn-interest-added-to-student-debt-in-britain-last-year#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20latest%20snapshot,highest%20annual%20total%20on%20r)

[added-to-student-debt-in-britain-last-year#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20latest%20snapshot,highest%20annual%20total%20on%20record.](https://www.theguardian.com/money/2023/apr/25/record-48bn-interest-added-to-student-debt-in-britain-last-year#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20latest%20snapshot,highest%20annual%20total%20on%20record.)

^x <https://www.glenigan.com/higher-education-construction-spending/>

^{xi} <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/has-the-university-building-gold-rush-run-its-course>

^{xii} <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/news/17-01-2023/sb264-higher-education-staff-statistics>