# Cultural Value

# Of Architecture in Homes and Neighbourhoods

Flora Samuel, Nishat Awan, Carolyn Butterworth, Sophie Handler, Jo Lintonbon

Arts & Humanities Research Council

# Cultural Value of Architecture :  A Critical Review with Specific Reference to Homes & Neighbourhoods

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## Executive Summary

Little is known about the benefits of architectural expertise in the making of homes and neighbourhood. This project had two workpackages, the first a critical review of 'grey literature', the plethora of reports produced by industry, government, research councils and others to find evidence of value and of the way in which value has been collected. The findings from this workpackage have fed into the second a series of consultations with industry experts and interested parties culminating with a public consultation on the cultural value of architecture in the Sheffield University School of Architecture Liveworks. Together the workpackages provide the foundations for demonstrating the value of architectural expertise in this area.

Architecture is rarely, if ever, mentioned in any of the 100 documents that we reviewed. The focus is instead on 'design', an unhelpfully vague term as anyone can 'design'. We also found that attempts at demonstrating value generally focus on the finished product, building or place. As these are the result of an interdisciplinary team the value of the architect's input is very hard to discern. Our primary recommendation is that any future frameworks of architectural value should focus on processes of architecture (verb not noun) and the benefits that architectural skillsets bring to a project, rather than on the final built product. This conclusion was endorsed through our work with marketing experts as we developed a strategy for selling the brand architect.

It is difficult to sell architecture when there is such a general level of confusion about what it is. We have for this reason gone back to square one in developing a tool, an 'I Spy Guide to Architecture', to help non-architects understand and engage with the skills and values that have gone into creating their local built environment. To do this we have had to segment architectural practice into different value systems (commercial, cultural and social) and describe the skillsets within each. Only once the skillsets are defined can we begin to establish and promote their value.

## Researchers and Project Partners

Anne Dye, RIBA (project partner)

Elanor Warwick, Affinity Sutton Housing (former Director of Research CABE).

We benefited from a very large network who were consulted in the course of the project see Fig. 1.

## Key words

Housing, homes, neighbourhoods, architects, cultural value, design, wellbeing, community-led design

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**Housing Organisations**

European Housing Network
Housing Quality Network
Elanor Warwick, *Affinity Sutton*
Housing Studies Association

**City Planning**

Cath Ranson, *President, Royal Town Planning Institute*
Tina Saaby, *City Architect, Copenhagen*
Fiona Champion & Christine Rose, *Sheffield City Council*

**Academics**

Peter Barrett, *Salford University*
Murray Fraser, Matthew Carmona & Lucy Natajaran, *UCL*
Oliver Froome Lewis, *University for the Creative Arts*
Dr Andrew Crompton, *University of Liverpool*
Husam Al Waer, *University of Dundee*
Lorraine Gamman, *Central St Martins*
João Menezes de Sequeira, *ECATI/ULHT Lisbon*
Grainne Hasset, *University of Limerick*
Frederik Nilssson, *Chalmers University, Sweden*
Darinka Czischke & Robert Cavallo, *TU Delft, Netherlands*
Anthony Burke, *University of Technology, Sydney*
Johan de Walsche, *University of Antwerp, Belgium*
Sebastian MacMillan, *University of Cambridge*

**Government**

Anne Marie Connolly, *Public Health England*
Peter Aldous MP

**University of Sheffield**

Jacqueline Harrison, *Journalism*
Kate Pahl, *Education*

**Landscape Architecture**

Helen Woolley

**Housing Providers**

James McMillan, *Great Places*
Dhruv Adam Sookhoo, *Home Group Ltd*
Reuben Saffer & Saffer Cooper, *RP*
Jonathan Rickard, *Radian*
Tim Heatley, *Capital and Centric*
Nick Rogers, *Taylor Wimpey*

**School of Architecture**

MArch Students
Jian Kang

**Town & Regional Planning**

Ed Ferrari
Janis Bright
John Flint

**AHRC**

Hattie Allsop
Patrycja Kaszynska

**Cultural Value Team**

**Professional Organisations**

Housing Group
Research and Innovation Group

**RIBA**

Stephen Hodder
Anne Dye
Anna Scott-Marshall

Karl Tupling
Menaka Sahai
Jane Brigginshawe
Gita Deb
**Homes and Communities Agency**

**RSAW**

Dan Benham
Mary Wrenn

Alex Wright, *SCHOSA*
Narelle Robinson, *Australian Institute of Architects*
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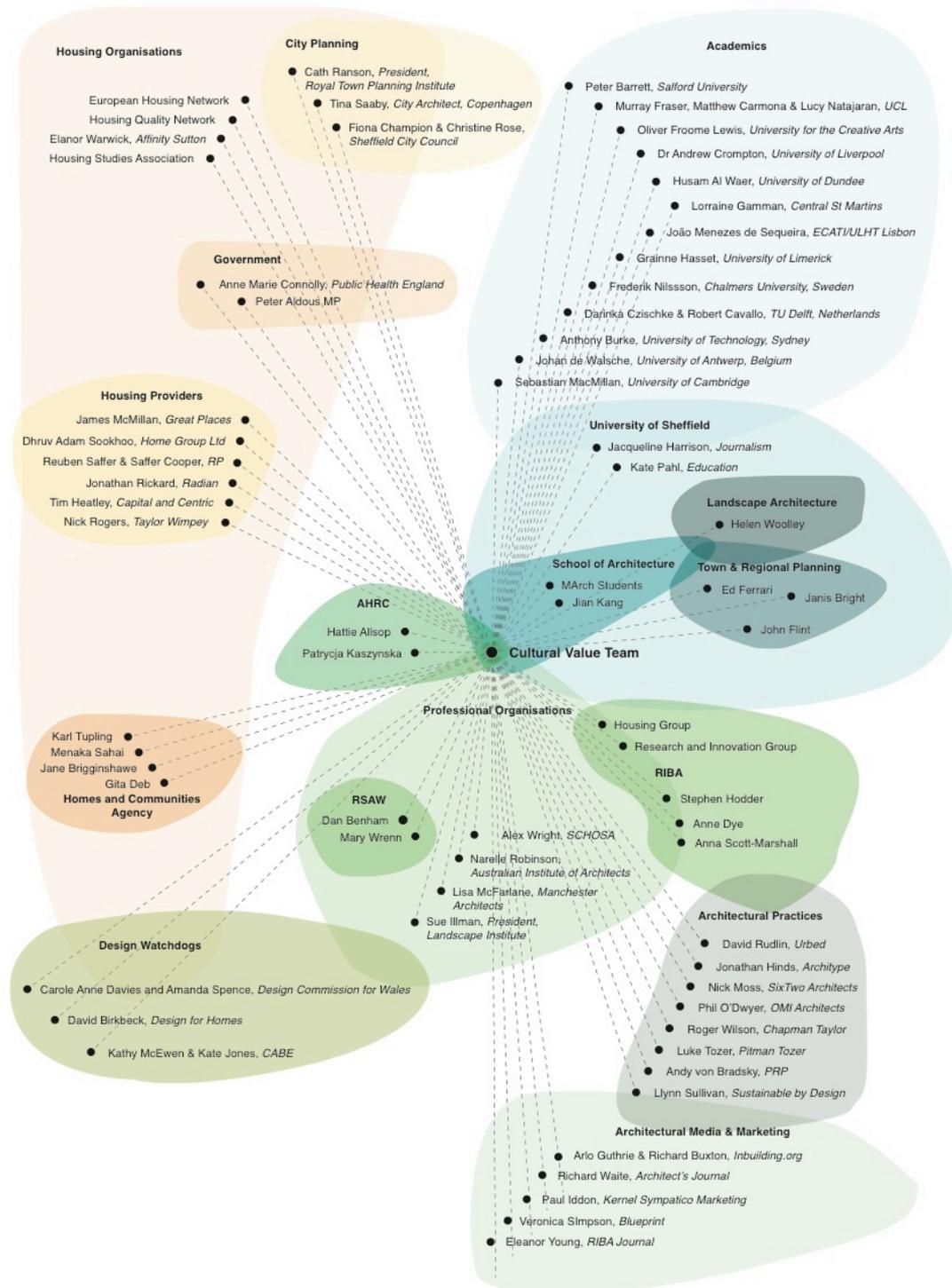Veronica Simpson, *Blueprint*
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Fig. 1 Diagram showing people and groups involved in CVoA project

# Introduction

*There seems to be a general confusion as to what architect's do, who they are and what they're contribution is* (Weiss & Hellman 1999, p.14)

The Cultural Value of Architecture (CVoA) was a nine month project, led by Sheffield University Home Research Group under the leadership of Professor Flora Samuel and supported by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). CVoA has been funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of a wider Cultural Value of the Arts project. The CVoA critical review is focused on 'grey literature', the reports and guidance produced by industry bodies on what constitutes good housing value and practice published in the UK since 2000, the date of the RIBA's first report on value (Warpole 2000). Whilst assembling the review we have inevitably been collating a 'history' of value, setting the CVoA critical review against a parallel discourse within government (for example Office of National Statistics 2001) from which architecture is often notably absent.

This project seeks to establish a framework to enable us to identify and evaluate the cultural value of architecture and the methods by which we evaluate that value (see 3.1 for research questions). It nests within the overall Cultural Value project aims, exploring a wide range of cultural value within the locus of home, neighbourhood and architectural expertise.

Within this, the specific objectives were to:

- Review UK based grey literature pertaining to CVoA since 2000
- Explore the impact of architecture and design on the end-user - the individuals - who participate in activities in a building or an area and to identify, where possible, the building and design factors giving rise to these impacts.
- Cite, where found, examples of good practice, where a building or place has been designed to create a specific, beneficial environment, and this has been achieved.
- Disseminate the critical review to ensure that the report is made available to the widest possible range of relevant organisations and individuals.

Economic and cultural value are obviously connected at a fundamental level and both are notoriously difficult to ascertain. The currency of value in our project is perhaps more social than cultural - public good - but the project is cultural because architecture is a form of culture. The value here is long term, an investment for future generations. CVoA has led to the development of a new framework for demonstrating the value of architecture, drawing on knowledge from the wider arts community to do so. It has also contributed to a three year project on the value of architecture launched by new RIBA President Stephen Hodder in 2013.

The CVoA project began in September 2013 and has two very different workpackages: the first a critical review and the second a series of consultations culminating in a public consultation which is ongoing. The result of the CVoA critical review is a framework - a database accompanied by a critical narrative - that will bring together evidence of

architecture's value in the UK into an easily accessible format. See www.culturalvalueofarchitecture.org for further details.

This report has been written for a non-architect audience. We are interested in conveying value 'business to business', to the bodies that are likely to commission the building of socially aware housing and neighbourhoods and to the readers of 'grey literature' many of whom clearly find the value of architecture extremely opaque. Our attempts to express our findings clearly with diagrams and definitions is unlikely to be popular with an architectural audience who are likely to find them overly simplistic. We make no apologies for our resolutely outward looking approach for reasons that will be made plain in the course of this report.

The first chapter of the report focuses on the context and methodology for the critical review. The second chapter gives the findings of the review which in turn inform the consultations which are described in chapter three. In the final chapter we reflect on the process and make a series of recommendations for further work in this area.

# 1.0 Critical Review

This section covers the context, structure and methodology for the critical review which focuses on 'grey' literature, reports written by industries, charities and others pertaining to the role of architecture in the making of homes and neighbourhoods. Whilst there have been studies of grey literature in other fields it appears that ours is the first in the field of the built environment (Auger 1998). Although new search engines are being developed for grey literature (for example http://www.opengrey.eu/) they rarely include the kind of documents that we have been examining.

## 1.1 Research Context

While the UK government knows it needs to support cultural value it needs a methodology to do so, to translate cultural value into cost benefit via the *Treasury Green Book* (CABE 2006a, p.4, NEF 2010, p.32). The result has been a welter of documentation including a series of reports commissioned by the AHRC (O'Brien 2010; Donovan 2013) within which architecture doesn't quite fit, not being a purely cultural subject. Other organisations such as the New Economics Foundation have entered into the debate calling for the need to 'balance social, economic and environmental value with fiscal return' (NEF 2012).The needs of architecture rarely seem to be addressed in such debates perhaps because of the weakness of its lobbying power, due in part to its inability to articulate its own importance, something of which architecture's professional body the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) now seems to be acutely aware.

Perhaps because of the distinct nature of its research methodologies architecture often appears to be excluded from discussions of the home

and neighbourhood. Generally the field is limited by a lack of cross over between disciplines as David Harvey noted as far back as 1973.

> Clearly, the city cannot be conceptualized in terms of our present disciplinary structures. Yet there is little sign of an emerging interdisciplinary framework for thinking, let alone theorizing about the city. Sociologists, economists, geographers, architects, city planners, and so on, all appear to plough lonely furrows and to live in their own confined conceptual worlds(Harvey 1973, p.22).

Whilst there have been strong developments in the field of urban and housing studies since then the area remains fragmented with architecture often excluded. There is no mention of architecture, for example, in the index of Danny Dorling's recent high profile book on housing *All that is Solid* (Dorling 2014). Architecture urgently needs to engage with interdisciplinary work in this area, this project being one attempt to do so.

Within the AHRC Connecting Communities programme have been several projects on the therapeutic benefits of art and indeed neighbourhood art projects, for example 'Valuing Community Based Design' (Alexiou et al. 2012). We believe that there is a need for more such art based projects to be developed in conjunction with architects as part of a move towards more interdisciplinarity.

The 2013 Social Value Act means that housing providers seeking to procure government funds will need to prove the social value of what they do. It has since become apparent that, rather than develop their own systems for gauging social value, housing bodies are just passing the 'liability' on to architects by asking then to fill in questionnaires on how social value will be achieved. Architectural practices are fundamentally unprepared to answer such questions. They are not alone, there seems to

be no clear consensus within the field of housing on what constitutes adequate housing or its evaluation.[1]

None of this is a surprise as it backs up our thesis that housing industry professionals have great difficulty keeping up with developments in housing research. The lack of innovation in UK construction is one of the central themes of a steady stream of government documentation, for example *Construction 2025* (UK Gov 2013, p.201).

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## 1.2 Research Context within architecture

Rachel Armitage, a non-architect, social science expert on design and crime, writes logically that 'houses can be planned, designed and created, utilizing evidence and expertise to maximize the likelihood of success' (Armitage 2013, p.1) but it is rare to see architects using all the evidence available to them, partly because it is so difficult to access and partly because it is not part of architectural culture to utilise academic research (RIBA 2013). Architecture, as Samuel has demonstrated with the *RIBA Home Improvements Report on Research in Housing Practice* (RIBA 2013), has a very undeveloped research culture meaning that practitioners have difficulty in providing an evidence base for the value of what they do. Indeed the  AHRC Spatial Agency project team were critical of the term 'practice' because of its connotations of 'habit and unreflective action' (Awan et al. 2011). An underpinning aim of our project is our pragmatic desire to work with practitioners who are trying to carve out their living in the difficult circumstances of the UK today to make manifest the value of architecture. This is slightly different to Spatial Agency which was more about celebrating alternative ways of working however both

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[1] This was the theme of 'The Value of Housing, the Housing Studies Association Annual Conference 2014, York.

projects are intimately connected, not least by the presence of Nishat Awan who worked on both.

There is a 'lack of practical evidence to demonstrate the tangible economic benefits of good design' (Scottish Executive 2001). This is one of the reasons that the cultural value of architecture is so little understood in Great Britain and most of the world – a notable exception being Scandinavia. Copenhagen, the most 'livable city in the world', is a testament to what is possible when architecture is understood and valued. This was the first city to be subject to decades of public life studies by architects and students of architecture. Gehl and Svarre quote Bentre Frost, mayor for city planning in 1996 "Without the many studies from the School of Architecture, we politicians would not have had the courage to carry out the many projects to increase the cities attractiveness"(Gehl & Svarre 2013, p.157). The underlying cultural and political willingness to engage with design in Denmark is strong. In England the situation is very different and is arguably getting worse with the deregulatory impetus of our current government. In Scotland however the value of design appears to be well understood  - living in 'well designed sustainable places' is enshrined at the heart of policy (Scottish Government 2011). At a more global level the work of architect and planner Jaime Lerner in Curitiba Brazil is also instructive (www.spatialagency.net/database/jaime.lerner).

The UPenn based Social Impact of the Arts Project is built on the belief that:' if the arts and culture do, in fact, have an important role in improving the lives of ordinary people, we should be able to measure it'. One fundamental problem is that there is so little understanding of what architecture is – even architects have extreme difficulty in defining the field. There is a rich irony in the fact that the UK has seemingly produced more world famous 'starchitects' than any other country yet the profession is so little valued over here. We can only conjecture that their

presence has distorted the public view of architecture, making architecture into a high culture activity irrelevant to day to day life.

A 2012 survey conducted by the website InDesign found that 'the majority of British adults have little idea what architects do'. A survey of 2031 British adults showed that 15% didn't even know that architects design buildings (YouGov 2012). An important element of CVoA will be our attempt to define the skillset of architects, something that has never recently been attempted with any rigour, not even by SCHOSA the Standing Council of Heads of Schools of Architecture. The validation criteria for RIBA schools are too general and lack the research orientation that we believe to be a vital ingredient of future architectural practice (Building Futures 2011).

Whilst developing this critical review we are inevitably developing an accompanying text which is essentially a recent history of value in architecture. The value agenda within architecture really came to the fore in the 1960s and 70s at the high peak of its involvement with the social sciences. With Post Modernism architectural fashion swung largely in the opposite direction becoming highly philosophical academic and intellectualized. 'Evidence Based Design', particularly in the fields of healthcare and commercial buildings has continued to develop since the 1960s, particularly in the USA, but with little impact on mainstream architectural culture. Sebastian MacMillan has charted the history of the relationship between architecture and New Labour (Macmillan 2005) but his work needs to be brought up to date as discussions increasingly turn towards the relationship between architecture, planning and wellbeing. The National Planning Policy Framework includes a specific section on Promoting Healthy Communities including opportunities for work and play and safe and accessible environments (Communities and Local

Government 2012). The role of architecture in all this is yet to be delineated.

2014 has been a significant year for architecture with the publication of the Farrell Review on Architecture - we contributed to the call for evidence last autumn. The review contains a wide variety of opinion on the state of UK architecture but little evidence of value and certainly no clear methodology for making it known. One of the things the Farrell review did do is reopen the discussion as to whether 'architect' should be a title protected by law. At the moment anyone can do architecture but only ARB accredited people who have gone through the necessary RIBA trainging can be called Architects. If the title is removed the problem of differentiating between trained and untrained architects will become acute.

A great many of the documents that we analyse have their origins in the Commission for Architecture and Built Environment (CABE) that was set up by New Labour and now lives on within the Design Council but vastly reduced in funding. It played a very important role in mustering debate on value in the built environment and trialing techniques of evaluation (CABE 2007; Warwick et al. 2014). CABE's output was large - it produced over 80 research reports in about ten years.  The Australia Institute of Architects recently made a campaign on the value of architecture. When we contacted them to find out if they had discovered any evidence they responded that they relied on CABE for information and were feeling its absence strongly.

> Thank you for your query. Unfortunately we have no hard evidence at all. This is
> a sadly neglected area of Architectural Research. In fact we have relied on

> previously published research published by CABE in the UK, of which we are certain you are familiar. Our advocacy for this campaign relies almost exclusively on anecdotal evidence (Robinson 2014).

Our framework brings into stark relief the lack of recent research in this area as a direct result of the downgrading of CABE.

Elanor Warwick, former Head of Research at CABE writes 'We didn't get to the detail of segmenting markets - but did spend a lot of time discussing who our audiences were, what the best routes to reach each group, and who the key individuals to influence were.  This general level of discussion was reinforced by  many of the other CABE activities [such as design reviews] - there was continuous discussion of who we were and weren't managing to reach' (Warwick 2014). Strategy was developed through annual / bi annual business plans.  'But the nature of working for both DCLG / DCMS simultaneously was that we were constantly producing  and revising workplans which identified who and what we wanted to tackle next.' CABE is the subject of another AHRC project *Evaluating the Governance of Design: The CABE Experiment and Beyond* led by Matthew Carmona due to complete August 2014 and we have been liaising with that team in evolving our research. Our survey of their documentation is constrained by the themes of value, housing and neighbourhood.

The way in which local authorities and housing providers attempt to demonstrate social value is 'extremely varied' (Wilkes & Mullins 2012, p.5). An important new development in this area is Daniel Fujiwara's HACT project, an online resource for measuring social value which was launched March 2014. His work is in response to the deregulatory impetus

of the current government which means that housing providers and local authorities increasingly have to set their own standards meaning that defining and evidencing social value is becoming ever more important (Fujiwara 2014, p.2). Eventually it seems we have to make the value of architecture 'pecuniary' as otherwise it 'will not be taken into account by developers' either (Farrell 2014, p.142). Fujiwara uses the 'wellbeing valuation' method which examines how people report that their level of wellbeing has been affected by their housing and then ascribes a financial value to this impact (Fujiwara 2014, p.11). Given that the UK is seeing a very worrying growth in poverty and inequality does the cultural value of architecture matter at all? We would argue yes as architects can make extremely good use of scant resources, another fact that seems to have escaped public recognition perhaps because of lack of evidence. As Julia Unwin of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation states 'if we ignore social capital of a community we ignore the lived experience of people in poverty'.[2]

## 1.3 Methodology

Value is a complex philosophical question. It is therefore unsurprising that most the discussions of value in architecture have foundered at the first hurdle within the depths of theory (Benedikt 1997; Saunders 2007). We prefer instead to evolve definitions and systems based on our findings in the world now, working backwards while taking into full account the situated nature of our own authorship which inclines towards issues of social equality. The team, all architects, brings a wealth of knowledge of architecture to the project. Together, through the project we have refined our definitions using a 'studio methodology' taking our cue from Kate Pahl in developing the AHRC Co-Producing Legacy project.

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[2] Julia Unwin, presentation Housing Studies Association Conference, York, 17 April 2014.

We began with the definition of value being an improvement of quality of life for the greatest number of people, 'well being' but finish with the term 'public good' as it is a more creative and pro-active form of currency. In the beginning we looked to the etymology of the word technology for our definition of architecture which is 'building with thought', not just the regulated terrain of qualified architects, but it will be seen that our definition has shifted as the project has taken shape. In the project proposal we stipulated that we would not address issues of aesthetic and environmental value but have been drawn into these issues because of their intimate connection with wellbeing.

As our concern is with wellbeing and public good it could be argued that our project is more about social value than cultural value but the connection of the project with architecture pulls it into the realm of cultural value. The difference between 'social value' and 'cultural value' is subtle. We believe cultural value is often implicit within social value. Social values are wider values about accepted ways of being while cultural values are a shared codes belonging to a particular cultural group within society. The relationships between everyday life, material, economic, political, geographical and historical contexts and the ways in which they are perceived and understood is a cultural phenomenon. So, in order to think about the cultural value of architecture, we are concentrating on the ways in which it (Architecture) is perceived and understood. And the vehicle we have chosen for this is grey literature. There is an excellent summary of value types in *The Value Handbook* (CABE 2006b, p.10): exchange value, use value, image value, environmental value and cultural value. When put together these provide a very useful framework for assessing architecture's value beyond economics. We are looking for long term value, value for future generations not just our own.

We are concerned with quantitative as well as qualitative methods of evaluation. Quantitative methods are often treated with suspicion but, as Lisanne Gibson argues, there is a case for instrumental value discussions when organizations are internally divided and persist in paying lip service to the political imperative of being more inclusive (Gibson 2008). We argue that architecture - notorious for its exclusivity in terms of gender, race and class - is a case in point and it is time for the field to see its own impact, or lack of impact,  expressed in stark, rigorous, instrumental terms. Such sentiments use feminist concerns with articulating unrepresented voices as a necessary starting point to lead to a more nuanced discussion.

We take as our example the methodology of the literature review prepared by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre for the Scottish government (Scottish Executive 2006, p.13). As they note 'While much case-study evidence exists, limited robust quantitative research has been undertaken with end-users. Much of the evidence presented is therefore a synthesis of case-study evidence' (Scottish Executive 2006, p.13).

Harlen and Schlapp's guidance on the writing of literature reviews has been influential (Harlen & Schlapp 1998). They note that  'the greatest challenge in reviewing research is reconciling the different findings from different studies'. They also note the importance of reducing the impact of the subjectivities of the researchers or at least acknowledging their impact openly. We aspire to the 'best evidence synthesis' approach of Slavin (Slavin 1986), a key element of which is 'consistent, well justified,and clearly stated a priori inclusion criteria', something that has sat uneasily with our ongoing development of inclusion criteria. The thing that has been consistent is the shared values of group of reviewers who are keen advocates of architecture but are deeply critical of its culture which has neglected wellbeing and has excluded certain narratives.

The material that we have been researching is very largely qualitative but we have used the database format and other diagrams to give 'a clear exposition of the data searched' (Harlen & Schlapp 1998, p.3). Our focus has been more on the frameworks of value than of evidence produced much of which is qualitative and we do not make judgements on quality of evidence although we have referred to guidance on this (Cabinet Office Strategy Unit 2003).We have not left any material out of our analysis on the basis of quality, only on the basis of relevance. It is Slavin's opinion that reviewers should give readers enough information to enable them to develop their own opinions on the subject. At the same time we have created an extensive  bibliography including many academic refereed journal papers and other outputs relating to housing and neighbourhoods. These will range across a wide range of fields as disciplinary fragmentation is a real problem for housing studies.

The critical review takes the form of an evolving excel database of a wide range of relevant literature of varying quality. Document have been included because of relevance to the subject area, not because of quality. Commentary on each of the documents reviewed comes under the following headings:

- Date
- Author
- Commissioner
- Name of Publication
- url
- Subdivision of problem, theme, chapters
- Limitations
- Subject
- Audience
- Evidence

- Currency of value used
- Lessons for the CVoA project

The review was framed under themes with a team member responsible for each. Awan was responsible for issues of community cohesion, Butterworth was responsible for the public consultation, Handler was responsible for ageing and wellbeing and Lintonbon (Sheffield) was responsible for heritage and identity, with Samuel responsible for collating overarching studies of value.

*1.3.1 Scope*

The literature review begins with documents dated 2000 with greatest emphasis being given to the most recent research. Research was sought from: central government government agencies and non- departmental public bodies; think tanks; architecture and design professionals; research funding councils; trusts and foundations; industry groups and initiatives; professional institutions; trade associations and academic institutions, networks and groups.

A full list of people and organisations contacted can be seen in graphic form (Fig.1). As well as that of CABE, the largest resource was the Joseph Rowntree Foundation which is extremely rich in information which is not always easy to search. The English Heritage Heritage Counts web site is also an important resource that merits extensive study.

*1.3.2 Process*

The review has been undertaken in the six stages similar to those identified by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (Scottish Executive 2006). They suggest that these take a tidy chronological form but our experience has been more  a series of cyclical loops, reviewing and rereviewing as we develop focus through our 'studio methodology'.

| | Stage | Method | Output |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Sample Identification | Personal recommendation and web-searches | Identification of organisations, research sources |
| 2 | Data Collection | Web, email and telephone search | Sample identification – focus 'grey literature'. Decision to subdivide according to actions based on Halpern |
| 3 | Literature prioritisation | Initial Appraisal of all documents sourced | Confirmation of approx. 100 priority documents for review at Feb meeting. |
| 4 | Review Framework | Initial analysis of key research documents. Commentary from advisory group meetings | Development of framework for critical review |
| 5 | Analysis | Database analysis of priority literature | Analysis of research including profile; type of information; validity and findings placed in context of overall database |
| 6 | Reporting | Interpretation of database analysis | Commentary on impact and causal factors |
| 7 | Graphic | Mapping | Diagram to show spatial |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| representation | | dimension of the research. Information clusters. |

Fig. 2 Table showing the stages in the research process

*1.3.3 Challenges of the research*

The main challenge was caused by slippery terminology and the need to create new definitions. Most of the documents reviewed are web based. Some documents, notably those produced by the Design Council, for example Design against Crime and Workplace Design, are no longer available on the web meaning that their research is lost. There is a lesson here about developing resilient long term strategies for the future of research.

# 2.0 Critical Review Findings

In the case of a critical review the findings are intimately connected with the evolution of our methodology. Knowledge from our review of reviews is fed back into the way we do our own. In this chapter we will describe the findings of our review of documents that range across the territory of value before focussing in on the findings of the three thematic reviews: neighbourhood cohesion; health wellbeing and older age, and lastly identity, belonging and heritage. We finish with a series of recommendations that informed the next stage in our research, the consultations.

## 2.1 Overall reviews of value

This section is concerned with our review of documents that specifically pertain to the value of design (Fig. 3). Our review of 'grey literature' in the field of architectural value has revealed that there are three key overview documents which have been particularly helpful but which are in urgent need of update, a function of our critical review. These are:

1. David Halpern's book *Mental Health and the Built Environment (1995)*
2. The *Bibliography of Design Value* (Carmona 2001)
3. Morris Hargreaves McIntyre's *Literature Review of the Economic, Environmental and Social Impact of Design* commissioned by the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive 2006)

Sebastian MacMillan's review document 'Added Value of Good Design' also provides important context (Macmillan 2006). The New Zealand document *The Value of Urban Design* is very extensive, drawing on a very large range of citations (McIndoe et al. 2005).Whilst not a piece of 'grey literature' itself Rachel Armitage's *Crime Prevention Through Housing*

*Design* provides a very useful summary of literature in this area . Additionally *Good Foundations* prepared by the New Economics Foundation does not take the form of a literature review but was one of the most holistic and useful documents that we read (NEF 2010). NEF believe that the underlying problem within this wealth of guidance is a lack of an an overall organising framework that can provide a vision. It is this lack which explains why, although based on sound principles, is 'failing' (NEF 2010 p.31). It is certainly correct in identifying an 'implementation gap between stated aims and real world outcomes'.The exception seems to be the Scottish documents which have worked consistently towards a vision that we see clearly manifest in devolutionary arguments today.

Whilst being exemplary in many respects certain issues are thrown up by these documents that demand our attention. FIrstly it is salutary that they seem to have been so quickly forgotten. Secondly there is a slippage between good design and good construction which could be done by a builder, for example preventing a building from leaking. Our concern is with good design on not the latter.

Fig. 3 Timeline of reviews of overall value [hypertext: timeline from 2000 to now showing covers of all the documents that we read about the value of design]

Perhaps our major finding to date is that most of the reviews that we have read focus on the built artifact, encouraging a commoditized view of buildings, rather than the process that went into making it. This receives an extreme form in the CABE's paper *Physical Capital* which tried to create a built environment parallel to the term social capital (CABE 2005a, p.4). Some of the most successful research that we have reviewed focuses on the 'actions of architects, planners and developers in creating places where people are genuinely happy to live' (CABE 2005, p.1), rather than buildings. Alain de Botton observes that:

> The advantage of shifting the focus of discussion away from the strictly visual towards the values promoted by buildings is that we become able to handle talk about the appearance of works of architecture rather as we do wider debates about people, ideas and political agendas (De Botton 2006)

Interestingly Spatial Agency used a very different route to a similar conclusion about the importance of emphasizing process rather than product which does involve architects stepping back and admitting their lack of control over the final built product, something that is very antithetical to architectural culture. This is a necessary stage in allowing them to be more clear and more precise about the nature of what it is that they do actually to contribute to 'an inevitable condition that must be worked with in a positive light'(Awan et al. 2011).

David Halpern (1995) has identified four 'channels' by which designers act upon the world. We have renamed these 'skills' and adapted and extended these to five which will ultimately form the basis of our critical review of literature. It is our thesis that architects can:

- transform mental and physical states

- influence the development of networks and communities

- co-produce identity, belonging, heritage and social labelling

- make transformations through the design process itself

- rigorously map, recording and represent cultural changes

A good example of the last 'skill' is the architect Philip Scher's work in proving the importance of the visual arts to staff morale and patient care (Scher & Senior 2000).

Paul Iddon, an architect turned marketing expert who facilitated one of our Advisory Group Meetings, believes that one of the fundamental issues that plagues architecture is that architects are unable or unwilling to

articulate the *benefits* that they bring to clients. Our approach developed through careful examination of the literature backs up his experience on the ground.

Of primary note is how rarely the word 'architecture' or 'architect' actually appears in any of the texts examined. The more generic term 'design' is usually used. This seems to be because of a lack of shared understanding of what architecture actually is.

## 2.2 Community Cohesion

This strand of research on the Cultural Value of Architecture is concerned with evidence of the ways in which architecture might promote social interaction, participation within civic society and inclusion in local government and planning (Fig. 4).

The review has primarily focused on policy reports by government agencies, think tanks and charities, with the aim to understand how architecture as practice and profession is implicated within the process of creating neighbourhood cohesion. Through analysing how these various bodies have understood the role of architecture and architects, a picture emerges of how architecture is valued within the policy domain. The review has also considered some academic literature, notably from the disciplines of urban planning and landscape architecture.

Young Foundation, *Design Against the Tide*

Neighbourhood Planning

Fig. 4 Timeline of Community Cohesion literature [hypertext: timeline from 1998 to now showing covers of reports pertaining to community cohesion]

The accompanying timeline of the reviewed literature shows that the majority was published between 2001 and 2011, with a significant peak in relevant research in 2006. This coincides with the New Labour government and suggests that any review of policy literature also reflects the concerns and attitudes of those in power. For the discussion on neighbourhood cohesion, this political connection is significant as it affects key definitions used to describe communities and also the ways in which value is understood.

## 2.1.1 Community cohesion vs. multiculturalism

The term neighbourhood cohesion, or 'community cohesion' as it is mostly referred to in the literature, is necessarily a political topic. Any discussion of what value architecture might have in relation to this must also be grounded in an understanding of the use of the term.

Following the events of 11 September 2001 and the London bombings of 2005, the view emerged that multiculturalism had reached its limit, a view that gained widespread acknowledgement following a speech by Trevor Phillips, then head of the Commission for Racial Equality (2005). 'Community cohesion' as a term and agenda emerged specifically in relation to these concerns regarding the 'Muslim community' of Britain, which was equated with the Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic communities. As Samad (2010) has noted the understandings of community relations embedded within the term 'community cohesion' start with a problematic assumption of self-segregation by the communities concerned.

Others have criticised multiculturalism for being too close to a liberal ethos, where some diversity is celebrated but there is no real engagement or mixing between communities (Wood et al. 2006). Here too multiculturalism as an idea has been found to be instrumental in creating atomised communities.

Of note is the fact that there is no explicit mention of architecture in any of these debates beyond an understanding that cities and neighbourhoods form the backdrop for community relations.

## 2.2.2 Cultural value as sub-set of economic value

Attempts to measure the value of design in creating better communities have done so through trying to find models that equate intangible benefits, such as increased social interaction or more inviting public spaces, with economic value. Carmona's (2002) research looks into the added value of urban design, and whilst social and environmental benefits are mentioned, and it is claimed that value is a relational concept, there is an underlying assumption that any benefit must eventually lead to economic value.

This foregrounding of economic value is also seen in the concept of 'diversity advantage' (Wood et al. 2006), which underlines the potential economic benefits of cultural diversity as a source of innovation. Here again there is an equation of 'cohesive' social relations with economic benefit and the definition of the valued citizen is based on their ability to create such benefit. Clearly, such thinking marginalises those that are the most disadvantaged in society. In terms of architecture, there is some indication of the types of cities and spaces required for nurturing diversity.

Finally, CABE's (2009) report on parks as assets, starts with an assumption that parks are valuable for enhancing community relations and wellbeing, and goes on to provide an economic model for combining the use and asset value of parks.

### 2.2.3 Lack of empirical evidence

Beyond an understanding of value in economic terms, there is very little empirical evidence of the cultural or social value of architecture. A recent report by the Young Foundation, which focused on the design and planning of successful cities, noted the need for "a coherent body of evidence and practical experience to strengthen the case for social

sustainability in the design of new communities" (Woodcraft 2012, p.49). Many of the features of what they term 'social sustainability' include the concerns of neighbourhood cohesion and good community relations.

## 2.2.4 The definition of architecture

If architecture is mentioned at all in this literature, it is within a very narrow scope, where it is equated with the physical aspects of the built environment. This is especially true in the literature on the value of urban design (Carmona et al. 2002; Carmona et al. 2001a). Where the discussion is broader and includes social relations, architecture is not mentioned explicitly. This points to a significant mismatch between what architects consider their role to be and the expertise the profession and discipline feels it can offer, and what is normally understood within the broader policy context.

A brief survey of academic literature reveals much concern with architecture as a philosophical term. Although helpful, and clearly having similar origins to the sentiments that underpin this project, definitions are almost always aimed at an architectural audience 'Architecture is part of the art of living, and is at its most successful when it seems to give expression to the life that inhabits it' (Ballantyne 2001, p.2).

## 2.2.5 Recommendations

In terms of defining the subject area in relation to neighbourhood cohesion, it seems important to couch the debate in terms of 'disadvantage and exclusion' rather than the pejorative terms of 'self-segregation' (Samad 2010).

'Cultural literacy' has been identified as a key skill required for working within increasingly diverse communities and community engagement has

been described as a key tool (Wood et al. 2006). There is a need to foreground and find evidence of architects' skills in doing this.

Evidence-based policy making diminishes what architects can offer in the context of neighbourhood cohesion, as any value that emerges through increased community relations will be constructed together. Rather than focusing on the value of architecture itself, it might be more useful to address the cultural value of the architectural *process*.

## 2.3 Health, Wellbeing and Older Age

There has been an explosion of interest in this area in recent years hence the fact the first documents we reviewed are dated 2006 (Fig. 5). In many of these reports, including those in which the built environment is addressed explicitly, 'architecture' is an absent figure. Many of these reports talk, for instance, about the built environment and its role, say, in improving health outcomes – but fail to talk about architecture as either a profession with certain codes of practice, as a process, with particular forms of spatial practice or as product. In this sense, there is, arguably, a kind of architectural blackspot within many of these reports (even as the role of developers and planners is acknowledged). Where discussion around architecture is more explicit (as in discussions around 'good design'), design is often understood in generic terms.  There is an assumption that common understanding of what design is without unpacking the meaning, process, the specific qualities that architecture brings.

*2.3.1 Instrumental value*

There is a tendency within these reports to frame the value of architecture within purely instrumental terms. The role of design and the built environment is, in this sense, often understood and measured insofar as it meets certain policy objectives (increased physical activity levels within the context of challenging obesity and promoting 'active design', heightened social interaction within the context of addressing isolation and loneliness in older age). This mechanistic valuation of architecture can, arguably, be seen in both the methodologies used within the reports themselves (eg. an 'evidence-base' founded in quantitative, empricial findings) but also in the outcomes and recommendations suggested by the reports themselves (resorting to standardised design guidance, for instance).

Arguably, this self-fulfilling cycle of evidence-based policy-making limits the degree to which architecture is valued for its other qualities (for its experimentation or creative expression, for instance) - qualities that do not so easily align with evidence-based policy-making.

Fig. 5 Timeline of reports relating to health, wellbeing and older age [hypertext: Timeline since 2006 showing covers of reports relating to issue of health, wellbeing and older age]

*3.3.2 Emerging Trends*

Increasingly, a number of policy reports refer to design and the built environment in ways that suggest architecture might be understood and valued beyond the more obvious and measurable physical features of built space. There is, for instance, growing interest in the 'porosity' of certain kinds of spaces for ageing populations that imply a role for an architecture that is sensitive to human needs – that in turn, is reliant on softer measures of positive health outcomes. Similarly, growing emphasis on place-based neighbourhood approaches to design for ageing populations (most notably within the Age-Friendly policy agenda) necessarily draws out the role of participation in design process – and of process, itself, as a valuable product of architectural activity. Moreover, there are some signs that the creative dimension of architectural practice may be, increasingly acknowledged within a policy context (see, for instance work by Sam Brown for the LLC and the Rsearch and Evaluation Framework for Age-Friendly Cities being developed by the UK Urban Ageing Consortium.

*3.3.3 Recommendations*

These initial findings suggest that there is a strong need for architecture as a profession and discipline to better articulate the breadth of its practice – and articulate its own value if it is to inform and shape the development of public policy, ideas and debate.

There is, as these reports reveal, limited understanding among policy professionals as to the breadth of skills and, the value that architecture can bring as both a design process and product. Many of the skills that are particular to the practice of architecture, for instance, are in these reports either overlooked or taken for granted and there appears to be a reluctance or difficulty in articulating what architecture actually

does/might bring – beyond generic technical skills. In this way those other skills of negotiation, responding to something challenging, subverting a brief, being able to visualise and imagine alternative spatial possibilities, or providing a new answer, a new option – these are all, more often than not, overlooked. Without these other qualities, arguably, architecture would be limited to a technical practice of reproduction.

## 2.4 Identity, belonging and Heritage

This strand of research as part of the CVOA project focuses on evidence of the ways in which architecture and the built environment are valued within a broader discourse on place and heritage.

The literature identified for review is predominately policy-related, produced since the late 1990s by or on behalf of government departments and agencies, or by one or more of the many national societies and charitable organisations that comprise the UK's heritage sector (Fig. 6). Grey literature produced across the political spectrum by policy institutes and think-tanks had also been sought in order to determine where and how value is discussed in relation to architecture and heritage.

It should be noted that though not exclusive, the literature is predominately specific to England, and not the UK, as this reflects the shape and structure of the non-departmental public heritage bodies legislated for by parliament.

## Heritage and Identity
Timeline of relevant literature



Fig. 6 Timeline of reports on heritage and identity [hypertext: Timeline since 2000 showing covers of reports relevant to heritage and identity]

It is apparent that the literature is rarely, if ever, explicitly about 'homes' and that neighbourhoods, and their local communities, are perceived as components of the less clearly defined term 'place'. More generally it is the historic built environment that is central to most documentation. Here, architecture can be seen to mean one or more of: the existing built environment from individual building through to complex sites with a considered relationship of groups of buildings and the spaces in between; new architectures introduced within an existing historic context; processes by which change is managed within the historic built environment. These definitions broadly reflect changing attitudes within

the heritage sector, moving from the preservation of the historic object, to contextual strategies of reuse and regeneration, to neighbourhood approaches to appropriate heritage management planning.

### 2.4.1 Findings

There is a mature debate about values and significance within the heritage sector as part of an ongoing refinement of conservation practice, which in brief seeks to understand and evaluate the significance of (cultural) heritage in order to establish procedures for its designation and protection. Values are many and varied and the process of assigning significance is a socio-cultural activity rather than a purely technical one (De La Torre and Mason, 2002). Under current EH guidance for example, architectural value can be established under one or more of evidential, historic, aesthetic or communal values, yet in each case architecture is in essence an 'artefact' (EH Conservation Principles, 2008).

The cultural value of heritage is further defined as intrinsic, instrumental and institutional (Smith, 2010) whereupon measuring the value that architecture contributes expands to include economic and monetary valuations of use and non-use value. The various economic studies, generally, if not debating the relative merits of adopting one economic method over another, address the value added by pump-priming heritage regeneration projects through public funds as per the *Heritage Dividend Methodology* (EH, 2002) or to consider the value of conservation-led regeneration (eftec 2005), and in this respect the value of good design as a process is implied if not articulated.

These studies on economic valuations of heritage, are in part precipitated by the direction of travel set in the Government statement on heritage in 2001, (DCMS, 2001) which in turn stems from recommendations to

establish a systematic reporting of the contribution of historic environment to contemporary life in cultural, social and economic terms in the 2000 *Power of Place* study (Historic Environment Review Steering Group, 2000). "This historic environment is something from which we can learn, something from which our economy benefits and something which can bring communities together in a shared sense of belonging. With sensitivity and imagination, it can be a stimulus to creative new architecture and design, a force for regeneration and a powerful contributor to people's quality of life." (DCMS, 2001). Similar to the ongoing Farrell review, the large scale heritage sector reviews conducted over the last ten years, while of interest and agenda-setting, are evidenced predominately by returns of requests for information from the groups that represent heritage professionals and vested interest groups.

The Heritage Lottery Fund's Policy and Research department has conducted an annual research review since 2005 "matched to the Cultural Value framework of intrinsic value and instrumental benefit" identifying the *Values and Benefits of Heritage* (for example Maeer, HLF 2007). Although architecture is not absent in these reviews, it is the physical historic built environment which is generally valued. These surveys do however encompass public attitudes towards heritage, and its social benefits, alongside economic values of heritage. There are several other empirical studies of what people value, conducted for example by Ipsos Mori and Amion consulting, and these do draw out relationships between residents' civic pride and sense of identity and the historic built environment.(Amion Consulting, Locum Consulting, EH, 2010) These commissioned studies are part of the *Heritage Counts* programme running since 2002 and form a body of qualitative and quantitative social research. However the studies are more loosely about place than neighbourhood, often focused on historic town centre locations, and they

therefore do not establish directly how and where values are attributed to architecture as historic product, as a regenerated and designed space, or as a process of community-situated regeneration for example.

*2.4.2 Recommendations*

While the historic environment is highly valued and evaluated in a number of ways there is seemingly little written about what value architecture can bring to the heritage sector as a practice and in terms of a skill set – analytical, rigorous, communicative, synthetic, creative. This is perhaps unsurprising, given the context of conservation and safeguarding, and a wariness towards inappropriate design intervention, but there is an opportunity to communicate a 'long view' of design processes to the general public and to policy makers, and to demonstrate the value that can be accrued through professional design skills in the careful editing and accretion of existing spaces throughout the-management-of-change model of conservation practice.

There is more to be done on gauging public opinion around the role of architecture in relation to heritage and the built environment. The Ministerial Advisory Group for Architecture and the Built Enviornment of Northern Ireland in their response to the Farrell Review state that: 'cultural heritage is not just buildings and places. It is activities (as pointed out in *HM Treasury Green Book*). It is short and long term cultural heritage. It is about how we use places as much as how we build'.(Farrell 2014, p.114)

## 2.5 Evidencing the Value of Architecture

Marcus Menzel the sociologist employed by HafenCity Hamburg GmbH states 'You cannot build a neighbourly feeling. . .But I think architecture can help certain processes and hinder others' (Schaer 2010). We aim here

to summarise what we have read to provide basic evidence of the potential impact of the social architect's skillset defined in 2.1 above, the places where this skillset is needed. As already stated the grey literature pays scant attention to process and is far more focussed on product so is of little use in demonstrating the value of architects. This has led us to stray out of the terrain of 'grey literature'. Sometimes all we can do is indicate where an evidence base is most acutely needed. As the Scottish review has made clear some of the research is more reliable than others (Scottish Executive 2006).

When it has been suggested that the environment might have some influence on quality of life architects have been accused of 'determinism' (Mercer 1975; Halpern 1995a, p.226). Halpern observes however that 'there is no reason why links between the environment and behavior should be seen as deterministic or exclusive of other influences (Halpern 1995a, p.114). Indeed there is a gathering body of evidence to suggest that the link is there (Guite et al. 2006). The examples below provide evidence of what might be possible with good architectural input. It follows that poor architectural input can have the opposite effect as was found in a study of community in Peckham in London (NEF 2010 p.24).

Halpern notes the presence of a recurring problem for those who want to research the connection between health and the built environment the first is 'the occurrence of social selection' and the second 'the response bias of subjects according to their mental state (Halpern 1995a, p.18). The issue methodologically involves separating out 'the compound threads of social, psychological and environmental factors' (Halpern 1995a, p.23). For our purposes we need to separate out the compound threads of architecture's skillset in order to demonstrate its impact. Here we begin to demonstrate how this might be done.

*2.5.1 Transforming mental and physical states*

Firstly we need to show how architecture impacts on mental and physical states. Much of the groundwork has been done for this. 87% of the public believe better quality buildings and public spaces improve their lives (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010). 'How people feel about their physical surroundings, can impact on not just mental health and wellbeing, but also physical disease' (Scottish Government 2006). Regeneration can improve life expectancy as it did at Castle Vale in Birmingham (CABE 2005a). That Copenhagen has achieved a 65% increase in bike use is well known (CABE 2002). There remains a conflict between a desire for walkability and the desire for car ownership (CABE 2005b, p.12). The Urbed led project spacetopark.org has shown how clever architectural design thinking can alleviate such problems (Rudlin et al. 2013).

Catherine Ward Thompson  has set out the many challenges facing researchers exploring the connection between landscape quality and quality of life, many equally relevant to architecture(Ward Thompson 2010, p.230). Architects, urban designers and planners are and need to take a strategic overview of the health benefits brought about through the provision of green space (Hillsdon et al. 2011) and safe green routes for walking and bicycling (UKGov 2013). Design elements such as lighting can impact on street crime (Woolley 2004, p.11).

It has been found  that large open spaces do not promote positive community feelings as much as smaller natural areas close to housing. This sense of community cohesion can be further promoted by providing a range of uses including private and public activities keeping the area animated throughout the day for the enjoyment of a wide range of users (Kaplan 1985). Adaptable public space is used by more people in more diverse ways over a longer time period than spaces designed for specific

limited functions. Key attributes include open space along streets that are well defined by enclosed edges of buildings and landscapes, open (Shehayeb 2007). The quality and diversity of the outdoor environment within two streets of the front door is important if children's needs for imaginative and social play are to be met (Wheway & Millward 1997). The integration of Home Zones, streets used both for vehicles and play has been successfully protyped in the Netherlands (Falk & Carley 2012, p.23).

At the level of the home, particularly old people's homes 'Gradation of space is associated with resident quality of life, highlighting the necessity for design guidance to emphasize a variety of spaces. However, well-designed buildings with a variety of spaces can offer little choice to residents if access to different daytime locations is restricted.(Barnes et al. 2012).

Natural lighting is a feature of the home that is rarely discussed but has a strong bearing on wellbeing, particularly that of old people. In a recent CABE study 'Natural light was cited as playing an important role in making internal areas of buildings beautiful' (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010, p.5).

In drawing such threads together architects can have a very positive impact on mental and physical states but they need to do more to make this known.

*2.5.2 Changing networks and communities*

A 'social network' is a 'topological description', it not necessarily about quality of relationships (Halpern 1995a, p.109). Community is rather different.

Choreographing the degree of privacy between neighbours is a complex issue particularly in high density settings(CABE 2005b, p.17). It too can contribute strongly to well being. This is a subtle design issue as the architect Herman Hertzberger has amply illustrated with his book *Lessons for Students in Architecture* (Hertzberger 1991).

Halpern hightlights two studies (Festinger et al. 1950; Caplow & Forman 1950) which 'at least for relatively homogenous populations' show that 'the form of the built environment can strongly influence friendship and group formation (Halpern 1995a, p.119). Willmott's study of Dagenham made the finding that cul de sacs and other short narrow roads appear to result in friendlier and more supportive neighbourhood relations (Halpern 1995, 122; Willmott 1963). Holahan has noted the considerable influence of external public space on the way in which residents socialize within housing projects (Halpern 1995a, p.126; Holahan 1976).

Great care needs to be taken in considering networks particularly for the mentally ill who are constrained by very limited social networks (Halpern 1995b, p.110; Greenblatt et al. 1982). There is move from networks based on proximity to networks based on taste (Rosenblatt et al. 2009, p.139) but as Unger and Wandersman write 'neighbouring is more important and more complex' than is generally realised (Unger & Wandersman 1985) Research has shown a marked absence of community on new housing estates and, what is still more troubling, given the health implications of loneliness, a positive desire not to engage with neighbours (CABE 2005c, p.5). Indeed there is a body of evidence that shows that neighbourhood relationships can impact greatly on place attachment (Halpern 1995b, p.113; Fleury-Bahi et al. 2008). Neighborhood social capital-as measured by reciprocity, trust, and civic participation-was associated with lower neighborhood death rates, after adjustment for neighborhood material deprivation'(Lochner et al. 2003) . Rosenblatt et al

write that 'people will only engage in civic and community activity if it connects with their 'projects' or biographies of selective belonging that relate to their specific needs or predispositions (Rosenblatt et al. 2009, p.139)'. Participatory architectural practitioners are well used to teasing out of communities the best way in which this might be done (Jenkins & Forsyth 2010).

Halpern reports research that indicates that people prefer to live with people of the same ilk (Halpern 1995b, p.113) but there has over recent years been a drive towards mixed development (Joseph & Chaskin 2010). It is now generally agreed that people are happiest when they are able to build up social capital through a variety of informal encounters and meetings (Woodcraft 2012). While mixed use may create diverse communities it does not necessarily foster social inclusiveness (URBED 2000). The choreography of the mix takes considerable skill. In the past there was a visible difference between privately owned and affordable or 'council' housing. In order to fight exclusion a 'tenure blind' approach is needed (Unwin 2014).

The associations of housing appearance are not to be underestimated. Clare Cooper Marcus's and  Wendy Sarkissian's *Housing as if People Mattered* project was based on nearly 100 post occupancy evaluations in the UK and elsewhere came to the conclusion that the overall impression of homes had a considerable impact on the way that people felt about them. Their argument was that designers of low cost housing must take real care with the image of the housing that they are creating. They argue that  'a pleasing  appearance' has nothing to do with any particular style but more with 'variety in  building height, facades, colour, good landscape pleasant views from dwellings, a non institutional appearance and high levels of maintenance' (Cooper-Marcuse & Sarkissian 1986).

Crime and perceptions of safety are extremely important for communities. Armitage has set out with great clarity the importance of design for the minimisation of crime (Armitage 2013). Design against crime works at different scales, from the layout of streets to the design of front doors, all impact on this issue. The digital footprint of an area is worth considering. It has been found, for example, that discussions of crime remain on the internet for all to see in perpetuity, impacting on conceptions of place. (Cheshire & Wickes 2012, p.1179). Crime is not always a straightforward issue. Gamman and Thorpe explore the questions 'If designers, by 'thinking thief', are helped to deliver social benefit in terms of reduced incidence and impact of crime, what benefits might be afforded to society by facilitating criminals (and those at greatest risk of becoming criminals) to 'think designer' or 'artist'?' (Gamman & Thorpe 2011)

We have yet to define the moment when the social architect relinquishes responsibility for a project. We argue that this should extend long beyond the 'completion' date of any project. Falk and Carley outline a need for a series of new roles in the creation of Sustainable Urban Neighbourhoods, for example 'Stewardship', 'management' and civic leadership' (Falk & Carley 2012, p.18). Interestingly an emergent finding from a University of York study of the new Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust development Derwenthorpe is that 'environmental stewardship' is needed to help the community embrace the sustainable potential of its fabric.[3] This we would argue is the role of the architect capable of facilitating what is commonly known as 'soft landings'. Architects such as Architype offer a menu of architectural services long beyond the 'completion' of a building and the end of the traditional architectural 'Plan of Work'. More research is needed to establish the value of such services.

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[3] Deborah Quilgars, 'Derwenthorpe', presentation Housing Studies Association Conference, 17.4.14.

*2.5.3 Identity, belonging, heritage and social labelling*

Carmona writes of 'the perceived role of design elements and 'image' in smoothing out possible conflicts with planning authorities and in gaining public support' (Carmona et al. 2001b, p.31). It is certainly true that architects are often brought in to do planning drawings alone for this rather cynical reason alone yet they also have an important role to play in assisting with the curation of place.

The CABE document *People and Places* draws attention to the strong feelings held by the public on the subject of 'beauty' in the built environment, an issue that is related to 'civic pride' (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010, p.5). There are however more positive social dimensions to the co-production of identity and image. Halpern (Halpern 1995a, p.143) writes that 'the labeling of an area, whether good or bad, can have very dramatic and self-fulfilling effects in that area (Halpern 1995a, p.143). Residents try to maintain and create a positive label for their area by extending their cognitive maps to include  high status places and architects can impact on this (Rapoport 1982). Halpern writes that 'symbolic aspects of the environment act to catalyze and compound other kinds of environmental design problems '(Halpern 1995a, p.145; Levine et al. 1989). Further 'labelling and stigmatization may also have a direct effect on the self-image and mental health of residents, though this has yet to be conclusively proven. Further place attachment correlates with 'community cohesion (Manzo & Perkins 2006, p.339)

'How residents feel about their neighbourhood, and how they perceive others to view their neighbourhood are related to both their perceptions of home quality, and their feelings of status and control' (Clark & Kearns 2012, 934).  Research has shown the importance of building distinctive features into housing, a sense of identity being important for

neighbourhood satisfaction (CABE 2005c, p.4). The University of Bristol carried out a survey of 600 households on a large suburban housing estate with little or no distinctive design quality. The researchers found that these residents exhibited more difficulties in selling and experienced more negative equity than those living on more distinctively designed developments (Forrest et al. 1997). The problem is of course that house builders are little concerned about the fate of their estates once they are sold.

CABE found that 'Beauty is regarded as a positive experience strongly related to bringing about happiness and wellbeing in individuals lives' (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010, p.4). Beauty in the built environment was seen as being important for civic pride and for attracting people to an area. They believe that beauty is important in their local area and there is a strong consensus for striving for more beauty in neighbourhoods, towns and cities. Where there is less beauty, it is seen as part of a cycle of depravation; people can and do pay more to live in areas which are more beautiful. (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010, p.5) 'History and memory can play an important role in making a place feel beautiful. There tends to be a preference for older buildings over newer ones – for a variety of reasons that go beyond purely visual taste'. People's overall ability to appreciate beauty is affected by whether they feel comfortable, safe and included in a place. Hence when there is a shared history, feeling of community and pride in a place, people are more likely to say they experience beauty there. These findings were echoed in the NEF Peckham project: ' The use of local designers and artists in the development of the streetscape in the Bellenden neighbourhood roused curiosity in residents and bestowed the place with a uniqueness and distinctiveness, features which are thought to be important for a shared sense of belonging' (NEF 2010 p21).

Significantly the participants of the beauty project 'recognised that they judge, and are judged on, where they live and their physical surroundings, as well as where they spend time. People can be judged for living or spending time in 'ugly' or 'beautiful' areas. It was felt that by investing in improving a place – be it through buildings, public events or general upkeep – it can encourage people to find those places more beautiful, and to treat them with more respect and care'. (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010, p.5). In Peckham residents attribute positive emotions such as 'a sense of belonging' to aspects of their local architecture both new and old (NEF 2010 p20).

It is important to use creative means to counter negative perceptions of ageing within neighbourhoods. It is surely here that architects can use skills in place branding to make a real difference.  Wiesel writes 'Much active agency by older people and their advocates is required in order to achieve positive neighbourhood ageing. Just as importantly, there is a need for a supportive policy and planning environment that embraces rather than fears population ageing. Urban and housing researchers can contribute to the development of such an environment by expanding the optimistic scenario of ageing neighbourhoods , through creative theoretical ideas and empirical explorations of the ways ageing can improve neighbourhoods.'(Wiesel 2012 155). This, we argue, is the territory of architects, the curation of lifestyle and branding of place being an underrated aspect of their work (Klingmann 2010).

Hall writes of the impact of 'branding' on some of the newer neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. 'The idea of 'branding' different neighbourhoods, as with manufactured goods, seems a powerful one. It has helped create a much broader market for new homes than in the UK, as new homes offer a distinctly better product than many of the old apartments' (Hall 2013, 170).

> . . .it also helps if there are architects or other building professionals able to act as catalysts or enablers, which is easiest in historic  and university cities where there is an appetite for something more sustainable and better value than the standard suburban home. In Freiburg it has been found that although better architecture and construction can add 8-14 percent to the cost of new homes, it is more than repaid through energy savings (Hall 2013, 265).

John Punter writes that 'visioning has become an integral part of corporate governance in the UK, a key feature of civic entrepreneurialism and place-marketing'. Further 'it has a particularly important role to play in conveying desirable urban futures and building public consensus to deliver them. (Punter 2011, p.29). There is however is remarkably little evidence that 'visioning' has a positive impact on communities where it happens, yet another aspect of architecture's impact that remains unexplored.

*2.5.4 Making transformations through the design process itself*

One of the most resoundingly powerful messages emerging from this review is the importance of participatory practice for wellbeing. (Halpern 1995a; Scottish Executive 2006). Participatory practice, argues CABE, should be compulsory training for all Built Environment professionals (CABE 2010) and is a key part of the architects role. Till writes that 'it has in the past been treated as a form of intrusion into the idealized values of architectural culture, something that brings unwanted noise to an already complex process'(Till et al. 2010).


The Hawthorne Effect, the fact that the communities being studied change just because they are being studies is well known, but underinterrogated within the field of architecture. Manzo and Perkins observe that 'emotional bonds to place can be con- nected to community participation in planning and design effort' (Manzo & Perkins 2006, p.339). The NEF study of

Peckham revealed that ' the *way* in which a development or regeneration project is delivered on the ground matters, influencing the extent to which all stakeholders feel part of the place shaping and place making process and the connections which are fostered between people within the neighbourhood' (NEF 2012, p.3). They advocate a 'co-production approach'  in which professionals share information and experiences with local people (NEF 2012, p.5). They recommend the financing of this from the earliest stage in the process to make it 'genuinely useful'.  They found that 'being actively involved in the development process through choosing street-level designs or helping to manage community gardens was important for stimulating social interaction and strengthening social networks'.  In other words the very act of co-design had a positive impact . 'This sense of 'neighbourliness' was sustained long after the renewal work ceased and was identified as one of the core neighbourhood assets in Bellenden that supported people's individual well-being (NEF 2010 23). Further they recognise the need for a 'new skills base within the sector in engagement and coaching techniques'. These skills are part of the social architect skillset.

Another instructive example is a £2.2 million housing redevelopment project for the Shoreditch Trust in north London. Here savings due to community engagement were estimated to be in the region of £500,000. Compared to other projects, there were fewer delays and associated costs caused by responding to residents' complaints, reworking designs at a late stage to meet user needs, and on-site events such as vandalism and crime (Kaszynska & Parkinson 2012, p.8).

 'There is no study or toolkit capturing directly how community-led design impacts on the creation of quality public space' write the authors of the AHRC funded 'Valuing Community Led Design' project (Alexiou et al. 2012). They observe that while artists and others have often recorded the

impact of community work on individuals they rarely record the impact on the community overall. It is worth noting the significant difficulty that the group had in defining the term 'community led design (Alexiou et al. 2012, p.5). They acknowledge that their project 'opened up interesting questions about design expertise and the role of professional designers'. Further they note that 'while the meaning of design and design expertise changes, the role of design becomes more and more important' (p.7).

Alexiou et al. classified the types of responses they received on the benefits of 'community led design' under the headings of:

- Quality
  - Transforming, improving, design practice
  - Better design outcomes improving quality
- Social Value
  - Social capital, community and sustainability
  - Citizenship
  - Public Goods (for example creating free public spaces)
- Social Value
  - Personal Value
  - Everyday Creativity

Their definitions and responses in many ways give flesh to the benefits of this aspect of the architects skillset which, again, needs further exploration.

### 2.5.5 Rigorous recording and representation of cultural changes

This territory has been pioneered through the public space studies of the architect Jan Gehl (Gehl & Svarre 2013). It was used to create an evidence base to show transformations in space use and human behaviour in cities. Architects have taken mapping to new heights with

the use of digital technologies (Yaneva 2012). Tools of mapping are invaluable to make manifests aspects of spatial experience no other discipline can collect (Awan & Langley 2013). 00:/ suggest that 'Unlocking dormant assets requires a wide awareness of what is there already. Collaboratively 'mapping' the assets of places (both physical spaces and hidden talents and learning dreams) is a process that could bring policy-makers and service providers together with the wider public, creating platforms for genuine discussion about the shared aspirations for places (00:/ 2011, 179),

Another mapping device is Space Syntax developed by Bill Hillier and Juliette Hanson at University College London (Hillier & Hanson 1984). This is a computational tool that depicts visually the 'integration' of space and from this attempts to infer the degree to which it is likely to be used by people. The Space Syntax method encodes physical space into digital models that are then used to run simulation algorithims, for example using depth-map analysis on a building's plan, which is used to give an indication of the supposed legibility of space through attributes related to physical or visual connectivity.

*Valuing Community Led Design* also offers important lessons about the need for mapping skills (Alexiou et al. 2012, p.8) when doing Community Led Design. When asked how best to capture the value of community led design the following 'visual and  and Creative Methods' were cited.

- o Visual and Experience Mapping

- o Film, video, photography, blogs and social media

- o Asset mapping (Helen Hamlyn Centre for Design 2013)

These would be used in conjunction with other techniques such as interviews, walks and workshops. These, we argue, are a familiar part of the social architect's skillset although they are rarely recognised as such.

*2.5.6 Summary*

The 'grey' literature contains little actual evidence of the potential impact of the architect's skillset on homes and neighbourhoods. A comprehensive review of the academic literature in this area is needed. A brief review of academic literature suggests that there are several areas in which architect's are likely to have a positive impact but much work needs to be done to establish the precise nature of that impact.

## 2.6 Overall Findings

*2.6.1 Process not product*

If architecture is mentioned at all in the grey literature that we have reviewed, it is within a very narrow scope, where it is equated with the physical aspects of the built environment. This is especially true in the literature on the value of urban design (Carmona et al. 2002; Carmona et al. 2001a). Where the discussion is broader and includes social relations, architecture is not mentioned explicitly. This points to a significant mismatch between what architects consider their role to be and the expertise the profession and discipline feels it can offer, and what is normally understood within the broader policy context. The reviewing team was unanimous in its belief that the primary flaw within existing reviews of value is the overemphasis on the value of the architectural artefact, the building. Instead we need to value the process that went into making it.

*2.6.2 Lack of Clarity as to what architects do*

There is very considerable confusion as to the meaning of architecture within the profession, a confusion that is magnified as it travels beyond the field. As Saint writes 'throughout the profession, people purvey and

sustain a misleading impression of what it is to be an architect, buttressed in large measure by illusions of what it has been to be an architect' (Saint 1983, p.161).There is an urgent need to differentiate between different types of architects and the value systems that they work to. Part of architecture's difficulty in expressing value is because these value systems can contradict one another. If architects are treated as a unified entity this results in a confused and contradictory message.

*2.6.3 Definition of Architecture and Architect skillsets*

Very few of the reports we examined mention architecture, something that is contributing to the marginalization of the profession. Given our interest in process we are interested in architecture a verb not a noun. Although words such as 'community architect' or 'commercial architect' 'are widely used they are not used with any consistency. We believe the word architect needs the addition of qualifiers that relate to the value system within which that architect works. Whilst clients at the high end of the market may be aware of the subtle difference between architectural practices, we know that many potential clients for SME practices - clients who have never before employed an architect -  are not. This issue connects with the lack of time spent by most SME architects on projecting their image through marketing. As the Glasshouse state: 'Architects come in many different shapes and sizes; the key is to select a practice on the basis of a good fit with your group and with a shared passion to make great spaces' (Glasshouse, n.d., p.3) but we believe potential clients need help in finding architects with whom their values align. It is for this reason that we posit the idea of three different subcategories of architect (Fig. 7):

- Social architects (prioritise public good over cost). Includes sustainability.

- Commercial architects (prioritise economic value over cultural and social value)
- Cultural architects (prioritise cultural value over social value and cost)

They are not mutually exclusive. All architects must be in some way commercial or income generating. We have not, for the time being, included the category 'sustainable architect' as, in our experience 'social architects' have very similar concerns to 'sustainable architects' and true sustainability is not possible without the mobilisation and buy in of people and communities. Our aim then is to test the usefulness of these categories through the consultations in the next chapter.
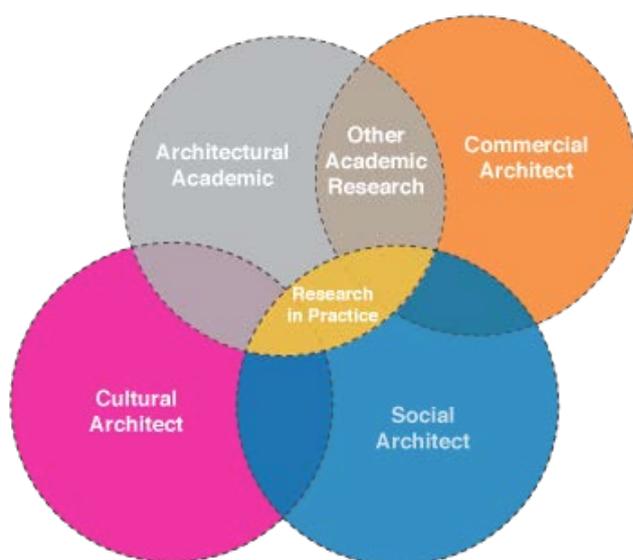


Fig. 7 Diagram showing the value systems of architecture [hypertext: venn diagram showing the segregation of architecture into different priorities: cultural, commercial and social, each overlapping with architectural academia.]

The literature that we have reviewed also cuts across the expertise of urban designers and planners. The cultural value of architecture and the

cultural value of urban design and planning are closely linked. Certainly these professions are similarly beleaguered (Falk & Carley 2012, p.40). Part of the confusion about the role of the architect appears to come from a more general confusion about the responsibility of other 'built environment professionals'. Work needs to be done on differentiating between them. Fig. 8 shows our work in progress on making a simple diagram that shows the relative terrritories of architects, landscape and urban designers and planners.
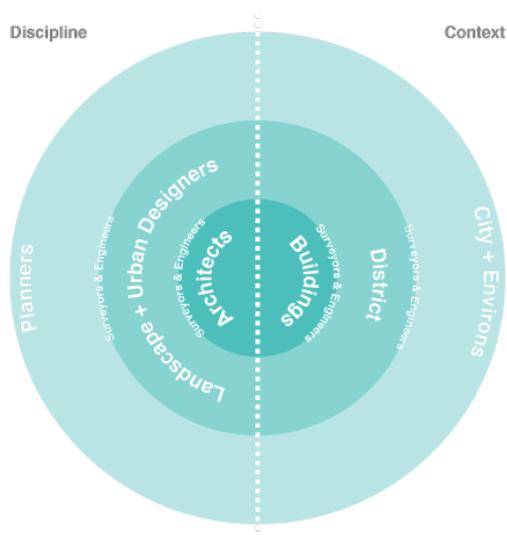


Fig. 8 Diagram showing the relationship between types of building professional and the scale of their work [hypertext diagram with three contentric circles, the inner circle being architect, the middle circle landscape and urban designer and the outer circle being planner. The architect generally works at the scale of building, the landscape and urban designer work at the scale of the district and planners work at the scale of the city. Surveyors and Engineers work at the borders of these territories]

It is our suggestion that the main difference is the scale at which they work.The Homes and Communities Agency defines additional value according to four 'spatial levels' : site, local/sub-regional, wider areas, national (HCA 2014, p.11). If however we are making the argument that,

particularly in the case of social architects, more emphasis should be placed on process than built output and on the benefits of communities and organisations working with architects it seems appropriate to map the territories of these professions according to people or communities of people. We note with interest that the JRF funded Sustainable Urban Neighbourhood focuses on 'neighbourhood', a social group, rather than, for example, 'sustainable housing developments (Falk & Carley 2012). They identify an urgent need for civic leadership (Falk & Carley 2012, p.32). Surely this is a future for planning?

# 3 Consultations

The conclusions and recommendations evolved during the critical review then needed to be tested through consultation in a range of different settings. We had an unexpected opportunity for consultation at an event held by the Homes and Communities Agency in November 2013. We include in this section an account of the three advisory group meetings that contributed greatly to the development of our thinking. The main public consultation is being led by Carolyn Butterworth in the Sheffield Live Works. http://www.live-works.org/ and is ongoing.

### 3.1 Homes and Communities Agency Event

A quick workshop survey of seventy Registered Providers and other housing professionals at a Homes and Communities Agency event in Sheffield, 26 November 2013, revealed that although very nearly all the participants believed that good design was very important for well being and 'pride' (Fig. 9). On being asked about the value of architecture one wrote:

The value of architecture or good design is paramount in developing a product that meets the requirements of the client, residents and community. Working closely with engineers to deliver a vision, a lasting impression, a product of good quality that will not be demolished in 25-60 years

Although it is good to see a positive message the significance of the quote is in the slippage between 'architecture', 'design' and 'engineer'. Clearly the author is not clear on who should be delivering the overall vision.

When asked to cite evidence of the value of architecture very few of the participants had any idea where evidence might be found. Clearly we need to 'provide Boards and senior teams with the information they need to balance competing demands for investment' (Fujiwara 2014, p.5). It is our suggestion that this inability to prove the value of good design means that it is often one of the first things to go when funding cuts are to be made.



Fig. 9 Gathering responses to our survey of Registered Providers [Hypertext: Sheffield, November 2013, wall of post it notes containing comments by housing providers on the value of architecture.]

We are most keen to convey the findings of our research to this audience as they are the ones who have to persuade funders of the value of architecture, a task for which they are clearly singularly unprepared.

## 3.2 Advisory Groups

Three Advisory Group meetings took place, each with a very different flavour. The group meetings were important for validating our work so far and in suggesting new dimensions to our work.

### 3.2.1 Sheffield Advisory Group – Social Science

Present project team, Prof Jackie Harrison (Journalism, University of Sheffield, Prof Peter Barrett (Surveyor, Loughborough University), Dr Kate Pahl (Anthropologist, University of Sheffield), Prof John Flint (Planning, University of Sheffield), Prof Jian Kang (Acoustician, University of Sheffield). What follows is a summary of the main points agreed at the meeting (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10 Sheffield Advisory Group Meeting [Hypertext: Eleven members of Advisory Group in discussions round table at Sheffield University]

**Related Projects**  - There appear to be a multitude of other related projects happening at this time that we need to connect with. These Include Prof Craig Watkins, 'Value of Planning'. Dr Kate Pahl's AHRC Co-Producing Legacy: What is the Role of the Artist in Connected Community Projects? https://www.shef.ac.uk/education/news-events/connected Prof Matthew Flinders 'Participatory Arts and Active Citizenship'. All in University of Sheffield alone.

**Discussion of LiveWorks consultation** – It was decided that the consultation should be used to test the tools developed in the overall project and that the time slippage on this part of the project was actually an advantage.

**Audience** – The audience for this project is non-architects. To a large extent the project is about making sense of what architecture is to them.

**Methodology and definitions** – We are evolving definitions as we work and the project achieves cohesion through the shared set of values of the team. It was suggested that we should make more of this. The project actually has a 'studio methodology' in which we negotiate terms constantly. This in itself echoes the process of architecture.

**Theories of Change** – We need to look at models of change deriving from Management and Leadership research to think about the changes that we are hoping to make in public perceptions of architecture. Two possible examples are: Lewin's forcefield analysis view and Kotter's pragmatic staged model (Kotter 1996). The latter seems very appropriate for CVoA and makes what we are  doing very clear. He lists eight stages in the process:

1. Establishing a sense of urgency

2. Creating the guiding coalition

3. Developing a vision and strategy

4. Communicating the change vision

5.  Empowering broad-based action

6. Generating short-term wins

7. Consolidating gains and producing more change

8. Anchoring new approaches in the culture

Clearly we are at stage 3 but our dissemination work is taking us into stage 4.

**Cultural or social value** – Rather than focus on wellbeing as the currency of our project we should focus on 'public good' as this is more 'creative' and brings in social responsibility.

**Process vs Artifact** – In giving greater emphasis to process we still need to acknowledge the role of the artifact. Clearly the way in which we have defined the 'skills' of architecture above needs to be made more clear in how they relate to the final product. Below is a further iteration:

- Transforming Mental and Physical States – Creating environments to transform the way we feel and think.

- Changing Networks and Communities – Creating built, and other, frameworks for community interaction.

- Identity, Belonging, Heritage and Social Labeling – Co-designing curation/branding of place to positively impact on resident's feelings about the value of their place in the world.

- Making Transformations through the Design Process Itself – Facilitating fulfilling learning through co-design, also architecture as part of experience economy.

- Rigorous Recording and Representation of Events – Mapping and representation of space in use, networks and events, in doing so providing important evidence of impact.

These skills are not discrete. They reinforce one another. Whether they solely the terrain of architects is questionable but we are not aware of where these subjects are taught except in schools of architecture and landscape. Networks, for example can impact upon sense of identity (Hampshire & Matthijsse 2010). They can be used to positive or negative effect so we need a sliding scale that shows this differentiation. There is an urgent need to improve the definitions of architecture available to non-architects. It was also agreed that we do need to try to represent these actions visually.

**Scale** – The actions of architecture listed above, when scaled up,  also define the actions of urban designers and planners.

**Clarity needed in differentiating types of practice** - Following the recent publication of Farrell Review it seems very possible that architecture's legal protection of the title 'architect' may go. It seems extremely important that clients are made aware of the different level of service that can expect from different clients, something that could be expressed through a diagram. In the recent RIBA benchmarking of practices it was noted that 'each practice has a subtly different vision of

its future and therefore its own version of what business success looks like' (Cole 2014, p.39). This, we suggest, adds to the difficulty for clients in understanding who they are employing. Architecture must be disaggregated more to make it legible.

**Project Report** – we need to revisit the original objectives and set out future plans.

*3.2.2 London Advisory Group – Architecture*

Present: Project Team, Anne Dye (RIBA), Elanor Warwick (Affinity Sutton Housing and former Head of Research CABE), Sebastian MacMillan (Architecture, Cambridge University), Nick Rogers (Design Director Taylor Wimpey), Andy von Bradsky (PRP Architects, Chair of RIBA Housing Group, Veronica Simpson (journalist *Blueprint)*. The main points agreed were as follows (Fig. 11):



Fig. 11 London Advisory Group Meeting at RIBA [Hypertext: Photo of ten Advisory Group members around a table at the RIBA]

**Grey literature** – We need to recognize differences across grey literature from industry to policy. It is useful to review grey literature because it is not searchable via normal academic search engines.

**Coverage** – The group felt this was roughly correct. It was suggested that we should read *Housing London: A Mid Rise Solution* (Prince's Trust 2014).

**Differentiation of different types of practice and value systems within them** – there was stong agreement on this. The group thought that the RIBA held on to the idea that architecture is a generalist subject for too long and that the different cultures within architecture needed recognition for the sake of clarity. Housing can be many different things – a service, an investment, a cultural icon. Each takes a very different sort of architecture.

**Definition of architect as being not just about construction** – there was agreement on this

**Cultural vs Social Value** – It was felt important not to merge the social and cultural agenda. Economic and social values are vital with cultural value being a desirable follow on outcome.

**Dissemination** – It was strongly agreed that architecture should make more effort to disseminate its outputs in a variety of media to different audiences. This ultimately should be the way CVoA is disseminated.

**Vocabulary** – The important point was made that while the words may have changed and have a strongly political tone – the word 'neighbourhood' is, for example, very New Labour -  the ideas remain constant.

*3.2.3 Manchester Advistory Group – Marketing*

Workshop leader Paul Iddon, Kernel Sympatico Marketing, Dr Andrew Crompton (University of Liverpool), Tim Heatley (property developer), Phil O'Dwyer (OMI Architects Manchester), Lisa McFarlane (SevenArchitecture, Manchester Society of Architects), James McMillan (Great Places, housing developer), Nick Moss (SixTwo Architects).

As this workshop (Fig. 12) was organised by Iddon none of the members of the group were known to the PI. They therefore gave a very fresh view to the subject.  We asked Iddon to facilitate the event as we recognize a need for marketing techniques to communicate the benefits of the architect's skillset for wellbeing. We do however recognize that there is a fine line between this and the fully fledged 'selling' of the profession for market gain. We realize that there is a potential paradox here of drawing inspiration from marketing strategies in project where value system is underpinned by social justice but want to unpack what this means.

Fig. 12 Advisory Group Meeting in Manchester facilitated by Paul Iddon at the offices of Kernel Sympatico [Hypertext: Manchester Advisory Group discussing the marketing of architecture seated at a table.]

**Segmentation of Market** – It is necessary to break architecture down to smaller segments in order to identify audience and needs.

**Business to Business or Business to Client** – Agreed that our area of concern was business to business as these are they people able to commission architecture.

**Strategy** – Strategy and research needed to develop a platform using: brand assets; market and category insights and lastly target group insight. Only then can you 'activate brand' and begin to market architecture.

**Brand**  - Architect is a brand protected by title. This is a unique asset. Daniel Kahneman has identified two ways of thinking: thinking fast and thinking slow  which is much more considered, critical and long term (Kahneman 2012). When you think fast you are looking for confirmation of what you already know. In order to achieve 'cognitive ease', an acceptance of certain brand qualities, the same message needs to be repeated again and again. It is a major problem therefore that the word 'architect' so rarely appears in the critical review material. We need to create a positive image of architecture when thinking fast. Architect is a brand. Individuals and organisations are brands. Places are brands. Architects create brands with what they do. A brand is the sum of all feelings, thoughts and recognitions about  something, many intangible and many negative. Many people have negative associations with the word architect. People make emotional choices about brands for rational reasons. These emotional responses can be linked to Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs'.

**Changing face of architecture** – Fee levels have dropped 40% in 6 years. What is most shocking is that, according to the *Architect's Journal Top 100*, the median pay of architects in 2014 is £36K (Tether 2014). There is 20% unemployment amongst architects and 50% of architecture practices do not have a business plan. In 1983 80% of contracts were led by architects in the traditional manner, now 80% of contracts are led by building contractors who employ architects, Design and Build. 20% of planning permissions in any year are put in by architects. Building procurement means that architecture is rarely able to work to its full potential. The building contractor or project manager is between the architect and client. Both architect and client are likely to be interested in issues of quality and reputation but this is not generally the concern of the contractor.

**Creativity** – Architects generally describe their main asset as creativity and design but research from the University of Pennysylvania shows that people do not want creativity, they want low risk (Mueller et al. 2010). The group member who is a property developer endorsed this by saying he wanted good design to be a given. What he wanted was speed, efficiency, an open attitude which allowed the client to input into the design, a certain amount of speculative work on a pro bono basis and trust.

**Matching architecture to market** – marketing architecture and marketing consumer goods is similar. *Britain's Got Talent* attracts 14 million viewers, *Grand Designs* attracts about 1.5, and these are people who are interested in architecture anyway. Architects now operate at the premium end of the market where there are few consumers. Volume House Builders operate at the lower bulk end of the market, the terrain of architectural technologists not qualified architects. Technologists are like architects in the public perception but a lot cheaper. If architects offered a

greater range of services they would be likely to satisfy a greater range of consumers.

**Segregation of architecture** – the group agreed with the CVoA segmentation of practice into social, cultural and commercial. Indeed one practitioner said this was the way that he subdivided his own practice.

**North South Divide** – Practices in London are benefitting from the extroadinary housing values in the city but the situation is very different in the regions. There was a real sense of urgency from the group that the RIBA needs professional help to develop the marketing of brand architect and that architects in the regions might have to take this issue into its own hands if the RIBA in London does not.

**Design** – This term is much too ambiguous and should be avoided. Design on the continent, for example in France and Portugal is Industrial Design not Architecture. It follows then that one of the key methodologies of architecture 'research by design' should be renamed 'architectural research by practice'.

**Particular significance for CVoA stategy** – Instead of defining types of architecture we should be defining types of architects. The word architect, which has been a subject of some ambivalence, needs to be reinstituted into our framework.

**3.3 Public Consultation**

The public consultation on the value of architecture is in three stages: pilot project, consultation 1 and revised consultation 2.

*3.3.1 Pilot Consultation*

The pilot consultation took place in Blackburn Lancs with twelve students from Blackburn College, none with any architectural training (Fig 12). We used the format of a typical first year design project to start the

conversation. While the participants worked on the project that spoke of their feelings about architecture revealing a confusion about public perceptions of what architecture is. No formal questions were asked but information sheets were left on the table.



Fig. 12 Pilot project on the value of architecture [hypertext: A Sheffield University MArch student discussing the value of architecture while working on a design project with two education students in Blackburn, the pilot consultation]

It was felt by the participant's that people only take an interest in architecture if its in their background or if they've been trained to. "Your ordinary Joe Bloggs doesn't think about it." The participants also regretted what they perceived to be a lack of craft and detail in contemporary buildings. Regarding housing there was an appreciation of a new local housing scheme because of its mix of social & private housing "instead on putting everyone on benefits together they've mixed them up and that gives them more pride and gives them a new way of thinking". Other new developments were described as "chucking people in cardboard

houses" . The pilot project confirmed CABE's findings that people have very strong feelings about the built environment but finding the best vehicle to discuss these feelings is difficult as architecture as a field is so hard to describe (Ipsos Mori & CABE 2010).

*3.3.2 Public Consultation 1*

The public consultation is ongoing. It took a new direction based on our discovery that architecture is so little understood and on the need to discuss process rather than product.  We decided to go back to square one. It is for this reason that we are preparing an *I Spy Guide to Architecture* for use in the Sheffield University Live Works (Fig. 13) a nexus for academia, practice and public research.   Instead of focusing on Gothic, Classical or High Tech as is traditional in architecture guides, our guide will help people identify the skillsets used to build specific bits of architecture http://www.live-works.org/. Extensive research has shown architects and non-architects disagree on what buildings should look like anyway so we are better off talking about process, a way of avoiding the pitfalls of 'Archispeak', a form of language that has its own dedicated dictionary (Porter 2004).

Fig. 13 Liveworks in Sheffield, situated right outside council offices [Hypertext: Image showing the public presence of Sheffield University Live Works on a prominent city centre junction]

## 3.4 Summary

The outcome of the final two public consultations will be published in a further updated version of this report in July 2014 available at www.culturalvalueofarchitecture.org Until then we cannot comment on the efficacy of the 'Eye Spy Guide'. Testing the ideas developed through the Critical Review with the Consultation Groups has been an extremely helpful process and it is one that is ongoing as we disseminate our findings further. Although there are some excellent initiatives for public engagement such as Open House, Open City and the Architecture Centres more must be done within the profession and architectural academia to help non-architects into the conversation about the future of their homes and neighbourhoods. This is clearly an issue of public good.

# 4. Process

This section focuses on the process of the CVoA project. It provides a reflective appraisal of the experience of the project overall. The project was constrained by a 9 month timescale and a £50K budget which limited the scope that we were able to cover.

## 4.1 Original aims and outcomes achieved

The aim of the project was to complete the critical review of literature in order 'to establish a framework to enable us to identify and evaluate the cultural value of architecture and the methods by which we evaluate that value'. We recognised that 'the definition of the components will be refined as the research progresses as will our articulation of the methodologies that make them manifest'.

The original project was formulated around a set of research questions:

- What is the cultural value of architectural expertise in the design of UK homes and neighbourhoods? How can it be used to promote reflective and engaged members of society?
- How might architects build on this value to develop new forms of practice that address societal challenges?
- How can evidence of the cultural value of architecture be used to promote the profession of architecture?
- What can architects learn from participation in the overall Cultural Value project? How can we contribute to its development?

Unconsciously we seem to have anticipated our finding that the project should focus on 'expertise'. We did not at that stage know how under represented this would be within the grey literature and we were not aware of how little was known about the nature and value of architectural expertise.

The project has not really strayed from the path that we set at the start. We propose that the value systems of architectural practice are made more clear and accessible, allowing non-architects to enter into a debate that is not based on expert judgement or 'Archispeak' but is based on value judgements familiar to us all. Only once the value systems of architecture/types of practice are made clear can we prove their value.

## 4.2 Unexpected changes to process

### 4.2.1 Critical Review of 'grey literature'

The focus on 'grey literature' was not written into the original bid as we were not aware that there would be so much of it. A further review of the refereed literature in this area is still urgently needed.

### 4.2.2 Delay to public consultation

The delay was caused by contractual and other difficulties in launching Live Works but was actually a boon as it means that we can test the findings of the critical review and their manifestation through the 'I Spy Guide to Architecture' in a real world setting.

### 4.2.3 Advisory Groups

The make up of the Advisory Groups changed considerably during the course of the project. Each of the Advisory Groups was attended by some five outside people meaning that we were able to have excellent discussions. Other meetings were held with additional advisors during the development of the project.

### 4.2.4 Communicating Architecture

Although our original application shows that we knew that we might have to spend time redefinging the role of the architect we did not anticipate

that the definition of architecture would prove to be such a stumbling block in expressing its value. We did not think that we would be embarking on anything so audacious or fundamental as a redefinition of architecture's skill set, something that inevitably reflects on RIBA policy in this area. We were pleased to receive the support and encouragement of our advisory groups in embarking on this process.

*4.2.5 Europe*

We did not anticipate testing the CVoA research into an European context but took the opportunity to do so when it arose. Clearly there is much scope for fruitful further research in this area.

## 4.3 Further research

*4.3.1 Review of refereed outputs*

Although we had intended to make a survey of refereed journal papers across a range of relevant disciplines we found that the volume of grey literature was so large that we were only able to engage with the academic research in a piecemeal way. We did compile an extremely extensive bibliography of academic literature  but it is not accompanied by any sort of critical review. A further obvious extension of this project would be to review the academic literature pertaining to the cultural value of architecture since 2000 and to examine the way it relates to the grey literature and to the outside world. Our superficial review set out in 2.5 suggests that the academic literature is likely to contain some reasonably concrete instances of value but is unlikely to include many references to architecture.

*4.3.2 Review of related projects*

While completing the critical review we discovered a range of other research projects closely linked to this one. It seems that a further critical review is needed to draw together findings across a range of research projects and to make links with the other Cultural Value projects. It is particularly important to make their findings available to the practitioners who rarely draw upon academic work.

In particular we are interested in trying to align this project with Daniel Fujiwara's HACT Social Value of Housing work. Using his welfare economics model it might be possible to ascribe financial value to the types of activities that we have set out here.

### 4.3.3 Comparison with cultural value of community arts practice

We are aware that useful comparisons may be possible between the field of community art (MacPherson et al. 2012; Alexiou et al. 2012) and that of community architecture. It may be instructive to explore the way in which artists measure the impact of their work in this context.

### 4.3.3 Disseminate findings to industry

In particular we need to convey our findings back to Homes and Communities Agency and Registered Providers of Housing, ideally the group we spoke to in the Homes and Communities Agency consultation 3.1. This we propose to do through the medium of the HCA newsletter.

### 4.3.4 Cultural Value Tool

An obvious next step is the development of a tool for ascertaining value. Dashboards appear to be becoming increasingly common in presenting information about urban space and cities 'at a glance' (Pauwels et al. 2009). It might be possible to create, for example, a social architecture dashboard to be applied to a particular project but we envisage strong resistance to such a suggestion from within the profession and we would

need to complete considerable research on the viability and acceptance of such a tool.

### 4.3.5 Communicating CVoA

The public consultation and advisory groups revealed an acute need for a simple framework to make architecture and its benefits clear. We will continue to refine our definitions and diagrams in consultation with others and will use Kotter's model of change (3.2.1) as the basis of future leadership in thie area. The CVoA project has enabled us to 'create a guiding coalition' drawn largely from our Advisory Groups and to 'develop a vision and strategy'. Extensive work is needed to complete the process which Samuel hopes to address, in part, via an AHRC Research Leadership Fellowship.

### 4.3.5 Aligning our findings with existing evaluation methods

It would be fruitful to try aligning our findings with existing methods of Post Occupancy Evaluation. This could be done by developing a framework or open access tool that could be aligned to the existing forms of Post Occupancy Evaluation on the market, for example the Arup based Building Use Studies (BUS). Another socially sustainable evaluation tool is Footprint used by the ethical housing developer Carillion Igloo.

The main underlying issue here is that we need to develop the research capacity of architectural practice. In order to establish the value of the architecture the information gathering process must take place both before and after a project takes place. Practices need to be tooled up to collect this information. If successful our bid to the AHRC for Home Improvements Follow on Funding to develop Continuing Professional Development in research for practitioners will partially address this need.

### 4.3.6 Process or Product

We have placed great emphasis on the process of social architecture than artefact or building, justifiable we think in the context. However the reluctance to neglect the value of the artefact altogether that came from our advisory group must be explored further. If we had been studying the cultural value of cultural architecture then we could not ignore the value of the artefact. This tension was brought up in the AHRC report on practice based research (Rust et al. 2007, p.41).

*4.3.7 Applicability of definitions to urban design, landscape design and planning*

The reason that many of the 'grey' documents refer to 'design' or 'built environment professional' and not architect is partly because the skills mentioned also related to the urban design, landscape design and planning professions. We need to consult with these other professions on our definitions of types of practice to see if we can come up with a concensus. We need to join together with these other professions to present a united lobbying front. A problem for the sector is that there is no 'overarching framework to which the individual sets of outcomes and guidance collectively relate' (NEF 2010 p.31).

*4.3.8 Skillset of other Architect types*

We need to further develop definitions for the skillsets of cultural and commercial architecture to co-exist alongside our definition of social architecture.

*4.3.9 Test findings against a European context*

We began the project believing that architects in the UK are held in far lower esteem than architects across the rest of Europe. The response to Samuel's initial presentation of her findings to the ARENA European research network suggest that this is not perhaps the case. We now plan to make a comparison of architectural cultures across a range of

European countries. It is our thesis that when architects have low esteem the construction industry is less likely to innovate.

*4.3.10 Value of Architectural Education*

The corollary of architecture not being valued is obviously that architectural education is not valued. 'If public trust in these professions has been dented, then trust in the training that has underpinned them may also be wearing a bit thin' (Gill 2014) wrote John Gill in a recent editorial in the *Times Higher Education Supplement.* Although the context of this quote was different the message still stands. There is an urgent need for architectural education to be more clear about the benefits that it brings particularly in a fee paying context when architect's will never be able to afford to repay their educational loans (Wright 2013). We are in discussions with SCHOSA (Standing Conference of Heads of Schools of Architecture) on developing a project on the Value of Architectural Education.

## 4.4 Dissemination

The project has received extensive dissemination through the research process as we consulted across a wide constituency. The web site  is the locus of our outputs

*4.4.1 Housing Industry*

As dicussed in 3.1 Samuel made a keynote presentation to approx. 70 registered providers and other housing professionals at a Homes and Communities Agency event at Sheffield University in October 2013.

Samuel also presented the findings to the Housing Studies Conference April 2014. The project has also been written up on the Housing Quality Network Website http://hqnetwork.org.uk/evidence. She presented the work at the Architectural Research by Design conference in Lisbon,

Portugal (led by the European Architecture Research body ARENA) in June 2014 and is also presenting the research at the European Housing Research Network Conference in July 2014. Papers from both these conferences will be published on the internet.

The report will be sent to the producers of 'grey' literature that feature in our database with an accompanying email making recommendations for future studies. In particular those who are trying to demonstrate the value of architecture need to focus on the skills of architecture.

*4.4.2 Architectural Practice*

Most importantly CVoA will make an important contribution to the RIBA's three year Value project and is likely to receive extensive dissemination through that project.

Samuel presented both the Cultural Value Project and the AHRC Home Improvements project to members of the profession a the Royal Society of Architects in Wales Conference November 2013 in Cardiff.

Samuel contributed to the responses to the Farrell Review of Architecture generated by the RIBA and SCHOSA, also providing a response from the Cultural Value Project itself. Samuel attended the Westminster Media Forum on UK Architecture and the built Environment: value, exports and policy to deliver design excellence chaired by Peter Aldous MP who leads the Associate Parliamentary Group on Architecture and Planning in December 2013. She spoke out about the lack of academic/research representation on the Farrell Panel receiving strong support from members of the audience and from Matt Gaskin Head of Oxford Brookes. She was later quoted in *Building Design* magazine on this issue and was contacted by *The Independent* for further comment. She contributed a paper on the CVoA project to the transcripts of the event published in January 2014. She was also asked to comment on the findings of the

Farrell Review in the Architect's Journal in March 2014 and has prepared a 1500 word article on our research for the July edition of the *RIBA Journal.*

Samuel presented the project to the Twentieth Century Society Impact Symposium in London April 2014.

The project will contribute to the content of *Demystifying Architectural Research: winning business and adding value* co-edited by Samuel and Anne Dye at the RIBA to be published next year by RIBA Enterprises.

Samuel will present our work at the RIBA Guerilla Tactics CPD Event in November 2014. Sophie Handler is the academic lead on the RIBA Research Matters symposium at the RIBA in November 2014. Our research will be disseminated via this event. Samuel will lead the RIBA Research Matters symposium at the RIBA in November 2015 on Evaluation. In 2016 she will lead the second Arena European Network Conference on the issue of Value.

*4.4.3 Policy*

The project received brief introduction to an audience of MPs including Housing Minister Kris Hopkins at the Parliamentary Launch of the PI's Home Improvements embedded project Space to Park in February 2014. It received further exposure at the Parliamentary Launch of Motivating Collective Custom Build in May 2014 before an audience of some 100 MPS and industry experts including Planning Minister Nick Boles.

*4.4.4 Public*

See the discussion of consultations in 3.3 above.

*4.4.5 Academia*

The project has contributed extensively to the book *Why Architecture Matters* to be authored by Samuel with chapters prepared by each of the project team. These will be structured around the different skill sets of the

social architect defined above. The manuscript will be submitted to Routledge June 2015. The following refereed journal papers will be submitted by July 2015:

- Handler wll target *Ageing and Society* for a paper on policy trends in this area.
- Lintonbon is targeting *Historic Environments Policy and Practice* for a paper on the changing landscape of values as discussed within heritage. The audience for this is mainly archaeological . She will also write about the importance of architectural skills for *Journal of Architectural Conservation*.
- Awan will target *Space and Culture* through for her work on community cohesion and mapping. *City Space and Society* would also be suitable for this research.

## 4.5 Beneficiaries

### 4.5.1 Project Team

CVoA has given the project group the time to do the critical review. This process has enabled us to reskill ourselves with the most up to date current industry information on housing and communities. It has also provided a passport to an important interdisciplinary group of new connections and potential future research collaborators.

The project has transformed the way Samuel will teach architecture, particularly its history. The 'I Spy Guide' and the categories of social, cultural and commercial architects provide a useful structure for comparisons of historical architecture. There is much potential for 'research led learning' in this area.

The value of architecture and grey literature are both unfashionable subjects. The project has given us the authority to cut across prejudice

and challenge current fixed ideas about the nature of architectural practice.

Anne Dye of the RIBA, our partner in this project writes: 'The RIBA has been interested in the value of architecture, both of the process of architecture and the products – buildings and communities – for many years. However we have not addressed cultural value in as much detail as we would have liked, in part because of the difficulties in valuing more intangible benefits. The Cultural Value of Architecture project has been important to us analysing anew the body of evidence on the value of architecture from the viewpoint of cultural value. The critical review has identified new areas for investigation that we influence how we further develop the ongoing RIBA value project'.

*4.5.2 Advisory Group*

Elanor Warwick wrote after the event of the importance of the intellectual discussion at the London Group. The Advisory Group spawned an idea for an interdisciplinary research project between journalism and architecture on the representation of architects in the media. Kate Pahl wrote: 'Participating in the advisory board has helped me think through ways in which particular professional skills such as those found in the constellation of things architects do, can transform communities in ways that are not necessarily recognised or valued in wider society. The advisory board was a robust and intellectually challenging forum to discuss ways of assessing and evaluating the roles of architects in society. I have found it a helpful process, and hope that the board contributed to the developing analytic lens for the project team. The project as a whole is surfacing, in a number of ways, through the grey literature review and through consideration of existing practice, a mode of understanding of the usefulness of

architecture within communities. It takes both an insider and outsider approach to this, drawing on the expertise of a broad team with a strong track record in engaged research.'

### 4.5.3 Home Research Group, University of Sheffield School of Architecture

CVoA enabled us to host an important Homes and Communities Agency event at Sheffield under the auspices of the Home research group. CVoA research provided some of the underpinnings of Gillian Horne's (Director of the award winning practice Penoyre and Prasad) successful application for the White Rose College of the Arts and Humanities AHRC Doctoral Studentship allowing her to join our Home Research Group

### 4.5.4 Live Works, University of Sheffield

The pilot public consultation is being undertaken using students from the University of Sheffield MArch in this way involving them in a research project and helping them to develop their knowledge of research practice. The project is timed very nicely with the launch of Live Works. The 'I Spy Guide' will provide a useful resource to the Live Works team in their on going work with the public. The CVoA project provided an important first step in its development. Simultaneously it provided useful material for the development of CVoA Director Carolyn Butterworth's PhD.

### 4.5.5 Architectural Practice

Although only in its early stages when the call for evidence for the Farrell Review took place CVoA had already gathered substantial evidence which was used in the Farrell responses by the RIBA and by SCHOSA. It is hoped that architectural practice will benefit from the project through the CPD training that we are developing in this area and through the RIBA's Value project.

*4.5.6 Academia*

The Critical Review is our most important contribution here as it brings together a large body of research into an easily accessible format. Our definition of the skillsets of architecture would provide a useful starting point for any researchers working in the sphere of Architectural Research by Practice. We have also found the definitions useful for those who are doing interdisciplinary work with architecture as even non-architecture academics have difficulty in engaging with our subject. We look forward to comparing our process and findings with those of the other AHRC Cultural Value Projects and contributing to further developments in this area.

*4.5.7 Architecture students and prospective architecture students*

The I Spy Guide to architecture and the classifications of types of practice are a useful point of reference for students who are often themselves unclear about the skillsets of architecture or of architectural education. The definitions will help them articulate their value to future employers within and without architecture (only 30% of architecture students qualify as architects).  The PI Samuel is academic lead on the RIBA Student Desinations Survey a ten year study of the graduates of seven architecture schools. The classifications of types of practice will be useful to us in assembling the findings of this survey.

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# Conclusion

Our project forms a part of long history of studies of architectural value, many of them quickly forgotten. *The Farrell Report* is partially correct in stating 'the problem is not a lack of research. The problem appears to be getting the message across to the people that matter' (Farrell 2014, p.140). In other words the research on value and architecture is not convincing enough, it is being delivered into a hostile environment and it is not been delivered in the right way. Nor, we would argue, is there enough of it.

Architecture, as opposed to the field of social sciences, has not had that cosy, interdependent history where research is driven by motivation to translate research into policy - with policy, vice versa, making that research meaningful. However there does now seems to be some disillusionment within the field of housing that research can effect any kind of change and that policy makers have any interest in the outputs of research. This has been described as 'rational policy versus electoral policy'.[4] In completing this research project we have a very strong sensation that solid rigorous research is not enough, that the reams of 'grey literature' that have tried to prove its value have fallen on deaf ears. John Flint and Joe Crawford write of the imaginary systems in which fictions have become more important than rational argument.[5] If we are serious about trying to disseminate the cultural value of architecture we

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[4] Debate Housing Studies Association Conference, York, plenary session 16.4.14.

[5] John Flint and Joe Crawford, Rational fictions and imaginary systems: Cynical ideology and the problem figuration and practice of public housing, presentation, Housing Studies Association, York, 15.4.14.

also have to resort to new techniques and create new imaginaries of cultural value.

Writing in 1983 Andrew Saint made the pithy observation that 'if the next few generations of architects cannot define some new relationship between the public and the process of building, they will lose that special sense of identity which the profession has cherished for so long (Saint 1983, p.160). We realise we are culpable of devaluing the profession and indeed devaluing architectural education by promoting the line that anyone can do architecture. Whilst we maintain that anyone can do architecture, the input of a good – and by good we mean rigorous, critical and skilled -  architect can add great social, cultural and commercial value to a project. Architects can play a key role in facilitating co-production, bringing strategic and holistic thinking and value in the long term.

The Farrell report has opened the door to a review of the protected title architect. It seems likely, should the Conservative party regain power at the next elections, that the title will go, given their enthusiasm for free market competition. How then will architects promote their unique and important skillset? It is perhaps time to change the name of this project from the Cultural Value of Architecture to the Cultural Value of Architects, an increasingly endangered species.

Within the category Architect there is a profound and growing division between London and the rest of Britain. The overheated property market in the capital and the presence of a design conscious Mayor means that clients can and often do pay the fees of architects. The situation is very different in the regions where the need to promote the value of architects is now acute.

Our critical review is different in that it focuses on the way that value has been articulated, rather than on evidence of value. It has focused on the value of the skills of architects rather than the value of buildings. It also has a more interdisciplinary approach than past studies meaning that the knowledge is more transferable.

The issue of value has never had such high profile within government or within our profession making our project timely in the extreme. We strongly enorse the recommendation by the New Economics Foundation that:

Government should work with the built environment profession to identify a standardised framework for measuring success. The aim should be to capture the wider social, environmental, and economic impact that development projects should be having, in accordance with legislation and Treasury guidelines on public spending.(NEF 2012, p.8)

We hope that this report will contribute to this framework.

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The Cultural Value Project seeks to make a major contribution to how we think about the value of arts and culture to individuals and to society. The project will establish a framework that will advance the way in which we talk about the value of cultural engagement and the methods by which we evaluate it. The framework will, on the one hand, be an examination of the cultural experience itself, its impact on individuals and its benefit to society; and on the other, articulate a set of evaluative approaches and methodologies appropriate to the different ways in which cultural value is manifested. This means that qualitative methodologies and case studies will sit alongside qualitative approaches.