

**The Nature of a Public University Campus:
Evolving Landscapes and Ideologies, 1956-2012**

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ABSTRACT

Nature is a contested concept, reflecting ideologies that influence the way we think about and shape our landscapes. I examined how campus planners at the University of California, Berkeley, have projected their ideologies of nature onto the campus landscape during the postwar period, and how ideologies of nature have interacted with the institutional narratives of the university's planning office and the broader political economy. I analyzed maps from university planning documents and conducted interviews with campus planners. I found that campus planners moved from a dualistic vision of nature in the 1950s and 60s to an integrated one by the 1990s and 2000s. The boom in student enrollment in the immediate postwar period presented novel challenges to campus planners. Social unrest in the 1960s led to more vigorous incorporation of public comment and environmental law into the planning process during the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, campus planners have used ideas of nature as resources to promote spaces of campus heritage and profitability. Ultimately, nature is a reflection of our own culture and way of knowing. The nature that we imagine through the planning process says as much about nature as it does about ourselves.

KEYWORDS

Long range development plan; nature discourse; social construction of nature; University of California, Berkeley campus; urban planning

INTRODUCTION

Ideologically contested visions of nature (Demerit 2001) shape and are affected by our interactions with the lived environment (Castree 2001). Planners, who possess exceptional powers to affect social norms of the lived environment (Lefebvre 1991), frame nature as a commoditized and interchangeable good (Cowell 2000, Robertson 2000) in order to justify their development goals (Whatmore and Boucher 1993, Harrison and Burgess 1994, Linros and Hallin 2001). As a result, planning represents the vision of a select few and tends to create homogenous spaces that permit a narrow range of acceptable uses and embed a commoditized conception of nature into the lived environment (Lefebvre 1991).

Public space on a university campus is subject to control by planners, underscoring a contested vision of campus landscapes in which the campus landscape may represent the ideals of a free and educated society (Halsband 2005) emphasizing open access, diversity, and dialogue (Christ 2005), or reproduce capitalist structures such as hierarchy, exclusion, and repression (McCleod 1994). Though critiques of the planning process exist with regard to its obliviousness to power dynamics (Richardson 1996) and treatment of nature (Healey and Shaw 1994, Hillier 1997), no critique of the planning process on a university campus exists with regards to the ways in which planners conceptualize nature and the environment. How these disparate readings of the campus landscape provide a commentary on the ideological contestation of nature is unknown.

The University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) is a campus where planning and the environment collide. Conventional narratives of the campus environment (Charbonneau 2000, Purcell et al 2007) and campus planning history exist. However, these narratives lack a critical view of the relationship between nature ideology and planning praxis on campus.

This leads to the questions: 1) In what ways have ideologies of nature influenced planning praxis on the UC Berkeley campus since the mid-twentieth century? 2) How can maps, interviews, and other planning documents reveal prevailing ideas about nature from the time periods in which they were produced? 3) How do maps and planners manifest these ideas? and, 4) how have ideas about nature on campus interplayed with wider notions of public open space and the relationship between humans and the environment?

CAMPUS BACKGROUND

The University of California, Berkeley campus is situated in a specific time and place in history. The campus's current location in the East San Francisco Bay region is the site of more than 3,000 years of continuous human land use (Wollenberg 2008). The arrival of the university marks only the past 140 years. Though the university's tenure on this land marks less than 5% of this period of continuous interaction with the environment, the physical modifications to the land have been unparalleled.

The campus landscape has developed along two enduring design premises: the preservation of Strawberry Creek and an east-west axis aligned with the Golden Gate, the mouth of the San Francisco Bay. Frederick Law Olmsted's original plan for the campus first expressed this desire to utilize the dramatic view of the bay and natural setting of the creek, which typified the romantic English landscape design ethic of the time. By the turn of the century, architect John Galen Howard and university benefactress Phoebe Apperson Hearst initiated a neoclassical plan that, while retaining Olmsted's creek and axis, signaled a significant departure from Olmsted's more natural plan. The Hearst-Howard plan sought to make Berkeley an "Athens west" (Brechin 2008), and drew upon the Chicago World's Fair for inspiration, including the Great White City that came to symbolize American progress (Cronon 1992).

By the 1930s, the university had expanded its highly ordered, classical motif to its logical extreme. Memorial stadium, completed in 1928, sat astride both the creek and Hayward Fault, in a projection of modern hubris over the natural environment. Within a few years, the Radiation (later renamed Lawrence Berkeley) Laboratory's cyclotron was completed in the hills overlooking campus, crowning Olmsted's original east-west axis with a harbinger of the modern nuclear era to come (Brechin 2008). Both the cyclotron and the stadium stood as symbols of human mastery over nature, from minute elemental particles to earth's tectonic plates.

By the 1930s another change had taken place in the campus planning process. Rather than depending on the caprices of individual, heroic personalities, the university began to bureaucratize the planning process, depending on large planning departments instead. These conditions of a bureaucratized planning process and an ethic of mastery over the environment heavily influenced the planning that took place in the postwar era.

METHODS

I had two primary sources of information: maps from planning documents and campus planners, who I interviewed. I used two different methodologies for each type of information; to interpret the maps I used a textual analysis; to summarize my interviews with planners I wrote a condensed transcript of the conversation.

Maps

I analyzed maps by looking for an implied subtext that exists within the map itself. The maps I used all came from the four Long Range Development Plans (LRDPs) that the university has released since 1956, all of which intended to project long term growth of the campus. I analyzed each map using the ten codes found in Denis Wood's *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (2010). Included among these codes are five codes of intrasignification (Table 1), which operate at the level of the map, and five codes of extrasignification (Table 2), which operate at the level of society. I have analyzed a map from the 1956 LRDP using this method as an example (Fig. 1).

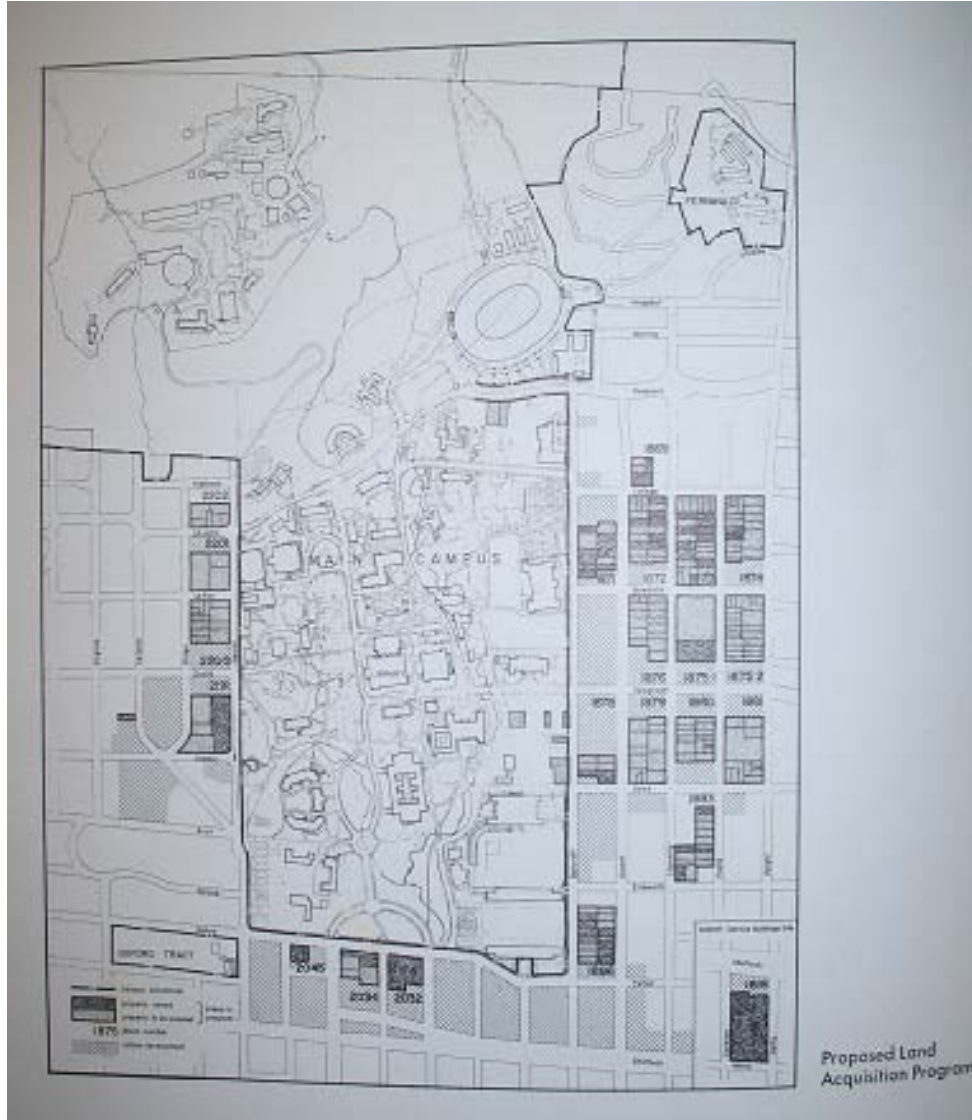


Figure 1. "Proposed Land Acquisition Program." (1956 LRDP)

Table 1. Codes of Intrasignification in "Proposed Land Acquisition Program" (1956 LRDP)

Intrasignificant Codes (codes of internal meaning)	
Iconic – what are the objects to which the map is referring?	Land to be purchased by UC Berkeley
Linguistic – what words does the map use?	Street names, block numbers, "main campus", "library," "oxford tract," "fernwald"
Tectonic – what kind of projection does the map use?	Map aligned with city streets; East is up; visible footprint for all UC buildings
Temporal – when is the map? Does it have a timeframe?	The present of 1956
Presentational – how does the map create a coherent story with all of the elements taken together?	Campus planning map shows built landscape of UC properties while properties to be acquired lack definition beyond blocks and lot shapes (buildings vs empty? lots)

Table 2. Codes of Extrasignification in “Proposed Land Acquisition Program” (1956 LRDP)

Extrasignificant Codes (codes of external meaning)	
Thematic – what the map create a story about?	UC Berkeley physical expansion into the city of Berkeley
Topic – which socially recognized places does the map refer to?	UC Berkeley central campus, UC satellite properties, the city of Berkeley
Historical – during which socially established time period does this map take place?	Period of campus expansion in preparation for increasing demand for college education
Rhetorical – what tools does the map use to make its point?	authoritative; teleological (land to be acquired encircled with heavy line and adjoins owned property)
Utilitarian – to what end will this map be employed in the real world?	inevitability/necessity of campus growth beyond borders of central campus; UC Berkeley should and will expand beyond its campus boundaries

The codes of intrasignification give the map internal coherency by establishing a subject (iconic), utilizing language (linguistic), representing a 3-d object in a 2-d plane (tectonic), creating a timeframe (temporal), and making a coherent connection between each of these elements (presentational) (Wood et al. 2010). The codes of extrasignification served to conscientiously place the map within the context of its makers, its audience, and the world in which it functions (Wood et al. 2010). Extrasignificant codes set a topic of discourse (thematic), create a sense of place (topic), situate the map within a wider context of events (historical), allow the map to be used as an argumentative tool (rhetorical), and ultimately allow the map to serve a role in society at large (utilitarian). I did not confine myself to just the map image; I also used the “perimap,” or words and images of the LRDP adjacent to my map of interest to conduct my analysis (Wood et al. 2010). After coding each map in the LRDP, I tried to generalize how the subtextual arguments of the maps made statements about nature and the campus.

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with planners and used snowball sampling to find additional potential interviewees. I very broadly defined a planner as anybody who had participated in the planning process on the UC Berkeley campus in some way. As a result of this broad definition, I interviewed faculty and staff in addition to full-time planners and architects. I used a loose script (Appendix A1), maintaining as conversational of a tone as possible. After

each interview, I summarized the audio recording and synthesized the interviewees' responses into a general stance on each of the questions in my script.

Synthesis and Additional Documents

Rather than using a linear process to gather information from maps and planners, I used a more circular method of constant revision and synthesis, combining my findings from both maps and interviews to inform one another. For example, I might bring up a particularly interesting finding from a map during an interview, or a response from an interview might help shed more light upon some of the context behind planning decisions expressed in maps, such as the preservation of the campus's axial glade. I also looked at planning documents beyond the scope of the LRDP maps (Appendix A2) and incorporated them in a similar fashion to constantly bring in a new perspective on each inquiry I made. In so doing, I experienced an organic process of knowledge growth during this project, in which each new thing I learned came in the context of everything I had learned previously, and shifted the perspective with which I approached new information in the future.

FINDINGS

1956 LRDP

Maps from the 1956 LRDP show a nature that is distinct from humans, threatened by development, and composed of historical artifacts.

The full color map attached to the 1956 LRDP illustrates the duality between the built environment and the campus landscape. Buildings, paths, and roads come in colors of high contrast compared to the tree canopy, grass lawns, and the creek (Fig. 2). Additionally, the buildings come in strong rectilinear shapes, whereas the tree canopy and creek have rounded, sinuous forms (Fig. 2). These contrasts of color and form express the duality between buildings and the environment in this plan.

People, in addition to buildings, maintain a dualistic relationship with the environment. The plan's key draws parallels between people and cars; rectilinear walkways and "gathering

places” are for people while rectilinear roads and parking lots are for cars (Fig. 3). These places of congregation for people and automobiles are clearly demarcated from areas of grass lawns or the creek, implying that humans are more similar to automobiles and are more a part of the built environment than the natural environment (Fig. 2). Through the key, the plan places humans and cars as having more in common with one another than trees, lawns, or streams, creating a clear duality between that which is human (pavement, buildings, and cars) and that which is natural (fields, trees, and the creek).

Not only is nature something distinct from the built environment, nature is also something inherently at odds with and opposed to the built environment. Nature and the built environment occupy clearly delineated spaces, and no space is both built and natural. Paths and roads box in natural areas, delineating geometric patches of lawn (Fig. 2). Recognizing the oppositional nature of the built environment and the campus landscape, planners decided to limit the amount of development on campus, thus preserving open spaces. The 1956 LRDP states:

“Building density (amount of land covered by buildings) now approximates 20% of central campus land. It is proposed to limit building density at 25% of this land. Certain areas, including Strawberry Creek, the Central Glade, the Eucalyptus Grove, Observatory Hill, and Faculty Glade, are to be retained in their natural state.”

This preservation of open spaces on campus also made special note of areas on campus of particular historical or cultural importance to the university. In so doing, the plan preserves areas of campus associated with the founding mythology that the campus was once an area of wilderness. These areas are kept in their “natural state,” implying that these wooded areas were perpetually in a state of wilderness. These places are often clusters of trees, such as Founders’ Rock (Fig. 4), Observatory Hill (Fig. 5), and the Eucalyptus Grove (Fig. 6). The 1956 LRDP treats nature as an object that is not only distinct from the built environment, but also as something that is threatened by and protected from development.



Figure 2. The classical core of campus. Excerpt from the Long Range Development for the Berkeley Campus, University of California (1956).

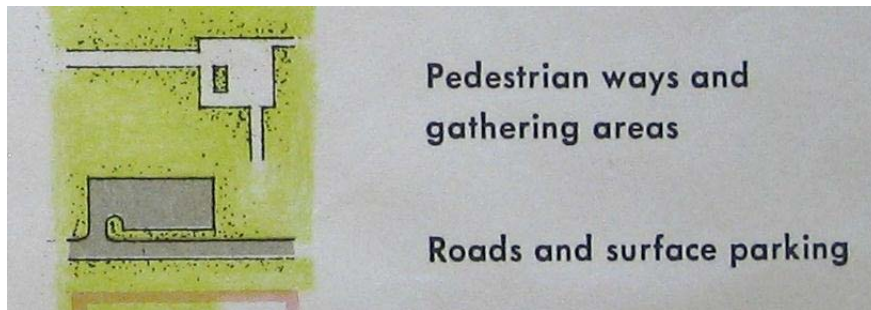


Figure 3. 1956 LRDP key. Note the parallel between spaces intended for moving/stationary humans and moving/stationary automobiles. Excerpt from the Long Range Development for the Berkeley Campus, University of California (1956).



Figures 4-6 (left to right). Founders' Rock, Observatory Hill, and the Eucalyptus Grove. Excerpts from the Long Range Development for the Berkeley Campus, University of California (1956).

1962 LRDP

The 1962 LRDP did not represent a radical departure from the 1956 LRDP. Central to the 1962 LRDP's conception of nature is still the idea of duality, much like the 1956 LRDP. However, the 1962 LRDP sets forth a plan of increasing building density and accommodating the needs of cars of campus. This plan unceremoniously jettisons the self-imposed 25% building density limit established in the 1956 LRDP, opting instead to develop previously protected areas of campus, such as the axial glade with a new library and math building (Fig. 7). The siting of these buildings on top of the axial glade established by Olmsted and Howard represents a victory of utility over aesthetics. This victory for utility reveals something of the logic of preservation; if something is being preserved it is inherently threatened, and in this case the threat of development overcame any preservationist safeguards in place. Another example of increasing development pressure since the release of the 1956 LRDP is the doubled estimate for the necessary number of parking spaces, which rises from 6,000 to 12,000 spaces on and around central campus.

Both of these differences from the previous plan are natural extensions of the conceptions of nature established in the 1956 plan. Both plans conceive of nature as inherently at odds with development. While this was manifested through a preservationist ethic in the 1956 LRDP, the 1962 LRDP exchanges preservation for increased building density in a zero sum game in which environmental preservation is pitted against development. This process of land-use intensification falls in line with a dualistic conception of nature and human-modified landscapes, in which one must necessarily be sacrificed to have the other.

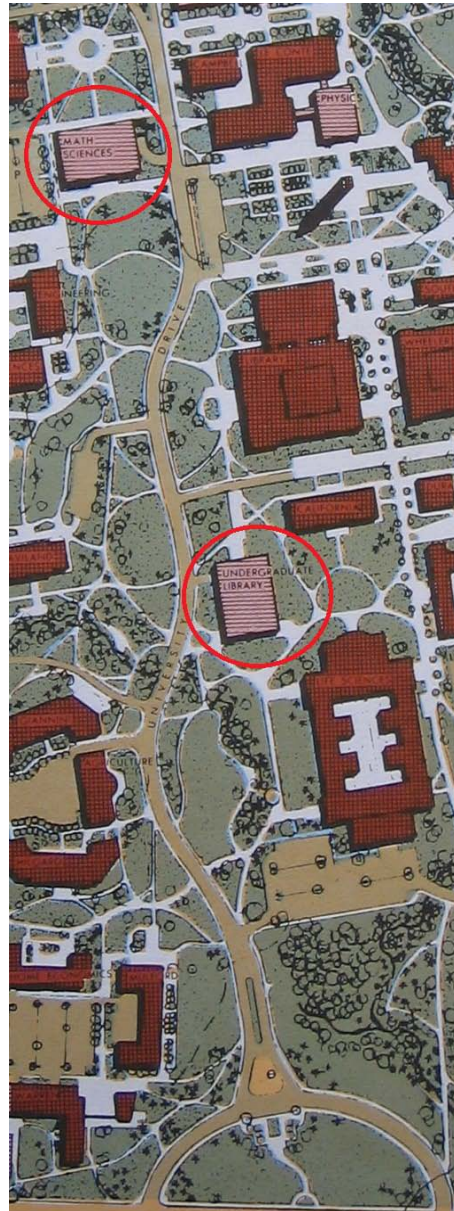


Figure 7. Axial glade. Red circles added. Undergraduate library (later Moffitt) and Math/Sciences building (later Evans) are sited within the axial east-west glade that aligns with the Golden Gate. This axis is completed to the east (above the top of the map) by the cyclotron in the Berkeley Hills. Excerpt from the Long Range Development Plan (1962).

1990 LRDP

By the time of the publication of the 1990 LRDP, 28 years had passed since the last development plan. As such, a shift in ideas of nature had occurred in that time. While still embracing the notion of a dualistic relationship between people and the environment, the 1990 plan tempers this idea by bring nature into the realm of human control and development.

The dualistic view of nature manifests itself through a clearly articulated policy of leaving portions of the creek as “natural areas” (Fig. 9). These natural areas act as mini-preserves, reinforcing the dualistic notion that a lack human intervention with an environment makes it more a part of nature. However, the 1990 plan carries with it a more nuanced, ecologically-bent understanding of these spaces, which the plan proclaims are “characterized by native vegetation and naturalized species forming dense woodlands.”

In addition to this more ecologically-minded dualism, the 1990 plan also provides an increased recognition of social interaction in the campus landscape. The plan vows to enhance the “park-like setting of the campus, not only in aesthetic terms, but as a living system and educational resource.” A novel use of campus space includes creating outdoor spaces that help the university achieve its mission of education (Fig. 10). Additionally, the glade restoration falls in line with the plan’s dedication to providing an open space amenity to the wider campus community (Fig. 8).

In spite of these modifications, the plan maintains a basic premise of duality with nature, as well as an amenity to the greater community.

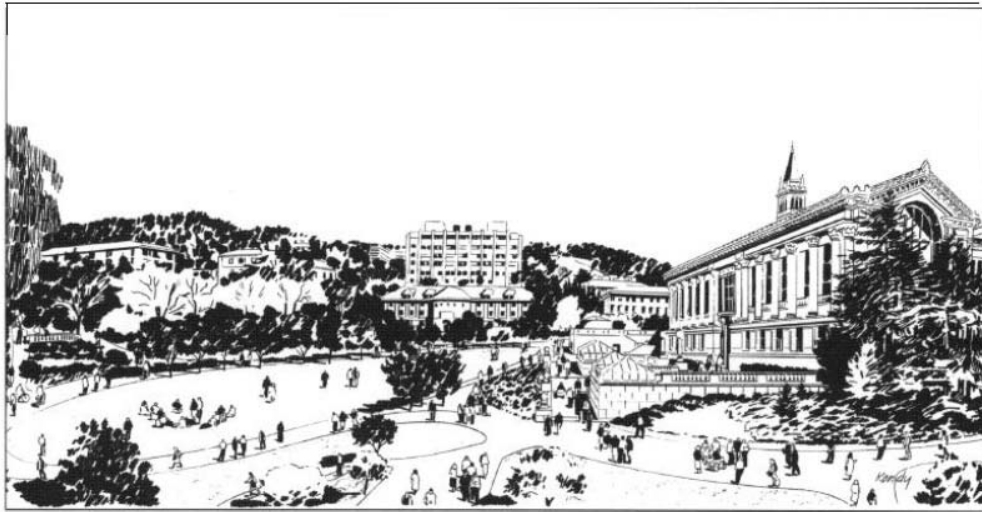


Figure 8. “Suggested Central Glade Restoration.” Excerpt from the University of California at Berkeley Long Range Development Plan 1990-2005.

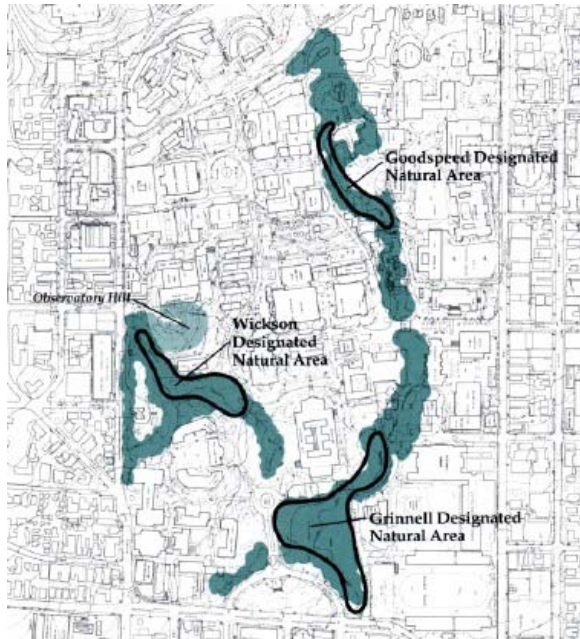


Figure 9. “Central Campus Park Designated Natural Areas.” Protected areas are contained by the heavy black line. This map argues for both the existence and protection of natural spaces on campus. Excerpt from the University of California at Berkeley Long Range Development Plan 1990-2005.

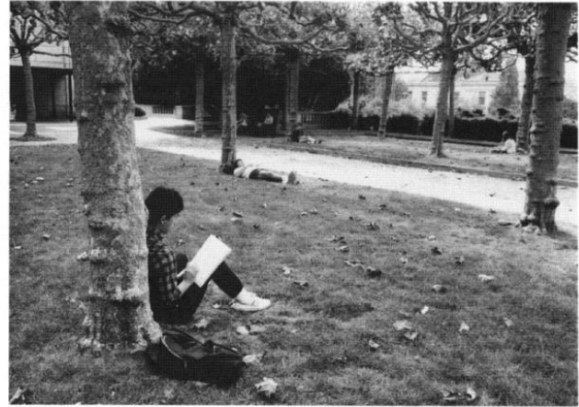


Figure 10. Students studying on the Campanile esplanade. Excerpt from the University of California at Berkeley Long Range Development Plan 1990-2005.

2020 LRDP

The 2020 LRDP (published in 2005), like the 1990 LRDP, continues the trend of moving away from a dualistic construction of nature, and instead embraces the idea of a “synergistic” relationship between the built environment and the landscape. The result of this new paradigm is the further intensification of land use on campus. While continuing to preserve open spaces like in past plans, the 2020 LRDP also focuses on assimilating the landscape into an extension of the built environment in the service of educational goals.

The 2020 LRDP proscribes a program of preservation unlike that of any past plan. While the 1990 LRDP focused on specific portions of Strawberry Creek, the 2020 LRDP lays out a typology of landscape types for preservation that goes beyond ecology (Fig.11). The 2020 LRDP considers the Campanile esplanade as much a priority for preservation as the creek. This equivalence between natural creek spaces and formal built spaces shows a desire to preserve the nature of campus in the sense of an essential character, and not just the physical landscape itself.

In addition to altering the basic rationale for preservation, the 2020 LRDP builds on the idea of synergy by embracing “places of interaction” and continuing the treatment of campus as a multi-use community amenity. Places of interaction are outdoor spaces that foster social interaction near buildings, extending social spaces and creating continuity between buildings and their immediate grounds (Fig. 12). The 2020 LRDP envisions a total of thirteen places of interaction sprinkled across campus.

Finally, the 2020 LRDP continues the 1990 LRDP’s framing of the campus grounds as an amenity to the greater community. This amenity is multi-faced, providing a park-like open space to the urban East Bay, as well as furnishing an outdoor classroom for the university (Fig. 13).

The 2020 LRDP continues trends from the 1990 LRDP of finding new uses for the landscape, while also modifying the preservationist policies found in the 1956 and 1962 LRDPs.

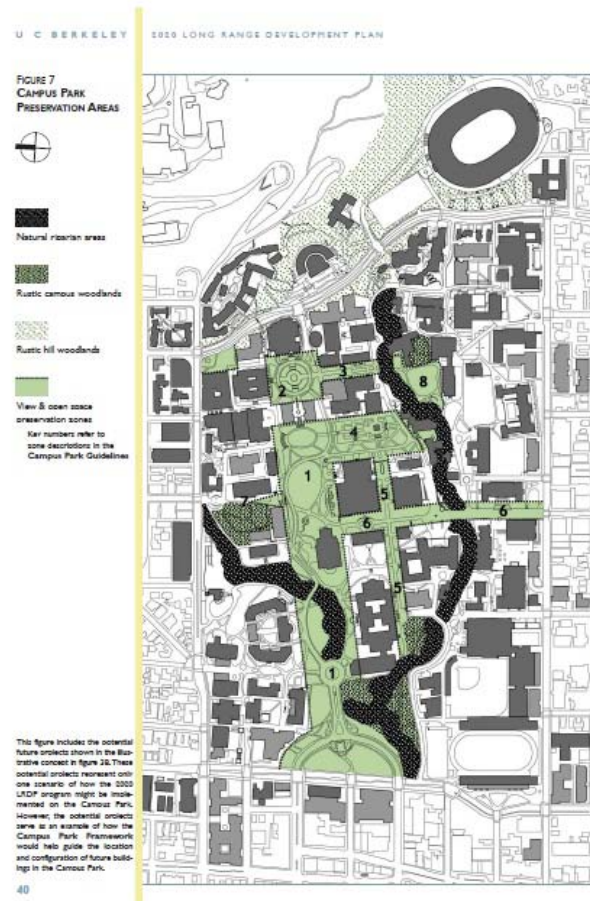


Figure 11. “Campus Park Preservation Areas.” Note that “natural,” “rustic,” and “open” spaces have been segregated by a typology. From the 2020 Long Range Development Plan.



Concept: Wellman Courtyard is transformed into a social place and sculpture garden, framed by a double arc of trees and the magnificent buildings of the Agriculture Complex.

Figure 12. Concept drawing of Wellman Courtyard. This illustration depicts the courtyard as a place of interaction. From the 2020 Long Range Development Plan.



CLASS IN THE CENTRAL GLADES

Figure 13. "Class in the Central Glades." The 2020 LRDP emphasizes the importance of utilizing the landscape for social interaction and education. From the 2020 Long Range Development Plan.

Interviews

My interviews with campus planners, broadly defined as the group of people who participate in planning on the UC Berkeley campus, yielded diverse definitions of nature and visions of campus. Definitions of nature ranged from the experiential to the physical to the historical, while visions of campus tended to embrace the university's mission, though interpretations of that mission and the best way to support it varied.

The majority of definitions of nature I got centered upon the physical world in a state that had not been manipulated by human beings. This definition included living things and their physical environments, undisturbed by humans. This definition caused problems with some interviewees, who also recognized that, according to this definition, very little nature exists due to the global scale of human environmental impact. Interviewees responded to this conundrum in several ways. One way around this problem was to introduce a more relativistic definition, making some places more natural than others. This allowed the interviewee to create a spectrum of places they considered natural, with National Parks often at the top of the list, urban parks like the East Bay Regional Park District in an intermediary, and urban areas like downtown Oakland at the opposite end. While saying that Yosemite is more a part of nature than San Francisco Chinatown spatially grounds a relativistic definition of nature, planners also used temporal distinctions to create a similar relativistic spectrum. On this spectrum, industrialization marks an important change in humanity's capacity to alter landscapes from natural to manmade. Some

planners cited a pre-industrial time in history that they considered to be more natural, such as when Ohlone tribes inhabited the San Francisco Bay Area or the era immediately after the most previous glaciation.

Another interesting way that planners defined nature was experientially. Both campus landscape architect Jim Horner and environmental planner Jennifer McDougall gave definitions of nature that were situated in the experiences of the individual, making a precise definition almost ineffable and understandable only through a sense of intuition transcendent of logic. This definition bore with it a sense of romanticism and essentialism, and the planners believed in an experiential definition of nature were also the most willing interviewees to say that nature exists on the Berkeley campus.

The ways that planners interwove definitions of nature with the way they think about campus also varied greatly. In general however, planners tended to imagine the campus landscape in support of the mission of the university. How the campus intersected with the university's mission was different for each respondent. Some were of the opinion that natural features in the landscape have both an intrinsic value and value as an open space resource.

Some planners interpreted the university mission as providing a safe learning environment. Creating a safe learning environment meant that nature could provide either a source of inspiration or a safety hazard. Environmental protection specialist Tim Pine stated that overgrown areas of campus in the past had created havens for a transient population, elements of which engaged in opportunistic crimes on the campus. In contrast, assistant vice chancellor Emily Marthinsen said that she believed that the natural campus landscape helps inspire intellectual creativity. McDougall took a similar stance, formulating safe space on campus not just in terms of public safety, but also in terms of a space where controversial dialogues can take place while remaining civil. McDougall extended this idea to include other ideals that the university should represent and embed into its landscape; that the university should practice the intellectual ideals that it teaches and serve as a physical manifestation of our society's best values, which might include appreciating the intrinsic value of nature.

In all, planners embraced a wide range of views of nature, the most notable being physical descriptions of what humans have not altered and emotional descriptions of how individuals experience nature. Despite this wide range of nature definitions, planners generally embraced the idea that the UC Berkeley campus is and should be in line with wider goals of

higher education, such as fostering safe spaces that allow intellectual and academic pursuits to flourish.

DISCUSSION

Throughout the postwar era and into the millennium, planners grappled with meeting the growth needs of the university. Projections of the size of the student body have increased with each reissue of the LRDP (Table 3).

Table 3. Projected student body sizes by LRDP release year.

Year of LRDP release	Projected maximum student body
1956	25,000
1962	27,500
1990	30,000
2005	33,450

This relentless growth created conflict between development and preservation, which entered into a zero-sum game with one another for the limited land on campus. While early plans from the immediate postwar period tried to grapple with this problem by limiting growth, the most recent plan “synergizes” development with preservation, loosening the definition of preservation in order to aid development.

I found that ways of thinking about growth as either antagonistic towards or synergistic with preservation cleaved nicely into two time periods: 1956-1980 and 1981-2012. I chose 1981 as the tipping point because it is the year that planners began making preparations for the 1990 LRDP, a radically different document from the one produced in 1962 for several reasons: 1) the planning process incorporated new processes of public comment and environmental regulation compliance, 2) a large turnover in planning staff, and 3) the campus had run out of space for new buildings. The resulting two eras differ substantially in the ways they approach ideas of nature as well as development on campus.

Development vs. preservation antagonism (1956-1980)

During no other period is the perceived necessity of growth more apparent. After experiencing the enrollment shock of returned GIs following World War II, the university made

plans to prepare for the corresponding spike in enrollment due to the baby boom. As a result, growth took on the form of aggressive expansion, both on and off campus (Fig. 1). Planners had to confront head-on the quandary of how to maintain the campus character set down by Olmsted and Howard, while also providing for the needs of a growing student body. Systematic, bureaucratic, and rational planning was the response to the haphazard and slapdash growth that occurred in the immediate postwar years.

Planners sought to deal with the conflict between preservation and development by enacting a 25% building density limit in 1956. Within six years this policy became obsolete as the university's growth needs trumped preservation. Landscape architect Thomas Church's notes reveal the difficult compromise between preservation and development, who lamented the necessity of pavement on the car-centric campus over pleasant grass lawns.

The exceptions to this period of growth are the open areas of campus that bear some cultural or historical significance to the character and identity of UC Berkeley the campus and UC Berkeley the institution. These places include Founders' Rock, Faculty Glade, Observatory Hill, the Eucalyptus Grove, and Strawberry Creek. The idea that certain spots in the landscape serve as a direct link to the university's past differentiate them from the rest of campus that was readily modified and paved over. The intrinsic value of these spaces stands in contrast to rest of campus spaces.

Development subsumes preservation (1981-2012)

By the 1980s, building on campus had reached near a completed state as outlined in the 1962 LRDP. New ideas about democratizing the planning process and making environmental considerations made their way into the 1990 LRDP. As a result, planners had to contend with an increased accountability to the stakeholders in their planning decisions. Additionally, the university had to prepare environmental impact reports (EIRs) to comply with state and federal environmental laws.

However, the university still found itself in a growth-oriented mode of development. Even though the university had exhausted nearly all of its potential building sites on campus by the early 1980s, development evolved into a process of intensification, repurposing or replacing buildings and open spaces.

By the late 1980s, Strawberry Creek had fallen into disrepair after decades of what Bob Charbonneau describes as “benign neglect.” Charbonneau made an appeal to the campus leadership to commit resources to repairing the creek, on the basis that the creek was an important symbol of campus identity. Charbonneau got the go-ahead to protect the creek from the campus’s aging sewage infrastructure.

Today, planners view the campus as an integrated whole, consisting of a park-like landscape filled with culturally significant buildings. This integrated whole landscape serves the university’s narrowly defined mission of education and research.

As UC Berkeley finds its financial situation increasingly similar to that of a private institution, the need to earn and maintain prestige becomes paramount, and places of emotional attachment to alumni, a considerable source of donated funds, gain a monetary value that the campus leadership can comprehend. Places such as the Eucalyptus Grove, Faculty Glade, and Memorial benefit from their iconicity with donors to the university. Otherwise, in this environment of funding difficulties, the landscape is an easy target of cuts. The prioritization for preservation of the only the most valuable places on campus is a result.

Lessons and limitations

A number of factors limited my study, including the small number of interviews and documents in my analysis, and a highly subjective data-collection method. The interpretive nature of my work reduces my ability to apply my conclusions to real world situations. Additionally, by choosing to look at planning documents as a form of nature discourse, I risk making claims that sound over-sensitive as if I’m searching for something that may not necessarily be there.

Despite these limitations, I still think that my study has validity in that I was able to longitudinally compare a standardized set of documents that spanned fifty years of planning. Beyond responses to my set questions, I found the interviews to be extremely useful in finding new lines of inquiry, and I would like to have conducted more interviews. Since I was talking to professionals about their field of expertise, they could direct me with pointed advice toward the resources and questions that would be the most helpful to me.

Final thoughts

During the course of this project I learned to see the invisible overlay of planning on the UC Berkeley campus where I go to school. I learned to see the world both from the ground as a student, and from on high as a planner. A university campus is a highly symbolic space, and I learned to understand the vocabulary of buildings and design choices embedded into the landscape and what the planners were trying to communicate through their deliberate choices of granite, redwoods, or paving stones.

The campus is perhaps a model of an ideal world, or a microcosm of the wider world we live in. Even in this supposedly model environment I found that a hierarchy of decision-making planners operates beyond the concerns of the average student who attends UC Berkeley.

Our built environments say a lot about ourselves. The ways in which we modify our landscapes does as much to alter the nature of the environment as well as the nature of our emotional selves. We have effectively made our environment an extension of our buildings; whether that means we've internalized nature or obliterated it I can't say. A constant investigation into the nature of our landscapes is as much a form of observation as it is introspection.

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APPENDIX

A1. Semi-structured interview format

1. What is your job and how does it relate to the process of planning on campus?
2. How do you define nature?
 - a. Could you give a few examples of your definition?
3. In your opinion, how natural is the UC Berkeley campus landscape?
 - a. If you find that the campus agrees with the way you define nature, could you give some examples of the ways in which the campus fits your definition?
 - b. If you find that the campus disagrees with the way you define nature, could you give some examples of the ways in which campus doesn't fit your definition?
4. Do you have a vision of an ideal campus landscape, and if so what does it look like?
 - a. In what ways does your involvement in campus planning reflect your ideals?
5. Do you know anybody else who you think would like to talk about the relationship between nature and planning on the Berkeley campus?

A2. Document master list

Planning the Physical Development of the Berkeley Campus (1951)

*Long Range Development Plan (1956)

Notes by landscape architect Tommy Church (1959-1969)

Master Plan for Higher Education in California (1960)

Landscape Master Plan (1961)

*Long Range Development Plan (1962)

Campus Space Plan (1981)

Strawberry Creek Management Plan (1987)

*Long Range Development Plan (1990)

Landscape Master Plan (2004)

Landscape Heritage Plan (2004)

*Long Range Development Plan (2005)

* denotes documents to which I applied a textual methodology from Wood (2010)

A3. Table of map analysis summaries

See attached table.

A4. Table of interview summaries

See attached table.