Architecture as Public Policy.

The Role and Effectiveness of National Architectural Policies in the EU: the cases of Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands.

by

João M. S. Ferreira Bento

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Town Planning

Bartlett School of Planning
University College London
January 2017

Declaration

I, **João Maria dos Santos Ferreira Bento**, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. When information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated.
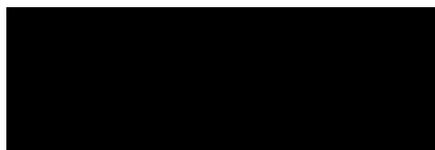
Abstract

Since the beginning of the 1990s, a growing number of European countries have been developing national policies on Architecture. Reflecting the wide diversity of cultures across the EU, some member states have adopted comprehensive policies setting up a wide range of initiatives while others have approved national legislation addressed to clients and stakeholders or created cultural institutions. Despite their differences, all the approaches share the will to promote well-designed living environments. Hosting these concerns, the EU Council adopted a *Resolution on Architectural Quality* in 2001, encouraging the member states to promote architecture and urban design as a way to achieve high-quality environments. However, some member states remain sceptical and even suspicious about the effectiveness of a formal policy on Architecture and prefer not to follow this trend without further evidence. In the face of this phenomenon, it is relevant to clarify the role of a national Architectural policy and if it really enhances the role of the state in promoting better places.

Following an inductive research strategy, the main objective of this research is to improve the understanding of the role and effectiveness of national Architecture policies in processes of design governance. The research will start by examining to what extent the adoption of formal Architecture policies by the member states has been influenced by an Europeanization process. Then it will explore the comprehensive Architecture policies discourse to uncover the main values and ideas that underlie a formal policy in this domain. Finally, this research will seek to evaluate the effectiveness of a formal Architecture policy through a comparative analysis of current practices among three EU member states: Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands. In sum, this research is a theorization of Architecture as public policy, a methodology for the study of this phenomenon and a comparative study of national Architecture policies.

Table of contents

Chapter 8. The effectiveness of national Architectural policies

Chapter 9. Conclusions

Acknowledgements

List of tables

List of figures

List of policy covers

List of images

List of abbreviations and acronyms

A+DS	Architecture and Design Scotland
AAP	Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses
ACE	Architects' Council of Europe
AL	Architectuur Lokaal
APD	Architecture and Place Division
CABE	Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
CAUE	Conseils d'Architecture, d'Urbanisme et Environment
DCFW	Design Commission for Wales
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DFA	Design, Fashion and Architecture
DOEHLG	Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government
EEC	European Economic Community
EFAP	European Forum for Architectural Policies
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESPON	European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GPA	Government Policy on Architecture
HFS	Health Facilities Scotland
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFA	Institut Français d'Architecture
IFA	Irish Architecture Foundation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
MAG	Ministerial Advisory Group
MIQCP	Mission Interministérielle pour la Qualité des Constructions Publiques
MOP	Maitrise d'Ouvrage Public

NAi	Netherlands Architecture Institute
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPAL	Portuguese National Policy for Architecture and Landscape
OA	Portuguese Order of Architects
OPW	Office of Public Works
PAPG	Policy on Architecture Progress Group
PNPOT	Portuguese National Spatial Planning Programme
RFACS	Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland
RFCA	Royal Fine Art Commission
RIAI	Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland
RIAS	Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland
SBA	Stichting Bureau Architectenregister
SfA	Fund to Stimulate Architecture
SGHSCD	Scottish Government Health & Social Care Directorate
SPP	Scottish Planning Policy
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UTF	Urban Task Force

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Architecture is all around us and, even if not intentionally, everything is designed. This means that the design quality of our buildings and places has a direct effect on people's quality of life. However, the processes involved in the production of the built environment tend to somehow diminish the importance of design quality in favour of economic factors, resulting, more often than not, in unsatisfactory environments. Acknowledging that this situation is ecologically and socially unsustainable, one of the main challenges ahead is how to change the current system of production and its embodied values so as to produce more sustainable, economical and socially equitable built outcomes. To address these concerns several countries have developed national policies on Architecture recognizing the value of good design and setting up a public commitment to promote better quality environments. Although these new policies have placed design quality high on the political agenda, scientific inquiry on its practical results and on the extent of its impact on the complex set of values, rules and practices involved in the design processes of the built environment is yet to be carried out. As such, this research focuses on the role of Architecture as public policy, a methodology for studying this phenomenon and a comparative study of national policies developed and implemented by a selected number of countries.

For the average citizen, architecture is usually understood in its restricted sense as the 'design of special buildings', generally associated with the idea of a service only accessible to elite groups or with the construction of public works (Nogueira 2013). Contrasting with this view, Architecture in its broad sense refers to the design of the built environment, including not only buildings but all the built elements produced for some human purpose. This notion inevitably overlaps with other disciplinary fields and conceptual frameworks such as urban design. In this research Architecture is seen in its broad sense, which incorporates the different design professions and the complex social and economic forces that determine the design of the built environment. Regardless of semantics, design quality is of vital importance to achieve better places and more sustainable environments. Assuming that design quality adds value to people's lives, it is therefore necessary to examine which levers need to be pulled and which can effectively enhance the role of the state in promoting high quality built environments. As such, a comparative study of current practices is relevant to help inform the design of public policy as well as to find out what are the appropriate policy instruments to intervene in the design processes and encourage a desirable societal shift. These processes of state intervention are referred to in this thesis as 'design governance' (see Chapter 3).

Nowadays, the public sector already has a powerful influence on the design of the built environment, either by planning policy or by developing control systems, and thereby imposing a huge amount of design regulations which define almost every aspect of the built environment. Some authors argue that the poor design quality of most developments is a direct consequence of inefficient state regulatory mechanisms that prejudice creative design solutions and limit the practices of the designer (O'Toole, 2000 in Imrie & Street, 2011b). In contrast, other authors place less emphasis on state design regulations as a cause of bad developments, preferring to locate the problem 'within the socio-institutional and political structures and relations of the design and development process' (Ball, 1998, Bentley, 1999 in Imrie & Street, 2011b). In this context, the values and practices of real estate actors involved in the production of the built environment based on capital accumulation mechanisms (Imrie and Street 2011a) have a major influence on the design quality of places. These intertwined debates compose the contextual settings of this research and will be explored in Chapter 3.

Departing from a broad view on public policy, this research assumes that state intervention is a necessary condition. Therefore, the basic question is not whether or not the state should intervene but with *which* means. Moreover, the institutional strength of the nation state has been challenged by several different sources. The globalization, the deregulation of the financial markets and the increased volatility of international capital have stripped the state of its capability to govern the economy (Pierre, 2000). This shift has been boosted by an institutional restructuring of the state causing a displacement of state power and control towards sub and supra levels of authority, which some refer to as the 'hollowing out of the state' (Hirst, 2000). Although the strength of the state appears to be somehow diminished, it is widely accepted that the state continues to play an important role in society, namely in market regulation and in the steering of societal goals, place-making being no exception.

1.2 Thesis key definitions

After describing the research context, this section introduces the key definitions adopted in this thesis for the following terms: *Architecture*, *architecture*, *urban design*, *design governance, public policy* and *Europeanization*. It is relevant to highlight that these concepts do not have universally accepted definitions. The conceptual review of its different meanings is developed in the next three Chapters. In order to avoid misunderstandings about the first concept – *Architecture* – and due to the importance of its definition for the scope of the present investigation, two definitions were adopted: *Architecture* with capital letter *A*, which sees the concept in its broad meaning as the design of the built environment (crossing several design disciplines, involving not only design issues but also processes of governance, etc.); and *architecture* written using lower case *a,* which sees the concept in its narrower sense as the design of individual buildings (usually associated with the work performed by architects for a single client). The reason for this approach is due to the problem of equivalence of concepts across a big diversity of national contexts. The former is

often used across Europe while the latter is more used in countries with a strong differentiated professional culture (e.g. the UK). Yet, in the context of Architectural policies, the concept is understood in its broad meaning. Therefore, it was necessary to adopt both meanings to have a coherent conceptual framework (see section 2.2.1)

After these preliminary remarks, these terms are defined as follows:

> ***Architecture*** *comprehends 'all built environment, integrating not only buildings, their interior spaces and all other built structures that populate the territory, but also the outdoor spaces that comprise the design of the city and the territory.'* (Portugal 2015)

> ***architecture*** *is 'the art or science of building; specifically the art or practice of designing and building structures, especially habitable ones; (…) architectural product or work; a method or style of building'* (Merriam-Webster English Dictionary)

> ***Urban design*** *is 'the collaborative and multi-disciplinary process of shaping the physical setting of life in cities, towns and villages; the art of making places; design in an urban context.'* (Cowan 2005)

> ***Design governance*** *is a 'process of state intervention in the means and processes of designing the built environment in order to shape both processes and outcomes in a defined public interest'.* (Carmona et al. 2017)

> ***Public policy*** *is 'a series of intentionally coherent decisions or activities taken or carried out by different public - and sometimes - private actors, (…) with a view to resolving in a target manner a problem that is politically defined as collective in nature.''* (Knoepfel et al. 2011, p. 24)

> ***Europeanization*** *is the 'processes involving a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (…) discourse, political structures and public choices' (Radaelli 2003, p. 30)*

As will be discussed, the design quality of places may be regarded as a 'wicked problem' as it is determined by a huge amount of actors, public and private, and is the result of embedded social norms and cultural values. The social and complex nature of design quality emphasizes the importance of creating a favourable climate for good design through the implementation of a diversified policy agenda that covers a wider spectrum of areas. However, policy making is also a dynamic process in which the set of values and ideas of a given policy community informs the type of policies adopted and the level of public intervention on a given social problem. Figure 1.1 below provides an overview of the processes involved in *design governance* displaying how the definition of government's policy on Architecture is influenced by a restricted policy network, which is embedded in a wider policy sub-system, where the set of values, interests, ideas and power relationships of public and private actors and international institutions frame the community discourse that underpins the design policy network and decision-makers.
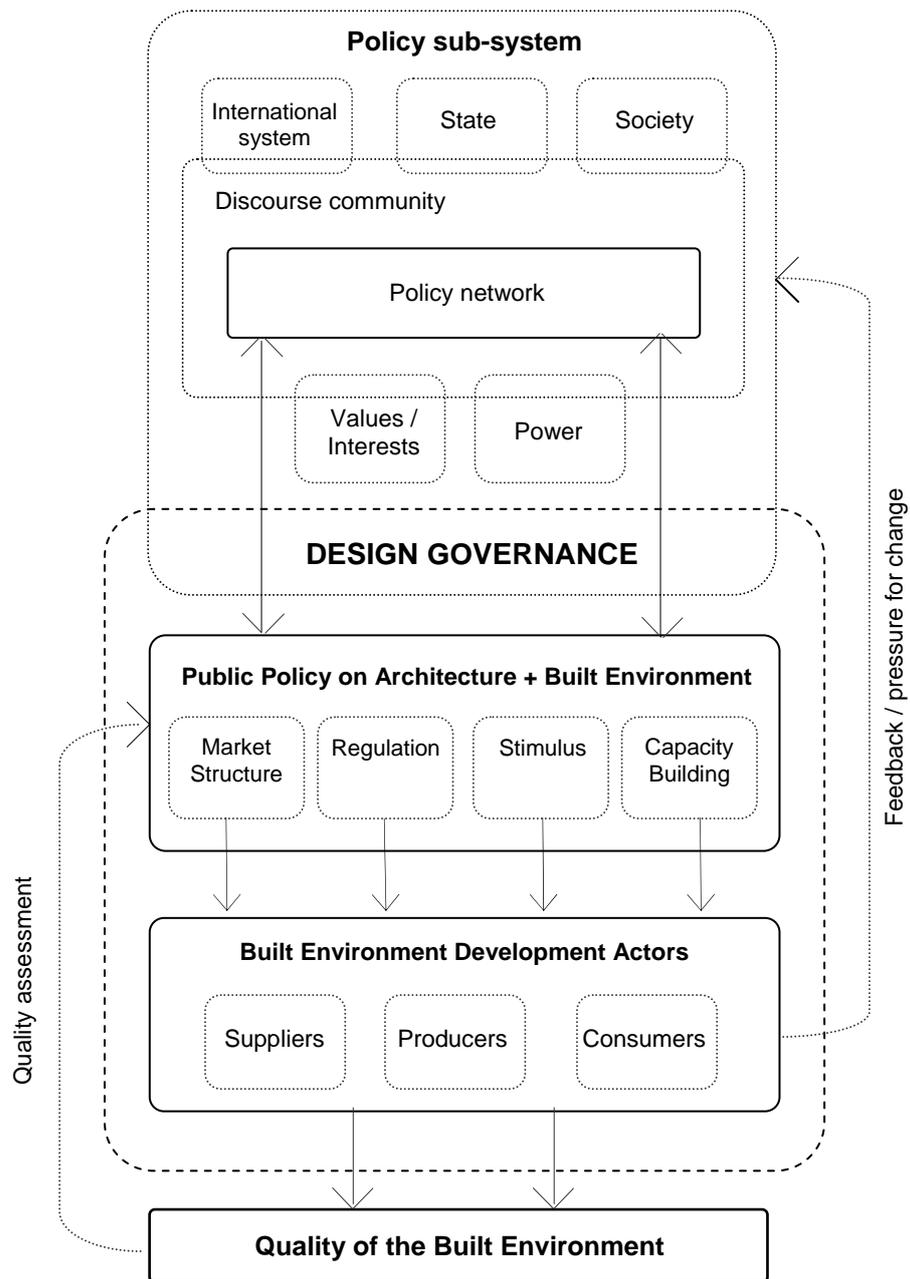
Fig. 1.1 – Research contextual framework

In addition, Figure 1.1 introduces the continuous interchange between the policy sub-system and the constituent elements of public policy on Architecture through which the state exerts its influence on development actors' decision-making environment – suppliers, producers and consumers – that will be explored in Chapter 4. Considering that the state already has a wide range of mechanisms to promote successful places, the question about the usefulness of a formal policy in Architecture is at the heart of this investigation. In fact, public policies are only the visible dimension of a complex system of governance between competing views on the different policy options. The way in which this investigation explores the governance of design and the effectiveness of national Architectural policies are detailed in the next section.

1.3 Research questions and main hypothesis

This section describes the motives and questions that triggered this research and underlie the research design. The starting point for this research was the observation that a high number of EU member states have adopted a formal policy on Architecture at national level. At the start of the early 1990s, only two member states had a formal policy on Architecture, whereas today almost two thirds of the EU member states have some kind of formal policy. In this sense, it could be argued that a national policy on Architecture represents an innovation on design governance, creating a new political ethos and embodying a number of policy instruments that improve the role of the nation state in promoting high quality environments. If this is true, all EU member states are expected to have a formal policy on Architecture in the near future. Several countries, however, are still sceptical and even suspicious about the role of a national Architectural policy. Therefore, although the majority of the EU member states have a formal policy on Architecture, others prefer not to follow this trend without further evidence. In the face of this phenomenon, it is relevant to clarify the role of a national Architectural policy and assess whether or not it can effectively improve the role of the nation state in promoting better places.

Despite the differences between the approaches, there is general recognition of the importance of design quality in achieving good living environments. Taking on board these concerns, the EU Council approved a *Resolution on Architectural Quality*[1] in 2001, which supports the adoption of policies to promote architecture and urban design quality[2]. As such, there is a clear EU policy orientation for the member states to promote design quality as a way to achieve better places. Furthermore, the adoption of a formal Architectural policy by the EU Council was in part the result of several lobbying activities carried out by a European network, which has also been facilitating the policy transfer between countries. Thus, it can be argued that a process of Europeanization is in course under which the institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, shared beliefs and norms are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse and public choices (Radaelli, 2002). This observation lays the groundwork for the first research question of this thesis: *What has been the impact of Europeanization processes on the development of national Architectural policies by individual member states?*

In order to investigate the role of a formal policy on Architecture in processes of design governance, it is also necessary to understand what the Architectural policies are saying, that is, what are the main ideas and values (e.g. principles, aims, scope, etc) underlying the policies discourse. Considering that the public sector already has a strong influence on the processes of built environment design, it is relevant to examine the main reasons for the development of a formal policy by the government in this area. In addition, the scope of the Architectural policies has evolved over the years, embracing wider concepts such as place-

---

[1] Council Resolution on Architectural Quality in Urban and Rural Environments (2001/C 73/04)

[2] Council Conclusions on Architecture: Culture's Contribution to Sustainable Development (2008/C 319/05)

making and spatial design. As such, to be able to discuss the impact of a formal Architectural policy, it is fundamental to clarify what the policies' conceptual bases are, what they are aiming for and which problems they intend to address. This constitutes the basis for this thesis second research question: *What are the main grounds for the government to develop a national policy on Architecture and what are the policies key features (concepts, problems and aims)?*

However, unpacking the policies' discourse does not provide empirical data on 'how' the Architectural policies work in practice. In other words, are the policies being effectively implemented or are they just a rhetorical speech on design quality? If the first is taken to be true, are the Architectural policies being successful in reaching their aims or are there factors / barriers outside the power of influence of policies that prevent the creation of better places? If instead, the second is true, are Architectural policies really intended to enable change or are they just a way of establishing design quality principles to guide a complex administration and inspire a wider network of development actors according to the perspective that the nation state should 'steer and not row'? This constitutes the background for the third research question of this thesis: *what is the effectiveness of a national Architectural policy in processes of design governance?*

The three research questions gave rise to this thesis' title: *Architecture as Public Policy. The Role and Effectiveness of National Architectural Policies in the EU: the cases of Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands.* The first part of the title reflects the overall theme of this research, Architecture (built environment design) as the field of public policy under investigation, and the second part specifies the research object - national Architectural policies - and perspective of analysis: the role of the state in promoting better places. The choice of the EU offers the contextual setting to examine the progress of Architectural policies and the approaches of the different policies adopted by the member states. The last part of the title indicates the research's three case studies. They will allow to assess and discuss the extent of the impact of a national Architectural policy on the system of rules, norms and instruments of design governance.

In this framework, the principal hypothesis of the thesis is that *a national policy on Architecture is an important policy instrument to improve the current system of design governance, enhancing the role of the state in promoting better places.* This hypothesis can be broken down into a series of specific research questions, which emerge from the three research questions:

1. What has been the impact of Europeanization processes on the development of national Architectural policies by individual member states?

Specific research questions:

 - What are the key sources of Europeanization that have triggered the development of a European policy on Architecture?

- What has been the impact of the two EU Council formal policies on Architecture (2001 and 2008) with regard to the adoption of national Architectural policies by the member states?

- Which EU member states have a formal policy on Architecture at national level and who is responsible for its development and implementation?

- How is the Architectural policy formalized in those member states and which different policy approaches are there?

- What has been the implementation progress of formal Architectural policies in the EU?

2. What are the main grounds for the government to develop a national policy on Architecture and what are the key features of policies (concepts, problems and aims)?

Specific research questions:

- What is the conceptual basis underlying a national Architectural policy?

- What are the main reasons for developing a formal policy on Architecture?

- What is the scope of the Architectural policies and has its remit remained the same?

- Which problems are the policies intended to address and are they transversal?

- What are the main aims and objectives of a national Architectural policy?

3. What is the effectiveness of a national Architectural policy in processes of design governance?

Specific research questions:

- How effective have Architectural policies been in terms of reaching their intended goals?

- How does a formal Architectural policy contribute to solve architectural / planning problems?

- Which policy instruments are effective and which ones are not? What are the main barriers to policy implementation?

- What other benefits - political, economic or cultural – does a national Architectural policy deliver?

To find evidence on the role and effectiveness of a national policy on Architecture, a cross-national comparative policy research methodology was adopted. Based on an inductive research strategy, this thesis is an exercise of a qualitative cross-national policy research based on the information collected via a European survey, supported by a content analysis of policy documents and by several personal interviews with key policy stakeholders of the three selected countries. A detailed explanation of the methodological implications of this approach for the research design is given in chapter 5. The research focus will be explained in the next section, and the thesis structure will be presented in section 1.5.

1.4 Research focus

To answer the specific research questions described above, a series of choices regarding the definition of the research focus had to be made. This implies a reference to the nature of the research object, the scale of analysis, and to the case studies selected.

Policies

This investigation focuses on the analysis of *formal* policies on Architecture at national level as a way to examine the action of the nation state in promoting better places. Policies are therefore understood both as a *process* and as a *product* of design governance of the built environment. The main reason for this choice is that the understanding of the role of policies, and the dynamics involved in the policy process will help to meet some of the challenges faced by Architecture as public policy. Until now there is very little evidence of the role played by formal Architectural policies in the wider system of design governance. To put it in simple terms, does a national policy on Architecture improve the role of the state in promoting better places or is it only another way of public exhortation of the value of good design? Thus, by conducting empirical research on the effectiveness of national Architectural policies, this investigation can help to address this gap in the literature and contribute to inform the making of Architectural policies in the future.

European Union

Since the foundation of the EU that national governments have been represented in the EU Council of Ministers and in the European Parliament by nationally elected members. As a result, all member states participate in and influence the formulation of EU policies to some degree. However, the effect of these EU policies on each domestic context and the possible policy transfers between the member states is not a uniform process. The different social, political and administrative structures are constantly adjusting to EU policies, now commonly referred to as the Europeanization process (see Section 4.2.3). The adoption of a formal policy on Architecture by the EU Council of Ministers in 2001, and later in 2008, together with the development of national Architectural policies by most of the member states over the last twenty years reflect this ongoing complex process of mutual adaptation of the EU policy to the different domestic contexts.

Although from a transnational perspective different approaches can be traced, the phenomenon of the adoption of formal policies on Architecture at national level encapsulates the development of a new way for the state to promote design quality. In addition, the adoption of a European Architectural policy is a reality and, in different ways, the member states have been accommodating issues of design quality in their own political agendas. Furthermore, the existence of a European network on this specific policy issue (see Section 6.2.3), represents an important evidence of a mechanism for lobbying, advising and exchanging information, which is considered an important political asset by the EU. As a result, there is ample justification for choosing the EU as research focus.

<u>The national level</u>

The search for better designed environments has long been a legitimate concern of the state. In general terms, this concern has been materialized through planning policies and development control mechanisms in which the public sector exerts an important influence on the built environment and on the development process. In practical terms, much of this public action is exercised at local level, through the implementation of development plans and regulatory enforcement procedures. Nevertheless, the national state also plays a number of key roles, such as the definition of legislation and regulatory frameworks, the establishment of market stimulus packages, public procurement and investment decisions, etc. As such, architecture and urban design are affected by a huge number of policies of the different sectors and levels of the administration, each affecting the design quality of the built environment in its own specific mode (see Chapter 4).

Despite being subject to a wide range of public actions Architecture did not constitute until recently the object of a public policy *per se.* The introduction of a public policy on Architecture at the national level constitutes a novelty in the European panorama. Consequently, there is ample justification for choosing the national level as the research focus. The development of a national policy instrument in Architecture is worth researching as a potential case of institutional innovation and possible improvement of the processes involved in design governance. Moreover, the validity of formal Architectural policies as an object of inquiry is reinforced by the actual nature of the policy documents: its innovative strategic dimension and implementation strategy represent a new way for the central government to promote better places.

In short, the national policies on Architecture, which will be studied in great depth in Chapter 7 and 8, stand out as an innovative policy concept and design process worth analysing in order to find potential evidences of its effectiveness, or not, in enhancing the role of the nation state in promoting more sustainable places. In this framework, to be able to research the impact of a national Architectural policy on reaching its intended goals, it was decided to choose three member-states to develop a comparative case study. The countries selected were Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands (the rationale for this selection is explained in Section 5.2.3).

1.5 Thesis structure

Regarding chapter organisation and contents, this thesis has been tailored to the conceptual and analytical framework outlined in Sections 1.3 and 1.4. In broad terms, the thesis is subdivided into three main sections: the first expands on the conceptual framework of the research, i.e. Architecture as built environment design, design governance and public policy (Chapters 2, 3 and 4); the second highlights the methodological procedures and illustrates how the research was carried out (Chapter 5); and the third encompasses the impact of Europeanization processes on the progress of Architectural polices in the EU (Chapter 6), a

content analysis of comprehensive Architectural policy documents (Chapters 7) and a comparative case study on the effectiveness of national Architectural policies (Chapter 8). Finally, a concluding chapter (Chapter 9) presents the conclusions of the thesis and suggests some lines for further research.

Chapter 2 engages in a theoretical discussion on the meaning of Architecture and reviews some of the debates about Architecture as a concept. It then outlines the rise of urban design as an autonomous discipline with its own theoretical basis and highlights its interdisciplinary nature. This is followed by a second theoretical discussion on the meaning of design quality from two perspectives: architecture and urban design. As such, this chapter outlines the key concepts around built environment design and design quality that will allow to interpret the scope of the comprehensive Architectural policies in Chapter 7.

Chapter 3 examines the processes involved in the production of the built environment and how the development process, actors and decision-makers shape the built environment. Following this, Chapter 3 explores the concept of design governance and the role of the state in promoting design quality in architecture and in the built environment. To do so, it briefly discusses the legitimacy of the public sector to intervene in design processes. It then explores the concept of governance and the different meanings associated with the term. Finally, it reviews the role of the nation state in design processes within the context of governance.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the meaning of public policy as a dynamic process. To that end, it begins by exploring public policy as a research agenda, systematizing it as a concept and identifying its key elements. This is followed by a debate on how public policies are produced through an analysis of the policy cycle model. Chapter 4 also expands on the concept of Europeanization and addresses some of the misconceptions on the term. Finally, it explores the tools' approach to urban design policy to assemble the different tools available to policy-makers, later used as a framework to analyse the Architectural policy tools in Chapter 8.

Chapter 5 describes the research design and methodology that will allow testing the main hypothesis and answering the research questions identified in this introduction. In sum, this investigation is an exercise of cross-national comparative policy research. As such, it starts by exploring the main challenges and limitations of the research approach and then explains how the empirical research was conducted. This is followed by a discussion of the relative merits of the research methods employed, of how data was gathered and analysed, of how the subsequent results were presented and the impact of the researcher on the research.

Chapter 6 explores the impact of Europeanization processes on the development of formal Architectural policies at European level, namely how the EU institutions came to adopt a formal policy on architecture. A second part examines the main findings of the European survey conducted for this investigation, identifying which departments are responsible for architectural policy, which member states have a formal policy document and which different types of policy documents do exist. Based on this, a typology of Architectural policy

documents is proposed and its main features are described. Finally, the implementation progress of national Architectural policies across the EU is examined.

Chapter 7 explores the main values and ideas underlying a *comprehensive* Architectural policy. It starts by exploring the main concepts, scope and remit followed by a review of the main reasons for the development of a public policy on Architecture. After that it discusses the different problems and challenges that policies intend to address and review the main policy aims and visions. Finally, the policies target areas and objectives are systematized.

Chapter 8 focus on the effectiveness of national architectural policies based on three case studies: Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands. A first section contains a brief description of the research methods used to interview key stakeholders of the case studies. A second section makes a brief analysis of the Architectural policies of the three different countries in a chronologic perspective: how they were developed, the main aims proposed, who was responsible for the policy implementation and its main outputs. A third section discusses the effectiveness of the Architectural policies, based on a comparative analysis of the experience of the three case studies and presents a few preliminary conclusions.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis, by drawing together the analysis from the previous chapters and exploring how the thesis contributes to the debates explored in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 and what lessons can be drawn from the case studies. Some suggestions for further research and recommendations for future action are made.

2 Architecture as built environment design

2.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the role and effectiveness of national Architectural policies, it is first of all necessary to explore the concept of Architecture and choose the appropriate definition that will frame the subsequent line of inquiry. Bearing in mind that in a *hypertext* society 'keywords' and conceptual linkages change from place to place (Ascher, 2010), architecture as a concept may be used to refer to different things according to the context that is mobilized. In this sense, the first section will start by reviewing some of Architecture's semantic variations and explore three theoretical debates on the essence, scope and limits of the concept of Architecture. As counterpoint, a second part will describe the rise of urban design as an autonomous field and explore some of its conceptual ambiguities. This will form the basis of a brief discussion about the interdisciplinary and procedural natural of urban design, which has led some scholars to claim that urban design is more equipped to deal with the conflicting nature of the development process and therefore should be seen as different and separated from Architecture. Against this background, it will be argued that both concepts complement and interpenetrate each other, and that the main goal of all design disciplines that intervene in the built environment should be the creation of better places, independently of the conceptual limits adopted.

To later inform the examination of the national Architectural policies and its conceptual basis, a second section will explore the concept of design quality in the built environment, from an architectural and urban design point of view. These two debates will expose the difficulty in setting a precise definition of design quality as its meaning tends to somehow change from person to person. This topic will conclude the first theoretical block of the thesis and bridge the way to the next Chapter, which will explore the relationship between design and the production of the built environment and the role of the nation state in the context of governance. This first theoretical block will also inform the analysis of the key features of a comprehensive Architectural policy held in Chapter 7, namely, the range and content of the conceptual frameworks that underpin the scope of the policies.

2.2 The design of the built environment: architecture *and* urban design

Architecture as a concept can be characterized by a multiplicity of approaches depending on the disciplinary contexts used as a framework for inquiry. In its broadest sense, Architecture is understood as the design of the built environment, namely in the context of the national Architectural policies under investigation. However, this broad view on Architecture is not

universally shared by the academic community. Some scholars, and probably most citizens, see architecture in its restricted sense as the design of individual buildings. From this perspective, the urban environment is not shaped by architecture but by wider design disciplines, such as urban design, town planning, infrastructure engineering or landscape design. In fact, urban design has emerged in the last decades as an autonomous field filling the gap between architecture and urban planning, which overlap with the broad notion of Architecture. Therefore, to explore the role and effectiveness of national Architectural policies, it is important to clarify what is meant by Architecture in the context of this research, in order to discuss further ahead what is, or what should be, the scope of a public policy on Architecture.

2.2.1 Defining Architecture: multiple meanings and three theoretical debates

Although the literature offers a great variety of definitions, the concept of Architecture is not easily defined and there is not a universal accepted definition. As will be discussed below, its meaning has changed over time and there is still much debate as to the number of elements and limits to be considered in its definition. Within architectural theory, the search for a proper definition is even understood has a philosophical question, and several books have been written just to explore the question *What is architecture?* (Ballantyne 2002, Winters 2007). As Koch (2010) notes:

> *'Architecture discourse has consistently been occupied with the question of its own being by constantly returning to a foundational question: What is architecture? Continually asking this basic question may be a way for the field to evolve, encouraging new ideas or perceptions, engaging established as well as novel aesthetic movements. (…) In a sense, many of the keys to understanding architecture as a concept, as a process, and as practice lie within this ostensibly simple yet deeply complex question.'* (Koch 2010, p. 1)

Despite the difficulty in reaching a consensual definition, most dictionaries generally start their definitions of architecture as the 'art and science of building' (Wasserman et al. 2000, Conway and Roenisch 2005). Although there is relative consensus with regards to the first part of the definition, the difficulties arise when this brief notion is expanded, unfolding the different meanings and variety of elements that the term entails. A simple search on a dictionary and the reader is confronted with a multiplicity of entries, widely extending the concept: '1. the art or science of building; (…); 2: a: formation or construction resulting from or as if from a conscious act; b: a unifying or coherent form or structure; 3: architectural product or work; 4: a method or style of building; 5: the manner in which the components of a computer or computer system are organized and integrated' (From the Merriam-Webster English Online Dictionary). In this sense, architecture as a concept carries multiple meanings and may express completely different things depending on the context in which it is being used (Pereira 2009, p. 23).

Considering the ambiguous character of the term, the Norwegian architectural policy (2009) refers that the term can have a least four modes of application:

1) *Architecture as an art form and a work of art* – in this view architecture is understood as a form of artistic creation that favours the emotional and aesthetic experience, being considered 'art' when it entails an explicit aesthetic intention (Perelló, 1994). When associated with architectural work it may be a designation of quality (Norway 2009, p. 9).

2) *Architecture as an academic discipline* – architecture may also refer to the branch of knowledge which concerns the planning and design of buildings or spaces for human use, which is the subject of teaching and research at universities (Ibidem).

3) *Architecture as a professional practice* – architecture can also refer to a professional exercise carried out by architects, urban designers, architectural historians and other design professionals (Ibid);

4) *Architecture as physical form* - architecture also serves as a description of our surroundings seen as physical form. In this context, architecture is seen not as a normative term reserved for buildings with high artistic quality but as a description of our surroundings (Ibid., p. 4).

Besides these four applications, a fifth can be added:

5) *Architecture as organization or structure of a system* – the term architecture can also refer to the fundamental structure of a system[3].

Although these fifth modes of application are useful to understand the polysemic nature of architecture, this research is mostly interested in Architecture as *physical form* as it echoes the conceptual object of the policy under scrutiny. However, this apparently simple understanding of Architecture can vary from a restricted conception, which confines architecture to a specific type of buildings that have an explicit aesthetic intention, to a broader conception that comprehends the built environment as a whole. Some expand it even to the scale of landscape and territory (Pereira 2009). This has given rise to endless debates inside academia and in architectural circles but also in the wider design community (Davis 2006). While this thesis is not intended to carry out a thorough review of the different conceptualizations of architecture, three debates will be briefly explored to shed some light on some of the theoretical perspectives on Architecture as a concept.

Architecture as art and science

The question of whether Architecture is an *art* or a *science,* or both, has been a subject of debate at least since the Renaissance, when the question first became significant (Moore 1965). In fact, the generic definition of architecture as the '*art and science of building*' is based on the historical notion of architecture as the '*art of building*' taken from the first known

---

[3] In the last decades, the term architecture has been widely used in computer systems, to refer to the manner in which the components of a computer or computer system are organized and integrated (Shaw and Garlan 1996).

publication on architecture *The Ten Books of Architecture*[4] by the Roman architect Vitruvius (Pereira 2009, p. 20). Inspired by Vitruvius, Alberti's treatise on architecture, *De re aedificatoria*, written in 1452, also defines architecture as 'the art of building'. This short definition was systematically repeated until the twentieth century both in general and in specialized dictionaries (Ibidem, p.21). However, according to Benevolo (2001, p.48), in the medieval period the term *ars* (art in Latin) had a different meaning from the one it has today as it did not differentiate art from technique, and products were judged better or worse according to its finishing criterion. In addition, *ars* was understood has a 'way of being or acting, a skill acquired through study or practice, with technical knowledge' (Pereira 2009, p. 22).

The development of a new humanistic culture in the Renaissance led to the separation of conception time from execution time which, in turn, gave rise to a new organizational structure: the designers and the executors (Benevolo 2001, p. 85)[5]. In this sense, the need for specialization broke up the common matrix - *ars* – and sciences and techniques developed into independent areas of research (Ibidem). By the eighteenth century, technical control and aesthetic control began to be carried out by different professions: the technician constructor (engineer) and the artist constructor (architect) (Ibid). In addition, the development of the notion of *aesthetics* and the establishment of the *fine arts,* made possible with the appearance of the independent concept of art as an intellectual activity separated from techniques and crafts, deepened the separation between technology and art (Pereira 2009). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the modernist architects sought to bring these two streams together, merging the artistic and technical dimensions, which facilitated the incorporation of the results of science and technology, framed until then by a different specialization (Ibidem, p.88).

Nowadays, the theoretical debate of whether architecture is an art or a science, or a synthesis of the two, is seen as quite distant as it is commonly accepted that architecture is an applied art with a social responsibility towards the community and its users (Benevolo 2009, p. 236). Therefore, given the subjective meaning associated with the term *art,* most dictionaries began to add the word *science* or *technique* in their definitions of architecture in order to assert architecture as both '*art and science*', thus establishing a disciplinary continuity since Greece and Rome to the present day (Pereira 2009)*.* Some authors, however, prefer to place the artistic dimension over science as a distinct element of architecture in their definitions. This perspective is seen as an elitist perception of architecture that excludes more than 90% of the built environment where the ordinary citizen lives and works, recently designated everyday architecture. This forms the second debate.

---

[4] The reference is made specifically in chapter III of book I by Vitruvius, which divides architecture into three parts: 'the art of building, the making of timepieces, and the construction of machinery'

[5] Benevelo (2001) refers that it was not the medieval architect who initiated this social change, but sculptors and painters, who , after the advent of perspective, became famous by their individual skills as experts in the ideation of visible forms of all kinds, from painted pictures, engravings or perspectives of construction to urban plans.

Architecture as something 'more'

A second issue that continues to spark some controversy concerns the differentiation between architecture and buildings in general, and if there is a difference, where this difference lies. As Koch (2010) notes: '*The question of what differentiates architecture and building has been raised many times (…) usually under the precondition that architecture is something more*'. For example, in the field of architectural history, there was an intellectual tradition that saw architecture essentially as an 'art form' (Davis 2006, p. 8). In this view, a work of architecture had something *more* than a mere building, which was viewed as simple utilitarian artifact. This is well illustrated in Nikolaus Pevsner (1990) often-cited observation 'A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture'. In Pevsner's view, only buildings designed with some aesthetic appeal would be able to qualify as architecture. In this sense, the 'something more' of architecture is to have an aesthetic intentionality (Harries 2000, p. 4). This means that only a certain type of buildings is worth studying and that all the remaining ordinary buildings are not important enough to be studied and are rarely covered in books of architectural history. As such, what is built today may only achieve the status of architecture by virtue of its aesthetic qualities (Conway & Roenisch, 2005; Davis, 2006).

At odds with the above, a different school of thought argues that it does not make sense to see architecture purely as an art form as it will only apply to a very small percentage of buildings in the world (Upton 2002, Noble 2007). According to this view, the notion of architecture should embrace all types of constructions and not only the ones that reveal a special 'intentionality' or a good aesthetic quality because all buildings and forms were designed for some human purpose (Holanda 2010, p. 339). The fact that some buildings can have a bad performance, aesthetic or functional, does not exclude them from the family of Architecture. As Holanda (2010) notes: 'space produced by means of implicit, unconscious, popular knowledge is as legitimately architecture as that produced by explicit, reflective knowledge'. Therefore, in 'sociological terms' there is little difference between anonymous (or 'vernacular') and erudite architecture (Ibidem).

Although some scholars may feel uncomfortable with expressions such as 'folk architecture' or 'vernacular architecture' (Noble 2007, p. 10), nowadays, there is a general acceptance that, whether consciously or not, everything is designed. In its seminal work *House Form and Culture*, Amos Rapoport (Rapoport 2005) suggests that built forms are primarily influenced by socio-cultural factors modified by architectural responses both to climatic conditions and to limitations of materials and methods. Thus, from an anthropological point of view, the typological debate about the differences of built forms self-consciously designed and built by specialists and traditional or vernacular buildings does not make sense since a theory of the built environment should be able to accommodate and explain all 'types' (Lawrence and Low 1990, p. 2).

<u>Architecture *versus* urbanism</u>

A third ongoing debate on the notion of architecture concerns the delimitation of the concept to a specific scale of design. For some, the notion of architecture should be restricted to building design (the individual building), others extend it to the urban scale, including urban and public spaces, and others stretch it to encompass all physical environment. In fact, until the end of the twentieth century, architecture was mainly seen as the design of buildings marked by a rigid separation between architecture and urbanism. Yet, in 1881, William Morris presented a definition whose conceptual range encompassed the whole surroundings of human life, asserting that architecture:

> *'embraces the consideration of the whole external surroundings of the life of man; we cannot escape from it if we would so long as we are part of civilisation, for it means the moulding and altering to human needs of the very face of the earth itself, except in the outermost desert.'* (Morris 1881 in Benevolo 2009, p. 16).

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, following Morris understanding of architecture as total environment, the modernist experiences allowed for a new research method to emerge, that 'not only renewed the architectural language within the previous conceptual framework but decisively changed the organizational values, preparing an entirely new framework of human experience' (Benevolo 2009, p. 234). In 1943, the CIAM Charter of Athens proposed the concept of the functional city expanding the principles of a new architectural composition to city design. In his classical book, *Architecture as space: how to look at architecture,* published in 1948, Bruno Zevi defined architecture as the 'art of space', where the concept of space extends to the scale of the city including both buildings and public spaces (Zevi 1984).

During the second half of the century, the notion of architecture continued to expand embracing entire built-up areas, cultural landscape and technical infrastructure (Perelló 1994). Several authors advocate that it was not necessary to establish superior or lower limits to the field of architecture (Benevolo, 2009, p. 235). Ernesto Rogers introduced the overarching slogan 'from the spoon to the town' and citing Gropius: 'the historic mission of the architect (...) is to perform the complete coordination of all activities with a view to shaping the human physical environment' (Figueira 2009, p. 24). Some years later, in his seminal book The Architecture of the City, first published in 1966, Aldo Rossi extended the notion of architecture to the city, referring that 'by architecture I mean not only the visible image of the city and the sum of its different architectures, but (..) the construction of the city over time' (Rossi 1984, p. 21).

In the same perspective, Nuno Portas states in a publication contemporary with Rossi's text, first published in 1964, that architecture is the 'invention of forms of the human habitat', in which the 'scope of architectural action runs from urban to architecture and objects of use' (Portas 2009). In fact, Portas identifies an intrinsic relationship between architecture and urban design as the core of future developments towards a unit capable of taking care of the physical environment (Pereira 2009, p. 113). In a second publication, dated from 1969,

Portas argues for an urban architecture that should have 'no pre-defined scale of composition, fitting in its operation both the usual dimension of individual building as well as systems of buildings more or less diversified, which together will form city parts or parts of a city that assembled will form a urbanized territory' (Portas 2009). Some authors took an even broader view and suggested that the concept of architecture should embrace not only the built environment but also the natural landscape, even when untouched by man. As argued by Holanda (2010): 'the natural landscape presents a formal, spatial configuration which is open to scrutiny and evaluation as architecture, as much as the form-space of buildings and cities as artifacts'. In his view, despite being analytically separable, there is a need to theorize on 'form-space configuration in a way that does justice to the conjoint ordering of the two components' (Ibidem).

Nevertheless, the conceptual expansion of architecture would be followed by the rise of *urban design* as an autonomous field, which is not entirely at the scale of architecture (although requiring it), but at a scale between architecture and urban planning, or rather, merging the two scales simultaneously (Brandão 2004, p. 115). In fact, the development of urban design both as an autonomous disciplinary field and as professional practice has led some authors to claim that urban design is different and separated from architecture (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 32). This position is contested by some architects, who see urban design as a component of architecture that should only be practised by architects. This theoretical discussion will be developed further in the second part of this section.

Systematizing architecture as a concept

Architecture as a concept can be characterized by a multiplicity of approaches that vary according to the disciplinary contexts used as a framework for inquiry. As illustrated above, there is an ongoing debate on the meaning and extent of the concept. The 'association between knowledge and practice leads to enhance the integration of the project or plan as characterizer of architecture, in which some dictionaries or encyclopedias limit to buildings and precisely the ones that have an explicit artistic intentionality' while other publications 'extend this to all buildings or even to the ordering of spaces and to creating environments for human needs, extending it to the urban dimension and to other areas of knowledge and practices' (Pereira 2009). As such, independently of the scale of design, the concept of architecture departs from the notion of 'design to build' as an action intended to change reality, where the resulting building or urban space is the paradigm of architecture.

In order to proceed to an investigation on the role and effectiveness of national architectural policies, it is necessary to select one definition that fits the purpose of this research and is in line with the object at hand. Looking at the different Architectural policies in Europe, the majority of the documents are based on a broad concept of architecture, which encompasses all elements of the built environment. Therefore, to embrace the wider range of possible variations, the following broad definition of architecture will be adopted:

> '*Architecture comprehends all built environment, integrating not only buildings, their interior spaces and all other built structures that populate the territory, but also the outdoor spaces that comprise the design of the city and the territory.*'
> (Portugal 2015)

As the next section will show, the emergence of urban design as an autonomous field of practice and its interrelation with and within the architectural field have led some authors to defend that architecture should be seen in its narrow sense, as *building design*. This will be discussed below.

2.2.2 The rise of urban design as an interdisciplinary field

As described above, the conceptual frontiers between architecture and urbanism became blurred during the twentieth century. The notion of architecture was expanded to the scale of the city and, in some views, to the scale of the territory. Nonetheless, parallel to the conceptual expansion of architecture, urban design slowly emerged as an independent discipline with its one body of theory, crossing the urban dimension of architecture and the design dimension of planning, merging and supplementing these two fields and filling the gap between the two. Therefore, this section explores the notion of urban design as an interdisciplinary field primarily concerned with the quality of the public realm and the creation of better places. This will balance the discussion on the broad notion of architecture, to demonstrate that the built environment is in fact shaped by several design disciplines informed by complex decision environments (e.g. political, legal and cultural) that some refer to as 'second order design' processes. This has led several authors to defend that architecture as a concept should be seen essentially as building design, contradicting the broad notion of architecture adopted above.

The emergence of urban design

Despite being a long-standing activity, urban design only started to emerge during the 1960s (Moudon 1992, Lang 1994). In fact, the term *urban design* was only used for the first time in the late 1950s in the course of a series of conferences under the label of urban design promoted by Harvard University (Rowley 1994, Cuthbert 2007). Urban design came to replace the more traditional and narrower term 'civic design', in use in Britain at least since 1908 and whose primary focus was the setting and design of major civic buildings (Lang 1994, Carmona and Tiesdell 2007). Urban design was born out of a desire for better quality urban environments generated by a discontent with the modernist design approach to urban space, which had failed to create lively places and public spaces and had ignored the value of cultural and historical attributes of traditional environments. As Cuthbert (2010) notes: 'It was recognized that physical determinism of modern architecture could not be relied upon to solve complex social issues'. This critique is well displayed in urban design foundational texts, among which are the works by Jane Jacobs (1961), Christopher Alexander (1965) or Aldo Rossi (1966).

According to Carmona et al. (2003, p. 6), based on the work by Jarvis (1980), there were two broad traditions of thought in urban design that derived from different ways of analyzing design and the products of design process: '*visual-artistic*' tradition, which emphasized the visual qualities of buildings and spaces; and '*social usage*' tradition, which was mainly concerned with the social qualities of places and its influence in people's behavior and activities. Since the 1980s, these two broad traditions of urban design have merged into the '*making places*' approach. Combining the earlier traditions, the new approach is simultaneously concerned with the design of urban spaces as a formal / aesthetic object and as a behavioural setting (Carmona et al. 2003, p.7). In his seminal book, *Making People-Friendly Towns*, Francis Tibbalds emphasized that the place-making philosophy of urban design comes from the idea that places matter more than individual buildings and that the 'public realm – the spaces between buildings – rather than the buildings themselves' (1992) is the main object of urban design.

Nonetheless, urban design was not widely recognized as a discrete and important area of practice until the 1990s, when it gained widespread popularity, as evidenced by the high number of faculty courses in urban design and its increasing presence in professional journals, government websites, academic debates and the media (Madanipour 2006, p. 173). Nevertheless, urban design, as is the case with the notion of architecture, is not easily defined and it has not been possible yet to reach a universal definition. This will be discussed below.

Defining urban design: conceptual ambiguities

Despite its frequent usage in literature and its widespread popularity, urban design is an ambiguous term that tends to have different meanings according to the specific circumstance in which it is used (Kelbaugh and McCullough 2008). After reviewing several definitions, Rowley (1994, p. 195) concluded that '*a short and clear definition'* of urban design is simply not possible because of the 'fuzziness' of the scope and boundaries of the concept. In fact, the difficulty in setting a clear definition of urban design is compounded by the fact that its constituent words *urban* and *design* are themselves problematic concepts (Rowley 1994, p. 179). The first denotes the built environment characteristics, without making it clear if it embraces only towns and cities or also villages and rural sites, and the latter has a hybrid meaning since it can be seen both as an artistic quality and as a problem-solving process. As a consequence, the joining of the two words turns urban design into an 'inherently ambiguous term' (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 3). After Rowley, Madanipour (1997) also tried to systematize the several definitions on urban design and has identified seven areas of confusion and ambiguity:

As a product	a) the scale of urban fabric which urban design addresses
	b) the visual or the spatial emphasis of urban design
	c) the spatial or the social emphasis of urban design
As an interface between product and process	d) the relationship between process and product in city design
As a process	e) the relationship between different professionals and their activities
	f) the public or the private affiliation of urban design
	g) the design as an objective-rational or an expressive-subjective process

Table 2.1 – Areas of ambiguities of urban design (source: adapted from Madanipour, 1997; Carmona et al. 2003)

The first three ambiguities are related to the product of urban design: the dimension of the object at hand and its different observable qualities. The fourth ambiguity is related to the product-process interface in urban design and the last three to urban design as a process. According to Madapinour (1997), the first area of confusion among the definitions concerns the scale of built elements which urban design addresses. Urban design is frequently described as operating at an intermediate scale between urban planning (cities and settlements) and architecture (individual buildings). This creates a great level of uncertainty because it does not specify the extension of the spectrum within the two traditional fields. In fact, the limits between the two concepts are diffuse as they overlap each other, which leads some authors not to establish rigid boundaries between them (Fernandes 1991). The second and third areas of ambiguity of urban design are interrelated with the earlier traditions of thought of urban design in which the urban space was seen from a narrower perspective (visual or social lens) rather than based on a multidimensional approach. To solve this, Madanipour (1997) suggests the adoption of a broad definition of urban design such as 'an interdisciplinary approach to designing the built environment' (Moudon 1992, p. 331).

The fourth area of ambiguity in defining urban design is related to the interface between product and process, which may be a potential source of confusion when defining the field. In fact, urban designers are interested both in the product of design (urban space) as well as in the administrative and urban development processes through which designs are initiated, negotiated and implemented (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 5). In practice, *urban design* is both a process and a product as they are closely intertwined (Madanipour 1997). Therefore, most authors opt to describe urban design as a 'process and an outcome of creating localities in which people live (…) and the physical place around them' (Australia 2011).

The last three ambiguities are related to urban design as a process. The first of the three addresses a simple but problematic question: who are the urban designers? In an inclusive perspective, Carmona et al. (2003, p. 15) answer that they are all those who take decisions that shape the urban environment, which includes not only urban design professionals but also a wide range of actors that do not consider themselves urban designers but influence the design process either directly or indirectly (see Section 3.2.2). As will be see below,

urban design is an interdisciplinary activity and there is a need to break through the boundaries of professions and disciplines to be able to approach urban space from a holistic perspective (Madanipour, 1997). The penultimate ambiguity is related to the affiliation of urban design with the public or the private sectors. Following the previous reasoning, urban design can have both private and public affiliation depending on which of the two leads the process. Finally, the last ambiguity is related to the nature of urban design as an objective-rational process or as an expressive-subjective process. Some authors tend to look at urban design from an objective perspective describing it as a technical process while others tend to see it mainly as an artistic activity developed by designers focused on the subjective perspective. Madanipour (Ibidem) concludes that this type of unidimensional views usually lead to narrow definitions when the urban design process should instead be understood has having both forms of action and rationality.

Urban design and interdisciplinarity

In the previous section it was noted that urban design was traditionally described as the 'common ground' between the disciplines of planning and architecture (Lang 1994, George 1997, Carmona et al. 2003). More recently, most authors prefer to locate urban design at the interface between architecture, landscape architecture and town planning (Bentley and Butina, 1991) since urban design is an area of mutual interest among the three design disciplines (Lang 1994). However, related disciplines in the natural and social sciences, such as civil engineering, economics, law or real estate are also important support areas of knowledge of urban design (Schurch 1999, p. 25). In this sense, Carmona et al. (2003, p. 5) suggests that urban design is not just an interface between related disciplines because it encompasses and subsumes knowledge from many disciplinary fields. As such, urban design is inherently collaborative and interdisciplinary, involving a holistic approach which requires a wide range of professional skills and expertise (Ibidem, p. 6). As Francis Tibbalds notes: 'good places and spaces require seamless team working, bringing together economists, highway engineers, architects, planners, landscape architects, property and cost consultants'[6] (See Figure 2.1).

This means that urban design is not "owned" by a specific professional branch because there is not one single profession (the 'all-knowing designer') that can embody all the necessary skills and knowledge to carry out an urban design framework or a master plan (Carmona and Tiesdell 2007, Kelbaugh and McCullough 2008). In fact, place-making involves the crossing of several disciplines, something only possible if multidisciplinary teams are set up. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to consider other actors that are not professional designers but also play a role in the development process (Carmona et al. 2003, p.15). This distinction has been made as 'self-conscious urban designers' and 'unselfconsciously urban designers' (Beckley, 1979, from Rowley, 1994, p. 187).

---

[6] Retrieved from *Tibbalds Planning and Urban Design website*: www.tibbalds.co.uk/places-spaces/ (8 Sept. 2015)
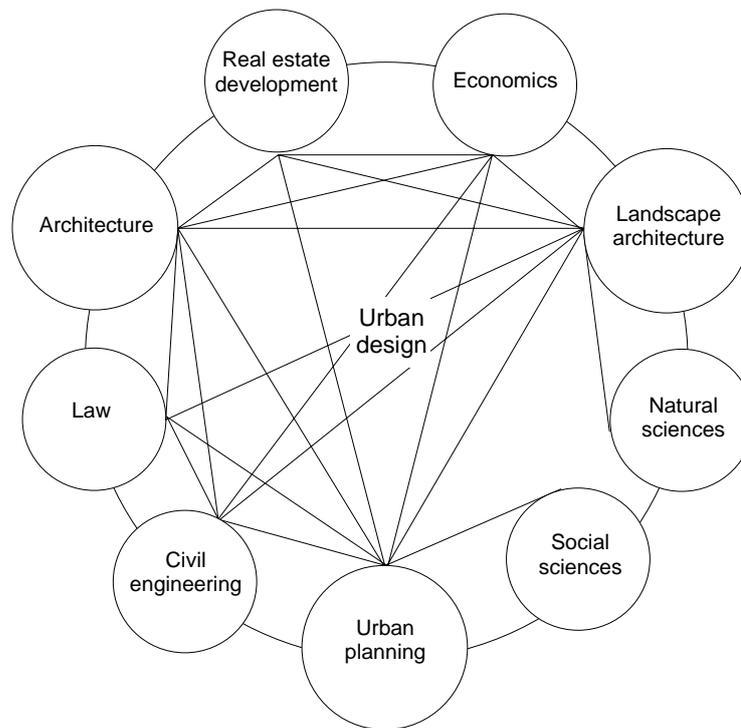
Fig. 2.1 – Related professional areas in urban design (Source: Schurch, 1999, p. 25)

Urban design as 'second-order design'

Most of the urban design process actually happens one step before the different elements of the urban space are effectively designed (George, 1997). In this sense, urban design can be understood as a direct design activity (place-design) and as an indirect design activity dealing with political economy (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 2). In urban design as an indirect design activity, actors are involved in the decision-making environment that shapes places through the establishment of policies, urban management, allocation of investment, etc (Carmona et al. 2007). This means that most of these decisions are not directly designing built elements but are in fact setting the design environment that will frame and constrain the subsequent design process. Because it encompasses both types of design activities, direct and indirect, urban design is seen as an unusual type of design endeavor different from other types of design fields, such as architecture, landscape architecture or product design (George 1997).

A similar distinction is made by Varkki George (1997) who termed these two types of design activities *first-order* and *second-order* design. In the former, the urban designer has a direct relationship with the built object since he or her makes decisions that directly define and shape elements of the built environment. In the latter, the urban designer has an indirect design relationship with the built object since he or her 'designs the decision environment' in which others development actors – developers, investors, designers. etc. – will operate and determine the specific forms and features of built objects. This means that second-order designers shape the designed object by influencing decisions made by other designers who then directly shape the object through the use of plans, strategies and frameworks, or other

tools, such as financial subsidies, discounted land or infrastructure provisions (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 2).

In this view, second-order design has to deal with factors of an economic, political, social and legal nature, which are liable to change significantly over the long period of time in which most urban design projects take place. In this sense, second-order design deals with a much more turbulent decision environment which is based on a strategic approach to decision-making (George, 1997). Because of such a complex and shifting environment, urban design has to integrate inputs and knowledge from several disciplinary fields. In this sense, Tiesdel & Adams (2011) argue that urban design as a concept is more equipped to deal with the conflicting nature of the development process and with interventions in the public domain, whereas architecture as a concept is generally seen as 'first-order design' and is generally focused on the needs of a single client.

Based on the above, several scholars have defended that urban design should be seen as independent and different from architecture. Firstly, architecture is generally focused on the improvement of the living of a single client or of the lives of people who are represented by their client, whereas urban design generally intervenes in the public domain and seeks to define a community's way of life (Sternberg 2000). Secondly, architectural design is generally limited to a single parcel or building whereas urban design crosses several parcels of land and buildings or intervenes in the public realm (Ibidem). Thirdly, the design approach of architecture is essentially concerned with developing creative and innovative solutions while urban design is concerned with promoting an improved social and political decision-making environment. As Tiesdell & Adams (2011) note: 'much urban design and place-making is about governance and requires a distinct set of skills from those typically held by the architectural profession'. Finally, architecture also differs from urban design inasmuch as it works with shorter time periods and controllable factors whereas urban design deals with continuous processes and long periods of time shaped by multiple forces, players and unstable parameters (Kelbaugh and McCullough 2008). In this perspective, the notion of architecture is taken in its narrow sense as 'building design', whereas urban design works mostly in the public realm and involves several design disciplines.

Systematizing urban design as a concept

Although the term *urban design* is widely accepted by the design community and has become part of the mainstream vocabulary of development actors (Schurch 1999), urban design continues to be an ambiguous term and its conceptualization is not a straightforward exercise. According to Madanipour (1997), the lack of clarity in its definition is partly due to its coverage of a wide range of activities (Madanipour 1997). In this sense, Appleyard (1982, p. 122, in (George 1997)) argues that there 'never will and never should be a single view of urban design', and argues instead for multiple definitions of urban design. Following this reasoning, to be able to accommodate the different ambiguities around its definition the following broad definition will be adopted:

> *'The collaborative and multi-disciplinary process of shaping the physical setting of life in cities, towns and villages; the art of making places; design in an urban context.'* (Cowan 2005).

The threefold definition mentioned above understands urban design in its broad meaning considering that it is primarily a collaborative and multidisciplinary process that crosses the boundaries of traditional design disciplines such as architecture, interior design, landscape architecture and urban planning. It is focused on the design of the built environment from an urban perspective that includes all built elements in the private and in the public realms, looking particularly at the creation of places, but without designing buildings. However, this broad definition of urban design overlaps with the broad definition of Architecture adopted previously. This will be discussed below.

2.2.4 Concluding remarks

As noted in the first part of this section, the term Architecture is polysemic and may be used as a concept to refer to different things according to the specific context that is being mobilized. In its traditional meaning, architecture refers to the art of building. Throughout the twentieth century, the concept of architecture has expanded to include all man-made structures, including urban spaces and, in some views, even the territory. Faced with the complex task of choosing a particular definition that would narrow the scope of analysis and to be in line with the Architectural policies under investigation, a broad definition of Architecture that generally refers to the design of all built environment was adopted. However, this broad view of Architecture is very similar to the definition of urban design adopted above, which raises an epistemological dilemma.

As discussed along this last section, for urban design scholars there are several differences between architecture and urban design. The theoretical debate on the differences and limits between the two concepts has been boosted by the rise of urban design as an autonomous discipline. In fact, until recently there was no separate concept of 'urban design' (Cuthbert 2005). In addition, urban design is criticized for a certain lack of clarity in its definition and for not having a theoretical corpus of its own. Moreover, in most countries it is thought as an extension of Architecture and mainly seen as architecture in urban context. In fact, urban design is a typically Anglo-Saxon whereas Latins generally use *urbanism* or *urban project* as their key concept to refer to the transformation and management of urban space (Moudon 1992). This means that the affirmation of urban design as an autonomous field is still dependent on context.

Despite this ongoing debate, architecture and urban design are inextricably linked and, independently of the conceptual framework adopted, everyone agrees that it is not possible to achieve successful places without cooperation. Hence, to be able to accommodate the different views on the notion of architecture and urban design, a differentiation will be made between the macro and micro view on the concept of architecture by adopting two definitions: Architecture, with capital letter *A*, which sees the concept in its broader sense as

the design of the built environment involving several disciplines and complex governance issues, and architecture written using lower case *a,* which sees the concept in its narrower sense as the design of individual buildings. In this sense, the following definition of architecture will also be adopted:

> ***architecture*** *is 'the art or science of building; specifically: the art or practice of designing and building structures and especially habitable ones; (…) architectural product or work; a method or style of building' (*Merriam-Webster English Online Dictionary)[7].

This conceptual construct of adopting a macro definition (Architecture) and a micro definition (architecture) intends to disclaim endless terminology discussions, assuming that both architecture and urban design aim to improve the living environment through design.

2.3 Design quality of the built environment

One of the objectives of this thesis is to investigate the effectiveness of national Architectural policies in promoting better designed environments. As such, the concept of 'design quality' must be addressed to frame the research question. If there is a certain difficulty in defining *architecture* and *urban design*, agreeing on the principles of good design, both in individual buildings and urban levels, has proved to be even harder. In the former, the concept of *architecture quality* has long been a subject of theoretical debate. In the latter, urban quality is a problematic concept as it means different things to different people and it is therefore unlikely that within a community a consensus on what design quality means, on what makes for a good place (Carmona et al. 2007, p. 64) will ever be reached.

Nevertheless, in the last decades several efforts have been made to systematize the notion of design quality, both at the scale of buildings and urban spaces, and to identify basic principles of good design to help evaluate and review the design quality of new developments and places. Based on this reasoning, this section begins by exploring the concept of *quality* in abstract terms and restates Garvin's (1988) claim that '*if quality is to be managed, it must first be understood*'. The section will then review some of the debates around the notion of design quality from two interrelated perspectives: architecture (individual buildings) and urban design. This will set the theoretical background of the next Chapter, which will discuss how design quality tends to be perceived differently by the different actors involved in the production of the built environment and what should be the role of the nation state in design processes from a perspective of governance.

2.3.1 The meaning of quality

Although most people can make judgments about quality, it is very difficult to establish a precise definition of what quality means because of the subjectivity of the term and of the different interpretations that can be made of it by each individual (Carmona and Sieh 2004,

---

[7] Retrieved from Merriam-Webster English Online Dictionary [accessed on 22 September 2015]

p. 13). As Garvin (1988, p. xi) puts it: 'quality is an unusually slippery concept, easy to visualize and yet exasperatingly difficult to define'. The definitions found in most dictionaries describe *quality* as the degree or level of excellence of something or as the standard of something as measured against other things of a similar kind[8]. The notion of quality also refers to the notion of benchmark that reflects excellence, which is comparatively superior. Finally, it can also refer to the characteristics of something in fulfilling certain requirements, such as the ability of something to perform satisfactorily in use, or its suitability for its intended purpose or expectation (Nelson 2006). This means that the concept of quality involves making a judgment about the merit of something, which may be understood differently by different people. In this perspective, the notion of quality is dynamic and complex as it will change from person to person and will have distinct meanings over time and in different places (Rönn 2011a).

Despite the difficulty in setting a precise definition, quality became the buzzword in the literature on management (Carmona and Sieh 2004, p. 14) produced in the 1990s. The quality movement begun in the 1950s developed in such a way that *quality management* has become an essential component of business management's philosophy aimed at improving not only the quality of products but also the performance of organizations and services (Dahlgaard 1999). In addition, a culture of quality systems has emerged with the creation of quality certifications, like ISO 9000 family standards for quality system management, which continues to involve a higher number of organizations around the world (Franceschini et al. 2004).

The main idea behind the quality movement is that to improve the quality of something it is first necessary to understand what is meant by quality. According to Carmona & Sieh (2004, p. 14), one of the most influential studies in dealing with the meaning of quality is Garvin's (1987) seminal article which decomposes the concept of quality into eight dimensions. Garvin suggested that to be able to discuss strategic approaches on quality, all managers should first 'develop a clear vocabulary with which to discuss quality as a strategy' (Garvin 1987, p. 104). For this, he argued that it is necessary to 'break down the word quality into manageable parts' (Ibidem), proposing eight dimensions of analysis:

1. *Performance*: measurable primary operating characteristics of a product or service;
2. *Features*: added characteristics that supplement the basic functioning or enhance the appeal of a product or service (that is, its non-essential features);
3. *Reliability*: the consistency of performance over time or the probability of a product failing;
4. *Conformance*: the degree to which a product's design meets established specifications or industry standards;
5. *Durability*: relates to the measuring of the useful life of a product or service, both in economic and technical dimensions;

---

[8] Retrieved from the Oxford Online dictionary [accessed on 22 September 2015]

6. *Serviceability*: the time of resolution of problems and complaints of a product or a service;

7. *Aesthetics*: the sensory characteristics of a product or service, the most subjective of all eight dimensions, but one that can be analysed in terms of patterns of consumer preferences;

8. *Perceived quality*: subjective assessment of quality based on cues related to the product as consumers do not always have complete information on the attributes of a product or service.

Although Garvin's argument is made in the context of business management and refers to the production of products, decomposing the concept of quality into eight dimensions is useful to explain that the notion of quality is indeed multi-dimensional. Garvin adds that some of the eight attributes are always mutually reinforcing, which means that a product or a service can have a higher grade in a category and a lower one in another (Ibid). Therefore, when making judgments about the quality of something it is necessary to consider the different attributes and relevant aspects entailed by each object to have the widest possible view of quality. Based on this reasoning, to assess the design quality of the built environment it is necessary to break it down into measurable criteria. In this sense, the following sub-sections will explore some of the debates on the meaning of design quality of buildings and places.

2.3.2 The architectural perspective: design quality of buildings

The concept of architecture quality has long been an object of theoretical debate and continues to be a complex and multifaceted idea (Volker 2010). The first known operationalisation of the concept was set up by the Roman architect Vitruvius around 15 BC, who defined architectural quality as the combination of three attributes: *utilitas* (commodity or use), *firmitas* (firmness or structure) and *venustas* (delight or aesthetic effect). Since then, academics and critics have been attempting to formulate basic principles for good design (Punter and Carmona 1997, p. 201). Nevertheless, despite being two thousand years old, the Vitruvian trilogy continues to be a source of inspiration for researchers, designers and politicians. Some have argued that these three principles are as valid today as they were in ancient times (Finland 1998, CABE 2006a, Cook 2007, Denmark 2007). For example, the first Dutch national Architectural policy (Netherlands 1991) states that architecture quality is defined by three aspects: user value (utility or functionality), cultural value (beauty) and future value (durability). Another example is the former UK programme *Better Public Buildings* that refers that good design is about providing buildings and spaces that are fit for purpose (functionality), built to last (durability) and lift your spirits (beauty) (CABE 2006b). This holistic approach is based on an integral idea of quality that cannot be expressed only in aesthetic terms (Cook 2007, p. 1).

Although it is generally recognised that the appreciation of architecture quality and building design has to involve other factors other than its visual appearance, architecture tends to be

largely viewed as a pure artistic creation, and therefore as subjective (Cook 2007). This line of thought has persisted throughout history, and the cyclical changes of architectural tastes and styles have constantly raised controversial debates about which architectural principles should prevail (Punter and Carmona 1997, p. 18). To solve this dilemma, modernist architects proposed the functionalism approach on building design based on scientific principles that legitimise the design philosophy of 'form follows function'. However, the ideals of modernists would end up raising more controversy than the '*battle of styles*' and they were criticized for their '*bland and meaningless'* style and out-of-context designs (Cook 2007, p. 5). Most of these debates, however, were mostly focused on the aesthetic and visual dimensions, which did not offer any scope for a more profound discussion of the several dimensions of design quality of buildings.

To promote a better understanding of the meaning of quality in architecture, the former Royal Fine Art Commission (RFCA) published an inquiry in 1994 entitled '*What makes a good building*', which defends that to be successful a building must not only be pleasing to the eye but also fulfil its purpose and resist the forces of nature. It is argued that architecture is far from being a pure art, like sculpture or painting, which can be assessed only in terms of aesthetics (RFAC, 1994, p. 18). To make a fair judgment of a building and of its design, RFAC argues, it is necessary to have an overall knowledge of the building's function, of how it responds to its specific needs (e.g. energy efficiency), of the way it is constructed, of the materials used and of the way it fits in the context (Ibidem.). Thus, when judging the design quality of a building it is essential to consider the building as a whole. To assess it by its external appearance only can be misleading: 'Design (…) covers the plan and the form of a building as well as the elevation treatment of the façade. A building therefore is a totality. It is much more than its external look' (Ibid.).

The RFAC inquiry proposes six broad criteria to assess the quality of a building design: *order and unity* (creating coherence and intelligibility); *expression* (of function); *integrity* (or honesty of design); *plan and section* (as well as elevation); *detail* (including ornament); *integration with neighbouring buildings* (adding six qualities that a building should have to fit in its surroundings: setting, massing, scale, proportion, rhythm and materials). In 1999, RFAC was replaced by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), which developed and published a huge amount of research and guides to good practice in which it identifies and prescribes principles of good design for buildings and urban levels (Table 2.1).

Similarly to its predecessor, CABE defends that to understand the notion of quality in architecture and urban design it is necessary to adopt a holistic view on quality. This means that the notion of architecture quality should embrace all aspects by which a building is judged (Volker 2010, p. 16). In this sense, CABE tirelessly argues in several reports that design quality is not simply a matter of aesthetics, but encompasses function, cultural identity, sustainability and economic value: 'Good design is not primarily a question of style and taste. (…) Good design is achieved when the following elements are addressed positively: how a building functions, the quality of the building, its environmental efficiency, its

contribution to the surrounding context and its attractiveness' (CABE 2002a, p. 7). Even if some aspects will 'ultimately come down to matters of individual taste and preference' such as the aesthetic quality of a building or public space, CABE defends that when someone is judging a design, what matters the most is the general quality and not its architectural style (CABE 2006a). Based on this holistic approach, CABE argues that assessing design quality is to a large extent an objective process, avoiding discussions about aesthetic elements, which are noticeably the crux of the problem when it comes to defining the meaning of architectural quality.

CABE (2002b) Principles of good design	CABE (2002a) What is a well-designed building?	CABE (2002a) What is a well-designed place?	CABE (2006) What makes a good Project?
- Functionality in use - Build quality - Efficiency and sustainability - Designing in context - Aesthetic quality	- Appearance - Context - Buildability - Maintenance - Operation	- Character - Continuity and enclosure - Quality of the public realm - Ease of movement - Legibility - Adaptability - Diversity	- Clarity of organisation - Order - Expression and representation - Appropriateness of architectural ambition - Integrity and honesty - Architectural language - Scale - Conformity and contrast - Orientation, prospect and aspect - Detailing and materials - Structure, environmental services, energy use - Flexibility and adaptability - Sustainability - Inclusive design

Table 2.2 – Principles of good design as identified by CABE (Source: Macmillan 2004, p. 4)

Nevertheless, design is a creative process and there will always be objective and subjective elements when making a judgement about the quality of an architectural design (Gann et al. 2003, Dewulf and Meel 2004). Because of this problematic, Magnus Rönn (2011b) suggests that quality in design is associated with a set of values which varies over time and differs

from one person to another. When judgments are made about quality each individual has his or her own opinion about what quality is, which generally leads to disagreement and discussion. Therefore, Magnus Rönn argues that 'quality in architecture and urban design appears to be a fundamentally arguable concept that is subject to a wide range of interpretations' (Idibem, p. 47). He concludes that when someone tries to establish what architectural quality really is in practical terms, the concept is very hard to define: 'there is something that escapes, is ambiguous, in the phenomenon and usage of the concept' (Ibid.). This means that design quality is and will continue to be a controversial issue (Punter and Carmona 1997, Rönn 2011b).

Although some aspects may be subjective, the architectural quality of buildings is a matter of public interest as it has an impact on the public realm. Therefore, public sector intervention in design processes, namely through design control, cannot be dismissed as developers can exclude the needs of the general public and of society at large (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 232). The balance between private and public interests in planning and design control is part of the balance of *design power* in society (Rönn 2011b). This balance has a great influence on the direction of quality in architectural designs. In this context, there is a discussion about the level of influence that public authorities should have on quality issues when deciding about the approval of planning and building permits. Some people consider that architectural quality is a private issue and that the power of public authorities should be limited. This point will be further discussed in the next Chapter, which addresses the issue of design control of the built environment.

2.3.3 The urban design perspective: design quality of places

From an urban design perspective, the focus of concern should be more with the quality of public spaces and less with individual buildings as the public domain affects the life of all citizens (Punter and Carmona 1997, p. 74). In this view, the design quality of places is not simply about architecture (design of individual buildings), which only constitutes the 'background' of public spaces (RTPI 2013), but about the public realm. As Tibbalds (1992) notes: 'the object has now become the public realm – the space between the buildings – rather than the buildings themselves'. In this sense, urban design is focused on making better places for people, which commonly referred to as 'place-making' (Tiesdell and Adams 2011) and embraces all physical elements that constitute the public domain, the way these elements fit together to create networks of space and activity for the public, the functioning of those space networks, and their role as a social space. As such, the perception of quality of the built environment is determined by the combination of all the elements that constitute the public domain with the activities that are held in public spaces (Carmona, et al. 2001).

Nevertheless, similarly to the debate about architectural quality, the concept of place quality is difficult to grasp and may be perceived differently by whoever is making the assessment. Although it is relatively simple to identify good places, it is difficult to uncover the precise

factors that make places successful - what constitutes a 'good urban place'[9]. In fact, the search for the desirable qualities of successful urban places has been an object of analysis since the earliest writings under the label of urban design (Montgomery 1998). Several authors have prescribed the attributes that urban space should have, which have been compared and contrasted elsewhere[10]. Initially focused on the visual and physical qualities of places, urban design came to embrace social, economic and environmental factors, in which the concept of place has become essential in urban design thinking.

In this sense, to assess the quality of complex realities like the built environment it is necessary to consider a wide range of factors, such as visual, social, economic and environmental qualities. Although it is not possible to develop a clearly defined formula, Montgomery (1998, p. 97) argues that it is possible to make use of the components of place to derive a set of preconditions and principles to create successful urban places. One of the first attempts was Kevin Lynch's seminal book '*A Theory of Good City Form*', first published in 1981, which identified five performance dimensions of urban design:

1. *Vitality* – the degree to which the form of settlement supports the vital functions, biological requirements and capabilities of human beings;

2. *Sense* – the degree to which the settlement can be clearly perceived and mentally differentiated and structured in time and space by its residents;

3. *Fit* – the degree to which the form and capacity of spaces, channels and equipment in a settlement match the pattern and quantity of actions that people engage in;

4. *Access* – the ability to reach other persons, activities, resources, services, information, or places, including the quantity and diversity of the elements that can be reached;

5. *Control* – the degree to which the use and access to spaces and activities are controllable by those who use, work, or reside in them (Lynch 1984).

Some years later, Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) suggested seven goals that were essential for the future of good urban environment: liveability, identity and control, access to opportunities, authenticity and meaning, community and public life, urban self-reliance, and an environment for all. Based on Lynch's ideas, the concept of 'place' was widely used by environmental psychologists and urban design academics to explore the meanings that people attach to places. When reviewing models of several authors, John Punter (1991) developed a conceptual framework of the different components of the sense of place, which was seen has being composed by three elements: the *physical setting*, embracing townscape and the dimensions of urban form; *activities*, including the vehicle and pedestrian flows and patterns of behaviour, and finally, the *meanings*, embracing the public's perceptions, assessments and associations (Punter & Carmona 1997, p. 75) (see Fig. 2.3).

---

[9] This problematic has led John Gummer, Secretary State of Environment at the time, to ask what is it that 'makes some places a pleasure to be in and others irredeemably dreary?' (Gummer, 1995 in Montgomery, 1998, p. 94)

[10] Punter and Carmona (1997, p. 76) have reviewed the principles proposed by Kevin Lynch, Jane Jacobs, Francis Tibbalds, Prince of Wales, the Urban Design Group, and others.

Townscape
Built form
Preameability
Microclimate
Floorscape
Landscape
Furniture

Adjacent land use
Pedestrian flow
Behavior patterns
Vehicle floor
Physical traces –
wear and tear
Noise
Smell

Physical setting

Activity

Sense of place

Meaning

Public perceptions
Qualitative assessments
Perceived functions / attractions
Cultural associations
Legibility

Fig. 2.3 - Design considerations / components of a sense of place (Source: Punter 1991)

In 2000, the UK guide By Design (DETR/CABE 2000, p. 14) suggested that 'successful streets, spaces, villages, towns and cities tend to have characteristics in common.' After analyzing a broad range of literature, it sets out seven objectives of good urban design:

- *Character* – to promote character in townscape and landscape by responding to and reinforcing locally distinctive patterns of development, landscape and culture.

- *Continuity and Enclosure* – to promote the continuity of street frontages and the enclosure of space by developing what clearly defines private and public areas.

- *Quality of the Public Realm* – to promote public spaces and routes that are attractive, safe, uncluttered and work effectively for all in society, including the disabled and the elderly people.

- *Ease of Movement* – to promote accessibility and local permeability by making places that connect to each other and are easy to move through, putting people before traffic and integrating land uses and transport.

- *Legibility* – to promote legibility through development that provides recognisable routes, intersections and landmarks to help people find their way around.

- *Adaptability* – to promote adaptability through development that can respond to changing social, technological and economic conditions.

- *Diversity* – to promote diversity and choice through a mix of compatible developments and uses that work together to create viable places that respond to local needs.

Although DETR/CABE's objectives of good urban design overlap each other and are mutually re-enforcing, they are useful to understand what makes a great place. More recently, mixing all these qualities and playing with words, Carmona (2015) suggested that

successful places tend to have five 'F's' in common: *Friendly* (open, cherished and characterful), *Fair* (inclusive, healthy, low impact), *Flourishing* (adaptable, dynamic and diverse), *Fun* (vibrant, playful and stimulating) and *Free* (safe, accessible and democratic). Depicting fifteen place qualities, the aim of the five F's is to lay down a vision for place quality that can mobilize a higher number of actors and institutions that intervene in the built environment, forming the basis for a cross-sector collaborative alliance for place quality. Thus, independently of the framework used, the aim is to generate a broad consensus about the need to raise the standards of design in order to achieve high quality urban environments. This will be discussed in the next Chapter.

2.3.4 Concluding remarks

As discussed in the first part of this section, the concept of quality is dynamic and complex since it has different meanings in time and in different places. In this sense, to be able to discuss the level of quality of a service or a product it is necessary to break the concept into manageable parts and design quality of the built environment is no exception. Despite the subjectivity associated with the concept of architecture quality, it has been possible to develop different sets of criteria to assess the design quality of buildings, in which the Vitruvian principles continue to be a source of inspiration. Nevertheless, when assessing the quality of complex realities like the built environment it is necessary to integrate and recognize a diversity of perspectives, as different people will have different perceptions of design quality and of what constitutes a good place. As such, the concept of design quality must be seen from a holistic perspective, in which the main goal should be user's satisfaction. This includes not only building users but also its local communities. The next section will briefly review the added value of design quality.

2.4 Final remarks

The design of the built environment is an abstract concept used to describe the design of all built elements that constitute the physical environment that provides the setting for human activity. In the broadest sense, Architecture has a similar meaning, referring to any physical alterations of the natural environment through human construction, ranging in scale from individual buildings to neighbourhoods and cities. The rise of urban design as an interdisciplinary field which embraces a wide range of design disciplines, such as architecture, urban design, landscape and infrastructure design, etc., has reduced the meaning of architecture to its narrowest sense, the design of individual buildings. Although urban design is also understood as a broad concept to describe the design of all human-made surroundings, its meaning is not universal and for some it tends to be seen as a sub-field of architecture or planning. To avoid endless terminological discussions, this thesis has adopted both concepts. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, the main aim of Architectural policies is to raise awareness of the importance of good design and quality both in individual buildings and in urban spaces, that is, the built environment as a whole. Nevertheless, as will

be discussed, in some policies the concept of Architecture has gradually been replaced by other concepts, such as *spatial design* (in The Netherlands) or *place* (in the UK).

This chapter has also discussed the meaning of design quality and the difficulties in assessing the quality of architecture and urban design. As will be discussed in the next Chapter, placemaking is a collective endeavour, which means that the design of the built environment is defined by professional designers as well as by a wide range of actors who influence the design process, such as developers, investors, occupiers, etc. As such, the design quality of the built environment is the product of the conscious and unconscious design decisions of many different interests and individuals (Rowley 1998). Although design quality means different things to different people, there is a general agreement that 'higher quality' and 'better places' do not result of mere chance. Therefore, the public sector plays an important role in promoting better places and defending the public interest against abuses and negative externalities of the development process. The next Chapter will explore this topics and the relationship between the design processes and production and transformation of the built environment ending with a discussion about the concept of design governance.

3 Design governance of the built environment

3.1 Introduction

After a brief discussion of the notion of Architecture as design of the built environment, this Chapter focus on the design process and on how the development process, actors and decision-makers shape the built environment. Although there is widespread agreement on the value of architecture and good urban design, such goal is not fully shared by the several players that are involved in the built environment and more broadly by the general public (Carmona and Tiesdell 2007, p. 309). Therefore, to frame the object of this thesis it is important to discuss the development process and explore the roles and motivations of the different actors regarding design quality objectives in order to discuss the different policy instruments that are available to public authorities to promote better design quality for urban spaces. As this Chapter will demonstrate, there are many different agents and actors involved in the production of the built environment, which inevitably leads to a complex process of negotiation over often divergent interests and how design quality came to be interpreted by the different actors involved.

A first section will explore the processes involved in the production of the built environment. It will start by reviewing two models of the development process introducing the main theoretical perspectives on the development process. This will be followed by a discussion of the role of the different development actors in these processes, which will uncover the unbalanced power relations between the different actors and the specific interests that each of them represent in the overall processes of transformation of the built environment. A second section will explore the concept of design governance as the 'process of state intervention in the means and processes of designing the built environment in order to shape both processes and outcomes in a defined public interest' (Carmona et al. 2017). It will start by exploring the rise of the governance paradigm and some of the different theoretical approaches. This will be followed by a discussion on the legitimacy of the state to intervene in the development process, namely through processes of design control. Finally, the role of the state in a context of governance and the modes of state intervention in the development process will be discussed.

3.2 Design and the production of the built environment

3.2.1 Introduction

Despite its solid appearance the built environment is continuously being shaped and reshaped over time (Ambrose 1994). This ongoing transformation can go from simple changes in use to major urban interventions and can occur slowly or rapidly according to market demands and availability of resources. In fact, almost all urban interventions demand high financial investments and require previous careful planning and conscious forethought on the part of the agents who are promoting them to calculate the costs involved and the benefits to be derived from them. As emphasized by Ambrose (1994, p. 4), urban changes are not the result of some 'natural process but the result of purposeful action'. Within these processes, architecture and urban design are essential tools for achieving successful built outcomes. However, built environment design is not as straightforward as it may seem, and external factors, such as site constraints, client's aims and regulations have a strong influence on the choices made by designers, who have to reconcile all these requirements and come up with a coherent and appealing solution.

As such, is important for this investigation to understand Architecture as part of a wider process of production. This will allow us to identify the variety of actors, rules and forces that inform and influence the design quality of the built environment. Focusing on the relationship between Architecture and the production of the built environment, this section is structured into four parts. A first part will briefly introduce the reader to the theoretical body on the development process and will explore two of its models. A second part will discuss the aims and interests of development actors and their relationships in the design of the built environment. A third part will discuss the consumer-producer gap, which prompts investors to undervalue design quality to the detriment of long term objectives. Finally, it will end with a brief discussion on the role of designers and on the imbalance in decision power among the different development actors. This will provide the context for the next section, which will explore the concept of design governance and the role of the state in promoting better places.

3.2.2 Models of the development process

To understand how urban changes take place and what triggers them several scholars have analyzed the formation and renovation of the built environment as a production process similar to other types of industrial production (Adams 1994, p. 38). Basically, it is seen as a profit-driven process involving the combination of various inputs – land, labour, materials and/or finance (capital) – in order to achieve an output or product – whether these are financial accumulation, personal utility or possible 'public benefit' (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 213). This form of production is normally known as land and property development process (Adams 1994, p. 38, Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 3). Patsy Healey (1992, p. 5) has defined it as:

'the transformation of the physical form, bundle of rights, and material and symbolic value of land and buildings from one state to another, through the effort of agents with interests and purposes in acquiring and using resources, operating rules and applying and developing ideas and values.'

Since the 1950s, academics have been developing theoretical models to conceptualize the development process in order '*to assess the contribution of particular actors, the significance of specific events and the complexity of relationships that make development happen*' (Adams 1994, p. 44). In the mid-1980s, due to a policy shift which emphasized the role of the private sector in property development, there was an increase in the study of the development process that led to the development of a wide range of models based on a variety of perspectives (Healey 1991, p. 221). Patsy Healey (Ibidem) has grouped them into four different types:

a) *Equilibrium* models, derived from neoclassical economics, which assume that development activity is structured by economic signals about effective demand, as reflected in rents, etc.;

b) *Event-sequence* models, derived from estate management studies, which focus on the management of phases in the development process;

c) *Agency* models, derived from a behavioural or institutional perspective, that concentrates on the actors and their relationships in the development process;

d) *Structure* models, grouped in urban political economy, which concentrate on the way in which markets are structured, the role of capital, labour and land in the development process, and the forces that determine the relationships and drive the development process.

Added to this, one year later, Healey (1992) proposed a fifth type - an *institutional* model of the development process - that both describes events and agencies, and explains how they relate to broader structural forces. Based on Healey's work and others, the different studies and models on the development process have been categorized in two broad groups based on *mainstream economics* or *Marxist* theoretical assumptions (Guy & Henneberry, 2000). Considering that it is not feasible to review all different models of the development process, two will be reviewed - one of each theoretical thinking - as some models tend to understate aspects that are emphasized by others to explore the processes involved in the production of the built environment.

Event-sequence model: the development pipeline

According to Adams (1994, p. 45), one of the best event-based models of the development process was set up by Barret et al. in 1978. It uses the concept of a development pipeline to categorize the different development phases and activities. The model simplifies the multiplicity of activities in the development process into three broad sets of events: 1) development pressure and prospects, 2) development feasibility, and 3) implementation.

Each event forms one side of a triangular pipeline. In the first phase, external factors – like taxation or incentives, economic growth, long-term trends or land requirements – generate the development pressure and prospects in the first side of the triangle, which lead to the identification of particular sites. The second phase of the process is the development feasibility, which covers all the subsequent events up to the beginning of construction, testing the viability of development before starting the construction and commercialization phase. Finally, the third phase, implementation, includes both the process of construction and the transfer of the development into the new use and occupation. Although the model is represented as a triangle, in reality, the process operates as a spiral, producing a new pattern of land use at the end of each cycle (Adams 1994, p. 48). In addition, potential sites can go around the pipeline at different speeds and in different periods in time. Hence, the development process is dynamic and cyclical (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 214).

Agency-based model: the development system

According to Peter Ambrose's model (1994, p. 11), the development process involves three main sets of interests: the market, the state and the citizen. The first set of interests (the market) includes various different forms of capital-accumulative organizations, such as lenders, developers, constructors, investors, profit-driven users of buildings, etc. Naturally, their interests are divergent, namely in terms of buildings producers and consumers (users). The first group searches for high rents to maximize profits and minimize risks while the second searches mainly for low rents to minimize costs. The second set (the state) includes the different levels of the administration. The prime task of the central state is the preservation and protection of the public interest, although each government tends to interpret this vague concept differently. The regional and local authorities reproduce the same internal conflicts between politicians and civil servants as the central state, but are more sensitive to local resident's aspirations and needs. Finally, the last set of interests (the citizens) is composed by the rest of the general public that can be more or less interested and/or connected to the 'democratic process' (Ibidem). Ambrose (1994) sets up a useful diagram of the relationships between the state, the market, the citizen and the built environment, which helps to clarify the interaction between these three main sets of interests and the built environment (Fig. 3.1).

Ambrose (1994) argues that the main difficulty is to achieve an effective balance between these three main sets of interests, so as not to have too much state nor too much market. So, in this perspective, the competing positions are caught between the particular balance of state / market activity which best serves citizen needs. The policy discussion should therefore focus on the most suitable combination of state and market activity – technically, politically, socially – to defend citizens' rights to a quality built environment and provide the necessary incentives to mobilize private capital (Ibid. p. 12). In this sense, the design of the built environment is the product of a dynamic process marked by technological, social, economic and cultural developments (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 196).
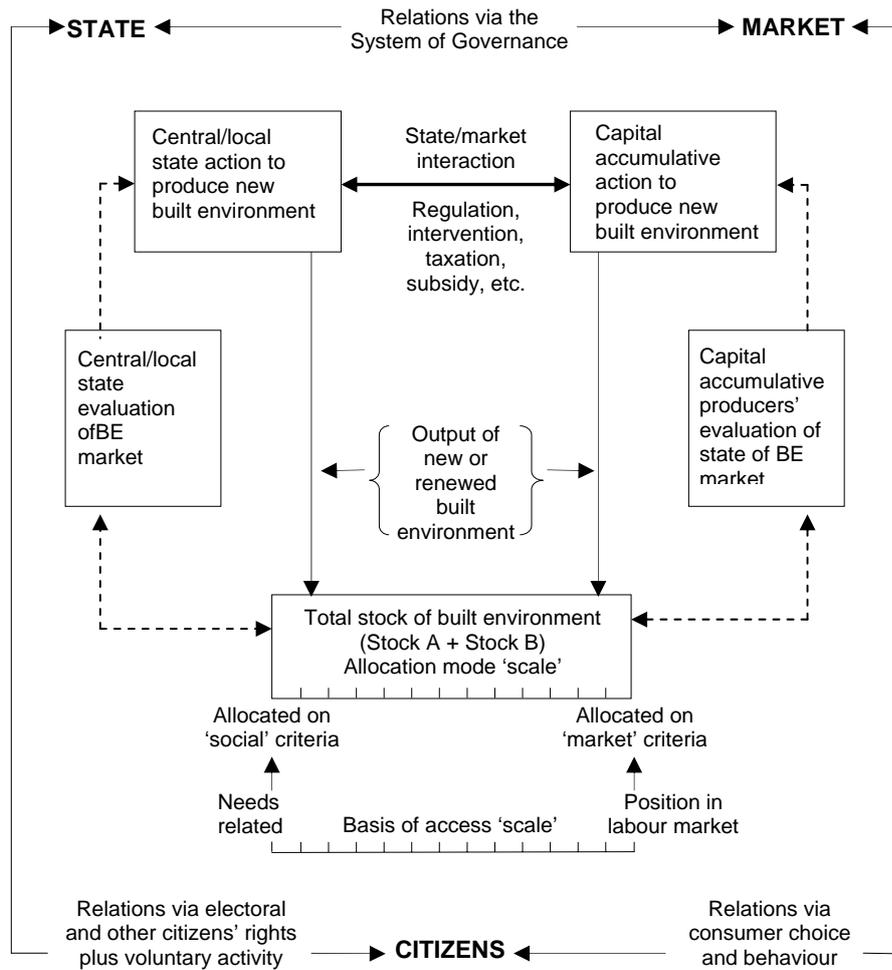
Fig. 3.1 – State/market/citizen relationships and the built environment (Source: Ambrose, 1994)

As seen above, the development process can be approached from very different disciplinary perspectives. At a simple level, it can focus on the various phases or events involved in the development process, such as the Barret's model, and point out when the state and the market interact. At a more complex level, an agency-base form of analysis focused on the way in which different roles within the development process are played by a range of people and organisations (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 5). Nevertheless, recent review has shown that state–market relations in the development process are 'not the exclusive possession of economics (…), showing that the real estate development process is not simply an economic process but is also highly social' (Ibidem). In a market economy, the state needs to act more as a 'regulator and enabler, rather than as a controller and provider' (Adams 1994, p. 8), working in partnership with different development actors to improve the quality of the urban environment.

3.2.3 Actors and roles in the development process

As discussed above, the development process is characterized by a complex system of agencies and structures embracing a diverse number of actors, in which the institutional and professional interaction contributes to the production, management and regulation of the built environment (Lynch 1984, Edwards et al. 2009). Since each actor has its own interests, goals and motivations the development process is market by a constant negotiation system leading to a fragmented and plural decision-making process (Adams 1994, p. 2). Although architecture and urban design are important elements to determine the quality of a proposed development, many of the decisions about what type of structures are built and where, are not in the hands of architects but in those of other actors such as politicians and developers (Knox and Ozolins 2012, p. 314). As Rowley (1998) notes: 'the quality of urban design is the product of the conscious and unconscious design decisions of many different interests and individuals'. In this perspective, the production of the built environment is seen as process that involves a huge variety of actors or decision-makers, each with his or her own goals and motivations. Nonetheless, according to Tiesdell and Adams (2011, p. 4), actors only get involved in development if it helps them to achieve their objectives.

Looking at Table 3.1, it is possible to verify that there is a mismatch between supply and demand. The actors on the supply-side - landowners, developers, builders, professional advisers – have typically short-term and financial objectives and tend to look at the development as a financial commodity, which ideally would guarantee the highest level of profit with the lowest possible risk. For example, the main motivation of private developers is the opportunity to obtain the development value of sites by meeting an unmet demand for development (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 223). To reach a desired level of profit, developers manage and coordinate an array of operations, going from market research, site prospection and acquisition, project financing, design and costing definition, planning permission, approval of all other public procedures, construction, marketing, letting or selling, etc. This means that developers are interested in design to the extent that it allows them to reach their financial goals. As Rowley (1998, p. 163) puts it: 'developers see all aspects of design as essentially a means to a financial end and not as an end itself' (For a full review on the roles of development actors, see Carmona et al. 2003).

On the other hand, the actors on the demand side – occupiers, users, community and the public sector - typically have long-term and design-related objectives and tend to see a development as an environment to be used in the long run. By renting or buying spaces, occupiers make direct use of and benefit from the facilitations granted by developers and investors. Whether choosing the location of a new business or searching for a bigger house, occupiers tend to analyze and assess, even if unconsciously, a set of interrelated criteria, such as appearance, comfort, convenience, efficiency, accessibility, costs, etc. This means that the needs and preferences of the future users are an important factor in the definition of the building design to the extent that it will be easier to sell a product that keeps up with demand. Nevertheless, contrasting with developers, the objectives of occupiers are typically long-term, financial and design-related, taking into account aspects of functionality and external appearance (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 226)

Development roles	Factors of motivation				
	Cost		Design issues		
	Timescale	**Financial strategy**	**Functionality**	**External appearance**	**Relation to context**
Supply-side actors – Those who produce the development or contribute to its production					
Landowner	**Transient**	**Profit maximisation**	**No**	**No**	**No**
Developers	**Transient**	**Profit maximisation**	**Yes** But only as a mean to financial end	**Yes** But only as a mean to financial end	**Yes** To extent that there are positive or negative externalities
Funders (short-term development finance)	**Transient**	**Profit maximization**	**No**	**No**	**No**
Builder	**Transient**	**Profit maximisation**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Adviser I e.g. Managing Agent	**Enduring**	**Profit maximization / seeking**	**Yes**	**Yes** But primarily as a mean to financial end	**No**
Adviser II e.g. Designer			**Yes**	**Yes** But indirectly, to the extent that external appearance reflects on them and their future business	**No**
Demand-side actors – those who consume the development					
Investors (long-term investment funding)	**Enduring**	**Profit maximization**	**Yes** But primarily as a mean to financial end	**Yes** But primarily as a mean to financial end	**Yes** To the extent there are benefits to making positive connections
Occuppiers	**Enduring**	**Cost minimisation**	**Yes**	**Yes** But only to the extent that external appearance symbolises/represents them and their business	**Yes** To the extent that there are benefits to making positive connections

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 – Motivation of development actors (Source: adapted from Carmona et al. 2003: 221; Tiesdell & Adams 2004)

Development roles	Factors of motivation				
	Cost		Design issues		
	Timescale	Financial strategy	Functionality	External appearance	Relation to context
Adjacent Landowners	**Enduring**	**Protect** **property** **values**	**No**	**Yes** To the extent that new development has positive or negative externalities	**Yes** To the extent that new development has positive or negative externalities
Community (local)	**Enduring**	**Neutral**	**Yes** To the extent that buildings are used by general public	**Yes** To the extent that it defines and forms part of public realm	**Yes**
Regulatory actors – those who 'regulate' the development					
Public sector	**Enduring**	**Neutral**	**Yes**	**Yes** To the extent that it forms part of a great whole	**Yes** To the extent that it forms part of a great whole

Tab. 3.1 - Continued

On the production side, designers are responsible for defining the development's volume, form and external appearance in such a way that combines planning requirements with client's programmatic needs into an appealing final solution. Besides planning approval, the designer also adds exchange value to a development through its design attractiveness. Therefore, most of the times, professional designers play an important role as mediators between clients, who intend to maximize their profits and minimize their risks, and public authorities that aim to protect the public interest and guarantee the enhancement of the public realm. In fact, the public sector has the responsibility to protect the public interest. Because of the complex public administration' structure, public agencies frequently act on their own and with little coordination across government. Nevertheless, according to Carmona et al. (2003, p. 228), the objectives of the public sector are typically long-term, functional and design-related. As such, the public sector plays a crucial role in the design and production of the built environment. This will be explored in the next section.

3.2.4 Development and design quality: the producer-consumer gap

After discussing the roles and objectives of the different actors involved in the production of the built environment, this section will explore how higher quality environments can be achieved in practice through the development process. The needs of the public realm change from place to place demanding a specific design solution according to the context of each development, which means that there is not a simple recipe for achieving good design (Rowley 1998). The search for quality can be constrained by a wide range of factors, many of which fall outside the sphere of influence of both developer and designer. As it will be discussed below, design quality is often sacrificed by short-term interests resulting on 'good enough' solutions and in the production of 'safe products', cheaper to produce and easier to sell. One of the main problems is that design quality is not given enough value both by developers and consumers. This means that both actors are co-responsible for the lack of design quality of most developments, where the public sector ends up participating on this 'market failure' by approving *satisfactory* planning proposals. Instead, public sector should assume a leading role in the promotion of design quality of places and developments, fostering a place-making culture and defending the long- term interest of the wider community.

In the majority of advanced economies, societies are structured by market economies, in which the decisions regarding investment, production and delivery of built forms are based on principles of supply and demand. This means that development actors will only become active, interact and invest time / resources in the development process if these efforts contribute to the achievement of their objectives (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 228). Conflicts and negotiations are typical features of the development process as each actors have different objectives. Basically, actors will trade-off objectives internally and with one another to reach

consensus and compromises. This, however, is not an unproblematic process because the different actors have dissimilar strengths and powers, the meaning of 'quality' tends to be interpreted differently and 'design quality' may not be a goal shared by all participants (Ibidem).

As mentioned earlier, there is generally a mismatch between supply and demand. In the former, actors have short-term and financial objectives while on the demand side they have typically long-term and design-related objectives and tend to see a development as an environment to be used in the long run. As such, conflicting objectives on the producer and consumer sides can lead to producer-consumer gaps. In most developments, users/owners are unknown and unable to inform the design and the development process directly, which means that there is room for mismatches or gaps between supply and demand (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 7). The lack of direct consumer input, combined with consumers having to buy what is offered for sale by the market, means that developers can produce developments according to their own objectives and motivations without having to reconcile and trade-off their objectives with consumers. Although developers (suppliers) have to predict user/owner (consumer) needs and requirements, they tend to produce 'poorer quality' developments, which only serve narrow financial objectives. This type of producer-consumer gaps is typical of speculative developments (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 229). When differing objectives and motivations are traded-off by a single actor or organization playing different development roles (for example developer, investor, owner and occupier), conflicts over objectives and motivations are internalized leading to the most advantageous outcome (Ibidem).

In situations of producer-consumer gaps, such as production of volume housebuilding, the fair distribution of costs and benefits between the different development actors is decisively dependent on the supply-side actors being convinced that better quality developments will give them higher return values and safer cost recovery ((Henneberry, 1998) in (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 229)). However, if occupiers do not appreciate the benefits of better design as they will have to pay higher costs / rents for them, developers and investors will not provide or fund this type of quality developments. The volatility of the development process force developers and investors to achieve returns as fast as possible to avoid periods of economic slumps (Adams 1994, p. 70). As Booth (1982, p. 21) notes: 'Developers must ensure that the gestation period is as short as possible, that the design process is not prolonged unnecessarily, and that approvals are quickly obtained. (…) Complexities of layout and building form tend to be avoided (…) finally, there is a pressing need for the end product to be marketable'.

As a consequence, developers in general are extremely conservative. They choose '*safe commercial strategies'* and, when possible, maintain the same standards of production (Ibidem). The only design changes allowed tend to be those linked to superficial detail, the marketable 'feature'. Prudent and profit-maximising developers will carefully match the quality search by consumers, with the quality of the product supplied. This means that developers will produce developments with the sufficient and appropriate levels of quality, which are judged against short-term criteria (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 229). Therefore, public authorities have an important role to play in helping to close producer-consumer gaps by demanding developers to raise the quality of their developments and influence consumers to acquire better products and demand more long-term design solutions and materials.

Nevertheless, Tiesdell et al. (2011) argue that closing producer-consumer gaps may not be enough to create better urban environments, as developers can produce developments that respond to customers' and investors' needs but fail to meet the needs of the community. So, for Tiesdell et al. (Ibidem), the challenge is to encourage or compel developers to look across site boundaries and to make them realize their social responsibility as contributors to the making of better places, as their developments will have an impact on the wider context. Therefore, public intervention might play an important role in compelling and encouraging developers to raise the quality standards of their developments by a judicious deployment of policy instruments.

3.2.5 The role of urban designers and architects

As discussed beforehand, the production of the built environment involves a multiplicity of actors, each with its own objectives and motivations in the development process which force them to negotiate and bargain differing objectives (Tiesdell and Adams 2011). Based on this problematic, this research will look more closely at the role of architects and urban designers in the development process. Although design professionals play an important role in the production of the built environment, namely in facilitating and enabling developments through the design of built forms, it is important to understand the relative power of designers in the wider political framework of actors and agents with an interest in the practice of design in the development process (McGlynn and Murrain 1994, p. 311). To illustrate the powers of the various actors, McGlynn (1993) set up a useful '*powergram'* in which she makes distinctions between actors who can exert *power* to initiate or control development; those with a legal or contractual responsibility towards some aspect of development; and those with an interest or *influence* in the process (Table. 3.2).

Actors	Suppliers		Producers					Consumers
Elements of the built environment	**Land owner**	**Funder**	**Developer**	**Local Authority**		**Architects**	**Urban designers**	**Every day users**
				Planners	**Highway engineers**			
Street pattern	-	-	○	○	●	-	○	○
Blocks	-	-	-	-	-	-	○	-
Plots – subdivision & amalgamation	●	●	●	(in U.K.) ○	-	-	○	-
Land/building use	●	●	●	●	⊗	○	○	○
Building form - height /mass	-	●	●	●	-	⊗	○	○
- orientation to public space	-	-	○	⊗	-	-	○	○
- elevations	-	○	○	●	-	⊗	○	○
- elements of construction (details/materials)	-	○	●	⊗	-	⊗	○	○

Note: ● Power – either to initiate or control   ○ Interest/influence – by argument or participation only

 ⊗ Responsibility – legislative or contractual   - No obvious interest

Table 3.2 – McGylnn' 'powergram' (Source: McGlynn & Murrain, 1994)

On the left side of the table are listed the physical components of the built environment which form the substance of negotiation and trade-off between actors in the development process. At the top of the table are the main actors in this process, organized in three major categories: *suppliers*, who comprehend the basic 'commodities' of development, such as land and capital; *producers*, who include developers, local authorities and professional designers, and last but not least, *consumers*, which basically involves everyone, users and the general public. Although simplistic, the matrix graphically illustrates how power lies among those actors able to initiate or control development in a direct way, such as developers and funders. On the other hand, the remaining actors have to rely on persuasion, alliances and participation in order to have any influence over the process (McGlynn and Murrain 1994)

The 'powergram' also shows the correspondence between the objectives of architects and urban designers and those of users and the community as a whole. In this sense, McGylne and Murrain (1994) argue that urban designers should play a proactive role in gaining financial and political support for participatory exercises. In other words, designers should indirectly defend the integration of community views in the design process and should represent users' and the general public's interests in the production side of the development process (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 230). When analyzing more deeply the relationship between developers and designers in the development process, Ian Bentley (2002) suggests four metaphors to describe the relationship between the two actors: '*heroic form-giver*', '*master and servant*', '*market signals*' and '*battlefield*'. These four metaphors will be briefly reviewed to explore the relationship between developers and designers in the production of the urban space:

1) *Heroic form-giver* - The first metaphor suggests that the development form is essentially generated by the creative efforts of particular actors, more specifically design professionals. According to Bentley (2002), this idealistic contemplation is generally associated with the role of the architect, who is seen as the 'prime generator of built form'. In fact, the vision of the individual architect as the design leader of the development process is deeply embedded in professional design culture. In fact, the image of the architect as the main agent in the shaping of the built environment is frequently disseminated among the wider public, being a generally accepted idea in popular culture. Bentley (2002), however, argues that this is a 'powerful myth' that vastly overstates the role of designers, exposing them to criticism in aspects of development that are out of their control. Therefore, the unequal distribution of power among the various development actors reveals the unrealistic vision of designers as heroic form-makers, since it will strongly diminish the broader social and economic processes involved in the production of the built environment (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 230).

2) *Master and servant* - The second metaphor suggests that the development form is determined by a power play in which decisions are dictated by those with more power, whereby they (the masters) can issue orders to those with less power (the servants). According to this view, those who pay and invest resources have the power to decide how buildings should be built and to make the fundamental decisions, and then designers only '*package them*'. This means that developers and funders/investors are the ones who rule the form-production process because of their strong financial interests in the development process. Nevertheless, for Bentley (2002) this is not a realistic approach because it understates the autonomy of designers, who possess the specific expertise and knowledge that developers need to achieve their purposes. The reason for this interdependence is due to the specific nature of the development process in which each development needs to take into account the particular features of its site and location, something which requires the expert knowledge of all professionals (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 11).

3) *Market signals* - The third metaphor suggests that the various actors in the development process are not driven by powerful forces or actors but by market trends, which indicates the types of services and forms that should be produced. This means that even if they do not personally agree with the product they are creating, designers are aware of who pays their salaries and so choose to obligingly produce what the market desires rather than respond creatively to the context and to their philosophies (Ibidem). Bentley (2002) also dismisses this view because it ignores the practical difficulties in controlling all the elements of the development team. The development process involves several professional experts that possess deep knowledge in their area of expertise, which cannot be fully controlled by the client/developer. As they tend to work according to their one value-system, it generally results in conflicts that have to be negotiated (Bentley 2002, p. 36).

4) *The Battlefield* - The last and fourth metaphor suggests that all development actors negotiate and struggle with each other to achieve their objectives and the development form they want. Bentley (2002) believes that this is the most realistic picture. As he states: 'all the protagonists have at least some power, no matter how limited, to affect the outcome on the ground' (Ibidem, p. 65). According to this perspective, the various development actors have to be able to negotiate effectively the resources available to them and take the maximum advantage of their '*opportunity space'* for negotiation. According to Bentley, each actor's opportunity space is set by a web of rules and sanctions, which may be internal, when imposed on themselves, or external, when placed upon them (Ibid.)

Although Bentley's analysis points out a sharing of design decisions among development actors, designers tend to have a lack of real power to initiate or control development. This means that designers are not able to elevate the design quality of a development beyond what the client will allows for. As Arge (1995) notes: 'the design quality is dependent on the clients' goals, which influence the conditions under which the design process is carried out'. As such, designers need to argue the value of good design to convince clients and developers that quality is in their self-interest as it will enhance the value of their properties (Carmona et al. 2001). The difficulty remains how to change the developer's mindset and convince him or her that design quality does not necessarily mean higher costs and that it will improve the cost/value balance, resulting in smaller selling periods and higher return prices (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 232).

3.2.6 Concluding remarks

As seen above, the design processes of the built environment are complex and involve a huge variety of actors. In this sense, to achieve more sustainable urban environments it is necessary to promote a long-term view on quality, which is contrary to the short-term horizon of commercial, financial and political decision-makers. More often than not, the search for quality is lost in a vicious circle: society seeks improved quality; the developer aspires to meet client needs as does the investor, but the requirements and needs of most clients are usually too self- centred to meet society's wishes. Therefore, the challenge is to find ways to break the cycle with a mix of policy tools. Although planning policy is an important tool, it is only one piece in a complex system of relationships and processes all of which contribute to the production of the built environment. Rowley (1998) suggests that education and debate are two of the tools that the public sector may use to promote a change in client requirements, namely by raising people's expectations about the quality of their space and ways of working, as this will have a positive influence in the development process. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, one of the main arguments of the national Architectural policies is the need for raising societal awareness of the value of good design so it can be possible to influence the practices of the wide range of actors that contribute to the transformation of the built environment. This sets the context for the next section, which will explore the different roles of the state in promoting better places.

3.3 Design governance of the built environment

3.3.1 Introduction

The previous section discussed the close relationship between design and the development process and how the design process is influenced by a wide range of private and public actors. This section explores the role of the state in promoting design quality in architecture and the built environment. As noted previously, the public sector has the responsibility to protect public interest, to guarantee the enhancement of the public realm and to promote sustainable development. Based on these broad principles, the public sector seeks to regulate the development process and to promote the efficient use of resources through the planning system, building codes and other regulations (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 227). In addition, the public sector has also the potential to influence design quality through the use of non-statutory instruments, such as information, education and management.

However, in the last decades, the rise of neo-liberal ideas, deregulation, privatization of public services and public-private partnerships contributed to the loss of power of the state. Despite these developments, it is argued that the role of the government should be maintained and should particularly be inspirational, leading by example (Harvey 2008). Adapting to this 'new ethos', the role of the state has extended to new dimensions. Besides defining the regulatory framework it also plays an active leading role as disseminator and promoter of a message of quality among the general public. In this context, the concept of *design governance* fits well in this new way of governing, shifting the emphasis on policy delivery from (direct) management to (indirect) enablement. Matthew Carmona (2017) defines *design governance* as the 'process of state intervention in the means and processes of designing the built environment in order to shape both processes and outcomes in a defined public interest'. This means that the role of the state is much more than just 'controlling' or 'guiding' design and development form.

As will be discussed, through the employment of a wide range of statutory and non-statutory functions, the public sector (national, regional and local) has the potential to influence the development process and the quality of the built environment (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 237). However, to be able to understand the role of the state it is first necessary to disassemble the dynamics of public action by identifying the different forms of interaction between state and society and the relations between public and private actors. This section's objective is therefore fourfold. Firstly, it explores the concept of governance and the different meanings associated with this 'new type of governing', using Stoker's definition of governance as a framework of analysis. Secondly, it briefly discusses the legitimacy of the state to intervene in the design processes, namely if it should be involved in design control practice. Thirdly, it discusses the role of the nation state from the perspective of governance. Finally, a last part reviews some of the main functions held by the public sector in the governance of design, namely the different modes of state intervention in design processes.
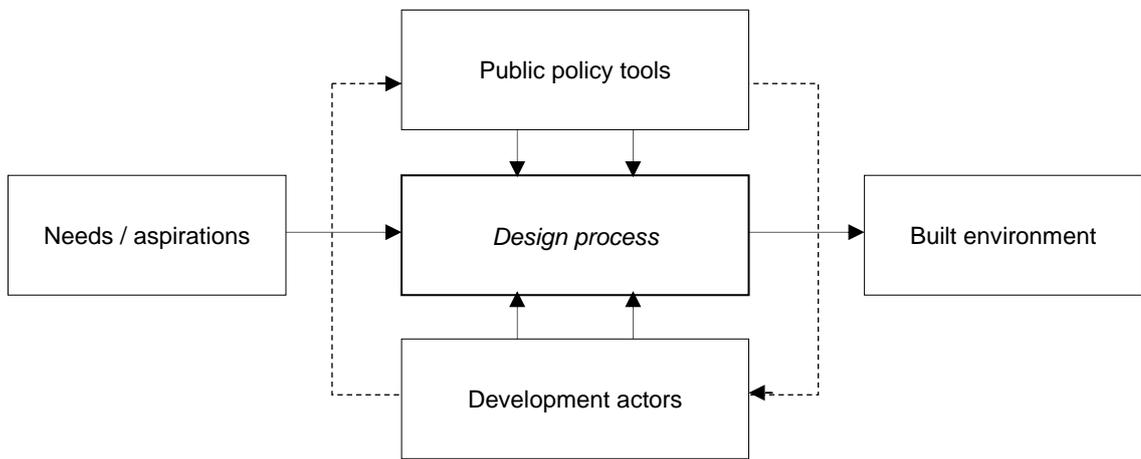
Fig. 3.3 – Built environment design process

3.3.2 Exploring the concept of governance

Since the beginning of the 1990s that a conceptual shift from '*government* to *governance'* took place all over the world reflecting a change in the way in which state authorities were implementing sovereign control and steering society (Pierre and Peters 2000)[11]. In fact, this conceptual shift was broadly proclaimed in and endorsed by the social science communities (Jessop 1998, Kooiman 1999, Hajer and Wagenaar 2003), in which researchers embraced the idea of *governance* as a 'new way of thinking about state capabilities and sate-society relationships' (Pierre and Peters, 2000) [12]. In Stoker's view (1998), the rise of governance has been driven by a 'shifting pattern of governing' acknowledging a change in the nature of politics and policy-making. As Hajer and Wagennar (2003, p. 8) note: 'a new range of political practices have emerged between institutional layers of the state and between state institutions and societal organizations.' As such, the emergence of governance theories was a 'strategy to link the contemporary state to the contemporary society', recognizing changes in society, in particularly 'growing or changing societal interdependencies' (Pierre & Peters, 2000) [13]. In this sense, the term '*governance'* became an appealing concept because it helped to capture a 'change both in the nature and topography of politics' (Hajer & Wagennar, 2003).

---

[11] Rhodes (1997) refers that in the beginning of the 1990s *governance* as a governmental reform objective became a worldwide trend: the United Nations, together with the IMF, and the World Bank promoted 'good governance' as the new reform objective of a large-scale campaign towards third-world countries; the EU placed the reform of the European governance as one of its strategic objectives; at local level, the British Economic and ESRC launched an extensive research program on 'local governance' (Stoker, 1998).

[12] Despite the recent distinction and popularity of the term, Jessop (1998: 30) refers that the term 'governance' has old roots which can be traced back to classical Latin and to ancient Greece when it was used to designate the 'steering of boats and was originally referred to the action or manner of governing, guiding, or steering conduct, overlapping with government'. In his view, the key factor in the sudden fascination with the term has been the need to distinguish 'governance' from 'government'.

[13] Pierre and Peters (2000) refer that the growing interest in governance was caused by several social changes and events occurred during the 1970s and 1980s: 1) the financial crisis of the state; 2) the ideological shift towards the market; 3) globalization; 4) failure of the state; 5) emergence of the new public management; 6) social change and increasing complexities; 7) new sources of governance; and 8) legacy of traditional political accountability.

Although its terminological origin is the same, 'governance' is not a synonym for 'government' (Rhodes 1997, Pierre and Peters 2000). From a governance perspective, the term 'government' is used to refer to the formal institutions of the state and to their monopoly of legitimate coercive power (Stoker 1998). Instead, and according to Rhodes (1997), governance signifies 'a change in the meaning of government, referring to a *new* process of governing; or a *changed* condition of ordered rule; or the *new* method by which society is governed'. What distinguishes the two approaches, Stoker argues, is a matter of a 'difference in processes' (Ibidem). However, the term 'governance' has become an umbrella concept for a wide diversity of phenomena being used in the literature in very different ways and with multiple meanings (Jessop 1998, Kooiman 1999, 2003, Pierre and Peters 2000). In 1997, Rhodes has listed six different uses of the term and, in 1999, Jan Kooiman has listed twice as many uses of term, referring to this panoply of meanings as a 'governance explosion'. Instead of reviewing the different definitions, Gerry Stoker (1998, p. 18) structures the discussion of the concept of governance as theory around five propositions:

1. Governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but are also beyond government;

2. Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues;

3. Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action;

4. Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors;

5. Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of the government to command or use its authority.

These five propositions will be discussed below as a framework to explore the different aspects entailed by the concept of governance. This conceptual review will be useful for this research because it will provide insights for the discussion of the role of the state from a governance perspective, that is, the processes, actors, tools and new forms of partnerships involved in the governing processes which shape and condition the development and implementation of public policies, and by this route, set the stage for the research question on the role and effectiveness of national architectural policies.

1. Governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but are also beyond government

According to Stoker (1998, p. 19), the first characteristic of governance is that it challenges the constitutional / formal understandings of systems of government. Nowadays, the governmental structure is fragmented and constituted by a labyrinth of institutions and bodies. In fact, many of the current societal problems can no longer be resolved by traditional systems of politics and administrations. Additionally, the concept of governance also refers to different levels of decision-making and decentralization of power, which some

refer to as the 'hollowing out' of the nation state (R. A. W. Rhodes, 1994; R. A. W. Rhodes, 1997). Several authors describe this phenomenon as 'multi-level governance' which seeks to explain 'the dispersion of central government authority both vertically, to actors located at other territorial levels, and horizontally, to non-state actors' (Bache and Flinders 2004)[14]. Furthermore, there has been an increased involvement of the private and voluntary sectors in decision-making processes and service delivery (Stoker, 1998). This means that a huge number of responsibilities that used to belong exclusively to the state are now shared by a diversity of actors, where private-public or public-public partnerships and outsourcing practices are part of the normal procedures in the majority of the countries (Ibidem).

This observation has particular resonance for this research, as there has been a significant change in the traditional methods of building procurement. As Michael O'Doherty (EFAP 2005) puts it: 'These changes emerge from governments desire (…) to harness private sector funding and private sector expertise in the delivery of major architectural, urban regeneration and infrastructural projects'. Generically, these new processes are known as Public Private Partnerships and are operated on a 'Developer Led' basis, in which the developer procures professional design services, construction delivery, the financial envelope and, in many cases, the operation of the completed facility. Therefore, the blurring of responsibilities caused by this type of procurement has been presenting major challenges in the achievement of quality in public programs (Ibid.).

2. Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues

According to Stoker (1998), the second characteristic of governance is that it indicates the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities between the public and private sectors when tackling social and economic issues. In fact, the shift in responsibility finds institutional expression in a blurring of boundaries between public and private entities, which has been promoted by the appearance of a wide range of voluntary and non-profit agencies[15]. Usually described as the third sector, these organizations are dedicated to huge diversity of social, economic and cultural issues working in the context of 'social economy'. As such, the concept of governance considers the existence of independent network of actors that in part have replaced social tasks that used to belong to the state. Basically, it is claimed that the needs are met and problems are managed through such organizations 'without recourse to an over-arching authority of formal system of control. Such a claim takes us beyond a simple recognition of the plurality of groups that seek to influence government to recognition of a range of groups that have taken over some of the traditional tasks of government' (Stoker, 1998).

---

[14] Pierre and Peters (2000) refer that there has been three different types of displacement of state power and control: *upward*, towards international actors and organizations; *downward*, towards regions, cities and communities; and *outward*, towards institutions operating under considerable discretion from the state.

[15] Generally labelled as voluntary groups, non-profits, non-governmental organizations, community enterprises, cooperatives, mutual and community-based organizations.

3. Governance identifies the power dependence present in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action

The third characteristic of governance is that it embodies a notion of power dependence between organizations assuming that 'organizations depend on each other for resources and, therefore, enter exchange relationships' (Rhodes, 1997). In this sense, in government relationships 'no one organization can easily command, although one organization may dominate a particular process of exchange' (Ibidem). Although at national level, government or another institution may want to impose control, there is a 'persistent tension between the wish for authoritative action and dependence on the compliance and the action of others' (Rhodes 1996). Therefore, governing from the governance perspective is always an interactive process because no single actor, public or private, has enough resources or knowledge capacity to tackle problems alone (Kooiman, 1993; in Stoker, 1998). The acknowledgment of power dependence between organizations is useful for the discussion of the implementation of public policies. In fact, to be able to discuss the role of national architectural policies, it is necessary to grasp the different arrangements and modes of partnerships set between the governmental bodies responsible for the architectural policies and the several societal actors called to participate in the delivery of the policies action plan (see Chapter 8).

4. Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors

The fourth characteristic of governance is that it 'comprehends the formation of self-governing networks as the ultimate partnership activity' (Stoker, 1998, p. 23). These networks are related to policy communities and other forms of function-based groupings, which can vary considerably with regard to their degree of cohesion, facilitating coordination of public and private interests and resources (Ibidem). From a governance perspective, networks 'regulate and coordinate policy sectors more according to their preferences of the actors involved than with consideration to public policy' (Pierre & Peters 2000, p. 20). However, governance networks involve not just the networks influencing government policy but also the self-organizing networks which take over the business of government (Stoker, 1998). In an extreme form, these networks will become 'sufficiently concerted and cohesive to resist or even challenge state powers transforming in self-regulatory structures within their policy sector' (Pierre and Peters 2000). Kooiman (2003) gives two examples of social self-governing entities: the professions (legal, medical, etc.) and the commons (natural resources exploited by a number of users together).

Similarly to other professional groups, the architects constitutes a type of self-organizing network in which the state in most countries has delegated statutory powers, either in the form of a chamber or order, to regulate the practice of their members and socially promote architecture. Architects are a very interesting case of a professional body whose members, while able to get recognition for their studies and enjoy great prestige, are poorly protected against the competition from the members of other professions (Champy 2001). In fact,

Florent Champy refers that architects have difficulties in creating dynamics of mobilization within their professional circles and that this professional handicap is also felt in terms of their representation inside the governmental structures of power. Therefore, the concept of policy networks and self-organizing networks is useful to this research because it helps to uncover the link between the distance that separates architects from decision-making mechanisms.

<u>5. Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of the government to command or use its authority. It sees government as being able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide.</u>

Finally, the fifth and last characteristic of governance recognizes the 'emergence of different alternative models – defined as different political and institutional arrangements – of organizing the pursuit of collective interests' (Pierre and Peters, 2000). As mentioned at the start of this section, the governance perspective refers to a new process of governing (Rhodes, 1997) which is 'not based on the use of authority and sanctions of government' (Stoker, 1998). Thus, from the perspective of governance, governments are still capable of 'steering' society but their authority is less based in legal powers and more in tasks of coordination and collaboration assuming the role of facilitators and co-operating partners (Pierre and Peters 2000, p. 23). Based on this reasoning, Jan Kooiman (Kooiman 1999) argues that it is more appropriate to speak of *shifting* roles of government than of *shrinking* roles of government as part of such relationships. In the 'new governance' perspective, governments have to adopt a new set of instruments and partners to be able to respond to societal problems or to create new opportunities (Ibidem).

Additionally, the concept of co-governing is assumed as one important mode of governance, which points to 'utilizing organized forms of interactions for governing purposes' (Kooiman 2000). According to Kooiman (2000), these are central forms of 'horizontal' governing, in which actors 'co-operate, co-ordinate, communicate without a central or dominating governing actor'. In this sense, the rise of governance indicates a 'shift from established notions of government and politics and incorporates new areas, actors and themes' (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003, p. 3).

The five propositions on the concept of 'governance' listed above provided useful insights for this thesis, because they point to the complexity of the governmental structures and to the difficulties posed by this institutional system to the broad aims of Architectural policies. The notion of governance suggests a significant degree of change in the structure of government, whereby different actors and institutions develop at varying scales their own strategy and initiatives (Jessop, 1998). Against this background, when examining the effectiveness of national architectural policies in influencing the quality of the built environment, it is important to consider the state more as a facilitator and less as an imposer of authority.

3.3.3 The role of the nation state in the context of governance

As discussed above, the rise of the concept of governance was due to the recognition of a loss of institutional strength on the part of the state, which has been challenged by several different sources. Firstly, the globalization of the economy, the deregulation of the financial markets and the increased volatility of international capital has withdrawn much of the state's capability of governing the economy (Pierre 2000). Secondly, the growing autonomy and institutional capacity of subnational governments has positioned cities and regions in international arenas, in some cases bypassing state institutions and interests. In addition, the ability of the state to address societal problems has been questioned by the dominant political elites influenced by an ideological shift towards the markets. This has led to the introduction of New Public Management concepts in the public sector and to an increase in the number of institutions operating under considerable autonomy from the state (Pierre, 2000). This shift boosted an institutional restructuring of the state which caused a displacement of state power and control towards sub and supra levels of authority, which some refer to as the 'hollowing out of the state' (R. A. W. Rhodes, 1997). Finally, the state's capacity to impose its will on society has been challenged by cohesive policy networks' (Rhodes 1996).

All these developments have placed enormous challenges to the state's ability to maintain some degree of control over its external environment and impose its will on society (Ibidem). As the state's traditional power bases seem to be losing much of its former strength, there has been a 'search for alternative strategies in which the state can articulate and pursue the collective interest without necessarily relying on coercive instruments' (Ibidem). In fact, Pierre and Peters (2000) argue that the emergence of new patterns of governing should not necessarily be seen as a 'weakening of the state but rather as transformations of previous models of governance into new ones which are better geared to the politics and political economy of the late twentieth century'. The two authors argue that the role of the state is not decreasing, rather it is transforming itself from a 'role based on constitutional powers towards a role based in coordination and fusion of public and private resources' (Ibidem). In the same perspective, Kooiman (1999, 2000) suggests that 'a reshuffling of government tasks and a greater awareness of the need to co-operate with other societal actors does not render traditional government interventions obsolete. It merely implies a growing awareness of the limitations of traditional government 'command-and-control' interventions' (Ibidem).

Therefore, although the strength of the nation state appears to be somehow diminished, inasmuch as essential state functions have been transferred to sub-national and international arenas (Corradi 2009), the nation state continues to play an important role in society. As Peters (1997) puts it: 'governments continue to make 'authoritative allocations of values for a society', even if they choose to do so and to implement their authoritative decisions in manners that at one time would have been considered very unconventional'. In this sense, Pierre and Peters (2000) argue that it is 'too much early to dismiss the state as a

centre (if not the centre) of power and authority' (Evans, 1997; Weiss, 1998; in Pierre and Peters, 2000). According to Pierre (2000, p. 4), the nation state continues to play a fundamental role in defining regulatory frameworks for markets. The shift towards a regulatory state in most of the other EU countries was in part a reflection of the European Union integration processes (Majone 1994). The 2008 financial crisis confirms the growth trend of regulation, which will most likely continue to grow in the coming years (Levi-faur 2011). Yet, the focus of governance is not so much on the regulation but rather on the processes involved in the construction of consensus and compromises between the different interests (Portas et al. 2003).

As a result, in the context of governance, Pierre and Peters (2000) argue that the nation state has two main roles: *steering* and *coordination*. The first refers to setting goals and making priorities. Making use of Osborne and Gaebler's (Osborne, 1993) metaphor, 'governments should 'steer rather than 'row', in which steering would refer to policy and decision-making activities and rowing would refer to service delivery. The second role of the state in governance is to achieve some degree of coordination of resources in order to pursuit these goals. This means coordinating resources from public and private sources as well as from institutions at different governmental levels (Pierre and Peters, 2000). In the same line of thought, Paul Hirst (2000) argues that the nation state continues to be the most suitable political entity to manage and co-ordinate the different levels of governance, and that only nation states have the capacity to supervise international agencies or to act as the primary political agents in the form of indirect democracy that characterizes the EU policy-making. This means that the external commitments assumed by the nation state provide legitimacy to supra-national agreements (Ibidem). Although NGOs are important actors, they cannot speak authoritatively for a given territory. This argument is particularly relevant for the discussion of the Europeanization process (see Section 4.4).

3.3.4 Design governance: the need for public intervention

Before discussing the different roles played by the state in promoting high quality environments, it is necessary to address the broader question of the public sector's legitimacy to intervene in the processes of designing the built environment. From an urban planning perspective, public intervention and regulation of urban development are seen as necessary responses to market failure (Adams 1994). Therefore, the public sector has, in principle, the responsibility to protect the public interest as the market alone cannot ensure good quality environments (Carmona et al. 2003). The problem of this equation is that the public interest is a complex concept and in matters of architecture and urban design most of the times there is no consensus on what constitutes good design. For this reason, public intervention in design processes, particularly in issues of design control, has been a matter of great controversy, mainly within built environment design professionals (Hall 1996, Carmona 1998). The history of design control in the UK clearly demonstrates how design

issues have been the cause of much conflict and tensions between public and private actors, typically with architects and planners in opposite sides of the barricade (Hall 1996, p. 1)[16].

The most persistent critique of design policy is based on the argument that design is essentially a subjective discipline. In this view, any attempt to influence design through statutory processes is inevitably value-landed and arbitrary and constrains design freedom and private property rights (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 244). Generally, architects and developers complain that they are the most affected (Ibidem). However, most of the architect's criticisms about design control focused on aesthetic and stylistic aspects of development neglecting important aspects of urban design, such as functionality, integration, etc. In fact, until 1997, the British Government advice on design policy was that design was largely a subjective matter and generally regarded as a 'no-go' area for planners. This argument was used both as a reason to restrain local authorities and as a justification for not offering more constructive advice about what good design might be and what the best practices in design control were (Ibidem, p. 36). According to Carmona (1996), the debate about design control focuses only on issues of architectural design and external appearance is a narrow view. Instead, design control should focus on an overriding concern with urban design over architecture (design of buildings) and aesthetic issues.

Nevertheless, the design quality of the built environment – buildings, streets, parks and public spaces – has a deep effect on people's well being because everyone uses buildings and their surroundings in their daily lives. Consequently, the design quality of the built environment is a matter of collective interest (AAP 1996). As Simmons (2008, p. 2) points out: 'No building exists only for the people who paid for it or who use it. Everybody has to live with it. Streets and parks belong to us all.' This means that although many organizations and individuals have an interest in the design and use of places, design quality cannot be solely a matter of particular individuals. As a consequence, the conflict of interests existing in society about the urban form and environment need to be mediated by the public sector in order to guarantee an effective balance between particular and public interests. As Hall (Hall 1996, p. 2) notes: 'quality in the context of urban design is a public matter and must (…) be derived, wholly or partially, from the public interest and must also be a legitimate concern of local government organizations.'

Assuming that public intervention on the design process is a condition to safeguard the public interest, the debate on design policy and control is not about the need for 'some type of intervention but rather about the methods employed and the exact nature of design that is being controlled' (Hall, 1996, p. 2). Hall (1996) suggests that if design quality is an important aspect for the quality of life of citizens, then it is legitimate for the public sector to attempt to influence and improve the design quality of developments, mitigating inequalities and safeguarding the public interest. This means that the need for public intervention in design processes is justified by the inherent limitations of the development process. As discussed in

---

[16] Throughout the twentieth century, the controversy has led English central government to backtrack in its advice on matters of design policy. Only at end of the 1990s, did the government adopt a more comprehensive advice on design focusing on concepts of urban design (Punter and Carmona 1997).

the previous section, the functioning of the market alone is not able to generate qualified urban environments. In general, developers are strongly guided by commercial interests and market considerations, which do not assume a longer-term view (AAP 1996). Aiming to appropriate the development value of sites, their objectives are essentially financial and short-term (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 223). Therefore, public sector intervention and regulation of the development process is a natural response to the dysfunctions of land and property markets (Ibidem, p.238). This means that some form of public intervention and regulation of development is inevitable.

3.3.5 Modes of state intervention in design processes

In the context of governance, the state continues to play a major role in the functioning of society by defending the collective interest, namely through the regulation of private sector activities. In real estate and property development, as discussed previously, the role of the state is crucial to protect public interest from market failure (Adams, 1994) and promote better design quality of built environments. As Peter Bishop (2011, p. 5) emphasizes: 'If high standards of design in the built environment are to be achieved, concerted central government leadership from ministerial level is essential'. Following this reasoning, the concept of design governance, described at the beginning of this section, embraces the different modes of state intervention in design processes, namely in the several levels of administration (central, regional and local). As national legislator, planner and development controller the government has a strong influence on urban quality through statutory and non-statutory functions embracing a wide range of tools and instruments. As such, in view of its special responsibility the government should set an example for the community at large providing leadership in design matters (Carmona et al. 2002, p. 98).

In the analysis of *Instruments, processes and products of aesthetic control in Europe*, John Punter argues that the role of the state is fourfold:

- to set a clear legislative framework for control at national, regional and local levels;

- to outline a policy hierarchy and distinctions between policy and guidance, between mandatory and advisory elements;

- to establish a process that recognizes the legitimate rights of applications for building permits, makes use of expert opinion and professional expertise, and is efficient and fair;

- to provide leadership in design matters by injecting quality into its own buildings and infrastructure programmes; by promoting public and professional education; and by aiding the construction and real estate industries, developing positive collaboration with designers to raise the standards of new developments. (Punter 1999).

Although placing an emphasis at the local level, Carmona et al. (2003, p. 237) indentified six modes of action for public authorities: diagnosis, policy, design, regulation, education and participation, management. By combining Punter and Carmona's modes of state intervention in the design of the built environment, it is possible to list six modes of intervention of the nation state in the design processes of the built environment. These are discussed below.

1. Legislative role

As a national legislator, the central state has extensive responsibility over buildings and the built environment. Since the end of the nineteenth century that the public sector has been making efforts to improve the spatial and environmental quality of the built environment by developing town and country planning policies, and concomitantly and interconnected with this, by implementing a building regulatory system. The way in which these two systems of design and building control have evolved throughout the twentieth century varied from country to country due to differences in their legal and administrative systems (Punter 2007). On the planning side, two different types of planning systems have emerged: regulatory and discretionary planning systems. Nevertheless, despite the differences between the systems, the common aim was to control urban form and development for health, aesthetics and social reasons (Booth 1996).

To provide a clear guidance to design control and set the broad limits on the nature of his intervention is a central responsibility. This is usually done in a series of key paragraphs or clauses in the legislation (Punter 1999). Responsibility for guidance is assigned to municipalities emphasizing that aesthetic issues embrace the functional requirements of the development and its relationship with its natural and built surroundings. On the building side, there is great similarity between the building control systems in Europe, in which the main difference concerns the involvement of private parties in the checking of technical requirements and on-site inspections (Pedro et al. 2009). Although it can be said that regulation is a technical and neutral activity external to the design process, Rob Imrie argues that building regulations do in fact influence aspects of creative practice and process in architecture (Imrie 2007). More recently, themes of regeneration, economic competitiveness and sustainability have been added to the public agenda as priority areas of concern.

2. Policy role

The government has a major responsibility in setting public policies that set up the overall framework and establish market operating limits, inform private players about the 'rules of the game'. In the built environment, the planning system defines the premises for landscapes and townscapes that are designed and created, and this is where the settings for public and private buildings and recreational areas are defined. According to Punter (1999) the government has the responsibility to define a clear understanding of the role of the different levels of plan should play in prescribing aesthetic goals and policies. This means that the planning framework is a natural and decisive condition for the architectural quality experienced by citizens in their everyday life. In most European countries, planning systems operate at 3 levels: regional, city-wide and detail plan. At each of these levels, the state defines territorial strategies designed to create coherence and context so that architecture does not unfold in a void. In fact, high architectural quality has poor conditions if planning does not define the function of a new area and the interaction between city, nature and infrastructure (Denmark 2007). However, the traditional planning system, such as zoning

plans or land use plans, does not pay too much attention to the third dimension of planning. Nelisson argues that there is a tendency now to use tools that take care of this three-dimensional approach that can guarantee urban quality like the rising of urban design policies and architectural competitions (Nelissen 1999).

3.Control role

Through design review, local authorities have a key role in controlling the quality of the built environment (Ireland 2002). Although the system between the member states may differ, the process is very similar in most of Europe – before receiving a building permit the building plan is reviewed by the local planning authority, in the form of the mayor or local council, which makes the decision after having taken advice from technical planning staff or from an aesthetic committee. Some authors argue that this system of critical review has proven to be a successful instrument to improve architectural quality and the performance of the profession (Punter & Carmona 1997; Scheer & Preiser 1994). Local authorities, however, should develop urban design policies to avoid discretionary decisions. Carmona argues that 'the control of urban design — rather than architecture — represents the most appropriate and effective means through which local authorities can influence the quality of new development' (Carmona 1996).

4. Leadership role

Another important role is the direct government leadership in setting higher standards of design. The state is one of the biggest clients of the construction industry and a major property owner, and its methods serve as models for the private sector (Finland 1998). Consequently, central and local governments should lead by example, particularly in 'terms of the quality of the design of the buildings they commission, the public spaces they create and the other infrastructure works that they implemented' (Punter, 1999). As Bishop (2011, p. 5) notes: 'If high standards of design in the built environment are to be achieved, concerted central government leadership from ministerial level is essential'. To ensure that good design is a corporate objective in the different sectors of administration, some countries have created a specific department responsible for the co-ordination of architecture and design policy. France has done this by creating a department especially concerned with the improvement of architectural quality of public buildings: Inter-Ministry Mission for Public Construction Quality (MIQCP). Some member states appointed a chief architect to develop and coordinate national design policy, inform and advise the government on architectural issues, etc (see Chapter 8). Another effective mechanism to guarantee the quality of public buildings is the use of design competitions. An orderly design contest means profit for all those involved, expanding the support base in society for a project and stimulating the discussion among professionals.

5. Educational role

The government can also play a major role in raising design standards through a programme of education. The professional education is probably one of the most crucial instruments to improve the quality of the building production, which includes architects and all others professionals connected to the construction sector. Some countries, like Finland and Ireland, have added architectural education to the school curriculums of lower and secondary schools. By introducing issues relating to the built environment, students will develop an awareness of the immediate and inescapable impact of the built environment on the everyday lives (Ireland 2002). Support of architectural research is another way to promote innovation in the construction industry. Investment in research into construction technologies helps to maintain technological and international competitiveness (Finland 1998).

6. Cultural role: creating a climate for good design

Good architecture and urban design is more likely to be achieved in a society in which people are aware of the practical, psychological and cultural role played by the built environment (Ireland 2002). Therefore the government plays an important role by promoting culture values. As noted by Punter: 'There is a need to create a virtuous circle of an educated and demanding public who will create a demand for quality products from an enlightened industry that will commission quality designers. There is a general recognition that this will do more to raise standards than any amount of control or regulations' (Punter 1999). To achieve this culture climate, a long-term project that requires a committed and co-ordinated programme of action that can include several solutions is needed: award schemes, exhibitions, publicity, support for local architecture centres, etc.

In this sense, beyond design policy in planning, the state has an important role in promoting a favourable climate for the creation of good design in the built environment. In fact, most design policies and practices of design control in planning take a limited perspective on the creative aspect of the process of design (Punter and Carmona 1997, p. 84). Even if the importance of design policies in development plans is recognized, it is not clear whether such policies have a real impact on the design quality of development. As discussed previously, the achievement of better designed environments is a responsibility shared by a wide range of development actors. In this sense, good architecture and urban design is more likely to be achieved in a society in which the different actors are aware of the practical, psychological and cultural role of the built environment.

3.4 Final remarks

This Chapter started by exploring the production of the built environment, more specifically the event-sequence and agency model of the development process. This was followed by a review of the main development actors involved in the development process, their motivations and objectives for getting involved in processes of urban transformation. It was noted that the conflicting objectives between the actors compel them to negotiate and trade-off objectives throughout the development process. However, the existence of gaps between the producer and consumer sides of the process constitutes one of the problematic issues when it comes to achieving better quality environments. In addition, the unequal power distribution between development actors, in particular between the developer and the designers, was noted. Against this background, a second section explored processes of design governance and the role of the public sector in influencing the quality of the built environment. Following this reasoning, the concept of governance was explored to dissemble the dynamics involved in this new 'way of governing'. As national legislator, planner and development controller the government should set an example for the community at large by providing leadership in design matters. The next Chapter will explore the notion of public policy both as a concept and as a process, followed by an examination of the different design policy instruments available to policy-makers to promote better places.

4 Public policy process: policy design and tools

4.1 Introduction

The previous Chapter explored the interrelation between design processes and the production of the built environment, focusing on the role of the state in those processes from the perspective of governance. Against this background, this Chapter aims to explore the design of public policy and the different policy tools available to policy-makers to promote high quality built environments. For someone unfamiliar with the topic of this research, a theoretical discussion on the notion of public policy may feel unnecessary. However, in order to set a conceptual framework for the subsequent empirical work, it is essential to explore the notion of public policy both as a *concept* and as a *process* to be able to locate *formal* policies on Architecture in the wider public policy agenda. To do so, a first section will briefly review the theoretical discussion on the meaning of public policy in which a definition will be adopted. This will be followed by a review of the policy cycle framework, which will help to expose public policy as a dynamic process to better understand the progress made towards the implementation of Architectural policies. The section will close with a brief discussion on the Europeanisation process of public policies. A second section will explore the different policy instruments on urban design using a fourfold typology as framework and covering a wide range of design policy instruments.

4.2 Public policy as a research agenda

4.2.1 Conceptualizing the nature of public policy

Although the literature on policy sciences offers a great variety of definitions on public policy, the academia has not been able to reach a consensual definition of the concept[17] (Dye 1995, Birkland 2005, Caeiro 2008, Pasquino 2010). Referring to this lack of consensus, Thomas Dye (1995) notes that the 'search for a definition has degenerated into a word game diverting attention from the study of public policy itself'. In fact, although there are substantial areas of agreement among the competing definitions of public policy, several authors recognize that in detail there is a lack of connection and convergence between them (Birkland 2005, Caeiro 2008, Pasquino 2010). Birkland (2007) argues that instead of continuing to develop new definitions, it would be more useful to simply review the ones that actually exist and adopt the one that makes more sense in a particular context. Following

---

[17] Jean-Claude Thoenig lists at least 40 definitions of the concept in his book *Analysis of Public Policies* ((Thoenig, 1985, p.5) in (Knoepfel et al. 2011)).

this reasoning, this section will briefly review some definitions to illustrate how the notion of public policy can vary from a macro view of the concept to a more narrow perspective on what counts as public policy. Nonetheless, in order to develop a specific line of inquiry, a systematized concept will be adopted at the end to qualify the object of this research.

<u>The macro view</u>

According to Howlett et al. (2009), one of the best-known definitions of the concept was set up by Thomas Dye in 1984, and describes public policy as:

'Whatever governments choose to do or not to do.'

In Thomas Dye's definition, the concept is perceived in a broad perspective considering all aspects of governmental behaviour as public policy. To justify such a broad view, he argues that 'even the most elaborated definitions of public policy (..) seem to boil down to the same thing', therefore, he concludes that 'our notion of public policy must include *all actions* of government' (Dye 1995). Dye's definition, however, is criticized for being too generic because it does not make any distinctions between the different governmental activities (Howlett et al. 2009, Muller and Surel 2010). Nonetheless, Howlett et al. (2009) argue that Dye's definition has merits because it describes in a concise manner three important aspects of the concept: the government is the *main agent* of public policy-making; public policy comprehends both *decisions to do* or *not to do* something; public policy is a *conscious choice* made by the government.

As far as the first aspect is concerned, i.e. *the main agent of public policy-making is a government*, it means that public policies are the result of decisions made by governments, including all public agencies vested with the power to do so. Although the activities of non-governmental actors play an important role in influencing the policy process, their decisions and activities do not constitute a public policy in themselves (Howlett et al. 2009). The second aspect is the fact that public policy-making involves not only governments´ decisions to do something but also the decisions to do nothing about a particular situation. Nevertheless, inaction only becomes a public policy when governments deliberately decline to act on a problem, which is different from *nonaction* on a matter that has not become a public issue (Anderson 2000)[18]. Finally, the third aspect emphasizes that public policy is a *conscious* choice made by governments. Unless the subsequent activity has been anticipated, the unintended or unforeseen consequences resulting from governmental decisions do not constitute a public policy *per se* (Howlett et al. 2009).

In sum, according to the 'macro view' on public policy, this research should see Architectural policy as the full range of public decisions and actions that affect the design of the built environment, which means crossing a wide range of sectoral areas (e.g. public procurement, architectural heritage, urban planning, etc) and state levels. Although this view has the advantage of broadening the analysis, it also carries the difficulty of delimitating what should

---

[18] The non-*decision* concept was set up by Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz in the article '*Decisions and Nondecisions: An analytical framework*' (Bachrach and Baratz 1963).

be part of the architectural policy domain. Contrasting with this, in a more narrow view, several authors defend that not all governmental activities can be considered as public policy (Dye 1995, Anderson 2000). In fact, Muller and Surel (2010, p. 16) raised the following question: 'if the definition includes all public action, what is the heuristic interest of the concept of public policy?'. Following this reasoning, several authors proposed to introduce some specific elements to narrow down the concept of public policy. One of these approaches will be examined below.

<u>The goal-oriented (or purposive) course of action perspective</u>

To distinguish the concept of public policy from the panoply of public decisions and activities, several authors prefer to see it as a goal-oriented behaviour or a purposive course of action. As Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p. 22) puts it: 'policy scholars build into their definitions the necessity for any policy to have some explicit or implicit purpose or objectives'. This means that the difference between policy and random public actions is the existence of a sense of direction in achieving more or less explicit goals (Muller & Surel 2010, p. 18). In this view, it is therefore essential for the policy concept that there should be a goal, objective or purpose (Friedrich, 1963 in Dye 1995), in other words, an intended course of action to accomplish some end (Heclo 1972). In this perspective, political scientist Carl Friedrich defined policy as:

> *'a proposed course of action of a person, group, or government within a given environment (…) to utilize and overcome in a effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or a purpose'.* (Friedrich 1963; in Anderson 2000)

As seen, Friedrich's definition understands a policy as a proposed course of action directed towards the accomplishment of some goal or objective. Therefore, the idea that policy involves a purposive behaviour is a necessary condition for its definition (Anderson 2000, p. 4). In this sense, Anderson (2000, p.4) argues that 'policies are designed to accomplish specific goals (…) even if these are not always achieved'; adding that the main function of policy goals is 'to provide a general direction rather than precise targets for its implementation' (Ibidem, p. 5).

According to Thomas Dye, the main problem with a goal-oriented perspective is that a huge number of governmental actions are not organized into a purposive direction, and when they are most of the times their goals are not clearly stated (Dye 1995, p. 3). In his view, assuming that public actions must have *goals* in order to be labelled 'policy' does not mean accepting the daily practices of politics. Thus, he defends that the notion of public policy must include all actions of government (Ibidem). Responding to this critique, the proponents of the goal-oriented perspective argue that although the purpose or goal of governmental actions may be sometimes loosely stated and cloudy in content, to be in the presence of a public policy it is necessary to verify the existence of at least a 'general framework of action' that works as a coherent sense of direction, which may be more or less explicit in the texts and decisions of governments, detailing the government's objectives for a specific policy sector (Muller & Surel 2010, p. 18).

In sum, according to the goal-oriented perspective this research should look at architectural policies as purposive courses of action of government aiming at the promotion of architectural quality of building, urban design and cultural heritage. Nevertheless, Muller and Surel (2010) refer that sometimes policy goals are fluid and ambiguous and may not be easy to identify. In these cases, one of the tasks of the researcher is to define them through the analysis of governmental activities. Inevitably, this means that the policy concept is subjective because each observer has its own perception of the 'boundaries, influences and relationships of various participants and the impact of policies' (Hogwood & Gun, 1984, p. 23). Therefore, the concept of public policy is always subjectively defined by an observer. This point will be discussed below.

Public policy as a social and a research construct

The disparate character of public policy as a concept reveals that is not possible to reach a consensual definition as each author tends to value certain dimensions over others according to his own perspective of the phenomenon (Hogwood & Gunn 1984, Birkland 2005). In fact, the problems of conceptualization of a general definition are also felt in the particular, namely in the definition and outlining of a specific policy. Looking at the object of this research, alongside policy statements, legislative and regulatory texts, there is an arsenal of state activities and administrative routines that have a direct impact on the quality of architecture and urban spaces. In addition, the lack of a specific department responsible for architectural policy raises the problem of its delimitation. Even in the countries where such a department exists, its action and remit only covers a small part of the architectural domain, in which several other departments and authorities, in different levels and sectors, implement and execute actions that directly affect the built environment. Finally, the wide range of decisions, measures and actions that intervene in the built environment covers a multiplicity of public and private actors.

Following this reasoning, Heclo (1972) argues that the delimitation of a specific policy domain has to be perceived by the researcher itself. In this sense, Muller and Surel (2010, p.14) argue that the concept of *public policy* is both a social and a research construct. According to the two authors, the delimitation of the public action on a given field can always be questioned because of the 'continuous process of redefinition of the structure and limits of the political fields' (Ibidem, p. 15). They argue that it is imperative to bear in mind the constructive and evolutionary character of public policies where the research challenge is not to delineate its precise notion and constituent elements but 'to provide a framework for systematic analysis of public action'. In the same line of thought, Jones (1970) notes that a 'policy' is an 'analytical category' and not an object in itself (Jones, 1970 in Muller & Surel, 2010). This means that a *policy* is the 'product of the work of the researcher as well as of the actions of the political actors involved' (Muller & Surel 2010, p. 15).

Based on theories of social constructionism, Fischer (2003, p. 60) argues that a public policy is a discursive *construct* rather than a self-defining phenomenon. Following the 'argumentative turn' in the early 1990s (Fischer and Forester 1993), he argues that politics

are rooted in social meanings and that politicians, interest groups and citizens hold different views about the political actions and events in which they operate. This means that creating meanings is a critical issue in the political manoeuvre for advantage through the mobilization of support or opposition to policy actions. In this sense, one of most important strategies to generate support is the 'evocation of social and political interpretations that legitimize the desired course of action' (Fischer, 2003, p. 55). In this view, policymaking is in fact a 'constant discursive struggle over the definitions of problems (…) the criteria for their classification and assessment, and the meanings of ideals that guide particular actions' (Ibidem, p. 60). He concludes that *public policy* is a discursive *construct* in which 'each policy-idea is an argument, or a set of arguments, favouring different ways of looking at the world' (Ibid).

<u>Towards an analytical definition</u>

Summarizing the discussion so far, research on public policy as a concept has been characterised by a huge variety of approaches according to the theoretical model on which the concept is used as a framework for investigation. Furthermore, the expansion of policy analysis as relative autonomous discipline in political and social science (Draelants and Maroy 2007) resulted in a multiplicity of definitions (Knoepfel et al. 2011). Hence, the increased complexity attached to the notion of public policy makes it difficult to choose a particular definition. Nevertheless, as Muller and Surel (2010, p. 14) note, the research challenge is not to arrive at an universal definition but to use the concept of public policy as a 'framework for systematic analysis of public action' (Ibidem). In this sense, in order to proceed with a specific line of investigation, it is necessary to draw a conceptualization of public policy that can be used as a framework for inquiry. Since it would be unfeasible to review the multiplicity of definitions available in policy literature, this research will follow the work of Adcock and Collier (2001), who make a conceptual differentiation between a *background* concept and a *systematized* concept.

This research adopts as *background* concept a broad definition, '*public policy is the sum of all government activities*' (Peters, 2002) which encompasses the 'constellation of potentially diverse meanings associated with the concept' (Adcock and Collier 2001). In this perspective, public policy refers to all types of public action 'revealed through texts, practices, symbols and discourses that define and deliver values including goods and services as well as regulations, income, status, and other positively or negatively valued attributes' (Schneider & Igram 1997 in Birkland 2005)). As a *systematized* concept this research adopts a more detail conceptualization, which formulates public policy as a purposive course of action in dealing with a problem or matter of concern:

> *'Public policy is defined as a series of intentionally coherent decisions or activities taken or carried out by different public - and sometimes - private actors, whose resources, institutional links and interests vary, with a view to resolving in a target manner a problem that is politically defined as collective in nature.'* (Knoepfel et al. 2011, p. 24).

Although it is mainly analytical, this definition assumes that policies have some degree of *intentionality* and*/or coherence* aimed at the resolution of social problems. As a consequence, to be considered public policy it must identify a social problem the resolution of which is subject to the action of the public sector. In addition, it presupposes the existence of a target group at the root of the public problem, whose behaviour the policy aims to change, directly or indirectly, in order to solve the problem in question. This frame of reference makes it possible to distinguish between policies from all the other management and politico-administrative activities that should not be considered as a *policy*. In this perspective, in order to observe the existence of a public policy in a particular sector, it is necessary to identify a general framework of governmental action through a combination of administrative, technical and financial resources supported by a specific regulatory framework with a view to achieve certain objectives more or less defined in documents of programmatic nature (Silva, 2001).

Hence, to consider the existence of a *formal* policy on Architecture governments should have some type of official document, or a set of interrelated documents outlining the government goals on Architecture, setting the objectives and the means of a general framework of action. In some cases, policy goals may not be explicit in official documents and may have an informal nature that is embedded in governmental decisions and actions. In this cases, the researcher needs to reconstruct the policy's sense of direction and its goals (Muller and Surel 2010). Nevertheless, deconstructing the notion of *public policy* does not provide sufficient understanding about how public policies come to be produced and implemented. To be able to discuss the role of public policies in the wider framework it is necessary to explore public policy as a process. This will be discussed in the next section.

4.2.3 Public policy as a dynamic process: the policy cycle

As discussed previously, there is a general agreement that public policy is the result of governmental decisions influenced by a continuous interaction between decision-makers and a wide range of actors working inside and outside the state, which some call the *policy subsystem* (Howlett et al. 2010) or the *policy network* (Rhodes, 1996). As such, the creation of new policies or the successive changes to the system of laws and institutional structures of the state are the result of a combination of forces that at certain periods of time shape or create the windows of opportunities to change the *status quo* (Kingdon, 1984). Most of the times, policy-makers decide to develop policies and solutions to a specific problem on an *ad hoc* and irregular basis (Howlett et al. 2009). Due to this idiosyncratic process, public policy must be analyzed as a *dynamic process* (Howlett et al. 2009, Knoepfel et al. 2011).

Since the beginning of 'policy sciences'[19], the field of policy analysis has been associated with a simplifying model of policy-making, which considers the policy process as progressing through a sequence of distinct stages or phases, often referred to as the '*policy cycle*'

---

[19] The development of policy sciences as an autonomous field inside social sciences was marked by the publication of Harold Lasswell's famous essay, coedited with Daniel Lerner, 'The Policy Orientation' in 1951 (Torgerson 1985).

(Howlett et al. 2009, p. 10)[20]. Several authors have developed simplified or adapted versions of the policy cycle framework over the years coming up with slightly different interpretations of the names, numbers and sequence of the phases of the policy cycle (Ibidem, p. 12). Nonetheless, according to Jann & Wegrish (2007, p. 43), the conventional way to describe the chronology of the policy cycle is by differentiating the following five stages: 1. Agenda-setting, 2. Formulation, 3. Decision-making, 4. Implementation; and 5. Evaluation. These five stages will be briefly reviewed.

1. Agenda-setting: problem identification and recognition

The first stage of the policy cycle corresponds to the identification and recognition of a policy problem and its inclusion on the agenda (agenda-setting) to be addressed by the government (Anderson 2000, p. 30). For a policy problem to be recognized as such it needs to be considered a social problem for the resolution of which state intervention is needed (Jann and Wegrish, 2007). The following step is the introduction of the perceived problem in the public agenda for consideration of state action (Kingdon 1995, p. 3-4). According to Howlett et al. (2009, p. 93), the first studies in policy literature assumed that social problems had an 'objective existence' and that sooner or later they would be recognized as a policy problem. In more recent studies, however, post-positivists claim that the framing of policy problems is in fact a social construction interconnected with embedded political and social values (Fischer 2007a). In this perspective, the recognition of policy problems is not a simple process but the result of social struggles about the frames and sets of ideas that are perceived to be important in the eyes of decision-makers and non-governmental actors (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 93). As will be discussed in Chapter 6, architectural quality was only recently recognized as a policy problem and several member states still do not share this concern. The analysis of the case studies will expose the role of key actors in the recognition of design quality as a matter of public concern, and in the case of Ireland, the role of non-governmental actors involved in the architectural policy community, such as professional bodies or policy experts (Chapter 8).

2. Policy formulation

The second stage of the policy cycle encompasses the creation, identification or use of proposed courses of action, also described as alternatives or options to solve or attenuate public problems (Anderson, 2000, p. 32). In this sense, the main characteristic of policy formulation is the definition of the goals – what should be achieved with the policy – and the analysis and assessing of different options and alternative courses of action – what means and tools should be used (Jann and Wegrich 2007). Although a wide range of possible alternatives to deal with a particular problem may be considered, the formulation phase involves a process of selection and narrowing of solutions that policy-makers will be able to accept before the formal policy approval (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 110). The evaluation of advantages, risks and costs of the policy actions and tools proposed is an important element of policy formulation. Most of the times, it also involves dialogue between the actors involved

---

[20] The idea of breaking down the policy process into a number of stages was first put forward by Lasswell in 1956.

and the periods of formal and informal public consultation (Ibidem, p. 111). The policy studies have long been dedicated to 'improve practices within governments by introducing techniques of more rational decision-making' (Jann & Wegrich 2007, p. 48). One of these strands has been empirical research to identify and classify the different types of policy instruments available to policy-makers. The tools approach will be further developed in the next section.

3. Policy adoption and decision-making

As the name indicates, the third stage of the policy cycle involves deciding which of the alternatives proposed will be used to handle a problem or a matter of concern (Anderson 2000, p. 32). This means that the decision-making stage is 'where one or more, or none, of the many options that have been debated and examined during the previous two stages of the policy cycle is approved as an official course of action' (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 139). Therefore, the policy adoption consists of an official decision on a preferred policy option between several other alternatives for which its proponents believe it can be approved, even if it does not correspond to the ideal solution (Anderson 2000). During this phase, the number of policy actors involved is generally restricted to public officials that have the authority to make mandatory public decisions, excluding therefore all non-state actors (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 140). Throughout the evolution of policy sciences several scholars have examined and investigated the dynamics of the decision-making stage of the policy cycle leading to the establishment of different theoretical models of decision-making[21]. For the present research this stage will only be relevant for the analysis of the approval process of architectural policies, which will be briefly discussed in Chapter 6.

4. Policy implementation

The fourth stage of the policy cycle comprises the implementation of the initiatives and actions defined by the adopted policies (Anderson 2000, p. 32), or as Barret (2004, p. 151) puts it: 'translating policy into action'. In fact, after a policy has been approved it is necessary to translate the goals and objectives into an operating program, allocating administrative and financial resources, delineating procedures, etc (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 160). Several authors highlight that implementation is the most complex phase of the policy cycle as public officials do not have full control over problems, objectives and means (Hogwood and Gunn 1984, p. 200-204). As such, public policies and their objectives will very often be changed and adapted in the course of the implementation process (Jann and Wegrich 2007) in which negotiation between participating actors and agencies plays a central role in shaping the policy outcomes (Barrett 2004)[22].

---

[21] The first model to emerge was the rational model (Ibidem: 143). However, in practice it is not possible to achieve full rationality due to lack of resources (information, time and personnel) available for policy-makers. As a response to these limitations, other models, such as the incremental model (Lindblom, 1959), the mixed-scanning model (Etzioni, 1967) or the garbage-can model (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972) have emerged.

[22] Only in the 1970s did policy scientists take an interest in the implementation process, which until then was not recognized as a separate stage of the policy cycle (Hogwood and Gunn 1984, Howlett et al. 2009). This conceptual shift was marked by the study of Pressman and Wildavsky in 1973 (Schofield & Sausman 2004, p. 235).

The implementation stage is particularly relevant for this research as most Architecture policies define broad objectives across several sectors and levels of administration. In addition, most of the policies actions are directed to the wider public and aimed at raising public awareness about the importance of built environment in their daily lives. Because the quality of the built environment affects everyone, to improve its design standards, besides improving the practices of public and private stakeholders, it is also necessary to achieve a culture change, which raises several issues regarding implementation. As Howlett (2009, p. 165) puts it: 'wicked problems are very difficult to tackle because of their complex, novel, or interdependent nature and because they involve not a single decision but a series of determinations on how to carry out the government's policy.' This means that governmental programs designed to address long-term, structural or badly defined problems are not so easy to implement as these types of social problems are caused by multiple causes. Due to the complexity of the policy problem, the governmental policies designed to address it will face several difficulties to reach their objectives (Howlett 2009, p. 165). Therefore, the notion of the state limitation to solve complex social problems is relevant for the architectural policies analysis. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

5. Policy evaluation

The fifth and last stage of the policy cycle entails the activities intended to 'determine what a policy is accomplishing, whether it is achieving its goals, and whether it has other consequences' (Anderson 2000, p. 32). After a policy has been adopted and put into practice it is expected that policy actions will contribute to problem-solving or at least to mitigate its adverse symptoms (Jann & Wegrich 2007, p. 53). As a result, policy evaluation broadly refers to the assessment of policy effectiveness in terms of its 'perceived intentions and results' (Gerston 1997, p.120). As Wollmann (2007, p. 393) notes: 'evaluation in public policy involves investigating a policy program to obtain all information pertinent to the assessment of its performance, both process and result'. In this sense, policy evaluation plays an important role in the policy-making wider agenda as an overall process of policy learning (Rose 1991a), in which governments and other actors of the policy subsystem frequently try to assess how policy is functioning to determine the policy outcomes and to measure its effects and impacts.

At an early stage, research on policy evaluation was characterized by a positivist approach to policy analysis (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 178). However, after several years of developing quantitative systems it was not possible to establish an evaluation method that could assess policy effectiveness in a precise manner due to the numerous variables involved in policy-making and that shapes the policy outcomes (Jann & Wegrich 2007, p. 54). Moreover, researchers have found that most of the evaluation results were biased according to the position and interest of a particular sector (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 179). Nowadays, policy evaluation tends to be seen as an intrinsically political activity, although with a technical component, in which it is recognized that most evaluations are not made simple to improve

the policy design but to be used to criticize or support a given policy in order to gain political advantage (Ibidem).

Limitations of the policy cycle framework

Although the policy cycle model has contributed for a better understanding of public policy as a process it has also been subject to severe critiques by the policy science community. One of the main criticisms was levelled at the differentiation of the policy process into separate and sequential stages, which conveys the idea that policy-making is a systematic and organized problem-solving operation (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 13). Several studies have revealed that in a real-life context policy-making is an irregular and idiosyncratic process and that each specific policy follows its own logic of development according to the combination of actors, ideas and institutions in a given period (Ibidem). Another major criticism is that the model does not constitute in itself a casual theory of the policy process because it does not embrace defining elements of a theoretical framework (Sabatier 1991, p. 147). In addition, it does not say anything about other elements of the policy process that are not directed to problem-solving activities such as symbolic policies that are simply related to the maintenance of power (Ibidem). Finally, the policy cycle framework ignores the 'role of knowledge, ideas and learning in the policy process as influential independent variables affecting all stages of the policy process' (Ibid.).

Despite its weakness and limitations, Howlett et al. (2009, p. 57) argue that the policy cycle model continues to be a useful and heuristic device to differentiate and improve the understanding of the internal dynamics of the policy process offering an abstract conceptualization of the complex process of policy-making (Ibidem, p. 198). Against this background, this research does not intend to develop a better theory of the policy process but to make use of the existing policy cycle analytical framework to assess the general progress of formal architectural policies in the EU. This research will pursue this objective first by surveying and examining the current architectural policies in the different EU member-states (see Chapter 6). This will inform the choice of the case studies selected for this research, which will advance our understanding of the role and effectiveness of Architectural policies, its tools, mechanisms and incentives to improve the design quality of the built environment, namely, its capacity to enhance the state's influence on the wider system of actors and institutions that shape the built environment.

4.2.3 Europeanization of public policy

As outlined in the introductory Chapter, several EU member states have been developing national Architectural policies that promote design quality as a way to improve the well-being of their citizens. Hosting these concerns, the EU Council adopted two policies directly addressed to Architecture supporting the same principles and goals. In addition, a European policy network on the topic has been set up facilitating policy diffusion and transfer between the countries. This has led to the first research question of this thesis, which is based on the proposition that 'influences at EU level are affecting, in various ways and to varying degrees,

the domestic environments of EU member states' (Mourato 2011, p. 45). This dynamics of influence within the European space is what is usually termed as 'Europeanization'. As such, this section examines the notion of Europeanization to choose a suitable definition that may inform the subsequent inquiry on the development of national Architectural policies.

The first aspect that needs to be highlighted is that the notion of Europeanization should not be seen only as *European integration* or *convergence*, as it extends and crosses aspects of both (Featherstone 2003, p. 3). The former is focused on the adaption of member states to EU policy mainly concerned with the *why* and *how* member states construct such integration (Mourato 2011, p. 46). With a top-down approach, integration studies fail to take into account indirect influences that come from other elements external to EU policies (Ibidem). With a broader scope, Europeanization considers indirect influences responsible for changes in member states, even when they have occurred without any formal requirement to conform. In the latter case, although the suffix *ization* indicates a 'standardization' of an European model of governance, the impact of Europeanization is 'typical incremental, irregular, and uneven over time and between locations' (Featherstone, 2003, p. 4). As such, Europeanization refers to a process of structural change, affecting actors, institutions, ideas and interests, be it convergent or divergent (Ibidem).

Similar to the term globalization, the concept of Europeanization has been gaining a growing popularity amongst scholars to denote a variety of changes within European politics and international relations. In this context, several authors have attempted to systematize the concept. According to Featherstone (2003, p. 6–10), Europeanization as a concept may be understood either as (a) historic phenomena, as (b) transnational cultural diffusion, as (c) institutional adaptation, or as (d) adaptation of policies and policy processes. In his view, the dominant use of Europeanization has been related to the last two: *Institutional adaptation* refers to the 'domestic adaptation to the pressures emanating directly or indirectly from EU membership'; *adaptation of policies and policy processes* addresses the impacts of EU membership on public policy comprehending a series of approaches, such as constraints due to EU regulation or the indirect effects of the EU's role on national policy (Ibidem).

Although there is not one definitive meaning for Europeanization, for the purpose of the research design, it is necessary to choose a definition that allows exploring the Europeanization of national Architectural policies in Chapter 6. As such, the following definition will be adopted:

> *'Europeanization consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion, and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, "ways of doing things" and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies.'* (Radaelli 2003, p. 30)

4.3 The tools approach to design policy

The previous section discussed the notion of *public policy* as a concept and explored the dynamics of the policy process. This section focuses on the policy instruments briefly described in the second stage of the policy cycle. As noted, the main characteristic of policy formulation is the definition of the goals and the analysis and assessment of different options and alternative courses of action to achieve those goals (Jann and Wegrich 2007). The tools approach in public policy focuses on the latter: the analysis of the range of instruments and tools available to policymakers to face a particular policy problem. Therefore, the tools approach focuses on the *means* and not on the *ends* of government policy (Tiesdell and Adams 2011). In this research, the primary concern is with Architecture as public policy, reflecting its increasing prominence as a policy area in many EU countries. Although, in the narrowest sense, public policy in Architecture is seen as a formal policy with defined goals, in the broadest sense public policy encompasses a fuller spectrum of state activities. As such, this section will explore the different policy instruments available to policymakers to influence the design quality of the built environment, using as a framework the taxonomy of policy tools on urban design set by Tiesdell and Adams (2011). At the end of this section, the present research will gain a broader knowledge about the strengths and weaknesses of the different policy tools used by the public sector to promote better places and higher quality environments. This will help to examine the different tools set by national Architectural policies in Chapter 8.

4.3.1 Introduction

The main aim of the tools approach in public policy is the identification and classification of the different types of policy instruments. Empirical research in this field usually, however, resulted in extensive lists of different types of policy instruments. To reduce the number of categories and make information more accessible, scholars developed typologies of policy instruments based on different methods of classification. According to Howlett et al. (2009, p. 115), one of the most successful is the resource method, which classifies the different policy instruments depending on the type of resources available to government for information gathering and behaviour modification / enforcement. A well-known typology using the resource method and known as the 'NATO model' was developed by Christopher Hood in 1983[23], who argues that policy tools are based on some form of combination of four broad categories of governing resources:

1) *Nodality* – government's capacity to operate within information networks, involving the use of information resources, such as campaigns, commissions, inquiries, etc.

2) *Authority* - government's legal power and other sources of legitimacy, such as command and control regulations, delegated or self-regulation, advisor committees, etc.

---

[23] *The Tools of Government*, first published in 1983.

3) *Treasure* - government's financial resources and the availability to raise and distribute funds, such as subsidies, grants, tax incentives, etc.

4) *Organization* - direct governmental action and provision, for instance through public health service, police, armies, etc (Hood 2006, p. 471).

Although there are numerous typologies of policy tools within public policy literature in general and planning literature in particular, very little research on public policy tools in urban design theory (Tiesdell and Adams 2011) is known. There are some studies on design policy tools but they are mostly focused on the aesthetic control process at the local level (e.g. Punter & Carmona, 1997; Carmona et al. 2003). According to Tiesdell & Adams (2011) one of the few examples was developed by De Monchaux & Schuster in 1997. Entitled the 'urban design toolkit', it sets five main types of policy instruments: 1. Ownership & operation; 2. Regulation, 3. Incentives & disincentives; 4. Establishment, allocation & enforcement of property rights; and 5. Information (De Monchaux & Schuster; 1997; in Tiesdell & Adams, 2011).

In 2011, based on previous research on planning tools (see Adams et al. 2003 & 2005; Tiesdell & Allmendinger, 2005), Tiesdell and Adams proposed a typology of policy instruments on urban design focused on the impact of policy tools on the decision environment of development actors. Their approach deliberately shifted from the classification method based on governmental resources to the level of impact of the policy tools on the decision-making behaviour of key development actors[24]. Despite the wide range of actors involved in the production of the built environment, their typology focuses primarily on developers and designers as they are the main actors in the design of the built environment. Tiesdell & Adams' (2011) typology characterize the policy instruments into four basic types, each characterised by how it is intended to affect the decision environment of development actors.

i. *Market shaping* - those intended to *shape* behaviours – these set the context for market decisions and transactions, and so shape the decision environment.

ii. *Market regulation* - those intended to *regulate* behaviours – these control and regulate market actions and regulations, and so define the parameters of the decision environment,

iii. *Market stimulation* - those intended to *stimulate* behaviours – these lubricate market actions and transactions, and so restructure the contours of the decision environment.

iv. *Capacity building* - those intended to develop the *capacity* of development actors/ organizations – these enhance the ability of actors to operate more effectively within a particular opportunity space (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 14).

---

[24] This approach is similar to Elmore's notion of 'backward mapping', which begins with the policy problem, then identifies the number of actors closest to that specific problem and analyses and assesses the policy instruments available to shape, compel, constrain or incite their behaviour, choices and actions.

This typology will be explored in further detail to better understand the different policy instruments available to policy makers to frame the relationships between development actors in order to achieve better design quality. The main reason to explore this particular typology has to do with its emphasis on design aspects of the development process. In Chapter 8, this typology will be used as a framework of analysis of the different Architectural policy instruments, and will in turn frame the discussion on the effectiveness of formal Architectural policy documents at national level to achieve its desired goals (Chapter 8).

4.3.2 Market-shaping instruments

Following the typology of Tiesdell & Adams (2011), the first group of policy tools is those designed to shape the behaviour of development actors by setting the context for market decisions and transactions, which will constitute the decision-making environment of individual development actors. Market shaping instruments are articulated at a general level to achieve desired policy goals, or in other words, they define the general 'rules-of-the-game'. Within this first type, there are three sub-types of market shaping instruments: *i) market structuring, ii) investment provision and iii) generating information or promoting coordination*. These three sub-types are discussed below.

<u>i) Market structuring</u>

The operating context of the real estate development is simultaneously shaped and guaranteed by the state. In this sense, the legal and political framework set by the state provides the structure and overall context for the functioning of the real estate market, which in turn has design consequences in the shape of the built environment. At its basic level, the state guarantees private property rights. This condition is essential for private capital investment in real estate as it involves operations of reorganization of property rights which would not take place if they were not guaranteed by the effective rule of law and enforced by the courts when necessary. In a more complex form, through the implementation of the planning system the state has a considerable scope to influence land and property markets, such as regulatory/ statutory plans or development plans, delimitating and defining what can be built and where, constraining the functioning of the market. As a result, the planning system is the most directive market-shaping tool available to the public sector to influence the market (Tiesdell and Allmendinger 2005, p. 65).

From an international perspective, the planning systems and their level of flexibility tend to vary from country to country. According to Philiph Booth (Booth 1996), two different types of planning systems emerged in the twentieth century: regulatory and discretionary planning systems. The former are based on administrative law and are used in most of Western Europe and North America (Punter 2007, p. 167). In regulatory systems plans are a mixture of legally biding zoning provisions and design guidance (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 246), which provides clear development rights, development densities/floor space limits and often general development forms (Punter 2007, p. 167). Therefore, regulatory plans create a high

level of certainty for all parties and gives powers to local authority and the legal means to control development[25].

Fundamentally used in Britain and in Ireland, the discretionary systems of planning are much more flexible and pragmatic than their counterpart. Although considered a 'plan-led' planning system, they offer a great degree of discretion because the plan is not legally binding and planning permissions are always susceptible to 'other material considerations' (embracing the full range of planning matters). In discretionary systems, plans are based on case law and does not define the full basis of decision-making in advance (Punter 2007, p. 168). Nevertheless, plans set some basis for day-to-day decisions, guiding and informing public authorities as to whether or not planning permission should be granted, which represents a greater uncertainty to developers (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 246).

Despite the differences between the two systems, there is a common aim to control urban form and development for health, aesthetic and social reasons (Booth 1996). In matters of design control the 'distinctions between the regulatory and discretionary systems have become blurred, particularly with the invention of *design review* as an additional control process overlaid on the regulatory permitting process' (Punter 2007, p. 168). In the Brittish planning system, design is now a material consideration reinforced by the introduction of design codes and design guidelines (further discussed in regulatory tools). As will be seen in Chapter 8, national architectural policies do not introduce new market structuring instruments, only recommendations (e.g. better links between design and planning).

ii) Investment provision

The second sub-type of market-shaping instruments are public actions involving macro-level public investment in the provision of public and collective goods either through direct (e.g. by a public agency) or indirect provision (e.g. by providing funding to third parties) (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 18). The investment in public goods by the state (e.g. construction of a new bridge or new transport infrastructure) has the potential to promote development, which will raise the value of adjacent lands and properties that are close to the investment. In financial terms, investment provision can have a catalyst effect on a poorly connected or depressed area (e.g. London Olympics). In design terms, infrastructure provision should be mainly focused on achieving better quality developments by creating added development value, in which the resultant surplus would be reinvested in better designed products (Ibidem).

iii) Generating information or promoting coordination

The third and last sub-type of market-shaping instruments are actions providing information to inform decision-making (e.g. listed building registers) and/or to increase the coordination of otherwise independent actions (Ibid, p. 19). This can be done by the setting of plans,

---

[25] In the case of regulatory 'detailed plans', there is a significant impact on urban and architectural design of areas 'controlling the mix of uses, morphological characteristics (e.g. building line, plot depth and wide, etc) and the three-dimensional form of development (e.g. height, setback, density, etc)' (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 246).

policy statements, guidance, advice, etc., produced by governmental agencies/authorities (and others), which, *inter alia*, provide coordinating information, information about the government or other authority's intentions, and information about regulatory policies (Ibid.). For example, by setting a plan for a municipality public authorities are indicating and specifying what is intended to happen in a particular place, which helps set value and reduce market uncertainty. Nevertheless, development actors will pay more attention to plans that they consider more authoritative. As noted by Tiesdell & Allmendiger (2005, p.65): 'the more authoritative a plan's information content, then the more likely that the plan will be a significant consideration in market actors' decision making' (Ibidem). The question of whether the planning system is rigid or flexible is of major importance, and as described above, in discretionary systems information transmitted in plans may be considered less reliable than in regulatory systems.

4.3.3 Regulatory instruments

The second group of policy instruments seeks to regulate market behaviour by regulating and controlling market actions and transactions, which will constraint the decision-making environment of individual development actors. While market-shaping instruments intend to shape decision environments by setting broad context for market actions, regulatory instruments seek to force, manage and eliminate certain activities or aspects of those activities, which will limit the scope of action and restrict the set of choices of development actors (Adams and Tiesdell 2013, p. 135). Design regulations can take very different forms according to the specific matter being regulated and the institutional circumstances in which it takes place. Nevertheless, all types of design regulations need to be supported by parallel enforcement procedures to ensure that actors comply with the regulatory intentions. As such, Tiesdell and Adams (20133) distinguish three sub-types of regulatory instruments: *i) design regulatory instruments, ii) enforcement procedures and iv) regulatory procedures.* These three sub-types will be briefly reviewed below.

i) Design regulatory instruments

Over the past century, the design and layout of the built environment, as with most products of modern life, has become increasingly regulated (Ben-Joseph and Szold 2005). As Imrie & Street (2011, p. 4) notes: 'there is no part of the design and development of the built environment that is untouched by the plethora of rules, regulations, standards, and governance practices, relating to building form and performance'[26]. In this sense, the public sector has a strong influence on the design of the built environment and its different components, from building scale to urban form, through a 'series of overlapping regulatory regimes' (Carmona 2011, p. 58). These can go from general development controls (e.g. planning systems, historic preservation, environmental protection) to specific controls over

---

[26] In 2000, the proliferation of spatial regulations was such that some authors suggested that designers no longer needed to design anything as this was being done for them through the application of the rules, regulations, and standards relating to the form and performance of buildings and the built environment (Gummer, 2007, Saint, 2001 in Imrie & Street, 2011, p.4).

the design of a development (e.g. design policies, design review, building regulations) (Tiesdell and Adams 2011).

The most important regulatory tools on urban form are defined by the planning system and by development control mechanisms. Planning regulations have a direct impact on developers' intentions inasmuch as they define the main design characteristics of development. As already mentioned, under a discretionary planning system, local plans are not binding and the *plan* itself is only one piece of a broader local planning framework, in which related documents define the local authority's design policy and supplementary design guidance is often provided (Carmona 2011, p. 58). This means that design policies play an important regulatory role in discretionary planning systems as they set out the design principles against which development proposals should be evaluated (Ibidem). More recently, England and Wales have introduced 'design coding' as a new type of design regulatory instrument distinct from building and planning regulations (Imrie and Street 2011a)[27].

Under a regulatory system, the local development plans establish the basis for development regulation (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 20). As discussed above, regulatory plans have statutory force conferring development rights to landowners (Booth, 1995, p. 104). This means that for each zoning the type of building form allowed is specified, such as the maximum floor space and general building envelope (e.g. height, building line, plot depth and wide) (Punter 2007). However, most regulatory plans do not make any reference to aesthetic objectives or design criteria beyond the dimensional requirements and minimum clearances in relation to public roads. Traditional regulatory plans impose its own conformity but, besides purely dimensional requirements, have little influence on the design quality of the built environment (Delafons 1994, p. 15). Nevertheless, more specific controls over the design of a development are set by a huge amount of other regulatory instruments, such as buildings or safety codes, which define a huge amount of standards and regulate almost every aspect of the built environment[28].

ii) Enforcement procedures

To ensure compliance design regulations need to be supported by effective enforcement procedures and actions. Without enforcement power and credible prospect of its enforcement, development actors may simply ignore and evade regulations (Adams and Tiesdell 2013, p. 256). The most used mechanism to enforce design regulations is the development and building of control systems. In a simplistic manner, real estate developers are obliged to require a planning / building permission from public authorities to be able to

---

[27] Design Codes can be described as a 'distinct form of detailed design guidance that stipulates the three-dimensional components of a particular development without establishing the overall design vision or outcomes' (Carmona 2011, p. 61). They are inspired in the *New Urbanism's* Form-Based Codes, a recent innovation in the American planning regulation (Burdette, 2004 in Carmona, 2009)[27].

[28] In the UK, according with Carmona (2011, p. 60), built environment design is defined by a huge amount of building and development standards, namely: National building regulations; Highway standards; Planning standards; Secured by Design; Emergency service access guidelines; Health and safety standards; etc.

obtain development rights. Therefore, the design of the development proposal needs be prepared and submitted to a local authority that approves its compliance with zoning demands and building regulations. In the UK, there are two different permits conferred by public authorities: the planning permit and the building permit. In most European countries, there is only one building permit that is assessed by two different departments: the urban planning department that checks compliance with planning regulations and standards; and the building department that checks technical requirements and may carry out on-site inspections (Pedro et al. 2009).

On the building side, there is a great similarity between the building control systems in Europe, where the main difference concerns the involvement of private parties in checking technical requirements and on-site inspections. Nevertheless, in all EU countries, the building permit, or an equivalent document, is always granted by public parties, usually the local authorities. Only in England and Wales construction can begin without a building permit issued by public authorities, because there is a separate planning permit and the building procedure may be operated by privately approved inspectors (Ibidem). In addition, in most EU countries design must be developed and signed by a qualified designer and the design team is generally coordinated by the architect, with specialists appointed to prepare particular designs[29]. This means that the designer is responsible for ensuring that the design complies with all planning demands and building regulations (Ibid).

iii) Regulatory procedures

Regulatory procedures determine how regulatory instruments operate in practice. Regulations of real estate development activity are intended to make a positive impact on what is built to benefit the community at large. However, regulations also entail procedural costs, which are initially supported by developers but are then passed on to the final consumer (Adams and Tiesdell 2013, p. 264). In fact, regulation tends to be seen as costly and as an inefficient means to improve or control the design of developments[30]. Despite the differences in existing planning systems, a design review has been established as a common development control mechanism and design regulatory procedure across Europe. Despite its various definitions depending on the 'type of planning system to which it is attached and the purposes for which it is designed' (Punter 2011b), design review can be broadly defined as '… the process by which private and public development proposals receive independent criticism under the sponsorship of the local government unit, whether through informal or formalised processes' (Scheer and Preiser 1994, p. 2). Developers and architects usually consider the design review process as the 'stone on the shoe' of the development industry. Yet, Tiesdell & Adams (2011, p. 24) argue that almost no design

---

[29] Except in Denmark, Estonia, the Netherlands, Sweden, England and Wales. In these cases there are no demands regarding the type of qualification of individuals who are responsible for the design

[30] Examples include various methods of deregulation/ streamlining, such as fast-tracking applications from registered architects and simplified planning zones/enterprise zones.

improvements would have been achieved in the UK if there was no background threat of refusal of planning permits backed up by a possible dismissal of an appeal.

Although it can be said that regulations are a technical and neutral activity external to the design process, several authors refer that design regulations do influence aspects of creative practice and process in Architecture (Imrie 2007). In fact, the practices of architecture and urban design always had to deal with intervention constraints, either of a regulatory nature, or deriving from clients' will or, ultimately, from its surroundings. As it will be seen in Chapter 8, national Architectural policies do not introduce new design regulatory instruments. Nevertheless, they promote dialogue between the actors who are involved in the revision and application of design regulations, facilitating changes and improvements in the current system of norms and regulations. In Ireland, for example, it facilitated the creation of the architects register, and in the Netherlands, the establishment of a two-year minimum training period for architects before they could sign projects.

4.3.4 Stimulus instruments

The third set of policy instruments available to policy makers seeks to stimulate the functioning of the market and the development process. Markets may be weak and fail to attract investment in some cases, such as in depressed urban areas or in brownfield sites, or more generally speaking, in periods of economic slump. In these cases, the state may adopt a proactive role and promote development through some form of market stimulus (Adams and Tiesdell 2013, p. 268). While the regulatory instruments described above seek to control and regulate the development process, stimulus instruments are voluntary and increase the probability that something might happen by making some actions more attractive and more rewarding than others (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 24). It is possible to distinguish between two sub-types: *i) development stimulus* and *ii) design stimulus instruments*. The former typically 'encourage development to happen in a particular location, to happen sooner, to be of higher quality or for there to be more of it, etc' (Syms and Clarke 2011, p. 143). This will change the normal 'rules-of-the-game' by increasing reward, reducing risk, etc. The latter encourage the creation of 'better places' and raise the design quality of developments. These two sub-types will be briefly discussed below.

i) Development stimulus instruments

As the name suggests, development stimulus instruments are designed to attract and stimulate new development on specific locations that would otherwise be avoided by market actors. By introducing incentives, the local authority or public agency is able to influence developers' decision-making environment by improving its reward expectation or level of risk. Tiesdell and Adams (2011) describe four main sub-types of development stimulus tools:

a) *Direct state actions* – which include actions at site or area-specific level, usually intended to overcome particular obstacles to development. Examples include the provision of public infrastructure, environmental improvements, land assembly or land disposal;

b) *Price-adjusting instruments* - actions adjusting the price to the actor of an activity. Examples include imposition of site-specific taxes, tax credits/incentives/breaks, subsidies/grants;

c) *Risk-adjusting instruments* - actions adjusting the risk to the actor associated with an activity. Examples include creating a more predictable investment environment through, for example, demonstration projects, policy stability, investment actions and active place-management;

d) *Capital-raising instruments* - actions facilitating the availability of development finance or, alternatively, enabling developers to access sources of finance otherwise inaccessible.

ii) Design stimulus instruments

Stimulus instruments of design are focused on promoting developments of higher quality by encouraging developers to invest in design and place-making. Syms and Clarke (2011) suggest that '…when a local planning authority raises its expectations about design quality, it creates *de facto* design stimulus, since developers are more likely to consider design and place-making issues and to commission skilled designers for their project.' As such, high quality places can be achieved through the right combination of development and design stimulus as they will reinforce each other and will produce better outcomes. The authors (2011, p. 146) identify 8 sub-types of design stimulus tools:

1) *Design stimulus delivered or administered by the local planning authority* – local planning authorities (LPA) already influence and stimulate better design quality through a local system of development control. To be effective, municipalities need to have in-house planners/ designers with urban design skills so they can communicate with developers and promote better design solutions on a case-by-case basis, without compromising the overall project;

2) *Specific area and/or site design policy and guidance* – this type of tools helps planners to focus on key design issues and to be able to negotiate more effectively with developers and applicants. Design guidance is developed locally to address specific site, area or thematic design and development challenges (e.g. conservation areas, new urban developments);

3) *Local design policies* – although essentially regulatory, design policies also work as design stimulus in its own right. When the municipality adopts a local design policy stating that it will reject poor quality designs this will have a positive effect on the development proposals as it will raise development actors' awareness.

4) *National policy tools and guidance* – these include national initiatives and guidance to stimulate design quality and place-making. It can be the result of national policies, such as the ones examined in this thesis, or other sectoral policies[31].

---

[31] In the UK, there are several examples of sectoral policies, such as the former *Better Public Building* initiative, which promotes exemplary public commissions; or the inter-sectoral programme *Building for Life* (BfL), run by CABE and the Home Builders Federation with Design for Homes.

5) *Design review* – although this tool is part of the development control system at local level, in the UK nowadays there are several institutions that carry out design review without binding force. CABE design review programmes, which analyses schemes and encourage design improvements to achieve high levels of design quality is an example;

6) '*By Design' enabling* – this approach is a means of supporting a client, usually in the public sector, at an early stage in a project's development. It generally involves communities and other stakeholders in the development of design ideas. Enabling can be provided by an independent institution or, in some cases, by consultants. The main advantage of enabling processes is crossing different interests, public and private, with community participation to develop an urban design agenda for a particular area (Ibidem). This type of initiatives overlaps with the next type of policy instruments: capacity-building;

7) *Where a public sector landowner requires particular design standards* – this approach is obtained when a public sector landowner places an economic value on a specific site, which will affect the design standards of development – it can be seen both as a development (price- and risk-adjusting) and as design stimulus tool. In practical terms, the design stimulus is delivered mainly through site briefs and the procurement of development partners;

8) *Existing place quality, local competition or developer aspiration driving quality* – in some cases, developers may see a market opportunity for a high quality scheme with high-value end uses and users. In such cases, developers will invest in a high quality development concept to ensure a final 'premium' product[32].

4.3.5 Capacity-building instruments

The last type of policy instruments is focused on enhancing skills, competence and knowledge of development actors, be it suppliers (landowners), producers (developers, designers, etc) or consumers (users, local community and general public). Although the notion of capacity-building tools is not consensual (Papadimitriou and Stensaker 2013), it broadly refers to policy actions that intend to enhance the abilities and capacity of development actors and institutions (eg. skills, knowledge, networks, ideas, etc). In this sense, the characteristics of capacity-building tools may overlap with other policy instruments, such as, information and learning tools, symbolic tools and even organizational tools. In sum, this type of policy instruments is generally seen as a form of investment in the development of human, social, cultural and institutional capital (Salamon 2002, Hood and Margetts 2007).

Although Tiesdell and Adams (2011) recognize that capacity building tools and actions could be simply seen as an extension of the previous three policy tools discussed previously, they argue that this type of policy tools are better seen as a means of facilitating the operation of the real estate development and the implementation of the other three policy instruments.

---

[32] This can happen in river sites or privileged places (e.g. exceptional views) that create a niche market.

For example, the enforcement of certain type of regulation may be dependent of a human or institutional capacity that does not exist at the moment or is weakly develop between actors. This means that the investment in capacity building actions may be needed to guarantee the achievement of certain policy aims (Elmore, 1987 in Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). As such, its implementation must be seen as a long term investment in people, which often consumes significant time and resources, being difficult to measure its objective impacts (Ibidem). Within the capacity building tools, it is possible to identify four sub-types: i) *developing human capital*, ii) *enhancing institutional and organisational networks*, iii) *reframing cultural mindsets/cultural change*, and iv) *enlarging the stock of ideas and concepts.* These sub-types will be review below.

i) Developing human capital

The first sub-type of capacity-building action involves developing the skills and abilities of development key actors, both as individuals and as organisations, in order to facilitate the implementation of the previous three types of policy instruments. According to Tiesdell & Adams (2011), this may include the development of educational and training programmes, such as on-the-job training, continuing professional development, events, expert seminars, job swaps (e.g. between private and public sectors) and secondments; and exposure to good or innovative practices such as organizing field visits or presenting inspirational examples. This sub-type of policy initiatives improves the development actors' capacity to handle and process information better. This means that development-skill programmes seek not only the enhancement of the development actors' intrinsic capabilities but also the ability to identify opportunities and execute complex tasks more effectively in order to achieve better and more creative solutions / ideas.

Another way of developing human capital is through the appointment of a design champion. In Britain, several public bodies, state departments and local authorities, as well as some private firms have been creating the position of design champion within their organisations to provide design leadership and to build capacity (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 26)[33]. According to CABE (2007), a design champion is a 'senior person within the client organisation, advocating and monitoring good design with decision-makers and the project team throughout the project'. Among other tasks, design champions are responsible for raising awareness and changing mindsets of both public (e.g. politicians, planners, etc) and private actors (e.g. developers, designers, etc) about the importance of design quality. This will be further explored below.

ii) Enhancing institutional and organisational networks and capacity

The second sub-type of capacity-building policy instruments seeks to develop or extend formal and informal networks or establish organizations to exchange information and knowledge. In the former, capacity-building actions seeks to develop informal and formal

---

[33] In other EU countries, the figure of 'design champion' is generally known as the 'state government architect'. At local level, some countries have the figure of 'city architect'. The design champion's role will be seen in Chapter 8.

actor-networks in order to improve 'social capital' that will positively influence the behaviour of development actors. It intends to enhance relations 'across the development spectrum so that planners working for public agencies are well connected with other professionals and with those working within the development industry' (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013, p. 289). This will create a better coalition of shared interests to drive place-making forward, in which market and policy actors can shape and influence one another. In fact, the existence of networks that promote mutual commitment and trust are fundamental prerequisites in building social capital and 'improving society's efficiency by providing greater potential for collective action (Putnan, 1993 in Adams and Tiesdell, 2013).

Social interactions can be improved by the organization of built environment forums or platforms that create links between public departments, professionals and representatives of civil society. At local level, this can be provided by community associations or local architecture centres that facilitate information exchange between development actors through workshops or public debates on how specific urban areas should evolve in the future. It may also include the creation of formal organizations that will foster and champion design quality[34]. These bodies usually develop their own set of tools, such as: research, advocating design quality, design support services (e.g. design review, competitions, etc), dissemination (e.g. guidance, case studies, etc.) and promotion (e.g. campaigns, awards, etc)[35].

iii) Reframing cultural mindsets / cultural change

The third sub-type of capacity building action seeks to challenge and influence cultural mindsets and encourage mindshifts through processes of cultural change. Tiesdell & Adams (2011, p, 27) suggest that cultural mindsets – 'frames, perspectives or world views' – are important means of editing and processing information which determine how development actors will perceive, interpret and appraise 'things' around them. Closed mentalities hinder the incorporation of new ideas, make people feel uncomfortable about challenging the *status quo* and reinforce conventional wisdom. As a result, the two authors argue that reframing cultural mindsets and generations of new ideas is instrumental to facilitate and support the implementation of the previous three types of policy instruments. In fact, policy delivery is dependent on negotiation and persuading market actors to accept and adhere to new policy ideas, new market context or changes of 'rules-of-the-game'. As Knot et al. (2008) note: 'culture change is particularly relevant to policy areas where attitudes, values and aspirations are a strong influence on behaviour, and where there are externalities (or network effects) from behaviour.'

To overturn cultural mindsets involves a process of cultural change, or what Landry calls a 'mindshift', which he describes as 'the process whereby the way one thinks of one's position,

---

[34] In the UK, place-making has been championed by national organizations, such as Architecture + Design Scotland (A+DS) or the fomer Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE).

[35] In the Netherlands, one of the main policy initiatives of the first formal architectural policy, published in 1991, was the establishment of the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI).

function and core ideas is dramatically re-assessed and changed' (Landray, 2000, in Adams & Tiesdell, 2013, p. 287). Landry suggests that mindshifts are not easy to achieve as they confront 'linearity' and 'box-line thinking' of most development actors. In this sense, in order to achieve better places it is necessary to invest in tools that promote culture change, which reframe mindsets of how development actors perceive, process and design places. Examples include instruments that facilitate and encourage blue-sky thinking, thinking-outside-the-box and creativity. In addition to producing and generating ideas, they may also enhance the receptivity of decision-makers to new ideas, by challenging and changing their worldview.

iv) Enlarging the stock of ideas and concepts

A fourth and final mode of capacity building involves enlarging the existent stock of ideas and concepts in a given field. The idea of 'cultural capital' refers to the forms of knowledge, skill, expectations, norms and attitudes that are embodied in both an individual's inherited and acquired, or socialised, properties of self (Knott et al. 2008). The development actors, mostly developers, tend to repeat the same design formulas often without realizing the existence of different alternatives and design solutions within the same budget. This highlights the importance of raising awareness of development actors to those ideas and concepts. This may be achieved in several ways, for example, the establishment of design competitions, which will largely increase the stock of ideas, or the creation of a 'bank of ideas' with examples of successful places and practices. Although this type of policy tools may not be valued by non-designers, it can encourage development actors to broaden their appreciation of what may be possible in the particular circumstances they face. To promote innovation in real estate development it is necessary to promote design thinking and recognize the power of drawings, images, diagrams, etc (Tiesdell and Adams 2011, p. 29).

As will be seen in Chapter 7, one of the main aims of the comprehensive architectural policy is to create the right conditions for the generation of quality built environments (Netherlands 1991). However, most of its instruments are focused on raising awareness among development actors and generate information about architecture and urban planning, all of which are within the 'capacity building box'. In fact, in the Dutch political panorama, an architectural policy was perceived as a component of a broader 'cultural planning policy' (Germany 2007). Crossing this feature with the problem of effectiveness, it can be argued that without a more diverse combination of tools, including not only capacity-building tools but also some type of regulatory and stimulus tools, the proposed aims may not be attained (see Chapter 8).

4.4 Final remarks

In a broad perspective, Architecture as public policy comprehends all state activities that have an impact on the design of the built environment. As discussed throughout this Chapter, the public sector already exerts a wide influence over the design of the built environment, whether through the planning policy or thought the development of control systems, imposing a huge amount of design regulations on almost every aspect of the built environment. In a narrow sense, a public policy on Architecture needs to be formalized in some type of official document, or set of documents, defining the government goals for the design quality of buildings and places. With this focus in mind, this research will analyze the role of national policies on Architecture in the EU member states to understand if a formal policy on Architecture has the capacity to improve the role of the State in promoting better places.

At first sight, one answer seems obvious: placing design quality high on the political agenda opens a path for the development of a multi-sectoral and multi-agent collaboration towards a better system of design governance that otherwise would not be possible. In addition, in the light of the governance paradigm discussed in Chapter 3, the formulation and adoption of national Architectural policies can be seen as a response to the ongoing process of state restructuring and transformation. Nonetheless, the design quality of the built environment as an issue of public concern can be considered a wicked problem, or in other words, a complex social problem, because it is rooted in a wide range of causes involving multiple private and public actors. To influence the system of relations, interests and aims of development actors, there is a need to create a favourable climate for good design by implementing a diversified policy agenda and a mix of policy tools covering a wider spectrum of areas.

As Chapter 4 reaches its end so does the discussion of the theoretical framework of this thesis. The following chapter will introduce the chosen methodological approach to track down the development of national Architectural policies. Chapter 5 will analyze the Europeanization processes of Architectural policies across the EU, both at European and at domestic levels. This will allow to develop a typology of Architectural polices and to focus on the object of analysis of the following two empirical chapters. Chapter 7 will deconstruct the comprehensive Architectural polices discourse, its main ideas and values, while Chapter 8 will examine the policies effectiveness through a comparative analysis of three case studies: Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands.

5 Researching Architectural policy

5.1 Introduction

To sum up the discussion so far, Chapter 1 delineated the research agenda of this thesis around three research questions, a set of specific research questions and a main hypothesis. Chapter 2 engaged in a conceptual discussion on the notion of Architecture as built environment design and on how this broad view relates to the notion of urban design. It also examined the notion of design quality from an architecture and urban design point of view. As such, Chapter 2 laid out the conceptual framework that constitutes the theoretical background of the two following chapters. Chapter 3 examined the processes involved in the production of the built environment and how development actors and decision-makers negotiate and shape built environment outcomes. Moreover, it explored the concept of design governance and the role of the state in promoting better places. In this sense, Chapter 3 revealed the multiplicity of roles played by the state in the development process. Chapter 4 explored public policy as a research agenda and systematized it as a concept and a process. Finally, this last chapter expanded on the different public policy tools on urban design, which will provide a framework for the analysis of the Architectural policy instruments in Chapter 8.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe the research design, how the necessary information was gathered and analysed, and how the subsequent results were presented. The chapter is organized into three sections. The first section explores the theoretical debates around the two main epistemological approaches to public policy analysis: positivism and post-positivism. This research will adopt a post-positivist or interpretivist stance as its epistemological approach, which in turn will inform the research operational steps. The second section will discuss the challenges and limitations of the methodology adopted. In simple terms, this thesis is an exercise of cross-national comparative research. It studies the phenomenon of formal Architectural policies at national level by comparing the different policy approaches of EU member states. Finally, the third section explores the operative side of the investigation: a cross-national survey, documental analysis and interviewing. As such, this thesis will use a mixed methods research strategy comprising both quantitative and qualitative research tools.

5.2 Epistemological approaches to policy analysis

Throughout the history of the policy sciences, researchers have developed a wide range of methodologies of how to conduct empirical enquiry. Despite the diversity of approaches, most policy analysis have been based on techniques and methods mainly drawn from mainstream economics, usually described as the *positivist* approach (Fischer 2007b, Howlett et al. 2009). In this view, policy analysis is mainly designed to inform a 'rational model' of decision-making based on quantifiable facts and rational reasoning. However, in the beginning of the 1990s, a counter-movement started to emerge questioning the positivism approach, describing itself as *post-positivism.* These two *meta*-approaches to policy analysis will be discussed below. Although this is fundamentally an epistemological discussion, this backdrop will inform the research methodology explored in the two next sections.

5.2.1 Positivist approach to policy analysis

Usually described as *mainstream* policy analysis, positivism in policy sciences can be characterized in terms of 'a belief that policy intervention should be based on casual laws of society and verified by neutral empirical observations, which assume the possibility of objectivism and instrumental rationality' (Dryzec 1993). Therefore, a positivist approach 'undergirds the contemporary pursuit in the social science for a body of knowledge empirically organized as replicable casual generalizations' (Fay, 1975 in Fischer, 2003). In this view, positivist policy analysis is mainly designed to inform a 'rational model' of decision-making through the use of empirical data following parallel methods of scientific research: 'Decision-makers first identify empirically the existence of a problem and then formulate the goals and objectives that would lead to an optimal solution. After determining the relevant consequences and probabilities of alternative means to the solution, they assign a numerical value to each cost and benefit (…). Combining the information about consequences, probabilities, and costs and benefits, they select the most effective and efficient alternative' (Fischer 2007b).

Nevertheless, Dryzec refers that the word *positivism* in policy sciences has been used too loosely to capture such 'rationalist' approaches because 'no policy analysis has ever actually measured up to the canons of logical positivism as philosophy of science and practice' (1993, 2002). In addition, Howlett et al. (2009) refer that the proponents of this approach usually describe themselves as merely 'policy analysts', where the 'positivist' label was coined by their critics in reference to their scientific leanings. Therefore, *positivist* policy analysis should be seen as a general approach to the study of public policy based on technical and empiricist methods with the purpose of generating objective knowledge that would lead to optimal solutions to a broad range of social and economic problems (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003).

Despite the diversity of approaches, the majority of positivist policy analysis are based on techniques and methods mainly drawn from mainstream economics (Fischer 2007b, Howlett

et al. 2009). Because of its technical and empirical methods of conducting policy analysis intended to support rational decision-making, the mainstream positivism approach has been criticized by ignoring the importance of values in the policy process (Hogwood and Gunn 1984). Several scholars argued that the theoretical approach of welfare economists does not reflect the reality of government policies due to a combination of societal and political factors that influence the decision-making process. Additionally, these scholars argued that most of the times technical analysis are used by political actors as another resource to promote their own claims (Weiss, 1977, in Howlett et al. 2009). These criticisms led to the appearance of a post-positivist approach to policy analysis advocating a more informed and inclusive view of policy. This counter-movement will be discussed below.

5.2.2 Post-positivist approach to policy analysis

In the early 1980s, several policy analysts started to question the positivist approach to public policy because of the 'dissatisfaction with the technocratic direction the discipline had taken in the preceding decades' (Howlett et al. 2009)[36]. Labeling themselves as 'post-positivists', these scholars emphasized the need to adopt a distinct epistemological approach, advocating for an 'argumentative turn' in policy analysis (Dryzec 1993, Fischer and Forester 1993)[37]. In their perspective, positivist policy analysts were profoundly misguided (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003) because of their 'obsession with quantitative analysis, objective separation of facts and values, and generalizable findings independent of particular social contexts' (Howlett et al. 2009). Influenced by contributions of critical theory, post-structuralism, social constructionism and discourse analysis, post-positivists believed that subjective reflection, normative analysis and argumentation were more suitable instruments to understand public policies and policy-making (Fischer 2007b). From the post-positivists point of view, the policy process is essentially a 'rhetorical or interpretative' exercise in which protagonists engage in discourses intended to both define and further their ideas and interests' (Howlett et al. 2009, p. 28). As such, arguments are central at all stages of the policy process (Fischer and Forester 1993) because 'social and political life is embedded in a web of social meanings produced and reproduced through discourse practices' (Fischer 2007b).

Acknowledging the role of language in policymaking, policy analysis is seen as a practical process of argumentation, in which the task of the policy analyst is 'in large part to produce evidence and arguments to be used in the course of public debate' (Majone, 1989 in Howlett et al. 2009). In such situations, policy analysts have 'to tell stories and formulate arguments to get a handle on this world of complexity and uncertainty' (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003). Assuming a critical perspective, post-positivists aim to 'demonstrate that politics and policy are grounded in subjective factors and seek to show that what is identified as objective 'truth'

---

[36] Such as Douglas Togerson, Frank Fisher and Douglas Amy (Hager & Wagenaar, 2003).

[37] Especially with the book by Fisher and Forester, *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning,* 1993. (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003).

by rational techniques is as often as not the product of deeper (...) political presuppositions' (Fischer 2007b). In this sense, it is necessary to look at the production of policy analysis from a critical perspective. This means not accepting the analyst's claims as evident 'truth' while recognizing that argumentation is intrinsic to the analyst's work (Ibidem).

5.2.3 Strengths and weaknesses of post-positivism

As in all theories, post-positivism has positive aspects and limitations. According to Howlett et al., one of the greatest strengths of post-positivists is that it is 'sensitive towards the messy realities of the public policy process', which contrasts with the positivist view of the policy process (2009). In fact, post-positivists claim that policy problems cannot be seen only from an empirical perspective aimed at finding the best solution available through rigorous technical analysis. Instead, empiricist analysis needs to be complemented with the study of other factors such as policy conflicts generated by different values and interests (Ibidem). This point can be helpful to understand how Architectural policies come to be formalized, that is, public policies are not produced in a vacuum, they are the result of different worldviews, pressures from interests groups, outside and inside the government, and finally negotiated and refined by a policy network.

A second strength of post-positivism is the emphasis on participation and democratic decision-making. It is argued that through the increase of public participation in the policy process it is possible to generate social capital, which strengthens the overall capacity of governments and of society to resolve public problems (Dryzec 2002). In this view, post-positivists call for a democratization of the policy sciences through the development of techniques of participatory policy analysis to improve and encourage participative collaboration between analysts, citizens and decision-makers (DeLeon 1992, Durning 1993, Fischer and Forester 1993). The idea is to increase participation in the articulation and formulation of public policy programs, which 'represents a conscious effort to translate and aggregate individual preferences into public policy' (DeLeon 1992).

Nevertheless, the post-positivism approach has several limitations. First, post-positivists have not developed a fixed research methodology for policy analysis because they defend that post-positivism is not a formal theory (Dryzec 2002). Frank Fisher describes post-positivism as an 'orientation' rather than as a well-defined philosophy of science: 'most generally, the term is used to refer to an epistemological orientation that seeks to move beyond an 'objectivist' conception of reality' (Fischer 2007b). In the same perspective, Dryzec refers that the argumentative turn in policy analysis seeks to 'overturn objectivity and instrumental notions of judgment and action in the name of practical reason' (1993). Therefore, the post-positivist approach starts from the principle that there is no universal and objective understanding of policy problems and solutions, as claimed by positivists (Howlett et al. 2009). In this view, post-positivists believe that there are many forms of explanation and that all knowledge is contestable, which requires the adoption of a multi-methodological approach using quantitative and qualitative criteria.

Considering the object of this thesis - Architectural policies - the present research will be guided by a post-positivist epistemological stance. Nevertheless, part of the research design will be empirically informed to map and trace the progress of national Architectural policies in the EU. This means that quantitative and qualitative data will be used as a framework for analysis. After this epistemological discussion, the next section will explore the methodology adopted for this thesis in order to highlight the main theoretical and conceptual problems involved in the research design.

5.3 Cross-national comparative research design

Methodologically, this thesis is an exercise in cross-national comparative research. This section examines its rationale and discusses the challenges raised by this methodology. According to Rose (1991), comparing is one of the oldest forms of research in politics, and its roots can be traced back to ancient philosophers[38]. In the nineteenth century, early sociologists like August Comte and Herbert Spencer already used methods of comparative research to establish models of social evolution (Hantrais 1999, p. 94)[39]. Nevertheless, it was only in the post-world war II period that cross-national comparative research developed into a widely used methodology in social sciences and gradually in other disciplines (Ibidem). In the field of policy analysis, this methodology has been used, among others, to develop better insights on how to deal with policy problems by drawing lessons from the experience of other governments (Rose 2005). Nonetheless, when studying foreign policies, the aim is not to copy their approaches but to learn under what circumstances and to what extent certain programs may effectively deal with a specific policy problem. The examination of policy differences between national governments regarding a shared problem offers several advantages, namely the opportunity to compare the strengths and weakness of different programmes and draw lessons for other countries (Ibid, p. 4).

Although at first sight cross-national comparative research appears to readily generate national findings that enable us to extract general conclusions, the interpretative effort dedicated to comparative analysis is not actually as simple as it may seem. As in all methodologies, cross-national comparative research presents several conceptual challenges and limitations. As such, before describing the practical steps taken by this research, some of the conceptual challenges concerning this specific methodology will be addressed below.

5.3.1 Cross-national research: conceptual and methodological challenges

The literature on social research methods offers a great variety of definitions of cross-national comparative research. Despite the differences between them, they are all concerned with observing social phenomena across nations, to develop robust explanations

---

[38] Already in 300 BCE, Aristotle studied and compared the different ways in which Greek cities were governed in order to learn how to develop the best political system (Rose, 2005, p. 1).

[39] The comparative approach was followed by John Stuart Mill, the first to systematize the comparative method as a way of conducting scientific inquiry in its seminal book *A System of Logic* (published in 1843) (Hantrais 2009).

of similarities and differences and to assess their consequences, whether for the purpose of testing a set of hypothesis in different settings, drawing lessons on best practices or on policy experiences developed elsewhere, assess the scope and value of a certain phenomenon, or just gaining better insights of how social processes operate (Hantrais, 1999, p. 93). Following this reasoning, cross-national comparative research is a methodology that aims at making comparisons between different countries regarding a given phenomenon. In the case of this research, the adoption of formal policies on Architecture (Kohn 1987, Livingstone 2003). Nevertheless, this approach is not as straightforward as it might seem. First, the nature of the units under analysis gave rise to several conceptual problems, because nation states are not homogeneous entities, that is, countries are very diverse in terms of size, population and level of wealth, embodying strong socio-cultural aspects that manifest in different ways. A second and recurrent issue is the problem of the equivalence of the concepts underpinning the investigation, which is hampered by problems of language. A third set of issues is related to the sampling and selection of contexts, raising methodological questions about which countries should be compared and how many should be included to guarantee enough representativeness. These issues will be address below.

<u>The nation as frame of reference</u>

In cross-national comparative research the nation state is the obvious unit of analysis or frame of reference for conducting comparative studies. The underlying rationale for studying countries is their fixed frame of reference as they have defined territorial borders and their own specific administrative and legal structures (Hantrais 1999, p. 98). Nevertheless, despite their stable frame of reference, some authors argue that nation states are not a proper unit of comparison (Livingstone 2003, p. 479). The first reason for it, and probably the most important, is that countries are not homogeneous entities comprising multiple cultures. As such, it cannot be assumed that national borders correspond to cultural, linguistic and ethnic divisions or to a sense of common identity. The second reason is that the increasing movement of people, goods and information between cities and localities show that national boundaries no longer define the limits of community space (Ibidem). Thirdly, the membership of international organizations changes over time, as illustrated by the EU enlargement to Eastern Europe, which means that the power to influence supranational bodies on political issues and management of resources also changes. Fourthly, the existence of a multi-level system of governance means that individual member states contribute to policymaking in international bodies and are also obliged to ensure compliance with international policies at national level (Hantrais 1999, p. 98).

Although policymaking is increasingly proceeding outside nation states' sphere of action, cross-national comparisons continue to be a legitimate research strategy. As discussed in the previous Chapter, the nation state continues to play an important role in society as the majority of national policies are still defined by the national state. Therefore, the nation state continues to be a relevant unit of analysis in cross-national comparative research, although the growing existence of external and internal forces must be taken into account.

Considering these tensions, researchers opting for cross-national comparative research have to argue the case for selecting nations as units of analysis, instead of merely assuming the legitimacy of such a research strategy (Livingstone 2003). In comparative studies in which the criterion for inclusion is their membership of an international organization, such as the EU, the selection of nation states as units of analysis is easily justified, because national governments are directly represented in the EU's decision-making body and share an explicitly common reference point (Ibid).

This thesis's choice for a research design that aims to examine the role of national Architectural policies is justified by the growing number of countries adopting national policies in this domain. Furthermore, the fact that the EU Council of Ministers has also adopted two Architectural policies is a clear evidence of a process of Europeanization that requires empirical inquiry (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, the selection of three EU member states to examine the implementation of Architectural policies will help to clarify what has been the impact of such policies, which will hopefully generate enough evidence of the effectiveness of a formal policy on Architecture at national level.

Equivalence of concepts across national contexts

Another important issue in cross-national comparative research is the correspondence of concepts across different socio-cultural contexts. Concepts constitute the basic ingredient of any research endeavour as they provide common reference points for identifying and grouping phenomena. Furthermore, concepts are used as categories for collecting and sorting information and its operationalisation allows the development of theory and enables the test of hypothesis through empirical inquiry (Rose 1991a). The problem in cross-national comparative research is that not all concepts travel well across cultural and linguistic boundaries because the same term may embody different meanings and the same set of ideas may be categorized under a different term. This problem is aggravated when more than one language is involved (Mangen 1999). For example, the term *design* does not embody the same meaning in Portugal as in the English context. This means that the question of the equivalence of concepts in different contexts is central in comparative research (Hantrais 1999, p. 104)[40].

Despite the difficulty in identifying conceptual equivalence in dissimilar contexts, Rose (1991a) argues that it is possible to develop comparative analysis across nation states by connecting empirical materials 'horizontally and vertically', that is, locate data sets that are capable of being related to concepts 'sufficiently abstract to travel across national boundaries' (1991a, p. 447). In other words, identifying concepts that are functionally equivalent among different contexts, which in turn will provide a suitable conceptual framework for conducting comparative analysis (Rose 1991a, Mangen 1999). This issue is particularly relevant for the ongoing investigation. As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of

---

[40] In lesson-drawing, Rose (2005, p. 15) emphasizes that 'concepts are absolutely essential in order to draw lessons across national boundaries' as they 'provide the common vocabulary with which to relate features of a programme'.

Architecture is not equivalent across nations, which raises a conceptual hardship in the selection and grouping of information from such a wide range of national contexts as the EU. The overcome this dilemma, this research deliberately adopted a broad view on *Architecture* as built environment design to be able to research Architectural policies. This broad view on Architecture is also in line with the Architectural policies under scrutiny (see Chapter 7).

Problems of sampling and selection of units of analysis

An additional issue in cross-national comparative research is how to delimit the research sampling to study a given phenomenon. To guarantee that the research findings are both tractable and credible, the researcher will need to determine which and how many units of analysis have to be included in the comparative study to ensure an appropriate balance between 'the number of different national cases considered necessary for representativeness and for optimal coverage of variability' (Hantrais 1999, p. 99). Depending on the research aim, the examination of a particular phenomenon in only two countries enables to develop a deeper analysis and a higher number of variables, whereas the inclusion of a large number of nations does not make it possible to attain the same depth of analysis and implies the analysis of fewer variables, even if it enables the researcher to identify a wider range of possible configurations and the existence of aberrant cases, which would not be possible in two-nation studies. As such, delimiting the contexts of analysis and which variables should be included is a major task in cross-national comparative research. According to Sartori (1978, in Mangen, 1999), to solve this issue it is necessary to find an appropriate trade-off between 'empirical extension' and 'analytic intensity'.

As described in the introductory chapter, in order to characterize the different types of national Architectural policies in the EU, the first objective was to collect, via a European survey, all the existing national Architectural policy documents in the EU. As such, in this first phase, the research covered all the 28 EU member states to be able to compare and classify the existing approaches and to establish a policy typology. In addition, this 'macro' survey provided a panoramic view on the phenomenon under investigation, which allowed to provide answers to the specific research questions of the first research question. After the completion of the survey, a documental analysis of the policy documents collected was developed. However, examining the policy discourse was not enough to assess the impact of a formal Architectural policy on a specific societal context. As such, it was decided to choose three member states that had adopted a *comprehensive policy on Architecture* - Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands – to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews (see next section).

The rationale for selecting these three specific countries is based on three factors: a) they were among the first countries to adopt a formal policy on Architecture, which meant that a sufficient period of time (more than ten years) had elapsed since the beginning of the policy process; b) all three had reviewed their policies more than once (see policies' chronology on Table 6.5), which would give the different actors a better perception of the policy

effectiveness, failures and results; c) all three countries have invested money, time and personnel in policy implementation. Adding to these criteria, the three countries have their policies and the documents related to them written in an accessible language (English), which facilitated empirical analysis and access to documental sources.

An important point must be brought to the attention of the reader. Although the three chosen countries are making an effort with regard to policy development and execution, the researcher is aware that other countries have not yet been able to effectively implement their policies for financial or political reasons. Since in these cases there was not a real effort with respect to policy implementation, they would not provide evidence on policy effectiveness because policies had not been implemented in the first place. As such, the selection of the countries under analysis was a conscious choice in order to assess the capacity of the policies to reach their aims, which otherwise would not be a valuable contribution on the usefulness, or not, of having a formal policy on Architecture.

5.3.2 Research methods in a cross-national perspective

The previous section addressed the main conceptual challenges of cross-national comparative research, which was helpful to clarify the pitfalls and limitations of this thesis research design. As mentioned earlier, this investigation uses a mixed-method research strategy, comprising both quantitative and qualitative research tools. To answer the first research question, a cross-national survey was developed to characterize the different types of formal national Architectural policies in the European Union, which helped mapping and generating quantitative data on Architectural policy documents, namely, which member states have a formal policy on Architecture. Based on the survey results, a policy typology was established which made it possible to verify that type 2 - *comprehensive Architectural policy* - has been adopted by the majority of the countries surveyed. To answer the second research question, it was decided to conduct a documental analysis of the policy documents collected. Finally, to answer the third research question, a set of semi-structured interviews to key stakeholders was undertaken in three different countries: Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands. In this sense, the current section will explore the following research methods: cross-national survey, documental analysis and interviewing.

Cross-national survey

One of the most frequently used methods in cross-national comparative research are cross-national surveys (Mangen 1999, p. 116). According to Ghilione & Matalon (1992), a survey research may be defined as an interrogation about a given phenomenon in which the researcher asks questions to a group of individuals in order to generalize. In practical terms, a survey research comprises a 'cross-sectional design in relation to which data are collected predominantly by *questionnaire* (…) and at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative or quantifiable data in connection with two or more variables (…) which are then examined to detect patterns of association' (Bryman 2004, p. 43). Although cross-national surveys differ from national surveys in several ways, Lynn et al. (2006) argue that the key

difference between the two is the comparative goal of the former. In fact, the main use of cross-national surveys is to compare countries on different dimensions, which means that a country is the key variable that defines analysis domains or acts as a covariate. To guarantee the quality of a cross-national survey, Harkness (1999) suggests that the procedures of monitoring, documentation and evaluation used at national level, should be adopted at cross-national level. In both, nevertheless, decisions about survey quality are context-dependent, that is, they 'depend on the adequacy of the study design, process and outcomes for the purposes to which a study will be develop' (Harkness 1999, p. 126).

One of the critical issues in cross-national survey is the equivalence of meaning of the concepts used, both in context and function, in the countries surveyed (Mangen 1999). As already mentioned, the equivalence of concepts in the different national contexts is essential to avoid misunderstandings between the researcher and the correspondents. A mismatch usually occurs when surveys are built within a dominant cultural or linguistic perspective, particularly in fixed questionnaires (Ibidem, p. 118) which can hinder the perception of the questions. In this research case, to avoid a lack of understanding on the meaning of Architectural policy, a broad definition was added to the questionnaire to guarantee a common perception of the concept, including a battery of open questions on the subject, which gave enough room to correspondents to add information that they would consider relevant. Adding to this, Mangen (1999) refers that interpretation issues are usually aggravated in situations in which the target group is not familiar with the issue at hand. To avoid this, the survey questionnaire was only sent to government departments, where correspondents are expected to be familiar with the Architectural policy in their countries. The next section will describe the survey operational steps.

Documental analysis

A second source of data used in this investigation was official policy documents issued by national governments and EU institutions. Although the authenticity of the collected documents is easy to confirm, inasmuch as they originate from official sources, the issue of reliability and absence of biases is a much more complex issue. Related to this, Mangen (1999) emphasizes that most of the material used in documentary analysis has already been highly edited and manipulated for other purposes outside the research project (1999, p. 118). In this sense, Bryman (2004, p. 387) draws attention to the dangers in attempting to see policy documents as depictions of reality. In fact, policy documents tend to be conservative and tailored to the needs of policymakers, which can obfuscate meaning (Mangen 1999, p. 118) and avoid 'inappropriate themes', such as corruption or malfunction of public bodies. As a result, the cross-national researcher should search a mix of documentary sources[41].

Another important issue in the analysis of policy documents are the contextual factors that make policy what it is. In other words, policies are strongly influenced by the social, cultural

---

[41] For example, documents authored by pressure groups usually tend to be critical about public policies and can provide a more balanced insight on the challenges and effectiveness of state policies (Mangen, 1999).

and political contexts in which they are produced. As such, a cross-national researcher from outside the policy context will have difficulty assessing the impact of socio-political circumstances during the policy formulation, actors' access to power, political limitations of the department responsible, etc. As discussed in Chapter 4, all these factors have a strong influence in the types of policy instruments chosen and the ones that were not considered. Because of these constraints, documental analysis is usually complemented by interviews with key stakeholders in order to provide the cross-national researcher with a wider view of the policy process. Despite the limitations of documental analysis, this method was instrumental to the research process. First, it has allowed to analyze the data collected and to characterize the basis of a formal Architectural policy - principles, scope, assumptions and aims - setting the stage for the discussion about the effectiveness of the policies implemented. In addition, the documental analysis helped to build the interviews' prompt sheets, which will be discussed below. The next section summarizes the documents analyzed, their origin and type of document, organized by country.

Interviews

As mentioned above, the examination of the policy discourse was helpful to perceive the general tone of the architectural policies, its strategic axes and implementation mechanisms. However, the policy analysis did not provide empirical data on the impact extent of a formal Architectural policy in processes of design governance and in the development process in particular. As such, it was decided to choose three countries that had adopted a *comprehensive policy on Architecture* - Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands – to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews to key stakeholders (the rationale for selecting these specific three countries was referred to in Section 5.3.1). Departing from an interpretative stance, this research believes that policymaking is a continuous and incremental process, where the main ideas and values sustained by a policy community will have a determinant effect on the type of policies adopted by the public authorities. When researching the impact of Architectural policies it is fundamental to consider not only the visible artifacts or products created by the policies, but also the degree of mindset change that the policies may have triggered. In fact, cultural change is one of the hardest aims of Architectural polices, involving the implementation of capacity building tools that aim to change people's mindsets, that is, reframing citizens' value systems about the built environment. As such, this sort of 'fuzzy' assessment is not possible to sift using quantitative inference or exhaustive mapping of the number initiatives and actions generated by the policy process.

Following this reasoning, interviewing a mix of key policy actors, and agents involved in policy implementation will provide a diverse insight on policy results, achievements and failures according to the actors' views. Moreover, this method will help to obtain information on the possible generation of culture, social or political value resulting from government policy on Architecture, even if it has not produced any substantial changes in the processes of governance. In addition, the post-positivist perspective also alerts us to the turbulent social environment surrounding policymaking, in which decision-makers are continuously

influenced by pressure groups, electoral cycles, political parties and their own objectives. However, the design of the built environment is transversal to all sectors and levels of public administration being already affected by a huge array of sectoral policies, such as, planning, housing, environment, etc. Therefore, as a matter of academic principle, it is important to ask whether or not a national Architectural policy is in fact a necessary instrument, or the mere product of lobbying, resulting in a rhetorical exercise towards design quality in which the difficult issues involving confrontations with power and vested interests, such as procurement practices of public buildings based on the lowest price, ineffective development control mechanisms or developers' lack of interest for design quality, remain to be addressed.

5.4 Cross-national comparative research in practice: issues and limitations

The previous section illustrated some of the methodological challenges faced by a cross-national comparative research. It also introduced the three research methods chosen to collect the empirical data of this thesis: cross-national survey, documental analysis and interviewing. As already mentioned, this thesis is based on a mixed-method research strategy, comprising both quantitative and qualitative tools, each of which corresponds to a different phase of the fieldwork. The first phase of the fieldwork involved developing and sending a questionnaire on Architectural policies to all EU member states with the objective of compiling a dataset of the existing national policies on Architecture at European level. The second phase of the fieldwork involved carrying out an informed semi-structured interview with key actors on three countries: Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands. Between the two phases a documental analysis of comprehensive Architectural policies was carried out. The present section details the operational side of the research design and describes the data collection process. A final point is made about the researcher itself, briefly describing how he got interested and involved in issues of Architectural policy in his home country (Portugal) and at international level.

5.4.1 Cross-national survey on Architectural policies

A cross-national comparative research design does not necessarily imply the development of a cross-national survey. Section 5.3.1 has already expanded and discussed the conceptual challenges of a cross-national research from a theoretical point of view. In practice, there is no predetermined way to administer a cross-national research. As a consequence, research methods are generally tailored to the research questions, and, no less important, to the preferences of the researcher. In the case of this research, the option for a cross-national survey methodology was the result of two main factors: firstly, the cross-national survey would help to track down the different Architectural policies in the member states and improve the existing knowledge on the subject; secondly, it was an opportunity for a partnership / synergy in the development of the survey with an international association, the

European Forum for Architectural Policies (EFAP)[42]. In addition, at a smaller scale, the EFAP had already conducted a cross-national survey on Architectural policies in 2005. There was, therefore, a mutual interest in repeating the survey carried out in 2005, enlarging its scope to all EU member states and updating the information on architectural policies[43].

<u>European Union</u>

As mentioned in the introductory Chapter, there is ample justification to choose the European Union as research focus. Firstly, there is a clear EU policy orientation calling on member states to promote architecture and urban design quality as a way to achieve better places. As such, the existence of 'supranational' guidance on design quality is, in itself, a legitimate source of research, namely the impact of the EU design guidance on the practices of individual member states. Secondly the EU policy guidance on architecture makes direct reference to the realization of international meetings on Architectural policy as one of the policy grounds. As such, there is a 'bottom-up' process, where member states exert pressure on EU Institutions to adopt policy guidance on architecture and urban design quality. This political interchange between the member states and the EU institutions, which is now commonly known as Europeanization process, has two major driving sources:

a) the aforementioned EFAP association, which is a network organization dedicated to the promotion of architectural policies in Europe through several activities, such as, forums, international meetings, publications on the subject; and,

b) the member state that holds the EU rotating presidency, which is in a special position to influence the EU Council of Ministers agenda, e.g. both *Council Resolution on Architecture Quality* (2001) and *Council Conclusions on Architecture* (2008) were approved under the French presidency of the Council of the EU, which is the one of the few member states with an Architectural policy formalized in the form of law on architecture (see Chapter 6).

Moreover, the formalization of a public policy on Architecture by the member states has been much diversified and far from homogeneous. Germany and Austria, for example, do not to have a specific policy on architecture although they have developed a national programme based on the concept of *Baukultur* (building culture), involving a wide range of actors and professionals of the building sector, including architects (Chapter 6). In this sense, to better understand the Europeanization of Architectural policy there is a need for further research in order to explain the extent and the direction taken by change in each domestic system (Mourato 2011, p. 83). Furthermore, without further investigation, there was not an obvious reason for picking up a particular number of countries to carry out a cross-national

---

[42] The European Forum for Architectural Policies (EFAP) is a non-profit international association based in Brussels, which originated in 1998 as an informal network organization dedicated to the promotion of architectural policies in Europe. The EFAP role will be examined in this thesis in section 6.2.3.

[43] The researcher himself has been participating in EFAP meetings since 2004, in representation of the Portuguese Order of Architects, which have made him somewhat acquainted with the members of the EFAP board.

comparative research. In other words, there was no particular evidence that justified the selection of a specific number of countries instead of others. The choice of a cross-national survey encompassing all EU member states would allow characterize the different policy approaches covering a considerable number of countries.

The concept of Architectural policy

As discussed in Chapter 4, the notion of public policy can have several acceptations, ranging from a broad view encompassing everything that is done by the government to a narrow view that considers only formal policies, with clearly stated aims and objectives supported by a set of policy instruments, carried out by identified actors and, in some cases, with a defined financial envelope. Nevertheless, as pointed out, the challenge posed to the research is not to arrive at a universal definition but to use the concept of public policy as a framework for a systematic analysis of public action. In this view, public policy as a concept should be seen as an analytical category and not as a self-defining phenomenon (Jones 1970, Heclo 1972). However, to be able to follow a specific line of investigation that explores the role and effectiveness of national Architectural policies, it is necessary to draw a conceptualization of Architectural policy that can be used as a framework for inquiry. As set in Chapter 4, this research adopted a narrow conceptualization of public policy, which formulates it as a purposive course of action in dealing with the design quality of the built environment formalized in some kind of official policy document or set of documents, aiming to promote high quality built environments through the implementation of a set of policy instruments intend to change the behaviour of development actors. As a consequence, it assumes that a formal Architectural policy has some degree of *intentionality* and*/or coherence* aimed at the promotion of better places. Therefore, this research deliberately adopted a restricted view on public policy as a concept in order to research Architectural policies. This conceptual narrowing allows the operationalization of the concept as a researchable category providing the conceptual basis for the current survey. To guarantee that all correspondents would have the same conceptual interpretation, a definition of architectural policy was added to the survey questionnaire.

Cross-national survey aims

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the cross-national survey follows a previous survey developed by the EFAP in 2005, which tried to assess the impact of *Council Resolution on Architectural Quality in Urban and Rural Environments* (2001/C 73/04). However, ten years have passed since 2005 and several developments have occurred during this period, namely the approval of a second policy document on architecture by the EU Council, in 2008. As such, there was a mutual interest in repeating the survey, enlarging its scope to all EU member states and updating the information on architectural policies. Basically, there was an opportunity of partnership, in which the EFAP offered its institutional support, name and contact network. The present survey maintains the same broad aim as the previous survey, but it also intends to review and assess the impact of the 2008 *Council*

Conclusions on architecture, since in practice this document is a continuation of the 2001 Council Resolution (see Chapter 6). Therefore, the main aim of the cross-national survey was to review and assess the impact of the two EU Council policies on Architecture:

a) *Council Resolution on Architectural Quality in Urban and Rural Environments* (2001/C 73/04) adopted in 2001; and

b) *Council Conclusions on Architecture: Culture's Contribution to Sustainable Development* (2008/C 319/05), adopted in 2008.

The aim of the cross-national survey would be achieved by surveying the actions and political developments that both documents have generated since its adoption in the individual member states, namely, the adoption of formal Architectural policy documents, policy initiatives and actions. The cross-national survey also intended to identify the governmental departments responsible for Architectural policy and the existence of possible coordination structures between the different departments/agencies with responsibility in the implementation of Architectural policy instruments.

Data collection process

To reach the above-mentioned aims, a questionnaire was sent by email to all governmental departments responsible for architectural policy within each member state of the EU. To optimize the reliability of the information collected, the questionnaire was only sent to governmental departments. A first list of governmental departments and contacts was developed. This contact list was publicized by an EFAP newsletter, in which confirmation of national governmental contacts was asked for. The questionnaire was written in English and sent to all correspondents in the same language. All the countries have replied in English, with the exception of France, which replied in French. In order to compare the results between the 2005 survey and the current survey, it was decided to maintain the same structure and contents of the questionnaire of 2005 and 2011. However, two modifications were made:

▪ Firstly, the initial part of the 2005 questionnaire was simplified by removing questions about contacts of other bodies (non-governmental) with a scope in architectural policy were removed because this information was already covered in the 2005 survey report.

▪ Secondly, a new group of questions was added at the end of the 2011 questionnaire about initiatives and actions in support of the *Council Conclusions on Architecture: Culture's Contribution to Sustainable Development* (2008/C 319/05)

The cross-national survey questionnaire on Architectural policies is provided in Annex C.

Cross-national survey scope

The cross-national survey covered 33 European countries: 28 EU member states, 3 official EU candidate countries (Iceland, former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey) and 2 countries outside the EU (Norway and Switzerland). The reason to enlarge the survey scope

to the three EU candidates had to do with the fact that these countries were involved in negotiations with the EU institutions to join the EU community space. As such there was an interest from the EFAP to include them on the survey. The reason to include Norway and Switzerland was due to the fact that these two countries are generally covered in similar cross-national surveys.

Although some member states had a federalist or regionalist administrative structure, in most of them it was possible to find a national correspondent to reply to the survey. However, in the case of Belgium its regions have replied separately, and the same happen with the United Kingdom. As a result the survey target group increased to a total of 37 administrative structures.

Limitations

The methodology chosen for the survey on architectural policies had several limitations. First, the complex administrative structures present in all the member states made it difficult to perceive if the questionnaire was sent to the most appropriate correspondent. Second, in half of the administrations, Architectural policy is a responsibility shared by two or more departments. To have more complete and accurate information it would have been more appropriate to have more than one correspondent per member state. Third, a questionnaire with open-ended questions may not be the best method to collect this type of information. With such a wide spectrum of administrations, the lack of knowledge about the activities carried out by distinct departments does not facilitate the collection of information, resulting in several empty replies from the correspondents. However, due to budget and time limitations it would have been impractical to travel to each of the member states to collect the information in person, through interviews and direct observation methods.

5.4.2 Content analysis: unlocking policy documents

The cross-national survey described above provided a panoramic view on architectural policies in the EU identifying the member states that have a formal policy on Architecture at the national level. The survey also helped to build a database of the majority of architectural policy documents existing in the EU tracking down the implementation progress of the architectural policies. However, after analyzing the documentation received it was possible to verify that not all administrations have adopted the same type of policy document. For this reason, according to the nature of the policies and the extent of their scope, the Architectural policies were grouped into three types: 1) comprehensive policy; 2) legislative and 3) sectoral policy (see Chapter 6). The findings revealed that 80% of the administrations with a formal Architectural policy have opted for the comprehensive policy (type 1), whereas only 20% of the administrations chose one of the two remaining types. As such, it was decided to select the *comprehensive policy* for further inquiry. The rationale for examining the policy 'pattern' instead of comparing the three different types was based on a simple question: why

did the majority of the countries prefer to adopt a comprehensive Architectural policy? In other words, what is the added value of a comprehensive policy on Architecture?

In order to investigate the impact of a comprehensive policy on Architecture at national level, first of all, it is necessary to understand what the policies say, that is, their main ideas and values (e.g. principles, aims, scope, etc), which social problems are being addressed by the policies and which tools are being used to tackle them. A comparative (qualitative) content analysis was the method chosen to unpack the policy documents. Initially, content analysis was used to examine the main concepts established by architectural policies and their relationship with the policy scope. It also served to illustrate the main principles underpinning the policies and the reasons that led governments to develop a public policy in this field. Further on, the content analysis was used to review the policy problems and explore policy aims (see Chapter 7). As such, the (comparative) content analysis of the official policy documents was essential to deconstruct the policy discourse and understand in further detail the main ideas and values underlying architectural policies. In addition, it helped to gain a better insight on its aims and main areas of intervention, types of instruments and range of initiatives and actions proposed. By the same token, first generation documents are generally more detailed in terms of the policy grounds, while second generation ones and over are more concerned with introducing new visions and themes.

Some of the policy documents analyzed were preliminary versions for public consultation setting the path for policy formulation (marked in the table as discussing documents). These earlier versions were good sources of information since they include more extensive introductions providing additional explanations on the policy fundamentals and a clearer framework for the policy problems and challenges. Nevertheless, serving as antechambers for public discussion, their action programs are not very developed, including only intentional measures. Besides the official policy documents, this thesis also considered non-official architectural policy documents produced by professional organizations (associations, orders or chambers), and in some cases the Arts Council. Although these documents were not adopted by governments, they help to understand the ideas and values sustained by the policy community, what Hajer (2005) calls the 'discourse-coalition' (see Section 6.3.4).

Although the comparative content analysis of the policy documents was essential to learn 'what' Architectural policies were saying as well as to understand 'what' type of instruments they were proposing, the examination of the policy discourse does not provide empirical data on 'how' architectural policies work in practice, and more specifically, what has been the level of success of policies in reaching their intend aims. To address this line of inquiry, this research decided to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in three different national contexts: Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands. This endeavour is described in great detail at the beginning of Chapter 8.

5.4.3 The researcher

From the perspective of cross-national research studies there is no predetermined set of skills that a cross-national researcher should have. Nevertheless, the researcher's sociocultural background, education and experience have an important influence on the choice of the research topic, contextual variables, mix of countries and methods (Hantrais 1999), this research being no exception. The researcher's first contact with Architectural policies dates back to a small research internship (6 months) at the Portuguese National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC), in 2004. One year later, the researcher became involved in several activities at the Portuguese Order of Architects (OA), namely by writing thematic articles about national Achitectural policies for the Architects' journal (a monthly publication of the OA). At the same time, he began to attend the international conferences of EFAP as the representative of the OA board of directors, which enabled him to gain a better knowledge of Architectural policies across the EU. In 2007, he was responsible for the logistical organization of the Portuguese international conference of EFAP, held in Matosinhos, Oporto.

In 2007, while drafting his PhD research proposal, the Portuguese Government approved its first National Spatial Planning Programme (PNPOT) approved by an act of Law in 2007 (Portugal 2007). Via the PNPOT, the Parliament recognized Architecture as a matter of public interest fully embodying - and making a direct reference to - the *Council Resolution on Architectural Quality* (EU 2001). In operative terms, the Parliament predicted the development of a National Policy for Architecture and Landscape (NPAL) to be developed by central and local governments. The researcher was thus motivated by what should be the guidelines to develop and implement a national Architectural policy for Portugal and by what policy instruments should be used in the regional and local contexts. To better understand the existing practices and the way in which these could and should inform the making of and the future implementation of the NPAL, a comparative research to European *aquis* was essential. Therefore, the researcher's past experience and the Portuguese institutional framework led to the research proposal that sustained this PhD investigation.

Nevertheless, the literature on cross-national research warns that the fact of conducting cross-national comparisons may represent a powerful test to objectivity, not only because researchers may have a blinkered view of their own society but also because they may seek to examine practices in different cultural settings through their own conceptual lens (Hantrais 1999, p. 103). As such, during fieldwork and data analysis, the researcher strived to distance himself from any possible personal opinions that could narrow his analysis of the subject.

The following parallel activities were conducted in the course of the research:

- Attendance at several meetings of the OA's internal working group for public policy on Architecture in Portugal, contributing with a comparative content analysis of national Architectural policies in the EU;

- Attendance at the first meeting of the working commission for the NPAL, created by the Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Energy, as the representative of the OA; and at the two public debates on the consultation document published in 2014;

- Organization and collaboration in a special issue of the OA's Architect's journal specifically dedicated to public policy on Architecture. This initiative explicitly examined the need for Architectural policy in Portugal, which helped to bridge the gap in the literature in Portugal and provided additional information on the topic chosen for this thesis.

5.5 Final remarks

Chapter 5 outlined the chosen research design to collect empirical information to respond to the three research questions and verify the hypothesis (Chapter 1). In other words, Chapter 5 outlines the rationale that underpins this research design: how data was gathered, analyzed, and how the subsequent results were presented. The chapter covered two distinct frameworks: a conceptual one and an operational one. At the conceptual level, it introduced the post-positivist stance, briefly described what a cross-national comparative research is, why it is suitable for the research problem under scrutiny, and how it translates into an operational framework. At the operational level, it addressed the basic issues and limitations of the research design, discussed the cross-national survey, the data collection process, documental analysis and interviewing.

6 Europeanization of Architectural policy

6.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter 1, the development of a formal policy on Architecture at national level is a relatively recent phenomenon and has not yet been examined from a scientific point of view. Considering the high number of countries that have already adopted an Architectural policy, this research evolves around the hypothesis that a national policy on Architecture is an important policy instrument to improve the system of design governance that enhances the role of the state in promoting better places. In this context and to avoid any bias on the object under analysis that might be influenced by the preconceived judgments of the researcher, three main research questions, together with several specific research questions, were defined: 1) what has been the impact of the Europeanization processes on the development of national Architectural policies, namely how the EU institutions came to adopt a formal policy on Architecture and what type of policies exist; 2) what are the main values and ideas sustaining the different Architectural polices, that is, which are their main principles, which problems are they addressing and how they intend to solve them; 3) what has been the impact of formal Architectural policy on processes of design governance, for which the experience of three selected cases will be examined: Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands. To address these three research questions, the present and the following chapters are organized around a set of three interpretative narratives, which will be sequentially presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8, the content of which will be a mixture of contextual information and interpretational analysis.

Based on the notion of Europeanization adopted previously (see Section 4.2.3), the current Chapter will examine the impact of Europeanization processes on the development of European Architectural policy and, interconnected with this, the subsequent implementation of national Architectural policies by the different EU member states. A first section will provide a panorama in terms of Architectural policy environment and main policy artefacts at the EU level. It will also explore the policy-making processes and the actors leading to the formulation and adoption of an EU Architectural policy, between 1985 and 2010. A second section will outline the main findings of a cross-national survey on national Architectural policies. This will provide a picture of the current situation in the different member states in terms of Architectural policies. Furthermore, a typology of Architectural policies will be proposed and its main differences outlined. Finally, the progress of national Architectural policies will be examined in order to show that although some countries have been reviewing their Architectural policies the majority is still in their first generation of policy documents.

6.2 European framework: policy artefacts and processes

Before depicting the different national Architectural policies, it is important to frame the EU's policy on Architecture and explain how Architecture has become a political issue at European level. For this reason, this section will describe the sequence of events that led to the construction of the EU's Architectural policy. The main policy artefacts will be identified and interpreted. A brief account is made about the most important actors, namely the EFAP, which played a major role in the Europeanization of Architectural policies.

6.2.1 The rise of the European Union's policy on Architecture (1985-2000)

Since the beginning of the EU that its member states have delegated some of their sovereignty to a supranational system of governance, in which all decisions are made democratically at European level. In this context, the first EU policy directly related to Architecture was the Architects Directive 85/384/EEC, adopted in 1985, which established the mutual recognition of diplomas and other evidence of formal qualifications in Architecture. Inspired by the first article of the French Law on Architecture (see section 6.3.3), the Architects Directive stated that 'architecture, the quality of buildings, the way in which they blend in with their surroundings, respect for the natural and urban environment and the collective and individual cultural heritage are matters of public concern' (EEC 1985). Although the Directive recognized the public interest of Architecture, its scope was restricted to safeguard the freedom of movement of architects within the EU, and to guarantee that architects from the different member states have the same basic skills and competencies (Meijer and Visscher 2005).

The idea of a European Architectural policy was only generated ten years after the Architects Directive, first recorded in the White book of the Architect's Council of Europe (ACE)[44], entitled *Europe and Architecture Tomorrow* and published in 1994. Until then, the ACE had been busy pressing the EU institutions for the adoption of 'protectionist' policies against neoliberals policies that had 'liberalized' the professions in several countries throughout the 1980s (Brandão 2013, p. 10). Although the White book recognized the complexity of the concept of design quality, most of the narrative was dedicated to the societal value of Architecture (Architects' Council of Europe (ACE) 1994, p. 89). This societal view was against the elitist idea of architecture as a work of art, only accessible to wealthy clients that can afford to pay for the service of an architect and disconnected from the citizens' everyday life. The democratization of Architecture advocated by the White book represented an important shift in the architects' policy discourse. In sum, Architecture was part of a 'culture' that produced value (Brandão 2013, p. 10). In the end, it included a pro-active vision on the new roles of Architecture embodying several propositions, among which was the creation of a European Architectural policy to increase citizens' quality of life.

---

[44] The Architect's Council of Europe (ACE) is a non-profit organization founded in 1990 and composed of 43 professional organizations of architects from all EU member states, accession countries, Switzerland and Norway.

Although ACE's policy book was an important text it did not have the strength to influence EU decision-making. Of greater importance for the development of the EU Architectural policy were the activities that followed the publication of the White book. As in all public policies, the roles played by specific actors in a given period are key elements to understand how the EU's Architectural policy emerged. But before exploring the policy process that led to the formulation and adoption of the EU Architectural policy, it is important to briefly introduce the reader to the main areas in which architecture and the built environment was already affected by EU policy.

European policy context (until 2000)

As discussed in Chapter 2, Architecture is the subject of a wide range of policies and regulations that, directly or indirectly, affect the design of the built environment. For the present analysis, this section will highlight three main EU policy areas that directly affect the built environment design processes: 1) cultural policy, 2) building policy and 3) spatial planning policy. Although there are other policy areas that also affect the built environment (e.g., transport, agriculture, communications, etc.) they have less incidence on built form and for that reason they will not be covered.

(1) The first main EU policy directly connected with Architecture is cultural policy. Within this scope, two strands are of interest to this research: *Architectural heritage policy* and *contemporary Architectura policy*. The former has evolved throughout the twentieth century, mainly associated with the world heritage movement promoted by UNESCO[45], ICOMOS[46] and the Council of Europe[47], from which resulted several international conventions. At national level, Architectural heritage policy has a long history associated with the conservation policy of monuments and sites of special cultural value (Lopes 2012). The member states have gradually adapted and aligned their heritage policies with international developments by transposing international conventions to national legislation. Its instruments have a strong influence on built environment by imposing design restrictions on the renovation or transformation of classified buildings and surrounding areas. In the latter, contemporary Architecture was traditionally considered a specific kind of artistic production which was part of a broader policy of support to artistic creation (e.g. grant schemes) or in some countries, included in the program of Architecture museums. In the 1990s, several member states started to invest in cultural promotion of contemporary Architecture and to adopt national policies on Architecture, which are investigated in this thesis (see next section). Although the EU institutions followed these processes, they did not have competencies on culture matters, which restricted their action on this area. Therefore, the EU cultural policy was mainly

---

[45] The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has adopted several heritage declarations and conventions, for example, the 'World Heritage Convention' (1967).

[46] The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has adopted several declarations, for example, the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964).

[47] The Council of Europe has had an important role in promoting European culture heritage. One of its most important policy documents is the 'Convention for the protection of the architectural heritage of Europe', of 1985.

organized on the basis of supplementing member states' policies[48]. Until 2000, the only relevant initiative was the European Contemporary Architecture Prize, awarded by the European Commission since 1987.

(2) The second main EU policy directly connected with the Architecture field is building policy. Within this scope, two strands are of interest to this research: *building regulatory system* and *public buildings policy*. The first includes the regulatory systems relating to building form and performance, which have a direct impact on all stages of the building design process (Imrie and Street 2009)[49]. Although the EU legislation has introduced common objectives in this specific area, it does not define a common building regulatory framework. There are three main reasons that prevent the EU from defining a European building Directive. First, the principle of subsidiarity prevents the EU from interfering in a matter of national competence. Second, the different building regulatory systems are very diverse, and it would be very difficult to harmonize them in a common EU building decree[50]. Third, the strong building and design traditions would resist the implementation of a common building directive and operating procedures, as some countries are more flexible and others are more rigid and have highly detailed standards. In the second strand, public buildings, politicians have used architecture as a signature of economic and political power since the time of the pharaohs, to demonstrate the capacity of governments to produce high-quality buildings and export the image of a country's economic development (Lasswell 1979). However, the principle of subsidiarity prevents the development of an EU public building policy. Despite this limitation, the EU has been very active in regulating the award of public contracts. The first Directive on Public Procurement (92/50/EEC) was adopted in 1992 and concerned the coordination of procedures for entering into public services contracts (Biau 2002). As a result of the Directive, there are strict, harmonised rules for the public procurement process in the EU, which include the attribution of public contracts to project consultants.

(3) Finally, the third main EU policy directly connected with the Architecture field is spatial planning policy. Of the three policy areas, spatial planning is the one with the greatest impact on the quality of the built environment, namely through local planning framework, which imposes development control tools and urban design regulations[51]. However, considering the EU principle of subsidiarity, spatial planning policy was, and still is, considered a competence of the member states. Despite this limitation, the EU had been

---

[48] E.g.: the preservation of the European cultural heritage by the establishment of funding programs, the creation of cultural initiatives, such as the European Capital of Culture or the European Heritage Days (EU official website, 2015).

[49] Since the beginning of the 1990s that the EU has been active in developing international building standards in three strands: i. Eurocodes; ii. Energy efficiency in buildings; and iii. Regulation of construction products.

[50] Not all member states have a national regulatory system, in federalist or regionalist countries their states / regions have legislative autonomy to adapt and define their own building regulations.

[51] In the majority of the member states, the rise of urban design as a public policy started only in the 1990s (Punter 2007). In the UK, for example, the 'Urban Renaissance' campaign which promoted the design improvement of the built environment was launched in 1999 (UTF 1999).

active in promoting research studies such as the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP, 1999), later followed by ESPON, which were the first steps on the EU Territorial Cohesion Cooperation and Territorial Agenda described further ahead. As such, urban design issues are covered by the spatial planning policy of each member state.

One of main objectives of the EU policy is to consolidate the internal market by ensuring the free circulation of goods, capital, services and people based on the principles of equal treatment, mutual recognition, proportionality and transparency (EU 2004). In all the three policy areas described above, the principle of subsidiarity[52] supersedes and even in the cases in which the EU has established a Directive or a common legislative framework, it does not operate directly, but must be incorporated in national legislation. Until 2000, the view that Architectural policy was mainly an issue of the heritage policy, together with the dispersion of design regulations throughout the building and spatial planning policies, hindered the affirmation of Architecture as a relevant policy field. This would change thanks to the efforts of specific actors and to the holding of international meetings on Architectural policy, which will be briefly described below.

The policy process leading to the EU *Council Resolution on Architectural Quality*

As discussed previously, until 2000, Architecture had not yet been adopted as a formal policy by the EU. The same happened in most member states where Architecture was a domain shared by several state policies from different sectors and levels of the administration, each one with its degree of design competences, influencing a specific gear of the production of the built environment. In this sense, the EU approach was a reflex of the domestic contexts. The steps that paved the way for the EU's Architectural policy began with the adoption of formal policies on Architecture by some of its member states. In the European panorama, France had already approved a national Law on Architecture in 1977, putting architectural promotion at the head of its cultural policy (Champy 2001). However the French model had not been followed by any European country. Only in 1991, did the Netherlands adopt its first national policy on Architecture, entitled *Space for Architecture*, which embodied a number of measures to promote good architecture and urban design (Netherlands 1991) (described in section 6.3.2).

The first Dutch Architectural policy was in fact a pioneer document in adopting a comprehensive approach on Architecture aiming to raise the design quality of the built environment bridging culture and building policy and by defining a set of instruments and goals for subsequent implementation by public authorities. To guarantee a good cross-sectoral coordination, the Dutch policy established a policy platform composed of two

---

[52] The principle of subsidiarity *'aims at determining the level of intervention that is most relevant in the areas of competences shared between the EU and the member states. This may concern action at European, national or local levels'* (official EU webpage, 2015).

ministries and later enlarged to four ministries[53]. The new Dutch policy started to raise the interest of several neighbouring countries which contacted the Dutch Government to understand how its Architectural policy worked. In fact, in the following years, several European countries started to develop their own comprehensive policy directly addressed to architecture and urban design, through the publication of policy consultation documents[54]. Answering to this interest, the second Dutch policy document on Architecture, adopted in 1996, entitled *Architecture of Space*, included a specific measure to organize an international conference on the topic to promote the architectural policy abroad.

In June 1997, the Dutch Government organized an international conference entitled *Policies on Architecture and Urban Design*, with the objective of exchanging views and experiences on Architectural policies. The conference had the support of the Dutch Presidency of the EU and had the particular feature of gathering colleagues from ministries and government agencies, cultural institutions and professional organizations. This conference was the kick-start of the EFAP, a European network of experts on Architectural policies. Based on this first encounter, a second meeting on Architectural policies took place during the Finnish presidency of the EU, in 1999. Co-organized with France, the international conference on Architectural policies[55] had the underlying objective of creating a network organization at European level that could ensure a durable cooperation between the member states on Architectural policies (EFAP 2007). At the end, a Conclusions text was adopted highlighting the need for promoting Architectural quality[56].

Finally, the first official meeting of the EFAP was held in Paris, organized by the French Ministry of Culture and Communications, in July 2000. During the conference the project text for a *Resolution on architectural quality* was discussed and amended during the sessions of the Forum. In November 2000, in response to an initiative by the French Presidency of the EU, the ministers of Culture and Audiovisual Media adopted the *Resolution on architectural quality in the urban and rural environments*. From the sequence of events just described, it is possible to observe that the Netherlands, Finland and France played a crucial role in the construction of a European Architectural policy. Despite the role of other countries, these three played an active role in building consensus around the idea of a formal policy on Architecture. The creation of an international network - in the guise of a Forum - was crucial to legitimatize the shared public interest of Architecture as a European concern (see section 6.2.3).

---

[53] The platform was set by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Culture Affairs and the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment.

[54] Namely: Denmark (1994), Ireland (1996) and Finland (1997).

[55] The second "European Meeting on Architecture" was held at the 'Institut du Monde Arabe', Paris, in Sept. 1999.

[56] The Conclusions were presented to the Council of Ministers for Culture and Audiovisual Affairs in 1999 (MCC, 2002).

6.2.2 European Union's policy on Architecture (2001-2010)

As seen above, the *Council Resolution on Architectural quality (2001/C 73/04)* was the first comprehensive policy on Architecture at European level. Throughout the first decade of the millennium, this policy would be inspirational for the adoption of two other policies: the EU Council Conclusions on Architecture, in 2008, and the Commission architectural policy, in 2009. These will be described below, starting with an examination of what the EU Resolution is advocating.

EU Council Resolution on Architectural Quality (2001)

Although the 1985 Architects Directive recognized the public interest of architecture, its scope was restricted to the mutual recognition of qualifications on architecture between the EU member states. As such, the adoption by the EU Council of a *Resolution on Architectural Quality* was the political recognition of the value of Architecture for the quality of life of European citizens, as 'one of the component parts of cultural identity and a vector of social cohesion and citizenship' (MCC 2002, p. 6). The proclamation of the cultural dimension of Architecture was an innovation which would strengthen the role of culture in the forefront of European construction (MCC 2002, p. 6), namely when it states that 'Architecture is a fundamental feature of the history, culture and fabric of life of each of our countries' and that it 'represents an essential means of artistic expression in the daily life of citizens and that it constitutes the heritage of tomorrow' (EU 2001).

In this sense, the approval of the *Resolution on Architectural Quality* was a major milestone in the European panorama. For the first time, Architecture was understood in a comprehensive way embracing several dimensions: economic, intellectual, cultural and artistic (EU 2001). It was this holistic approach that distinguished the Resolution from the heritage policies described previously by emphasizing that Architecture was not only a reflection of time but an omnipresent component of everyday environment. Based on the public interest of Architecture, the Resolution advocated the convergence of cultural policies, town and country planning and the environment in this same quest for the improvement of everyone's living conditions and for deeper citizen involvement (MCC 2002, p. 6).

However, the 2001 Resolution was not mandatory for the EU member states. Considered a type of soft policy, it did not explicitly refer to the need for a formal policy on Architecture. Nevertheless, the Council Resolution advocated the public and collective interest of Architecture offering an example to be followed in public policy. In particular, it instigated the EU member states to "promote architecture and urban design quality by actions of promotion, dissemination and awareness of architectural and urban culture" (EU, 2001). In addition, it encouraged exemplary public policies and actions of citizen democracy emphasizing the responsibility of states in the construction of public buildings and programs and heightened the awareness of commissioning authorities (Ibidem). Furthermore, it called on the member states to deepen cooperation between them and 'to spur all activities which may strengthen the link between historical heritage and contemporary creation' (Ibid.). As

such, due to its 'high political status' the resolution legitimized the existing Architectural policies and would encourage the development of other national policies on Architecture that would follow in the years after.

In short, the Resolution broadened the European Architectural agenda to include the importance of the cultural dimension of Architecture, and urged the EU member states to intensify their efforts to improve the knowledge and promotion of Architecture. However, the Resolution failed to embrace the emerging sustainable development agenda that would become one of the key vectors of the European urban policy in the subsequent years. This new political scenario led to the adoption of a second policy document on Architecture by the Council of the EU in 2008. Again, this process would be conducted by countries that already had a formal policy on Architecture and through the activities of the EFAP as described in the next section.

EU's sustainable urban development agenda

Since the beginning of the millennium that sustainable development has become one of the major vectors of EU policy[57]. In this context, after a long process of meetings and negotiations, the EU ministers on Urban Development approved the *Leipzig Charter of Sustainable European Cities* and set out the EU Territorial Agenda[58], both in May 2007, which introduced a set of common objectives on sustainable urban development[59]. Within the scope of an integrated urban development, the Leipzig policy mentions that the 'quality of public spaces, urban man-made landscapes and architecture play an important role in the living conditions of urban populations' (EU 2007). In 2008, following these concerns, two EFAP conferences were dedicated to the role of Architecture in a sustainable development. In the first EFAP seminar, held in Slovenia[60], a Declaration was approved emphasizing the need to adapt architectural values to the increasing problems of urban regeneration and climate changes. In the second EFAP seminar, organized by the French Ministry of Culture, a *Manifest about European Cities* (EFAP 2008) was approved, referring the importance of architecture to achieve a sustainable urban development[61]. These two events and documents, particularly the French Manifest, would constitute the launch of the second EU's Architectural policy, which will be examined below.

---

[57] The *European Strategy for Sustainable Development* was approved at the Gothenburg Summit, in June 2001. However, this policy did not produce the desired impact, and a renewed sustainable strategy for an enlarged Europe was agreed on 2006 (official EU webpage, 2015).

[58] Territorial Agenda of the EU – Towards a more competitive and sustainable Europe of diverse regions, agreed on the occasion of the Informal Ministerial Meeting on Urban Development and Territorial Cohesion, Leipzig, 24/25 May 2007.

[59] Among these, it promoted the concept of Baukultur, (in English: building culture) as the sum of all the cultural, economic, social and ecological aspects influencing the quality and process of planning and construction.

[60] This EFAP event took place in Ljubljana, organized by the Slovenian Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, with the support of the Slovenian Presidency of the EU in May 2008.

[61] The EFAP event took place in Bordeaux, in October 2008 and was dedicated to the theme 'Architecture and Sustainable Development', with the support of the French EU Presidency.

Council Conclusions on Architecture (2008)

In November 2008, in response to an initiative from the French Presidency of the EU, the Council of the Ministries of Education, Youth and Culture of the EU adopted the *Conclusions on Architecture: Culture's Contribution to Sustainable Development* (2008/C 319/05). Based on the *Resolution on Architectural quality* (2001), this second EU policy on Architecture maintained the same ideas about a holistic vision of Architecture but placed a new emphasis on the contribution of culture for sustainable development, in view of 'its impact on the cultural dimension of towns and cities, as well as on the economy, social cohesion and the environment' (EU 2008). The Conclusions text emphasized that Architecture is an example of the cross-cutting nature of culture, being affected by a number of public policies and not just cultural policies. It argues that Architectural policy could play an integrating and innovative role in implementing sustainable urban development by 'encouraging high-quality architectural creation as an economic stimulus and tourist attraction for towns and cities, reconciling the sometimes differing requirements of building and landscape conservation and contemporary creation' (Ibidem).

To reach these aims, it calls on the member states to:

- make allowance for Architecture and its specific features in all relevant policies, especially in research, economic and social cohesion, sustainable development and education;

- encourage innovation and experimentation in sustainable development in Architecture, urban planning and landscaping, particularly within the framework of European policies or programs and when commissioning public works;

- raise public awareness of the role of Architecture and urban planning in the creation of a high-quality living environment and encourage public involvement in sustainable urban development' (Ibid).

Commission's architectural policy (2009)

In 2009, the European Commission adopted a formal policy on architecture as a response to the recommendations in the EU Council Conclusions on Architecture, namely when it invites the Commission to 'ensure that architectural quality and the specific nature of architectural service are taken into consideration in all its policies, measures and programmes', and to 'encourage innovation and experimentation in sustainable development in architecture, urban planning and landscaping' (Ibid.). The policy refers that its main aim is to determine the main lines of the Commission's architectural policy, which should be taken into account by all operators when implementing the Commission's buildings policy (EU 2009). As such, it should be considered a reference for property market stakeholders in that it would make known the Commission's wishes regarding architectural quality.

Image 6.1 – Berlaymont building, Headquarters of the European Commission, Brussels, Belgium (1975; rebuilt in 2004); Architect: Lucien De Vestel with Jean Gilson; Client: EC; Image: EC.

With a less redundant discourse, the Commission's architectural policy establishes ten fundamental elements for evaluating the design quality of a building proposal and two guiding best practices. Despite the complexity of the concept of quality and the problem of defining it, due to its highly subjective nature, it mentions that it is possible to identify ten fundamental elements that should be taken into account throughout the life cycle of a building (See Annex E). Nevertheless, the close interdependence of these elements and their evolving nature should be taken into consideration. Finally, the Commission suggests that architectural quality will be easier to attain if it is possible to have access to 'properly-defined programmes, correct monitoring of project processes and systematic use of the various mechanisms for organising competitions to obtain ideas', promoting, therefore, 'architectural or similar competitions should be organised for all major property development projects' (EU 2009).

6.2.3 The role of actors and networks in EU policy making

The previous section identified the three formal EU policies on Architecture and briefly described the policy processes that led to their approval. Small narratives were introduced before each policy artifact to contextualize how the rise of European Architectural policy took place and which actors were involved. From the sequence of events, it was possible to observe the importance of specific actors and of an international policy network for the Europeanization of architectural policy. In the former, the countries that already had a formal Architectural policy (France, the Netherlands and Finland) played a major role in bringing Architecture to the European stage and introducing Architectural policy in the official agenda

of the EU Council of Ministers. In the latter, the creation of a European network that meets regularly to exchange experiences on Architectural policies, including not only professional organizations but also government agencies and cultural institutions, provided strong legitimacy to the policy process because it involves different national stakeholders, which is valued and supported by EU institutions. The roles of these intertwined and complementing actors will be examined below.

The role of specific actors

Within the several actors involved in the Architectural policy process at European level, France stands out with its strong involvement in the adoption of the two policies by the Council of the EU. As mentioned earlier, France had a formal architectural policy since 1977 and a strong cultural infrastructure dedicated to the promotion of architectural quality. In addition, France had a specific division responsible for Architectural policy within the Ministry of Culture (which will be described in section 6.3.3). Beyond coordination tasks, the French architectural division had the prospective aim of promoting architectural policy at European level. Therefore, taking advantage of the political opportunity that came with holding the Presidency of the EU, the French were able to persuade the French Minister of Culture to include Architectural policy in the agendas of the Council of the EU in its two presidencies (2000 and 2008) leading to its approval. As such, France was one of the main promoters of the EU Architectural policy.

Besides France, the Netherlands and Finland were also crucial to the definition of the 2001 Resolution. As mentioned previously, the Dutch were responsible for organizing the first international meeting on the topic, in 1997. Two years later, the Finnish promoted the second meeting and prepared the draft text of the Resolution. The Dutch also supported the EFAP network providing an annual subsidy for its functioning, website and secretariat, until the foundation of the formal EFAP association, based in Brussels. Together with France and Finland, the Dutch promoted a policy coalition within the EU-15 member states, to influence and put Architectural policy on the agenda. This policy coalition would be the basis for the approval of the EU policies, which will be discussed below.

The role of the EFAP

After so many references to the EFAP, it is important to describe in more detail its main contributions to the Europeanization of Architectural policies. As described above, the EFAP originated from an international meeting on Architectural policies promoted by the Dutch EU Presidency in 1997. The conference gathered representatives from governmental agencies, cultural institutions and professional organizations to exchange views and experiences on Architectural policies. In 1999, under the Finnish EU Presidency, a second edition of this meeting was held from which resulted a conclusions text, which was later presented to the EU Council of Ministries of Culture. These conclusions expressed the need to 'establish a European network for the diffusion of architectural culture, to raise awareness among decision-makers and the general public, and to encourage public participation' (EFAP 2007).

In 2000, during the French presidency, this European network would be formalized into the EFAP, in which representatives of governmental, professional and cultural institutions of the member states share experiences and advocate for the Architectural policies.

As such, the EFAP can be considered a platform for intergovernmental cooperation amongst political, cultural and professional institutions. It provides space for debate, fostering pluralistic approaches so as to arrive at a mutual understanding and ensure a dialogue with the main bodies of the EU throughout the successive Presidencies. Since its foundation, a growing number of member states has been taking part in the activities of the EFAP in order to spur synergies (MCC 2002). Both EU policies on Architecture – Resolution (2001) and Conclusions (2008) - make an explicit reference to the holding of the EFAP international conferences on Architectural policy. As such, the strength and legitimacy of the Council Resolution and Conclusions comes from the fact that it is the fruit of a consensus-based approach among the member states in the EFAP forums and cooperation.

Image 6.2 – EFAP meeting in partnership with Urban Intergroup,
European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium (2012); Image João Bento

Usually, the EFAP network meets every six months under the organization of the country that holds the EU presidency at the time, having as background theme: public policies on Architecture[62]. As a result of the meetings, the EFAP regularly issues policy declarations, conclusions texts, and less often, policy manifests on Architecture-related issues. These policy statements are discussed and emended during international meetings and this lends them international status. EFAP also promotes studies on Architectural policies. More recently, the EFAP has promoted an annual Architectural conference in the European Parliament in partnership with the Urban Intergroup[63]. Another important activity has been

---

[62] The EFAP seminars are not academic and they do not have a scientific committee.

[63] The URBAN Intergroup at the European Parliament is a cross-parties and cross-committees grouping with a horizontal approach to discuss urban issues. It brings together over 70 MEPs of all the parliamentary committees.

the organization of an annual meeting of governmental directors in charge of the Architectural policy of the EU member states[64].

6.3 National Architectural policies: governance, documents and progress

The previous section provided the European policy background for this investigation, identified the main European policy documents on Architecture and briefly described the policy processes that led to its approval. Furthermore, the role of specific actors and networks on the development of the EU's policy on Architecture was highlighted. As noted, these supranational events are inseparable from the different national contexts that composed the European community. The Europeanization process refers to a continuous process of mutual adaption between the EU policy and domestic contexts (Radaelli 2003), where policy coalitions at both levels of governance, with diverse geometries, are permanently exercising influence and putting pressure on decision-makers to push their own agendas and interests. Architectural policy is no exception.

To better understand how these processes have evolved and to try to measure the impact of EU policy on Architecture in the domestic contexts, it was decided to survey the national Architectural policies across the EU. To do so, a questionnaire was sent to the departments in charge of the national Architectural policy - method described in the preceding Chapter – of all member states, plus the EU candidate countries and two reference countries (Norway and Switzerland). As mentioned in section 5.3.1, in some of the surveyed countries their regions have replied separately, which resulted in a total of 37 administrative structures.

In this sense, this section depicts the different national Architectural policies that exist in the countries referred and the structures responsible for their definition and implementation. To present the main findings, it was decided to organize the data in four sections:

1) departments responsible for Architectural policies;
2) official documents on Architectural policy;
3) typology of national Architectural policies;
4) progress of national Architectural policies.

6.3.1 Departments responsible for Architectural policy

The first goal of the survey was to identify the public departments responsible for the government's policy on Architecture in each member state, and as a result, to clarify if Architectural policy was the responsibility of a single department of if it was a shared responsibility between several departments. It was possible to verify that in the 37 administrative structures surveyed, 16 administrations have a specific department responsible for the Architectural policy as in the remaining 21 administrations the Architectural policy is a responsibility shared by several departments (Table 6.1).

---

[64] An international non-profit association, based in Brussels, was established to support its activities, entitled *EFAP a.i.s.b.l.*, in 2006. The EFAP association had more than 70 members from all over Europe, co-financed by the EU Commission. However, the EFAP association went bankrupt in February 2015. A new structure is being envisaged.

	Austria	BE Wallonie-Brussels	BE Flanders	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Denmark	Estonia	Finland	France	Germany	Greece	Hungary	Ireland	Italy	Latvia	Lithuania	Luxembourg	Malta	Netherlands	Poland	Portugal	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Spain	Sweden	UK England	UK Scotland	UK Northern Ireland	UK Wales	Croatia	Iceland	FYROM	Turkey	Norway	Switzerland
Yes		●					●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●		●									●	●	●	●	●						●	
No	●		●	●	●	●						●				●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●						●	●	●	●	●		●

Table 6.1 – Does a specific department/division exist in charge of Architectural policy?

Considering the location of the departments inside the administrative structures, it is possible to verify that in the countries that have a specific department, the majority of the departments are located within the scope of the Ministries of Culture / Arts. Nonetheless, in Germany and in Lithuania the competent bodies operate within the scope of the Ministries of the Environment / Urban Development; in Hungary architecture falls within the sphere of activity of the Ministry of the Interior. In the 21 administrations in which Architectural policy is a responsibility shared by two or more departments, the policy responsibility in most cases is divided between the Ministry of Culture / Arts and the Ministry of the Environment / Urban Development[65] (Table 6.2).

	Austria	BE Wallonie-Brussels	BE Flanders	Bulgaria	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Denmark	Estonia	Finland	France	Germany	Greece	Hungary	Ireland	Italy	Latvia	Lithuania	Luxembourg	Malta	Netherlands	Poland	Portugal	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Spain	Sweden	UK England	UK Scotland	UK Northern Ireland	UK Wales	Croatia	Iceland	FYROM	Turkey	Norway	Switzerland
Culture (a)	●		●		●	●	●	●	●	●				●				●		●	●	●		●	●		●	●	●	●	●						●
Environment (b)						●					●				●	●	●	●		●		●		●	●							●		●	●		
Public Works (c)					●																●				●									●	●		
Interior													●					●																			
Other	●	●	●																●													●					
No information				○								○											○			○							○			○	○

(a) Also designated as Ministry of Culture, Education and/or Arts.

(b) Also designated as Ministry of Environment and Urban Development and / or Regional Development.

(c) Also designated as Ministry of Infrastructures and/or Building / Housing.

NOTE: The present table is a generalization. In some cases it does not correspond exactly to the name of the Ministry.

Table 6.2 – Ministry responsible for the Architectural policy.

Only in Luxembourg, is the responsibility divided between three Ministries: Culture / Arts, Environment / Urban Development and Interior. It is important to refer that in the countries with a federal system, the national government does not have exclusive powers on Architectural policy and the main responsibility for the policy falls within the sphere of the federal provinces (Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Belgium)

In the cases in which the responsibility for the Architectural policy belongs to a specific department (16 administrations) it is possible to observe that the scope and configuration of

---

[65] In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and in Turkey, the responsibility is shared by the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of the Environment / Urban Development.

the departments is diverse and includes other duties besides Architectural policy. As noted, the majority of the specific departments (11 administrations) are under the scope of Cultural Ministries, generally associated with cultural heritage or arts policy. In some instances the responsibility rests with other Ministries such as the Ministry for the Environment (Table 6.3).

Country / Region	Name
Belgium / Wallonie-Brussels	Architectural Cell
Denmark	Art and Education
Estonia	Department of Arts
Finland	Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy
France	General Direction of Heritage
Germany	Unit Baukultur, Protection of the Architectural Urban Heritage
Hungary	National Chief Architect's Office
Ireland	The Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht
Italy	Landscape, Fine Arts, Contemporary Architecture and Art
Lithuania	Territorial Planning, Urban Development and Architecture
Spain	General Direction for Architecture and Housing
Sweden	Division for Cultural Heritage
United Kingdom / England	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
United Kingdom / Scotland	Architecture and Place Division
United Kingdom / Northern Ireland	Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure
Norway	Deparments for the Arts

Table 6.3 – Name of specific departments in charge of Architectural policy.

Although the Ministries of Culture have important competences in promoting architectural quality, protection of architectural heritage and support of the arts and of creativity, namely through the direct patronage of bodies and institutions, they present some limitations with regard to their capacity to influence the policy of other relevant departments, such as spatial planning, public works or transports. As Michael O'Doherty (2005) notes: 'the limited influence of many Cultural Ministers was noted in terms of ensuring that architectural quality and the specific nature of architectural services as a cultural activity are taken into consideration in national policies and particularly in development programmes (…) and to make contracting authorities more aware of and better trained in the appreciation of architectural, urban and landscape culture'. This is particularly relevant in the building policy, in which Culture Ministries responsible for the architectural policy are not directly engaged in the procurement processes. As such, their sphere of influence in procurement operational areas can be limited or non-existent, particularly when cross-sectoral communication mechanisms are not yet functioning or are not fully developed (Ibidem). Some countries have created inter-departmental comities / platforms to ensure good cooperation / coordination between the different administrative sectors. It is the case of the Netherlands and Ireland, which have created inter-ministerial Architectural policy platforms. This will be further examined in the section about the governance of Architectural policies in the case studies (Chapter 8).

6.3.2 Official documents on Architectural policy

The second issue that the survey sought to identify was which administrations had published some type of official document (memorandum, bill or act) outlining government policy on Architecture, and if they had not done so, which were planning to do it. To avoid misunderstandings, the following broad definition of *Architectural policy* was added to the questionnaire: 'a public policy for safeguarding and promoting cultural and architectural quality in building, urban design and culture heritage'. The objective was to introduce a broad definition that set a common denominator – a public policy - and at the same time allowed enough space to correspondents to read the definition according to their own contextual framework (See Section 5.2.2).

In the 37 administrative structures surveyed, half stated that they had some type of official document outlining government policy on Architecture. In the other half, 14 administrations stated that they were planning to develop an Architectural policy document and 5 administrations mentioned that they were not planning to develop one (Table 6.4).

	Have a document	Planning to have	Not planning to have
EU Member States	BE Flanders Croatia Cyprus Denmark Estonia Finland France Hungary Ireland Latvia Lithuania Luxembourg Netherlands Portugal Sweden UK England UK Northern Ireland UK Scotland UK Wales	Austria BE Wallonie-Brussels Czech Republic Germany Italy Malta Poland Romania Slovakia Spain	Bulgaria Greece Slovenia
Outside EU EU Candidates	Iceland Norway	Turkey	FYROM Switzerland

Table 6.4 – Do you have any official publication outlining government policy on Architecture?
If you do not have an official publication, are you planning to develop one?

Looking at the geographic distribution of the administrations that have an official document it is possible to observe that the development of a formal policy on Architecture is mostly a northern European phenomenon (Map 6.1).

Fig. 6.1 – Official documents on Architectural policy in the EU (July 2016).

With the exception of Cyprus and Portugal, none of the southern EU member states has yet adopted a formal policy on Architecture, and Greece is not even interested in the topic. In the 'new' member states, six countries has adopted an Architectural policy and, interestingly enough, three of these countries (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) are near Scandinavia. In fact, the policy literature has noted how contextual differences (cultural, political, administrative and social), namely between southern and northern European regions, have a strong influence on the type of issues that goes into the policy agendas. Architectural policy appears to be an expression of those differences.

In the federal states (Germany, Austria and Switzerland), the adoption of a policy on Architecture is hindered because of the national government's constitutional limitations on cultural policy. Yet, these countries have been taking steps towards implementing a 'Baukultur policy', which is a broader initiative but walks in the same direction (explored in section 6.3.4). Among the EU candidate countries, Iceland has a policy and Turkey is planning to develop one.

6.3.3 Typology of policy documents on Architecture

The previous section has provided a general overview of the development of Architectural policies in EU member states plus EU candidate countries and two reference countries. As seen, 21 administrations have adopted a formal Architectural policy at national or regional level[66]. However, after analysing and comparing the Architectural policy documents collected by the cross-national survey it was possible to verify that the nature of the documents was not always the same and that their scopes of intervention also vary. The policy documents were therefore classified into three main types:

1. *Legislation*: France and Sweden;

2. *Comprphensive policy*: Belgium / Flanders; Croatia; Denmark; Estonia; Finland; Hungary, Ireland; Latvia; Lithuania; Luxembourg; the Netherlands; Portugal, UK / Scotland; UK / Northern Ireland; Iceland and Norway;

3. *Sectoral policy*: Cyprus, UK / England and UK / Wales.

The first type of documents includes the Architectural policies of *legislative nature.* As will be discussed, the Architectural laws have a binding force imposing a set of principles on government and public administration. In the French case, they formalize the principle of public interest of Architecture, regulate the profession of the architect and create an institutional framework directed at the promotion of Architectural quality. The second type includes the Architectural policies of *strategic nature with a comprehensive scope* that were adopted by the majority of countries with a formal policy on Architecture, crossing a wide range of departments and involving a wide range of public and private actors in its implementation. Although this type of policies does not have binding force they establish high policy statements on design quality, define several objectives and establish a set of policy tools aimed at improving the processes of design governance. The third and last type includes the Architectural policies with a sectoral approach. Although the sectoral Architectural policy may exist in different shapes in other countries, only Cyprus, England and Wales have mentioned that they had specific national policies on architecture and urban design. As the name indicates, the sectoral policies involve fewer departments and function within the logic of sectoral policy (e.g. urban planning, cultural heritage, public buildings, etc).

Looking at the different administrations, sixteen have opted for the comprehensive policy (type 2), which represents 80% of the administrations with a formal Architectural policy, whereas only five have opted for the two remaining types. Looking at the geographic distribution of the different types, it is possible to observe that the comprehensive policy document (type 2) is mostly a northern European phenomenon (Fig. 6.2). The legislative model (Type 3) is typical of the French administrative apparatus, in which the national Law on Architecture has placed Architectural promotion at the head of the cultural policy. Sweden also has an Architectural policy issued in the form of legislation, which was the result of an

---

[66] As mentioned, the regions of the United Kingdom and Belgium have replied separately.

inter-ministerial working group that introduced several alterations on the planning and building Act. Its objectives are binding to all government departments.
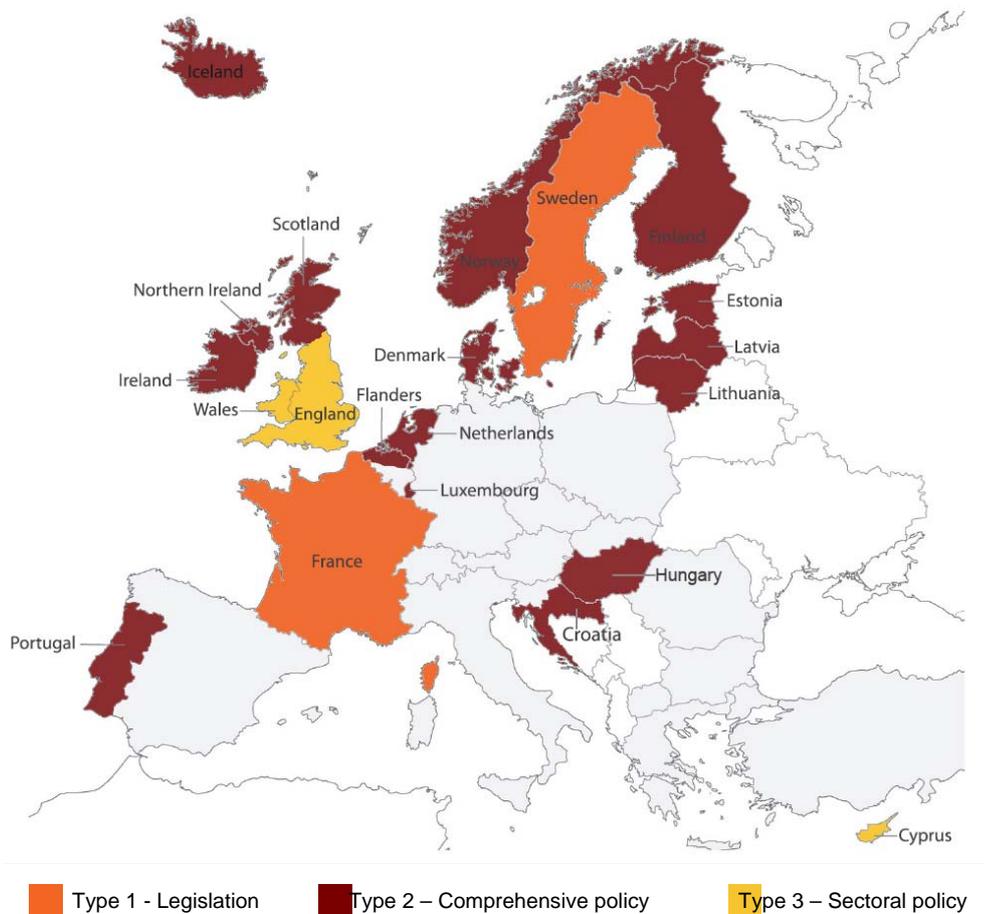
Fig. 6.2 - Types of official documents on Architectural policy in the EU (July 2016)

Although for a full account of the different types of Architectural policy documents it would be necessary to carry out a profound analysis of the social and political circumstances that lead to their approval, a brief depiction of the three types of policy documents will be given below. The objective is to illustrate the key characteristics of the three approaches to frame the selection of the comprehensive Architectural policy (type 2) for further inquiry. As explained in the methodological Chapter, the rationale for examining the policy 'pattern' and not for comparing the three types was based on this simple question: why have the majority of the countries with a formal Architectural policy opted for the comprehensive policy rather than for one of the other options? By demonstrating, or not, the added value of a comprehensive policy on Architecture, it would be a useful contribution to knowledge and to the countries that are planning to adopt a similar policy.

Legislative policy documents (Type 1)

As mentioned above, in the European panorama only two EU member states have an official publication outlining the government policy on Architecture in the form of legislation: France, with the approval of the Law on Architecture in 1977, followed by several other legislative policies; and Sweden, with the approval of the Bill on Architecture in 1998, entitled *Forms for the Future – An Action Programme for Architecture and Design*.

<u>The French case</u>

In the European panorama, France was one of the first countries to adopt a formal policy on Architecture at national level, with the parliament approval of the Law on Architecture in 1977. The first article of the French Law proclaims Architecture as an expression of culture and a matter of public interest: 'Architecture is an expression of culture. Architectural design, the quality of buildings, their harmonious insertion into the surroundings, the respect for heritage and the natural and urban landscape are of public interest' (France 1977). The publication of the Architectural Law was a very important milestone for the French architects. Besides proclaiming the public interest of Architecture, it established a new intervention framework, the modes to practise and organise the profession. Although the title of the architect was already protected by the creation of the Order of Architects in 1940, the intervention of the architect was not mandatory and the recourse to architectural services by clients and promoters was very limited (Brandão 2004). Therefore, the new Law made it obligatory for the architectural project to be signed by an architect for all building permits, with the exception of minor works and small buildings (with less than 170 square meters).

In addition, the 1977 Law also defines the different modes of exercise of the profession, in which only registered architects can use the Title. The Architecture Law also obliges architectural societies to register in order to engage in the activities required by the profession, forbidding all other companies to present architectural projects to the Municipalities. Additionally, the Law defines the organizational structure of the Order of Architects, responsible for the registration and the protection of the Title. Moreover, the Law established a Code of professional conduct[67] and a chamber of discipline. Finally, the 1977 Law established the *Conseils d'Architecture, d'Urbanisme et Environment* (CAUE), non-profit associations whose primary role is to provide free advice to private and public contractors and are charged with the promotion of architectural education amongst the general public. Currently, 91 CAUE exist spread all over France.

The 1977 Law led to the creation of several 'building-capacity' institutions. Two of them play an important role in the French design governance system: the *Inter-Ministry Mission for Quality in Public Construction* (MIQCP) and the *Institut Français d'Architecture* (IFA). The MIQCP is a government architectural agency responsible for raising the general standard of all public Architecture through the education and training of those who commission buildings. Another output of the Law was the creation of the IFA, in 1980, which is responsible for the dissemination of Architectural knowledge to the wider public. In 2004, IFA was merged with two other entities creating a new enlarged Architectural centre, the *Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine*.

A second legislative policy with a strong impact on the design quality of public buildings in France is the MOP Act (the acronym MOP comes from the French expression '*Maitrise d'Ouvrage Public'*), published in 1985, which establishes the relations between public clients

---

[67] Article 19 of the Architecture Law; published in a specific decree in 1980.

and private project consultants. Besides defining the public client responsibilities, the MOP Law established the extent of the mission of the project consultants, which includes all preliminary studies, the different design phases, site supervision and technical assistance during construction works (France 1985). Therefore, the MOP law of 1985 marked the architectural public procurement in France, where all architectural missions attributed by public bodies had to be complete assignments (Brandão 2004). The MOP law applied to all contracts signed with public clients for carrying out new buildings, rehabilitation or reuse works (Biau 2002).

A major innovation in the French Public procurement, besides the full architectural assignment, was the obligation to conduct architectural design competitions (Biau 2002). In fact, design competitions have become mandatory for all new public buildings above a predefined threshold since 1980. Because of this rule, design competitions have spread out all over the country, more than 1000 competitions being held per year, promoted by the national government department to the smallest municipality (Ibidem). As mentioned above, the implementation of French public design competitions is overseen by MIQCP.

<u>The Swedish case</u>

In 1998, the Swedish parliament approved a Bill on Architecture, entitled *Forms for the Future - An action plan for Architecture and Design*. The Swedish Act puts forward six broad objectives to improve the quality of Architecture, which are binding to all government departments. One of the instruments described in the 1998 Act is that all state agencies involved with construction and maintenance of buildings have to develop and report their own measures to improve quality of the built environment in their respective fields of responsibility. In addition, the 1998 Act introduced aesthetic clauses in the planning and building act, Roads and Highways Act and the Railway Construction Act (Sweden 1998). More recently, in 2015, the Swedish Government issued a public discussion document, entitled *The designed environment: a new policy for architecture and design.*

Comprehensive policy documents (Type 2)

As mentioned above, the comprehensive policy is the most common type of formal Architectural policy at European level. Although each policy has its own specific characteristic, the comprehensive Architectural policy can be broadly described as an official policy document of strategic orientation with a global approach on Architecture in which the government defines the main goals and objectives to safeguard and promote Architectural quality in building, urban design and culture heritage, to be subsequently implemented by public authorities. This type of policy documents generally starts with an introductory section defining the policy principles, explaining why the government has decided to develop an Architectural policy, main aims and policy challenges. This is followed by a second section defining a set of objectives and instruments in the different sectoral areas. A third and final section is dedicated to the implementation strategy, defining monitoring instruments and the actors involved, and in some cases, a policy budget. In procedural terms, the development of

this type of policy is usually initiated with the creation of an inter-ministerial working group to define the main goals, contents and extent of the policy. In some cases, before its conclusion the document is submitted for public discussion for a fixed period of time. Afterwards, the policy is approved by parliament or at ministerial level and is then finally published as an official governmental policy.

The first comprehensive architectural policy was developed by the Netherlands in 1991, entitled *Space for Architecture*. Covering the period from 1991 to 1996, the policy was the result of a joint venture of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs. The document embodied a number of measures to promote good design and focused on the role of the government as a contracting party in improving the Architectural climate. Since then, the Dutch Parliament approves a new version of the policy every 5 years, the latest dating from 2012 and entitled *Building on the Strength of Design* (See Chapter 8). Following the Dutch example, several European countries started to develop their own national comprehensive policies on Architecture (Table 6.5).

Year	Country / Region	Name
1991	Netherlands	Space for Architecture
1992	Norway	Surroundings as Culture: Action Programme for Aesthetics in Public Environment
1996	Denmark	Architecture 1996
1997	Netherlands	The Architecture of Space
1997	Norway	Aesthetics in Government Building and Constructions
1998	Finland	The Finish Architectural Policy
2001	Netherlands	Shaping the Netherlands
2001	UK / Scotland	A Policy on Architecture for Scotland
2002	Estonia	The Architectural Policy of Estonia
2002	Ireland	Action on Architecture: 2002 - 2005
2004	Luxemburg	Pour une Politique architecturale
2005	Lithuania	Architectural Policy Trends in the Republic of Lithuania
2005	Netherlands	Architecture and Belvedere Policy
2006	UK / Northern Ireland	Architecture and the Built Environment for Northern Ireland
2007	Denmark	Nation of Architecture
2007	Iceland	Icelandic Government Policy on Architecture
2007	UK / Scotland	Building our Legay. Statment on Scotland's Architectural policy
2008	Netherlands	Culture of Design
2009	Belgium / Flanders	Architecture Notes
2009	Ireland	Towards a Sustainable Future: Delivering Quality within the Built Environment
2009	Latvia	Architectural policy Guidelines 2009 – 2015
2009	Norway	Architecture.now
2013	Croatia	Architectural Policies of the Republic of Croatia. 2013–2020.
2013	Netherlands	Building on the Strength of Design

2013	UK / Scotland	Creating Places - A policy statement on architecture and place for Scotland
2014	Denmark	Danish Architectural Policy. Putting people first
2015	Hungary	National Architectural Policy
2015	Portugal	Política Nacional de Arquitectura e Paisagem

Table 6.5 – Comprehensive Architectural policy documents

A few years after the Dutch policy, three member states published discussion documents for public consultation on Architectural policy: Ireland (1996), Finland (1997) and Scotland (1999). In Ireland, the definition of the Architectural policy document began in September 1996 with the publication of a discussion document, entitled *Towards a Government Policy on Architecture: A Proposed Framework and Discussion of Issues*. The first Irish Architectural policy was only adopted in 2002. In Finland, the policy process began with the appointment of a committee to prepare the Finnish Architectural Policy on February 1996, which concluded the draft programme in May 1997. After an extensive round of comments the final proposal was completed and officially adopted in December 1998. At the time, the policy was considered a reference document because of its focus on the young generations and of the importance of education for the creation of cultural values for the Finnish society[68] (Policy cover 6.1). In Scotland, the development of the Architectural policy began with the publication of a discussion document in 1999. The first Scottish Architectural policy was adopted in 2001 (See Chapter 8).
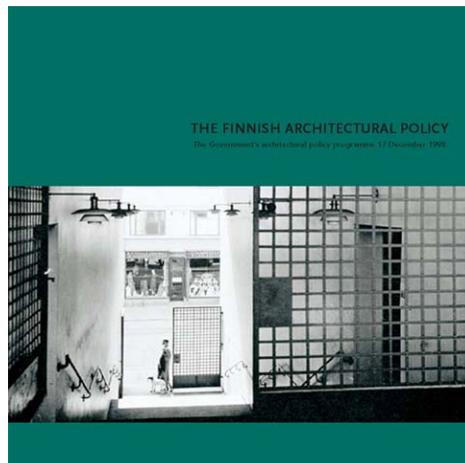
Policy cover 6.1 – Finnish Architectural policy (1998)

Over the first decade of the 21st century, several countries also adopted comprehensive Architectural policies, such as Estonia (2002), Luxembourg (2004), Lithuania (2005), Northern Ireland (2006) or Denmark (2007). About the latter, the Danish policy's overall goal is to ensure the development of high quality Architecture and by so doing create quality of life and economic growth in Denmark. A section from the policy's foreword states 'It is the government's goal that the architectural policy will advance the development of Denmark's competitive advantage within architecture and that the policy will increase awareness and stimulate debate concerning the significance, conditions and possibilities of architecture in

---

[68] The Finnish Architectural policy was translated to several languages.

Denmark' (Denmark 2007). In 2014, based on the previous policy, the Danish Government adopted its second Architectural policy entitled *Putting people first* (Policy cover 6.2)*.*

Policy cover 6.2 – Danish Architectural policy (2014)

Outside the EU countries, Iceland has also adopted an Architectural policy in 2007 and Norway adopted a new Architectural policy in 2009, entitled *Architecture.now - Norwegian Architectural Policy*. The main contents of the comprehensive policies (concepts, scope, principles, aims, challenges and main objectives) will be analysed in the next Chapter.

Sectoral policy documents (Type 3)

The third type consists of official documents outlining government's policy on Architecture with a sectoral dimension. The question of identifying sectoral Architectural policies crosses with the difficulty of defining what exactly is a public policy (discussed in Chapter 4), and more specifically, what a formal policy on Architecture is. All administrations have a huge amount of policies and regulations from the different policy branches, such as the architectural heritage policy (e.g. design restrictions, heritage safeguard principles, etc.), building regulations (e.g. safety, accessibility, space housing standards, etc.) and local planning framework (e.g. urban design considerations, such as maximum volume, setback, functions, etc.). However, all of these design regulations are not organized on a coherent and *intentional* frame of action directed to the promotion of design quality, but are part of broad sectoral policies, in these cases, culture heritage, building and planning policy. Although other countries may also have official Architectural policy documents with a sectoral dimension, only three administrations made reference to them in the present survey: Cyprus, UK / England and UK / Wales.

In Cyprus, architectural policies are included in all statutory spatial development plans that are prepared under the Town and Country Planning Law, which include Local Plans, Area Schemes and the Policy Statement for the Countryside. All of these instruments contain policies on architectural quality and include an Annex with *Principles and Guidelines for the Aesthetic Improvement and Upgrading of the Quality of the Built Environment* for the area

which they cover. Although these guidelines have been much elaborated and expanded within the last decade, most architectural quality policies were introduced in the early 1990s. In addition, there is also an independent national policy on architectural competitions for public buildings.

England and Wales (UK) present a particular administrative situation since they each have their own national Parliaments with specific legislative powers and at the same time share several policies. Although for the purposes of this research they have replied separately to the survey, the following paragraphs will explore some policies that cover both countries as well as others that are within the exclusive competence of each country. The first point to make is that both countries do not have a formal national Architectural policy. Despite the absence of a high policy statement on architecture and design, both countries have a huge amount of architecture and urban design policies and guidelines in different policy sectors. In fact, design quality has slowly become a national policy concern since the beginning of the 1990s (Punter 2007).

Although government guidance on design in England goes back to at least 1966 (for history of aesthetic control in England, see: Punter, 1986), one of the first attempts to define a national design policy in England was launched in 1994 by John Gummer, UK Secretary of State for the Environment, with the title *Quality in Town and Country* initiative (Image 6.4). The initiative intended to raise awareness and understanding of the importance of good design and quality in buildings and the built environment as a whole (England 1994). One of its main initiatives was the *Urban Design Campaign*, launched in June 1995 to encourage wider debate, particularly at the local level, about urban design and its contribution to enhancing the built environment and promoting the exchange of ideas, proposals and local experience and thereby draw attention to urban design considerations at an early stage of the development process (Ibidem).
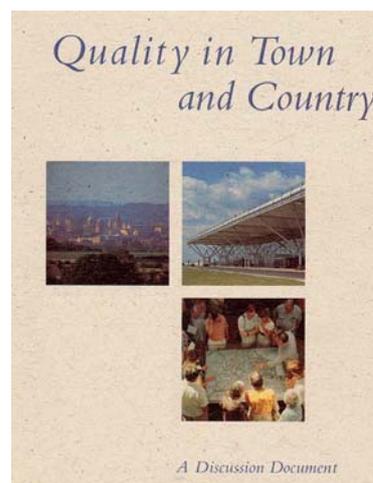
Policy cover 6.3 – English discussion document, '*Quality in Town and Country*' (1994)

In 1998, following Gummer's initiatives, the new Labour Government established an Urban Task Force (UTF) chaired by the international architect Richard Rogers to devise a national strategy to promote the urban revival of English cities. The work of the UTF would result in the publication in June 1999 of the report *Towards an Urban Renaissance*. The report advocated the promotion of urban design as a way to improve the life in cities and urban

areas (for a full overview see: Punter, 2011a). The UTF publication would lead to the replacement of the former RFAC by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) (Policy cover 6.4).
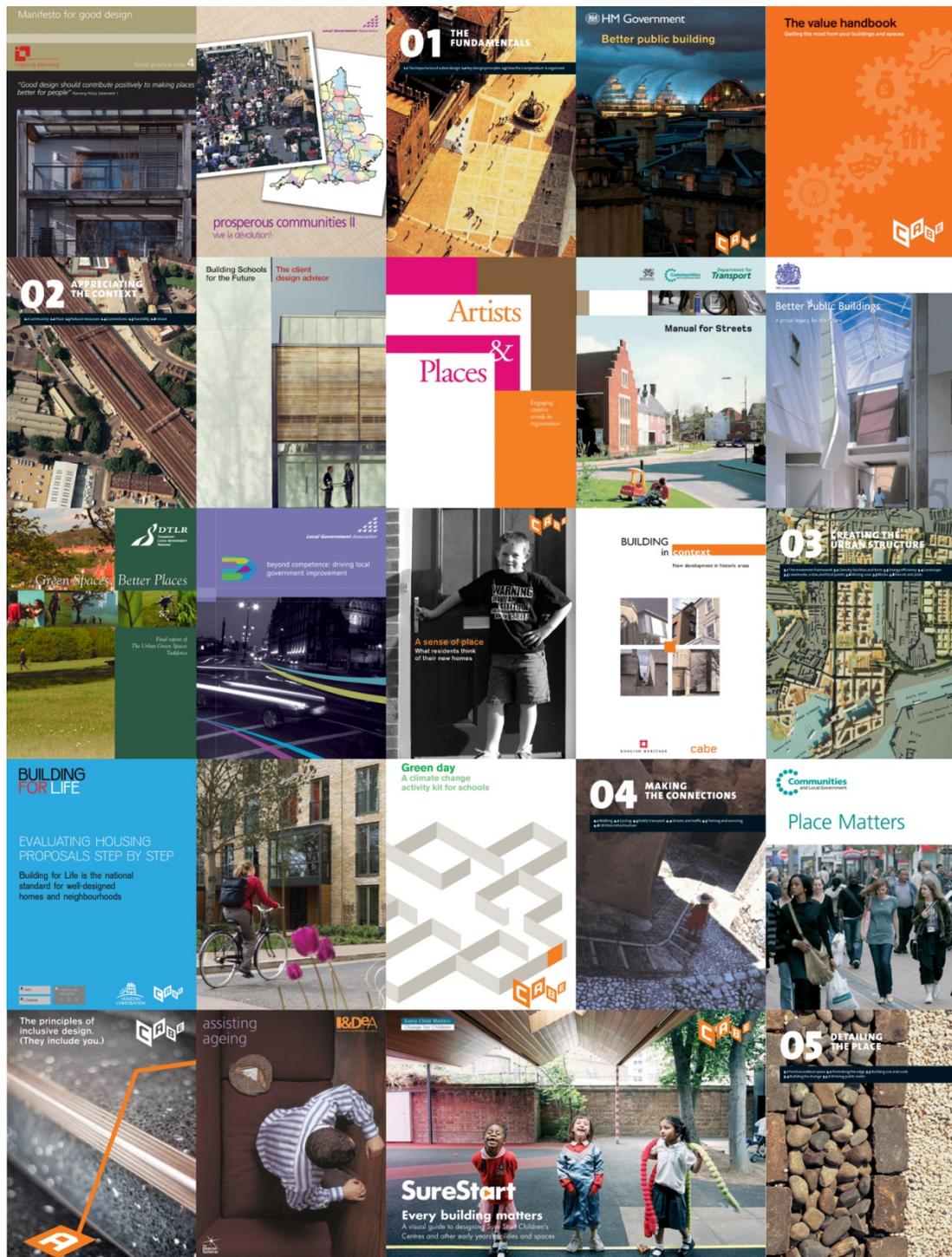
Policy cover 6.4 – Examples of design guidance and booklets produced by CABE
and other government bodies in England between 2000 and 2010.

Established in 1999, CABE was a national body devoted to champion design quality, including to advise the UK government in matters of the built environment and to promote design quality in architecture, urban design and public spaces (Macmillan 2004). Throughout its 11 years of operation as a non-departmental government body, CABE has made an

immense effort to raise the standards of design quality in the built environment in England, championing and advocating design quality by researching and producing evidence on the value of good design, among other tasks.

In 2000, the office of the Deputy Prime Minister launched a national campaign to improve the quality of public buildings entitled *Better Public Buildings: A proud legacy for the future* (CABE 2006b). One of the main objectives of the initiative was to promote innovative design and high quality public buildings, in order to achieve a step change in the quality of building design in the public sector. The initiative included an annual state prize for new buildings commissioned by or on behalf of central or local government.

In 2002, following the English example, the Welsh Government created a *Design Commission for Wales* (DCFW) with a role similar to CABE's. In addition, the Welsh government introduced architectural and design concerns in the national planning policy with the publication of the *Technical Advice Note 12: Design,* designed to provide advice on how to promote 'sustainability through good design' (Wales, 2002). Since its adoption, TAN 12 has undergone several revisions, the latest of which in March 2016 (Policy cover 6.5).

Policy cover 6.5 – Welsh *Technical Advice Note 12: Design* (versions 2009 and 2016)

More recently, in 2011, the newly elected English Government decided to remove CABE's funding with the objective of reducing public spending. This political inversion forced CABE to merge with the Design Council and to work with much smaller team and fewer resources. In the beginning of 2013, the Minister of Culture asked Sir Terry Farrell to undertake an independent Review of Architecture and the Built Environment to ascertain if a formal architectural policy was needed. Interestingly enough, the report published in 2014 said no, England does not need a national policy on Architecture. As a reaction, several institutions and individuals have come together as a civil movement entitled Place Alliance to promote better places and quality environments and press for political action from the government.

6.3.4 The progress of Architectural policy documents

The present section examines the progress of national Architectural policies. First, it analyses the development of official documents on Architecture considering the different time periods before and after the Council Resolution on Architecture Quality in 2001 and the Council Conclusions on Architecture in 2008. Second, it examines the progress of Architectural policy documents in the EU member states that are planning to adopt a policy.

The progress of official policy documents on Architecture

As mentioned above, 18 administrations in the European Union have adopted an official document on Architectural policy at the national level. Additionally, one EU candidate country (Iceland) and one country outside the EU - Norway - has also adopted an official document. In terms of progress, in the last ten to twenty years there has been a remarkable growth in the number of administrations that have adopted official documents on Architectural policy. This number has been increasing since the 1990s and is expected to continue to grow in the years ahead (Table 6.6).
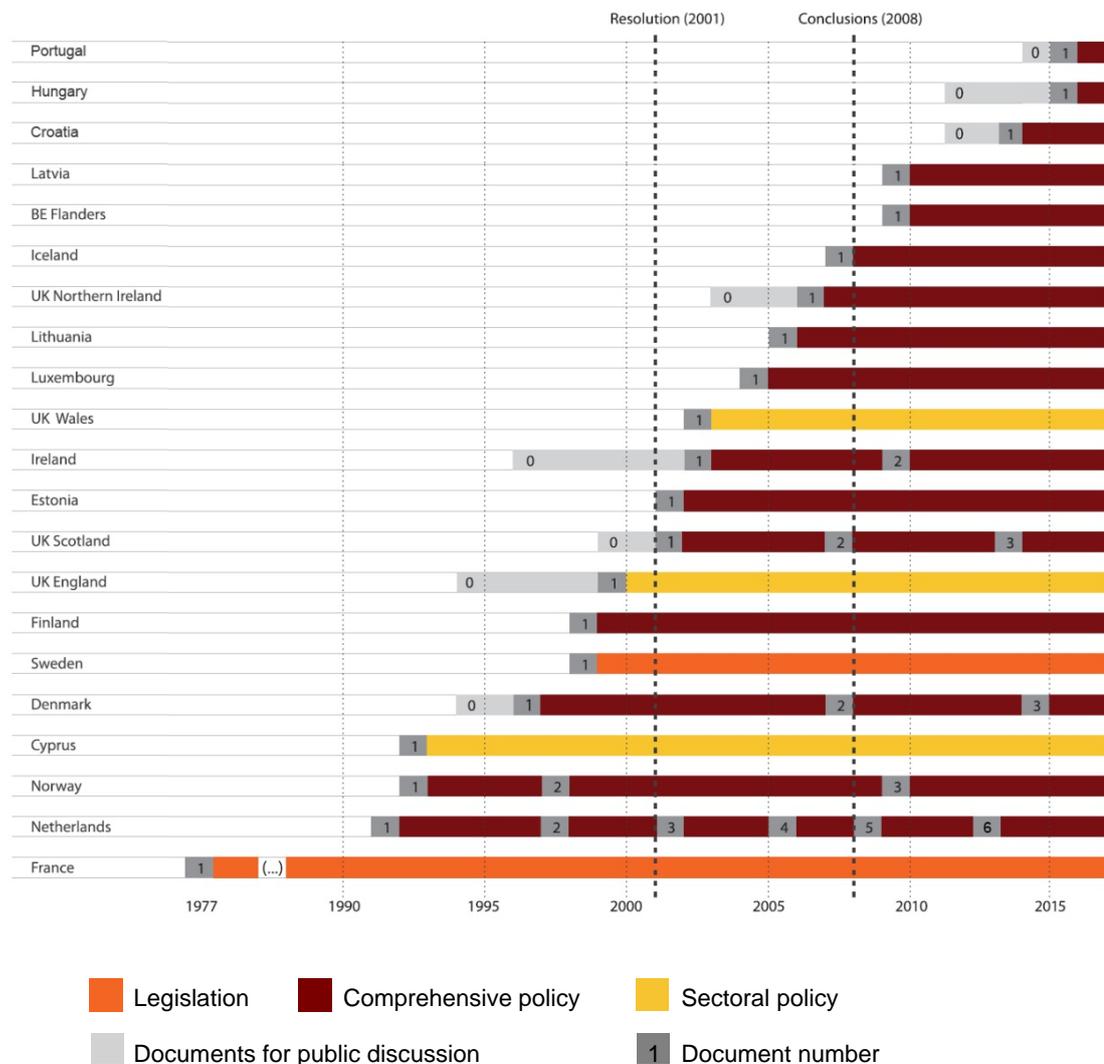
Table 6.6 – Chronological development of Architectural policy documents

In a chronological perspective, some findings can be outlined:

▪ France was the first country to adopt an official document on Architecture at national level in 1977 in the form of legislation; only 14 years later, did The Netherlands adopt an official document on Architectural policy in the form of a comprehensive policy;

▪ only 5 administrations have reviewed their architectural policies: The Netherlands have reviewed their architectural policies every 5 years; Denmark, Ireland, UK Scotland and Norway have reviewed their policy documents with different time schedules;

▪ 13 administrations are still in the first generation of their documents and 7 administrations have submitted their documents to public discussion before approval;

▪ before the adoption of the Council Resolution on Architectural Quality in 2001, only 8 administrations had adopted an official document on Architectural policy;

▪ after the adoption of the Council Conclusions on Architecture in 2008, 5 administrations have adopted an official document on Architectural policy (BE/Flanders, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia and Portugal) and 5 administrations have reviewed their policy documents (Denmark, Ireland, Norway, Scotland and The Netherlands);

Administrations planning to develop a policy document

In the group of administrative structures that do not have an official policy document on Architecture, 11 administrations have mentioned that they are planning to develop one in the near future. Analysing the state of affairs of the administrations that stated that they are planning to develop an official document on Architecture it is possible to identify four types of policy development:

a)   Official policy proposal;

b)   Reports on building culture (Baukultur);

c)   Architectural policy white books;

d)   Policy proposals developed by professional organizations;

These four types will be briefly reviewed below.

a) Official policy proposal

In the group of administrative structures that are planning to develop an official document, Italy has already set up an official policy proposal. Following a legislative approach, the Italian Council of Ministers approved a Bill on Architectural Quality (Legge-Quadro Sulla Qualità Architettonica), in 2008. The Bill was sent to the National Senate for approval at the Seventh Standing Committee (Public education, cultural heritage). The Italian Bill on Architecture establishes instruments for the promotion of Architectural quality, such as competitions, prizes to young professionals who participate in these competitions, the obligation on the government to allocate 2% of spending to new buildings - an amount in excess of one million Euros - the inclusion of works of art, and a three-year plan for the

architectural quality of public buildings. The Bill was approved by the Lower Chamber of the Senate and sent to the higher Chamber. The process, however, came to a halt in 2010.

b) Reports on building culture (Baukultur)

In the group of administrations that mentioned that they were planning to develop an official document on Architectural policy, two countries have a special approach which differentiates them from the rest of the group: Austria and Germany. Due to their administrative structure – federal system – Austria and Germany do not have full responsibility for Architectural policy because Architecture is considered to be also a responsibility of the federal provinces. However, since 2000, both countries have been very active in promoting discussions, debates and publications on architecture and building culture under the concept of *baukultur*. The German expression *baukultur* is a broad concept that can be translated into English as *Building Culture*, and includes all aspects of the built environment, such as the spatial, infrastructure, social and economic context of towns, cities and cultural landscapes. Therefore, the concept integrates architecture, civil engineering, urban and regional planning, heritage conservation interests, landscape architecture, interior design and art for public buildings (Germany 2007).

Germany

In 2000, the German Federal Building Ministry launched *The Architecture and Baukultur Initiative* to stimulate and focus public discussion on the quality of planning and building in Germany. The initiative promoted a series of workshops and events addressing *baukultur* in Germany. Two reports were published, the first in 2001, entitled *Status Report on Building Culture in Germany. Initial Situation and Recommendations*, and the second in 2005 with the title *2nd Status Report on Building Culture in Germany – Information, arguments and concepts* (Policy cover 6.6).

Policy cover 6.6 – *Baukultur* reports in Germany (2001, 2007 and 2015).

In December 2006, the German Federal Government approved an Act establishing the Federal Foundation for Baukultur. The Foundation is based in Potsdam and works as an independent and active platform for all issues relating to architecture and *baukultur*. In the framework of the meeting of the European Forum for Architectural Policies held in Hamburg in April 2007 under the German Presidency of the European Union, the federal government promoted a third publication entitled, *Baukultur! – Planning and Building in Germany*. In 2015, the Foundation for Baukultur has published a biennial report (2014-15)

Austria

Although Austria has a long tradition in architectural mediation that goes back to the early 1990s, in 2002 a movement focused on politics and administration started as a bottom-up movement of all relevant actors in this field: the architectural mediation scene, the chamber of architects and chartered engineering consultants and all the universities and academies where architecture is lectured. Together they form the Austrian Platform for Architectural policy and Building Culture.

A first milestone was a parliamentary inquest on the topic of architecture and building culture in March 2004 with the first Austrian Building Culture Report. In June 2007, following the report's recommendations, the Austrian Parliament agreed on the establishment of an advisory committee for *baukultur* (building culture) at the Austrian Federal Chancellery as a consulting body for the government, in which all federal ministries as well as representatives of the federal provinces and other stakeholders join together to propose measures to improve architecture and *baukultur* in Austria. Moreover, the issuing of a *baukultur* report at a quinquennial rhythm was decided upon, and a second *baukultur* report was published in 2011 (Policy cover 6.7).

Policy cover 6.7 – Baukultur reports in Austria (2006 and 2011).

c) Architectural policy white books

In 2004, the Wallonia-Brussels community of Belgium published a white book on Architectural policy entitled *Qui a peur de l'architecture*? (Who's afraid of architecture?). The white book was an initiative of the Architecture Institute La Cambre with the support of the French-speaking community of Belgium designed to promote a reflection and a discussion on Architectural quality and on what the role of the state and other actors should be, what instruments should be implemented to improve the Architectural climate, etc. More recently, the French-speaking community of Belgium published a second book entitled *Architectures Wallonie-Bruxelles.* This publication gives an overview of the current situation of architecture in Wallonia and Brussels, and appears five years after the publication of the white book on architecture.

d) Policy proposals developed by professional organizations

It is interesting to point out that several professional architects' organizations have been very active in promoting and pressing government institutions to adopt an official document on Architectural policy. Since 2007, the professional architects' organizations of at least 9 countries have already developed Architectural policy proposals (Table 6.7).

Year	Country	Name
2007	Malta	The Urban Challenge
2007	Turkey	Towards an Architecture Policy for Turkey
2008	Visegrád Four*	Architecture Policy of the Visegrád Four
2009	Czech Republic	The Policy on Architecture of the Czech Republic
2009	Sweden	Architecture and Politics. An Architectural Policy for Sweden, 2010-15
2009	Poland	Polish Architectural Policy, Concerning the Quality of Landscape, Public Space and Architecture
2009	Portugal	Architecture for All: a Public Policy on Architecture for Portugal.
2010	Croatia	Apolitika 2013. Guidelines for Architectural policy
2010	Romania	The Policy on Architecture in Romania 2010-2015. The Culture of the Built Environment and the Quality of Life

* Visegrád Four - is an alliance of four central European states: Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia.

Table 6.7 – Architectural policy proposals developed by professional organizations.

Professional architects' organizations (associations, orders or chambers) in general are well-informed about international developments through contacts with their counterparts in international meetings, newsletters and personal networks. Additionally, the promotion of Architecture quality for a better built environment is a statutory objective of most architectural professional organizations. Therefore, it is logical that these organizations press their governments to develop and implement a national programme / policy on Architecture through the development of concrete policy proposals.

Administrations not planning to develop a policy document

Of the 37 administrations surveyed, only five stated that they are not planning to develop an official document outlining a government policy on Architecture: Bulgaria, Greece, Slovenia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Switzerland. In Bulgaria and

Greece, what is being implemented in terms of Architectural promotion is not clear because the replies to the questionnaire were very succinct, referring only that they are not planning to develop a policy document. Although Slovenia has also pointed out that it is not planning to develop an official document, it is important to recall that the Slovenian Government published an Architectural policy proposal for Slovenia in 2008.

FYROM is one of the current EU candidate countries that is expected to adopt several legislation packages as a condition for being accepted as an EU member state. Switzerland is not part of the European Union and is not compelled to follow the EU guidance. Although the Swiss authorities have mentioned in their reply that Architectural policy is not a responsibility of the federal government, the Swiss Federal Government has recently included *baukultur* in its Cultural policy, following the German and Austrian model.

6.4 Final remarks

Although Architecture has long been the subject of public intervention, whether through public building commissioning, development controls mechanisms or cultural heritage / conservation policy (Champy, 2001; Gutman, 1988), for the majority of the countries that have a national policy on Architecture it was the first time that they have set up a high policy statement under the umbrella of Architecture. The adoption of a formal Architectural policy by the EU Council in 2001 represented an important milestone in the evolution path of Architecture as a public policy in the European panorama. From the sequence of events described in the first section and the progress of formal Architectural policies illustrated in the second section, it is possible to conclude that a Europeanization process has been occurring in two directions: a bottom-up movement led by the member states that already have a formal Architectural policy and through the EFAP activities. Together, they lobby and influence EU policy making; and a top-down movement in which the EU policy on Architecture works as a catalyst in the policy development process of the member states that are starting to develop their own policies, which are influenced by the EU guidance.

With this in mind, this thesis has decided to select the comprehensive policy on Architecture for deeper examination. This will allow us to explore the added-value and impact of policies on the system of design governance, and ultimately, assess its effectiveness. The next Chapter will examine the discourse of *comprehensive* Architectural policies, that is, the main ideas and values underlying this new type of broad policies. It will start by examining the main principles and grounds, the scope of the policies and its main aims. Looking at three national contexts, Chapter 8 will discuss the Architectural policies impact on the design governance of the built environment and on the set of instruments used. Finally, Chapter 9 will outline the most significant conclusions of this dissertation, revisit the thesis' key hypothesis and advance a set of recommendations for future research.

7 Architectural policies discourse

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the reader to the Europeanization process of Architecture as public policy. As noted, the formalization of an Architectural policy at European level was the political recognition of the importance of Architecture for quality of life providing supranational guidance on the subject and, more importantly, political legitimacy to the several national Architectural policies that would be developed in the following years. Nevertheless, as was seen, the member states have adopted different types of policy documents, in which the *comprehensive* policy stands out for being adopted by the majority of the countries (see section 6.3). In fact, the main innovation of *comprehensive* policy was not the introduction of a new regulatory framework combining the wide range of design regulations arising from the different sectoral policies but the creation of a strategic policy focused on the concept of Architecture aimed at the promotion of high-quality built environments. Assuming that the government should have a leadership role, the comprehensive policies delineate a set of strategic objectives and a number of policy instruments to raise social and cultural awareness of the value of architecture and urban design.

This Chapter's main focus is to examine the discourse of a *comprehensive* policy on Architecture, namely what are the main ideas and values underlying this new type of national policy, which problems are they supposed to solve and which target areas they prioritize in their action plans. A first part will analyse the Architectural policy grounds, starting with the exploration of the main concepts that sustain the scope of the policies and the reasons presented by the governments to develop a national Architectural policy. This will be followed by a review of the problems that the policies are aiming to solve which in theory justify a formal policy in this area. Finally, the aims and visions of the policies will also be reviewed. A second part will explore the Architectural policy target areas and objectives in order to present a panoramic view on how the policies intend to achieve their broad aims. As will be seen, the policy objectives have been expanding over the years, covering a diversity of policy areas, such as participation and awareness, architectural heritage, internationalization and innovation.

7.2 Basis for a comprehensive policy on Architecture

7.2.1 Main concepts and definitions

As mentioned in Section 6.3.3, a *comprehensive* policy on Architecture is an official policy in which the government defines the main goals and objectives to promote the design quality of the built environment. However, the term *Architecture* has different acceptations and extensions, being considered a polysemic term (see review on Section 2.2.2). After analysing the different comprehensive architectural policies, it was possible to observe that most documents lay down a broad definition of Architecture, which comprehends the design of all built environment. Some policies also provide an explanation for the meaning of Architecture quality. To be able to frame the conceptual basis of the comprehensive policies, this section will briefly review these two key concepts and, whenever relevant, contrast them with the theoretical debate held in Chapter 2.

The meaning of Architecture

As mentioned above, the majority of the comprehensive policies collected see *Architecture* in its broad sense encompassing the built environment as a whole (Denmark, 2007; Ireland, 2002, 2009; Lithuania, 2005; Northern Ireland, 2005; Norway, 2009). The Norwegian policy is a good example of this approach when it states that: 'In its broadest sense, architecture comprises all our man-made surroundings. It embraces buildings and infrastructure, outdoor spaces and landscape. It is about individual buildings and buildings in interaction, about the totality of towns, population centres and landscapes' (Norway 2009) (Policy cover 7.1).
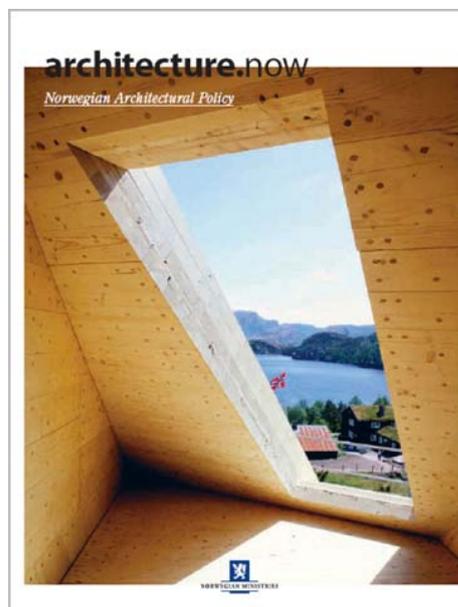
Policy cover 7.1 – Norwegian Architectural policy (2009)

The same broad perspective is adopted by the Irish Architectural policy: 'Architecture and design run from the scale of the building detail, such as a door handle, to the building, to the street and even to the scale of a landscape, town or city' (Ireland 2002).

However, this broad understanding of Architecture as built environment design is very similar to the definition of urban design, which is focused on creating better places for people (Carmona et al. 2003). As seen in Section 2.2.3, some authors argue that the development of urban design as an autonomous disciplinary field and professional practice gives sufficient legitimacy to claim urban design as being different and separated from architecture. This position is contested by some architects, who see urban design as a component of architecture that should be practiced only by architects. Despite this ongoing debate, the majority of the member states with a formal national policy in this domain see Architecture as a design activity transversal to several fields and scales of intervention focused on the quality of the public realm.

This debate is aggravated by contextual factors, in which traditions and conceptual frames change from place to place (see section 5.3). Some countries prefer to use other keywords, such as, 'place' in the UK or 'spatial-design' in The Netherlands, to complement the meaning of Architecture and avoid misunderstandings that would restrict the policy scope. Interestingly, in Germanic countries, although they do not have a formal policy, they have been promoting the concept of *baukultur*, which is even broader than the term Architecture. In the same token, in 2015, the Swedish Government issued a discussion document, entitled *The designed environment: a new policy for architecture and design* (Policy cover 7.2). Therefore, the term Architecture, even when it is understood as built environment design, has been losing strength as the subject expands to wider environments, where other concepts appear to better portray the complex set of interactions, rules and norms involved in the built environment.

Policy cover 7.2 – Architectural policy of Sweden (Public consultation document, 2015)

Considering that a comprehensive policy on Architecture aims to improve the quality of the design of the built environment, it would be expected that the policies would give an explanation on the meaning of Architectural quality. Probably due to the complexity of the concept, the majority of the documents just make slight references to its meaning. Interestingly, most of these short references are inspired by the Vitruvian universal principles. For example, the Danish policy (2007) refers: 'Already in ancient Greece and Rome, architecture was defined as the art of creating coherence between construction, function and beauty in a structure'. Some of the documents even argue that these principles remain as valid today as they were in ancient times (Finland 1998, Luxembourg 2004).

One of the few documents that provide an explanation on the meaning of Architecture quality is the first Dutch Architectural policy of 1991. Also inspired by the Vitruvian trilogy, the 1991 Dutch policy states that Architecture quality is defined by three aspects: user value (utility or functionality), cultural value (beauty) and future value (durability), adding an explanation for the meaning of these three sets of values. At the end, the Dutch policy stresses that the concept of Architecture quality does not only refer to aesthetic quality, but to an integral idea of quality in which 'use, cultural and future values are inseparably connected' (the Netherlands, 1996). This conceptual basis of an integral idea of quality remains intact throughout the successive Architectural Dutch policies (Stegmeijer et al. 2012).

Again, the contextual factor is determinant for the extent of meaning of quality. Because in the UK, architecture is generally seen as the design of buildings, the Scottish and Northern Ireland policies prefer to introduce the meaning of *good design* instead of the notion of *architecture quality*. Being intertwined concepts, the Scottish policy, for example, argues that good design is an innovative and creative process that delivers value which cannot be reduced only to the external appearance of a building or to aesthetic concerns (Scotland, 2013). It goes on to add that good design can deliver the following values: physical value, functional value, viability, social value, identity and community, and environmental value (Ibid, p.8). Besides the concept of good design, it describes the different qualities of successful places. Similarly to the theoretical discussion in Section 2.3.3, the Scottish policy refers that successful places have six qualities: 1) distinctive; 2) safe and pleasant; 3) easy to move around; 4) welcoming; 5) adaptable; and 6) resource efficient. In sum, the notion of Architecture quality established by comprehensive policies follows the same holistic perspective of design quality discussed in Section 2.3.2, independently/whether or not if it is speaking about buildings or places, or both.

7.2.2 The scope of comprehensive Architectural policies

As seen above, comprehensive Architectural policies lay down a broad definition of Architecture as built environment design. Following this conceptual framework, the scope of the policies includes not only the design of individual buildings but also the design of all the elements that compose the built environment, such as buildings, public spaces, infrastructures and landscapes. To give an example, the Architectural policy proposal for

Northern Ireland, published by the Arts Council in 2003, refers that 'the remit of the architectural policy covers urban design, design of the built environment in the countryside, landscape, infrastructure as well as architecture in the urban locations' (Arts Council, 2003). Adding to these design fields, the document mentions that the policy scope embraces all aspects of the design of the built environment, from the macro-scale to the finest level of detail, including the following:

- 'the nature and quality of the public domain;
- the relationship between buildings, streets, squares, parks, waterways and other public spaces that make up the public domain;
- the design of transport infrastructure such as roads, bridges, canals, etc.;
- the design and detail of buildings for public and private use;
- the detailing of streetscapes and landscapes (Ibidem).

Following the Arts Council recommendations, the Government of Northern Ireland approved a formal Architectural policy in 2005, adopting the following statement: 'By applying architectural aesthetics and planning principles and by integrating landscape, we can create buildings and places which are attractive, sustainable and uplifting (Northern Ireland, 2005, p.22). Thus, the scope of the Northern Irish policy includes buildings and places (Policy cover 7.3).

Policy cover 7.3 – Architectural policy of Northern Ireland (2005)

Almost all comprehensive Architectural policies collected by the European survey present the same broad scope. This means that the object of the policies is extremely vast and that it must involve not only design professionals but also a wide range of stakeholders and development actors (this point will be discussed further ahead). In fact, the broad scope of the policies is the crux of discussion on the architectural policies' effectiveness. The policies diffuse target groups hinder its capacity of influence as it must aim at a behavioural change of a multiplicity of actors - a *societal* change - which is extremely complex and a long-term investment (see section 4.3.1). Nevertheless, the broad policy scope was not always present. In the case of the Netherlands and Scotland, their first generation policy documents

where mainly focused on buildings and their immediate surroundings. With the development of second generation documents their scopes broadened to wider scales. This expansion will be briefly reviewed below.

Dutch Architectural policies: from Architecture to spatial design

The Netherlands were the first country to adopt a comprehensive policy on Architecture in 1991 (see Section 6.3.2). The scope of this pioneer policy document was focused on the scale level of individual buildings and their immediate surroundings (urban design). Since then, the Dutch policy has been expanding 'from a concentration on buildings to an action plan that encompassed concerns with landscape, planning and cultural history' (Hague, 2012). In fact, besides the expansion to higher scales, each new Dutch Architectural policy introduced new themes bridging the Architectural policy with other policy sectors (Table 7.1).

Period	Title	Scope / scale	Main themes
1991-95	Space for Architecture Dutch Government Policy on Architecture	Architecture (Individual buildings and their surroundings)	- Stimulate a favourable architectural climate - State example (commissioning)
1996-00	Architecture of Space Memorandum on Architectural Policy	Architecture, urban design, landscape, infrastructure	- Expansion to higher scale levels - Market and cultural objectives
2001-04	Shaping the Netherlands Architectural Policy	Idem	- Architecture is everyone's business - Shaping the Netherlands (major projects)
2005-08	Action Programme on Spatial Planning and Culture Architecture and Belvedere Policy	Idem + Cultural heritage (Belvedere)	- Combining Architectural policy and Belvedere policy
2009-12	A Culture of Design Vision of architecture and Spatial Design	Idem + Regional design	- Priority for design: structural enrichment in governmental projects and programmes - Reinforcing urban planning and regional design - Redesignation and redevelopment
2013-16	Building on the strength of design Action Agenda for Architecture and Spatial Design	Idem	- The power of design - Designing in a changing context - Urgent design tasks

Table 7.1 – Scope and main themes of the Architectural policies in the Netherlands

The second Dutch Architectural policy launched the expansion of the policy scope. Although the 1996 policy was based on the ideas of the previous document, it introduced a major shift in the policy discourse expanding the policy scope for higher scales of design. The title of the new policy represented an ambition to expand and upscale the messages of the first season. Instead of speaking of *space for architecture*, the new Dutch policy argued that it was more appropriate to speak about the *architecture of space* and to 'link the pursuit of quality from the first memorandum on architectural policy to the larger social and spatial problems in

future'(Ibidem). Because Architecture quality was strongly influenced by wider disciplinary fields it was crucial to involve them in the Architectural policy. Hence, the policy should focus on the notion of *spatial quality* and promote the 'cultural meaning and design of space', expanding the concerns about design quality to the scale levels of urban development, physical planning, landscape architecture and infrastructure design (Stegmeijer et al. 2012) One of the practical results of the broader policy scope was the enlargement of the composition of the *Platform for Architectural Policy* to four ministries (see section 8.2.3).

In 2001, a third version of the Architectural policy was adopted. There was a repetition of earlier calls to break down departmental silos and for designers to be given opportunities to use their creative powers (Hague, 2012). In 2005, a new policy was presented, which combined the architectural policy and the Belvedere policy and provided the framework for a variety of policy and operations. Therefore, it maintained the same broad scope but added culture heritage concerns. The following two Dutch policies, published in 2009 and 2013, placed an emphasis on the role of architecture and spatial design to achieve a better spatial quality in the Netherlands. The more recent policy (2013) maintains the same scope: 'Architecture and spatial design are essential for a good system of spatial planning and a cultural offering that attracts national and international recognition. These applied disciplines are capable of contributing creatively to complex challenges in the physical environment when developing functional, attractive, innovative and affordable solutions'. Therefore, the scope of Dutch Architectural policy continues to be increasingly vast, and the term *architecture* is always followed by the concept of spatial design as a way of broadening the agenda.

Scottish architectural policies: from architecture to place-making

Similarly to the Dutch case, the scope of the Scottish Architectural policy has progressively expanded as new policy versions were adopted. In fact, the scope of the first Scottish Architectural policy was mainly focused on promoting the design quality of buildings:

> '*This document sets out the principles that underpin the Executive's commitment to the promotion of good architecture and good building design and the actions we intend to take to encourage improvements in the quality of our buildings'* (Scotland 2001, p. 5).

The restricted scope of the first Scottish policy was in part due to a parallel national design policy entitled *Designing places*, adopted in 2002, which aimed at improving the design quality of places and of the built environment (Scotland 2002). In addition, as mentioned previously, in the UK there is a strong professional autonomy between design professionals, namely among architects and planners. Nevertheless, in 2006, the second Scottish policy would affirm that there was a need for expanding the policy scope to a wider urban and rural design agenda:

> *'Great places are formed from far more than the individual buildings that they contain. Our best urban environments are created where an imaginative and*

appropriate design approach has been consistently applied to the relationship
between buildings and the streets, squares, parks, waterways and other spaces
which make up the public domain' (Scotland 2007, p. 3).

Therefore, the scope of the Scottish policy was expanded to all built environment reinforcing the concept of place-making. More recently, in 2013, the third Scottish policy confirmed this expansion and merged the architectural policy with the place policy (see section 8.2.3). Although the fist Dutch and Scottish policies had a restricted scope, their second and following policies progressively expanded their scopes to a much wider remit, including concepts as 'place' and 'spatial design'. Similarly to the discussion held above, the following question comes to surface: is Architecture, even with capital letter, an adequate 'key word' to embrace such a multidisciplinary and complex field as the design of the built environment? Are there other 'key words' more equipped to deal with this matter? This will be explored in the thesis Conclusions.

7.2.3 Grounds for Architectural policies

The present section will explore the main reasons presented by the policies for the government to pursue a public policy on Architecture. As will be seen, all comprehensive Architectural policies present a common discourse that proclaims the importance of Architecture for citizens' quality of life. As a consequence, the government has the responsibility to promote Architectural quality. Adding to this, some polices refer that a good living environment is a constitutional right of all citizens while others defend that developing an Architectural policy will provide better coherence between sectoral policies. In this sense, it is possible to identify four main arguments for the adoption of a comprehensive policy on Architecture: a) architecture is a matter of public interest; b) government responsibility; c) right to a good living environment; and d) better efficiency in government policy. These four arguments will be briefly reviewed below.

a) Architecture as a matter of public interest

The first argument for the development of a public policy on Architecture is based on the public recognition of the importance of Architecture for the improvement of citizens' quality of life for social, economic, environmental and cultural reasons. Looking at the first comprehensive policy, developed by the Netherlands in 1991, its preface starts with the following statement:

> *'It is the first time that the Netherlands Government has published a policy*
> *document on architecture; this represents a significant step forward, as it is a <u>matter</u>*
> *<u>of great public concern</u> that good design should be the norm in our built*
> *environment. After all, each and every one of us is confronted daily by the products*
> *of the architect's drawing board'* (Netherlands 1991, p. 2)

Framing the design of the built environment as a *matter of public concern* provided political legitimacy to Dutch politicians for the adoption of a new national policy. Although the public interest of Architecture may not be explicitly mentioned in all comprehensive policies, the

same underlying principle is always present. To give an example, the Irish policy, adopted in 2002, started with the following statement:

> '*Everyone experiences architecture, whether we think consciously about it or not, and the quality of our built environment profoundly affects the quality of our lives. (…) It is <u>vital</u> government recognizes the social and cultural importance of architecture in society and promotes the achievement of a built environment of good quality.'* (Ireland 2002, p. 4)

Therefore, as in all public policies, the pursuit of the public interest is the main policy ground for the development of an Architectural policy (Kazemian and Rönn 2009). As was discussed in Chapter 4, the identification and recognition of a policy problem is fundamental for its inclusion in the policy agenda and be addressed by government. As such, policy formulation is always connected to the system of values, norms and ideas of a policy community in a given period in time. As will be seen in the three case studies, the rise of Architecture as an issue of public concern has not come from the emptiness (see Section 8.2.2).

<u>b) Government responsibility</u>

Following the public recognition of the importance of Architecture, some policies add the argument that government should promote Architecture quality because it has the responsibility to achieve good living environments. For example, the Estonian Architectural policy (2002) starts by affirming that the state is responsible for ensuring the basic rights of its citizens and is accountable by the quality of the built environment (Policy cover 7.4).
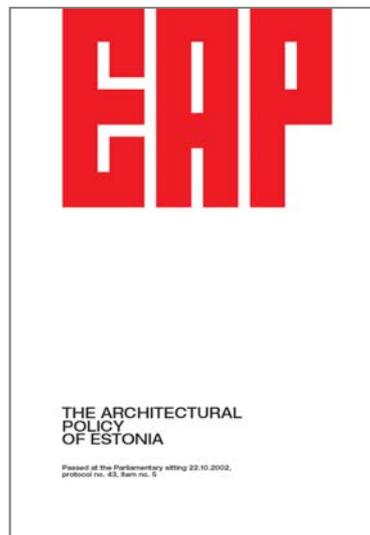
Policy cover 7.4 – Estonian Architectural policy (2002)

Another good example of this approach is made by the first Scottish policy, adopted in 2001, which lay down the following policy statement:

> '*The Executive has made a commitment to a policy on architecture because we believe that a concern for the quality of the built environment in our cities, towns and rural areas is a necessary responsibility of government.*' (2001, p. 6)

Therefore, the Scottish policy adds the general principle that the concern for the quality of the built environment is a governmental responsibility. Following this statement, the Scottish policy explains that Architectural quality is a government responsibility because:

> *'1) The quality of the built environment is important to the furtherance and delivery of the broader social and economic policy objectives;*
>
> *2) A concern for the quality of new building is part of the government responsibility for the maintenance and continuity of our built heritage;*
>
> *3) The promotion of architecture is part of the government responsibility for the promotion of national culture'* (Ibidem).

Therefore, the government should develop an Architectural policy because it has an inherent responsibility in the promotion of a better built environment. As was seen in Section 3.2, the production of the built environment is a complex field where multiple actors intervene and where several interests are at stake. In this context, to achieve a good built environment it is necessary a constant endeavour from all actors involved and the state also has to do its part.

c) The right to good living environment

Similarly to the previous argument, some policies state that the government has the responsibility to promote the quality of Architecture and of the built environment because all citizens have the Constitutional right to enjoy a good living environment:

> *'The societal, cultural and economic values of architecture are great. (…) It provides the means by which to create a good living environment - which every citizen has the right to enjoy - as well as high quality architecture (…). Our constitution guarantees everyone fundamental rights to a healthy environment (…). The government's architectural policy promotes the realisation of these rights.'* (Finland 1998, p. 5)

In the set of documents collected, only the Finnish and the Portuguese policies make an explicit reference to a Constitutional principle (Finland, 1998, Portugal, 2014). Nevertheless, some documents also refer the right to a good living environment as a fundament for the development of a policy on Architecture. For example, Lithuania states that:

> *'Good living environment is a fundamental right of every citizen. Architecture and its spatial distribution encompasses more and more surrounding environment, therefore protection of architectural heritage and the quality of modern creation are strategically important public interests'* (Lithuania 2005, p. 2) (Policy cover 7.5).
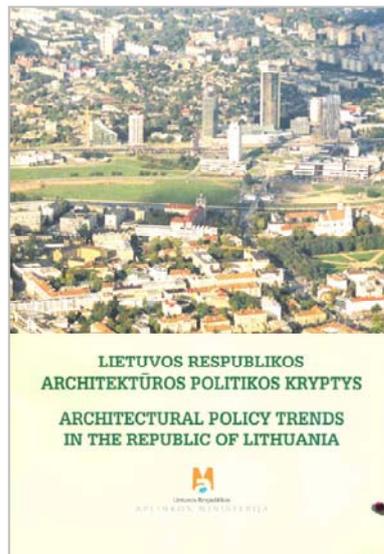
Policy cover 7.5 – Lithuanian Architectural Policy (2005)

d) Better efficiency in government policy

Some policies argue that there is a need for developing a comprehensive policy on Architecture to improve the efficiency of the government action on the promotion of Architectural quality. For example, the 1991 Dutch policy refers that although the government has had a huge influence on the production of new buildings the initiatives to promote architectural quality have been developed at an individual basis and distributed by different sectors:

'*until now the government has not had a coherent policy on architecture; initiatives have been on an ad hoc basis and concentrated on various sectors. The new policy is designed to promote greater cohesion and to enable the government to exert an influence in a variety of roles - as the client, as the provider of capital or grants, in a supervisory capacity, and as the authority which lays down regulations or specifies general conditions*' (Netherlands 1991, p. 2)

In the same perspective, the 2007 Norwegian policy refers that:

'*This architectural policy document is intended to help and encourage coordination and collaboration across administrative boundaries, so as to strengthen the overall effort and make it more efficient.*' (Norway 2009, p. 5)

In this sense, one of the purposes of the Architectural policy is to help to improve the coordination and collaboration between the several sectors of the state. The problem of interdepartmental coordination will be further developed in Chapter 8.

7.2.4 The values and benefits of Architecture

As referred above, one of the main arguments for the development of a public policy on architecture is the public recognition of the importance of Architecture to improve citizens' quality of life. To support this argument, to a greater or lesser extent, the policies develop a

discourse about the benefits and values of Architecture for the well-being of individuals and society. Analyzing the different policies, it is possible to systematize the values and benefits of Architecture in four main dimensions: a) social; b) cultural; c) environmental; and d) economic. These four dimensions will be briefly reviewed below.

a) The social value of Architecture

Almost all policies argue that Architecture plays a central role in the definition of the quality of the built environment, which comprises the physical environment of the majority of human activities (Finland 1998, Ireland 2002, Denmark 2007). In this sense, the essential purpose of Architecture is to provide answers to the changing needs of society by providing compliant and qualified everyday life environments. For example, the 1999 Scottish policy states:

> '*Architecture seeks to provide environments in which people can live and work more enjoyably and efficiently and which encourage social and working communities to flourish. Through good, imaginative design we can provide housing that meets the many needs of family life, which creates opportunities for encounter and social interaction and which strengthens community life. (…) Our ability to meet these needs, to meet our social objectives for an inclusive society that provides opportunity for all, largely depends on the quality of the built environments we make.*' (Scotland 1999a, p. 12)

Therefore, Architecture has an important social value because it brings coherence and quality to the built environments for the benefit of all citizens, creating more enjoyable social spaces which encourage communities to interact and socialize. Based on this reasoning, some policies even argue that Architecture quality should not been seen as a luxury but as a response to social needs, adding that '*good architecture contributes to our sense of well being, both as individuals and as a community and has a positive role to play in mitigating social exclusion*' (Ireland, p.4).

b) The cultural value of Architecture

A second dimension is based on the cultural value of Architecture, being argued that it creates a sense of place, local identity and ownership that contributes to the well being of society (Northern Ireland, 2006). A good example is set by the different Irish Architectural policies, which affirm that the 'architecture of a people is an expression of its culture and an integral part of its identity' (Ireland 2002, 2009). Another good example is made by the first Scottish policy:

> '*The architecture and buildings of our towns, cities and rural settlements are a repository of our common culture and heritage, they provide continuity and a unique sense of history and tradition.*' (Scotland 1999a, p. 9)

As such, considering that Architecture reflects the society and period in which it was created, it then constitutes an important part of the cultural heritage, history and identity of a given place. Broadening the scope, the Finnish policy (1998) emphasizes that the

Architecture also enriches the culture landscapes through the creation of meaning and identity. Finally, some policies highlight that what is built today will be the architectural heritage of the future, which means that Architecture quality is important to give continuity to the cultural heritage of the present, not only to contemporary society, but also for future generations (Ireland, 2002).

c) The environmental value of Architecture

A third dimension is based on the environmental value of Architecture. Within this remit, several policies acknowledge that new challenges as sustainable development or climate change are changing the way buildings and cities should be built. Buildings have a strong impact on the natural environment because they consume energy, materials and natural resources in their construction and use, generating waste and contributing to atmospheric pollution. Low quality buildings increase these impacts as 'poor standards of design and construction represent a waste of effort, energy, materials and opportunity' (Ireland, 2002). In this sense, it is argued that good design has an important role in mitigating the adverse effects of buildings in the environment by minimising energy consumption and allowing experts to evaluate the development sustainability prior to starting the project (Hungary 2015, p. 108) (Policy cover 7.6).

Policy cover 7.6 – Hungary Architectural policy (2015)

As such, Architecture has an important environmental value because good design is crucial to achieve a more eco-friendly built environment. Nevertheless, it is fundamental to integrate environmental performance concerns in the design and construction process based on the assessment of the whole lifecycle of buildings (Norway, 2009). Although there is a widespread agreement on these principles, several policies recognize that to ensure that they are really integrated in design and construction processes will call for a change in the thinking and understanding of the purpose of buildings and of the role of Architecture. As discussed in Section 4.3.5, these types of policy objectives that involve culture change are always a complex and long-term process. As will be seen in the next section, this issue of culture change is in fact one of the main challenges that Architectural policies have to face.

<u>d) The economic value of Architecture</u>

The fourth and last dimension concentrates on the economic value of architecture. Following the first Scottish policy (1999), the economic benefit of Architecture can be divided into four ways:

- Firstly, design quality can have a positive effect in urban and rural regeneration;

- Secondly, design quality is important for the economy competitiveness and wealth creation;

- Thirdly, quality built environment contributes to attract inward investment and tourism;

- Fourthly, good design creates a reservoir of skills with export value.

The first economic benefit is based on the argument that architecture quality plays an important role in stimulating local economies and promoting regeneration, renewal and environmental improvement. Reinforcing this, some policies refer that attractive neighbourhoods contribute to economic development and prevent stagnation, concluding that good design helps to regenerate local economies and distressed urban areas through the enhancement of environmental quality (Denmark, 2007). The second economic benefit is based on the argument that design quality represents a good investment and is a potentiating factor for economic growth. For example, the Scottish policy (1999) refers that buildings represent a strong investment for all activities, and that 'good building design can contribute directly to improving the efficiency of commercial activities and industrial processes.'

The third economic benefit is based on the argument that high quality Architecture positively strengthens the identity of a city or region boosting economic growth. In this perspective, it is argued that the design and place quality is an important factor for the attractiveness of cities and regions, which promotes inward investments and develops the tourism industry. Some policies place an emphasis on the role of iconic architecture arguing that architectural beacons are an advantage for international competition for attention in tourist cultural routes. The fourth and last economic benefit is based on the argument that architecture constitutes an important resource for the internationalization and export of national skills. In this context, design and construction expertise and skills are valuable resources not only domestically but also abroad, and contribute to the internationalization of the economy (Scotland, 1999). Some policies argue that Architecture is also a strong business with a major potential for growth. For this reason, architectural firms should interconnect with other sectors of the economy in order to facilitate its internationalization (Denmark, 2007).

7.2.5 Problems and challenges for Architectural policy

Besides the values and benefits of Architecture as policy motive, it is also relevant to explore what are the main policy problems that governments are trying to address by adopting a

formal policy on Architecture. As discussed in Section 4.2.3, the definition of policy problems will always be influenced by the way a policy community sees a given phenomenon in a certain period in time and place. In this sense, the problems faced by Architectural policies today are not the same of the first policies[69]. However, due to space limitation, this research will not be able to analyse the evolution of the comprehensive Architectural policy problems. Nonetheless, from a general perspective, it is possible to identify five main policy problems:

1. Low quality of the built environment;
2. Lack of a civic culture in appreciation of design quality;
3. Architectural quality is not valued by the markets;
4. Governance issues and legal dysfunctions;
5. Sustainability and climate challenges.

These five issues will be briefly reviewed below.

1. Low quality of the built environment

One of the first problems presented by the Architectural policies is the low level of quality of the built environment. Although it is recognized that nowadays the urban settings are better than they were in the past, provided by a greater range of construction methods and materials, it is argued that much of the built environment remains deeply unsatisfactory. To support this argument, for example, the Scottish policy (1999) provides the following picture:

> *'Many new buildings are monotonous, spiritless in design and do not relate to their surroundings. Many parts of our towns and cities have become anonymous and placeless. Much new housing is of mediocre and indifferent design quality (...). Much commercial building is self-referential and devoid of public value. And many of our historic towns and cities have been subject to pastiche designs which mimic superficial stylistic elements but which debase genuine heritage.'* (Scotland 1999a, p. 15)

Probably for the sake of national pride, such a critical account of the built environment is not often evoked by the Architectural policies. Nevertheless, the argument of the low level of quality can be found in several policies. For example, the Dutch policy (Netherlands 2008) refers that 'there is a growing dissatisfaction about the way the Netherlands itself looks and a widespread felling (…) that the landscape of the Netherlands is cluttering'. It then explains that the low spatial quality in the Netherlands was due to rapid spatial changes and a lack of cohesion in the implementation of those changes. In the same view, the Architectural policy proposal for Northern Ireland (2003) points out that the emergence of poor quality Architecture was due to a laissez-faire approach to urban design accompanied by a period of severe political and economic difficulties. It then adds that the combination of these factors produced a serious deterioration in the quality of the urban environment and a

---

[69] In the beginning of the 1990s, the effects of climate change were not considered a relevant policy issue. Today, they are present in almost all policy agendas of western countries.

decreasing distinctiveness in local character: 'the need to replace buildings quickly (…) meant that developers were rarely impeded by lower priorities such as quality.'

2. Lack of a civic culture in appreciation of design quality

A second problem that Architectural policies are trying to address is the need to raise awareness of the value of design quality. Because the social production of built environment is a complex field where multi-actors intervene, it will only be possible to raise the design quality of the built environment if all actors and stakeholders are aware of the importance of Architectural quality (see Section 3.2). For example, the Architectural policy of Luxembourg emphasize that without an interested and well-informed public it is difficult to achieve a good level of quality (Policy cover 7.7).

Policy cover 7.7 – Architectural policy of Luxembourg (2004)

This issue of raising awareness is present in all comprehensive Architectural policies. In fact, the societal perspective of Architecture is at the basis of the Architectural policies discourse. Therefore, the main argument made by the policies is that in a market-based architecture, the best way to influence the quality of supply is to have an informed and educated demand (Figueiredo, 2011). This is in line with the theoretical discussion held on Chapter 3, in which it was seen that to improve the design quality of the built environment, the state should direct its efforts not only to the production side of Architecture and design professionals but also to the consumption side and development clients to 'cultivate an enlightened audience that could not only appreciate, but also demand quality in architectural design' (Ibidem).

3. Architectural quality is not valued by the markets

Related to the previous problem, some Architectural policies raise the discussion about what should be the roles of government and market in terms of design quality. In fact, one of the main problems that architectural policies have to face is how to 'conciliate market interests and cultural objectives' (Netherlands 1996). The policy refers that there is a natural tension between the architectural policy goals and the building and planning reality because under market conditions architectural quality is most of the times regarded as "superficial" and is

not seen as a safe investment. Hence, architectural policy should focus on how to motivate commercial interests to invest in design quality to enable the progress of quality objectives in anticipation of market conditions. For example, the following consideration is made:

> '*Investments in architectural quality are often viewed as uncertain and high risk undertakings, which are not necessary from the standpoint of market considerations because, generally, it is easy to sell such standard products. Special attention to architectural quality is often regarded as unnecessary*' (Ibidem, p. 14).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the construction industry, estate promoters and urban developers are usually guided by commercial interests and market considerations which do not assume a longer-term view. Because many of the building and urban investments have a relatively short- time period, they generally result in conventional types of houses and land divisions, taking little notice of long-term social and cultural changes, such as demographic developments, new forms of housing, working, transport and recreation, and the effect of new technologies (Ibid). Therefore, some policies argue that new houses and urbanizations do not provide much room for future requirements and needs, even though they may meet acceptable aesthetic standards when completed. This is in line with the previous point, where it is was seen that there is a need for stimulating an appreciation of cultural responsibility on the part of commercial interests and to encourage knowledge and commitment on the demand side of the market.

4. Governance issues and legal dysfunctions

Adding to the previous points, some policies mention that it is necessary to develop an effective organizational and legislative framework that facilitates the production of high quality built environment. For example, the Irish policy affirms that a key requirement for the production of a built environment of high quality is a 'system that facilitates creative interaction between the procurement process, the design and construction process and the regulatory environment' (Ireland 1996). Aware of this requirement, the Irish policy recognizes that there are several impediments to the achievement of better standards in the built environment, in terms of organizational structure, legislative and regulatory frameworks and established practice. As such, one of the roles of Architectural policy is to ensure that such interaction is facilitated and sustained in the interests of the quality of life of the community as a whole by 'aligning the state in that direction and creating a framework within which the building professions and other organizations can focus their efforts more effectively' (Ibidem)

In a more synthetic discourse, the Finnish architectural policy of 1998 states that the planning and building legislation is a central tool defining the frameworks for a balanced development of habitats and building. Therefore, the Finnish Government should review its legislative texts with the objective of promoting a more sustainable development, placing more emphasis on the quality of building, environmental questions, the life-cycle approach, and promoting refurbishment. Adding to this, it refers that it is also necessary to ensure the

availability of design skills within the public sector, namely by reinforcing the system of regional architects, so small municipalities can benefit from architectural and planning advice (Finland 1998). The issue of design skills in local government will be further discussed in the next Chapter.

5. Sustainability and climate challenges

More recently, sustainability and climate changes have become one of Architectural policies challenges[70]. The argument is that the government should promote sustainable Architecture to contribute to the global effort of reducing greenhouse gas emissions and energy consumption. Nevertheless, the policies recognize that even if a comprehensive programme of measures is implemented over the next few years, it will take a long time to stop or reverse climate change.

For example, the Norwegian policy starts by stating that sustainability and climate issues are central to its policy (Norway 2009). Referring that the planet is in the process of warming, it argues that climate change leads to a series of new challenges: energy needs and environmental technology, global eco-management and sustainable development. Because homes and commercial buildings represent a high percentage of the electricity consumption, implementing energy efficiency measures is crucial (Ibidem). To face this issue, the Norwegian document argues that 'energy considerations must be addressed at an early stage of the decision-making process in the planning, location and design of new building and construction.' Furthermore, it argues that it is fundamental that architects and other actors involved in design and planning have enough skills and knowledge about energy consumption and lifecycle-based environmental assessments. A good solution is generally best achieved through inter- collaboration between architects and other professional groups.

7.2.6 Policy aims and visions for Architecture

Most comprehensive Architectural policies establish a policy aim defining the main policy orientation and desired outcome. Some other policies prefer to define a policy vision projecting an ideal picture of what the future could be like. Despite their different connotations, both concepts are intended to fulfil the same function, that is, to define the future policy outcome. As such, it is relevant to explore the policy aims and visions to understand what the policies are aspiring to achieve. This will inform the analysis of the policies target areas in the next section.

Policy aim

In general terms, a public policy on Architecture aims to achieve well-designed environments as a way to improve citizen's quality of life. For example, looking at the first Architectural policy adopted by the Dutch in 1991, the following policy aim was established:

---

[70] These issues only appeared in recent policies, such as the Danish (2007), Norwegian (2009) and Irish (2009).

'*The aim of the joint architectural policy (…) is to create the right conditions for the generation of quality architecture.'* (Netherlands 1991, p. 2).

With this clear and forceful declaration, the Dutch Government launched its first national Architectural policy, which would lead to the establishment of a cultural infrastructure to raise cultural awareness of the importance of design quality (Figueiredo 2013). In the same perspective, the several versions of the Irish Architectural policies established the following statement: 'Policy on Architecture aims to place architecture higher on the political and cultural agenda and in so doing to remove impediments to the achievement of a built environment of good quality.' (Ireland, 1996, 2002, 2009)

In the Irish case, the policy aims at raising Architecture quality by putting Architecture high on the agenda and by ensuring that public means contribute to extend to as many citizens as possible access to high quality built environments (Portas 2013). Hence, the Architectural policies seek to achieve better places through the promotion of a better design processes.

Policy vision

As mentioned above, some Architectural policies prefer to establish a policy vision setting the policy intentions and aspirations for the future, acting as a 'benchmark' but without specifying how to reach them. The Danish architectural policy (2007) is a good example of this approach. First, the title of the policy is in itself a policy vision: '*A Nation of Architecture Denmark'.* Inside, the policy refers that it aims at 'placing architecture on the agenda' providing two visions:

'*1. High architectural quality to create good settings for our lives - The life of Danes will be richer with inspiring architecture (…) High architectural quality gives high quality of life because it creates an aesthetic and well-functioning setting for our lives.*

2. Good Danish architecture to create growth and prosperity - Denmark becomes a richer nation if the architectural sector can utilise its potential for national and international growth – also as an engine in relation to innovation and demand in other sectors' (Denmark 2007, p. 4) (Policy cover 7.8)
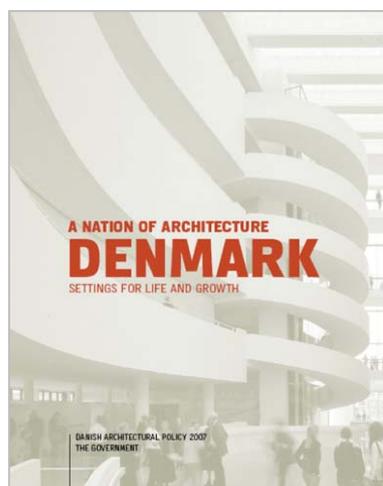
Policy cover 7.8 – Danish Architectural policy (2007)

The visions of the Danish architectural policy intend to summarize the main policy expectations of the Danish Government. In sum, similarly to the policy aim, the policy vision is an important element of the comprehensive policies discourse as a way of mobilizing actors towards the policy aim – design quality – and of legitimatizing a wide range of initiatives that governments will try to implement in the following years. To do so, the policies define a number of target areas, which will be the focus of analysis of the following section.

7.3 Architectural policy dimensions: target areas and objectives

The previous section explored the main ideas and values that underpin the comprehensive Architectural policies discourse. As was seen, the policies aspire to improve the design quality of the built environment through the promotion of a better system of design governance. Building on this ambition, the comprehensive Architectural policies establish a set of target areas or objectives, defining a wide range of initiatives and action to be implemented in the following years. As such, the Architectural policy target areas or objectives constitute the backbone of the Architectural policies, in which the importance of every target area or objective is explained, what are their main challenges and which initiatives will be promoted to achieve their aims.

After analysing the different policies it was possible to verify that there is no common matrix of target areas and objectives between the policies. As was seen in Section 4.2.3, the policy design is usually influenced by the context where it was produced, such as, legal and administrative traditions, decision-makers' preferred policy styles, cultural background of the people involved in the policy formulation and the particular period of time in which it was created. As such, the same happens with the Architectural policies in which each country has defined its own set of objectives according to its preferences and priorities (Table 7.2) [71].

Policy	Denmark 2007	Scotland 2001	Finland 1998	Ireland 2002	Norway 2009	Netherlands 2008
Terms	Target areas	Objectives	Central goals	Objectives	Focus areas	Key objectives
Number	10	5	6	6	6	3

Table 7.2 – Number of target areas or objectives of six comprehensive Architectural policies

Although the range of the comprehensive Architectural policy target areas and the number of objectives vary between the policies, it is important to frame the main policy target areas to have a better understanding of how the policies intend to achieve their broad aims. In this sense, by comparing its main areas of intervention it is possible to identify six main policy dimensions: 1) leading by example; 2) internationalization; 3) urban planning; 4) sustainability; 5) architectural heritage; 6) awareness and knowledge (see Diagram 7.1).

---

[71] For practical reasons, a sample of six documents was selected to be able to compare and group the different target areas and objectives. To ensure a proper variation between the policy documents, policies from different countries were chosen: Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, the Netherlands and Scotland (UK).
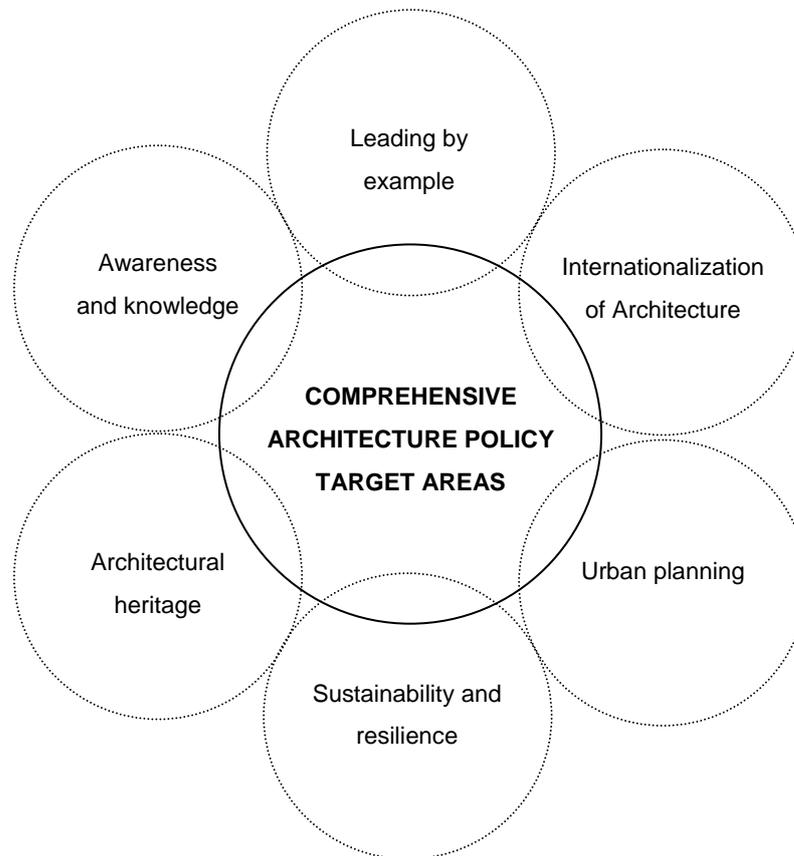
Fig. 7.1 – Comprehensive Architectural policy main areas of intervention

The different policy dimensions tend to overlap each other and may be grouped or subdivided into smaller specific objectives. Even so, this separation is helpful for the purpose of the analysis of the main areas of intervention of the policies. As such, the present section will use this division as a framework to explore the main policy target areas and objectives, which in turn will inform the analysis of the three case studies in the following Chapter.

7.3.1 Leading by example

The first Architectural policy target area covers the objectives focused on promoting high quality public buildings and construction works. Although with different scopes of intervention, all comprehensive policies include some objective within this domain. Acknowledging that the state is one of the major clients of the construction industry and one of the largest property owners, the Architectural policies suggest that the methods and criteria used by public bodies are usually adopted as a model by the private sector. As such, it is argued that the state, whether by central government and its agencies or by local authorities, should set an example by promoting good practices as owner, developer and user of public buildings. In addition, it must present itself as an 'exemplary client committed to quality in every aspect of building procurement and property development, including the conservation and maintenance of its existing building stock' (Ireland, 2009). The objective of influencing the market by example was first introduced by the 1991 Dutch policy:

'*The Government will devote more attention to the architecture of its own buildings. It will also call upon other parties to follow its example. The Government is responsible for a substantial proportion of expenditure in the urban environment. Since it is directly involved, it can set an example'* (Netherlands 1991, p. 3).

'Setting an example' has remained a central objective of the Dutch Architectural policies, continuously reinforced and expanded to several governmental sectors throughout the new policy versions. As mentioned in the previous section, the first Dutch policy was mainly focused on the scale level of buildings and urban design. In its second version, the government decided to expand the Architectural policy to higher scales of intervention, including urban development, landscape architecture and physical planning (Netherlands 1996). This broadening has revealed itself in the measures taken by the government to improve its own role model as principal: 'As a principal (…) the national government can have a major effect on most building in the Netherlands, including ground, road and waterways construction' (Ibidem)[72]. In this sense, the policy scope expanded to the design quality of large government projects and infrastructure works, such as Betuwe Line, the High-Speed Rail Link and the Main Ecological Structure.

Facilitating and leading this objective across state departments, the Dutch Chief Government Architect has been responsible, among other tasks, for monitoring the urban integration and design quality of all government buildings, harmonizing architecture with urban and rural planning, monument preservation and the use of art works. Following the Dutch example, several countries have been creating similar positions inside the government structure to provide design advice and raise the standards across departments (e.g *Chief Government Architect* in Flanders, who is responsible by the implementation coordination of Architectural policy) (Policy cover 7.9). The role of state architect will be seen in Section 8.3.3.

Policy cover 7.9 – Flemish (Belgium) Architectural policy (2009)

---

[72] A practical result was the extension of the Architectural Policy Platform to four ministries with the objective of achieving a positive effect on the design quality of landscape and infrastructure (see Section 8.3.2)

Although the majority of the comprehensive policies on Architecture have similar policy objectives – to promote high standards of publicly-funded buildings as a way of achieving value for money and in turn set an example to the private sector - in practical terms, this objective is not easy to achieve. As seen in Section 3.3.2, the state is a complex organization, with its own internal disputes and interests, in which the creation of autonomous semi-public agencies and outsourcing has become the rule. As such, the Architectural policies narrative around the values of design quality will only be ingrained by the different government actors if there are effective interdepartmental channels of communication. Furthermore, the multi-level governance system, with the increasing autonomy of local government, may hinder central government capacity to influence local politicians without the appropriate mechanisms or financial means to do so (e.g. design guidance, subsidies, etc). This will be further discussed in the next Chapter.

7.3.2 Strengthening the design dimension of planning

The second target area comprises the policies objectives focused on strengthening the design dimension of planning and improving the interconnection between architecture, urban design and town planning. Although with different emphasis, the majority of the comprehensive Architectural policies include some type of objectives in this domain. The main argument is that the planning framework plays a fundamental role in shaping the urban environment. As noted by the Danish policy (2007, p. 21): 'Planning is designed to create coherence and context so that architecture does not unfold in a void. High architectural quality has poor conditions if planning does not define the function of a new area and the interaction between city, nature and infrastructure'. As discussed in Chapter 3, the design of the built environment is strongly influenced and regulated by the planning process, namely by the range of design regulations imposed by the local planning framework. As such, the policies defend that to achieve better places 'it is crucial that these two disciplines are closely aligned' (Scotland 2013, p. 27).

Retrospectively, the second version of the Dutch policy placed urban planning as a priority, namely through the expansion of the policy scope to higher scales of intervention (Netherlands, 1996). As discussed in section 7.2.2, this broadening was based on the notion of *spatial design*, which crossed a range of design disciplines, including urban planning, landscape architecture and infrastructure design (Netherlands 1996). In this sense, the Architectural policy discourse argued that spatial quality was affected not only by building activity but also by infrastructure works, rural settings, natural landscape and urban development. Although the pursuit of quality extended to higher spatial scales, the policy instruments remained largely the same. More recently, the 2008 Dutch policy on Architecture adopted the following objective: 'Reinforcing urban planning and regional design'. Within this framework, the Dutch Government intended to reinforce the position of urban design, both in terms of the development of the profession and of its actual practice (Ibidem, p. 12). A second issue was the lack of effective use of design potential at regional level. In this sense, to assure an effective deployment of design at regional level the policy included measures to

increase professional expertise among regional authorities and other commissioning authorities. In sum, the concern was having the appropriate design expertise both at municipal and regional levels (see Section 8.2.2).

As discussed in Section 4.2, development control and its compliance with design regulations and guidance are mostly guaranteed by local authorities. As such, having good design expertise within local planning authorities is fundamental to ensure that the planning process is able to promote quality outcomes (Carmona et al. 2003). However, the resourcing of local authorities, namely design expertise, is a matter that is beyond the scope of Architectural policy. As will be seen in the case studies, despite the good Architectural policy intentions, the trend to dismiss design expertise as a way of cutting expenses has continued to occur at local level. The specific ways central governments can try to invert this situation is in one of the issues that national Architectural policies will have to deal with sooner or later.

In a different approach, the first Scottish Architectural policy (2001) had a substantive goal on planning: 'ensure that the planning and building standards systems and their associated processes both promote and facilitate design quality in development' (Scotland 2001, p. 9)**.** To reach this goal, it established several initiatives, namely 'work to ensure that design quality is accorded greater significance as a material consideration in the determination of planning applications' and to 'encourage the development and use of design briefs and design strategies in support of development plans' (Ibidem, p. 13). However, these general principles did not have any direct effect in the way the planning process was pursued. Nevertheless, the Scottish Government continued the ambition of placing design higher in the development process agenda expanding its second Architectural policy scope to issues of place-making (Scotland 2007, p. 8).

More recently, the third Scottish Architectural policy (2013) intensified this concern merging the Architectural policy with the previous '*Place policy'*. The new role of the Scottish Architectural policy is evident right in the first paragraph when it states that: 'the policies contained in this document are material considerations in determining planning applications and appeals' (Scotland 2013, p. 3). Therefore, the new policy document is not only meant to guide central government policies but also to be used has a design planning policy by local government. Although this new approach may be a smart move, the same problem is again evident. The municipalities are autonomous entities and will have to manage development intentions according to their own priorities. As will be seen in the next Chapter, one of the roles of Architectural policies has been to propose new design tools and guidance, to help municipalities make the best use of their coercive power but also to play their role as enablers and facilitators.

7.3.3 Internationalization of Architecture

The third policy target area comprises the objectives focused on the internationalization of Architecture and national export of design skills as a factor of economic growth. As the name implies, the underlying idea is to use design as a facilitator of international promotion since good Architecture can help to create a positive image of a modern and innovative nation (Norway 2009). In this sense, marketing concepts as profiling, export and identity are associated with the promotion of Architecture but directed at the international stage, that is, at how others will perceive a country's image. Adding to the 'branding' strategies, there is also a strong focus on the export of design services as a factor of economic growth. For example, the Danish policy argues that; 'Increasing exports of Danish architecture will work both as export income and as a branding of Danish quality and outlook on life. Increased Danish exports of architecture will undoubtedly have substantial derived effects in the form of increased exports of other Danish construction consultancy services' (Denmark 2007, p. 40).

From a chronological perspective, the first two Dutch Architectural policies (1991 and 1996) already included specific measures to promote Dutch architects and designers abroad. Although they did not constitute a policy objective *per se*[73], they were aimed at 'increasing foreign interest in Dutch architecture / urbanism, but also enhance and broaden the international market for Dutch designers' (Stegmeijer et al. 2012). Therefore, the policies subsidized the participation of Dutch Architectural offices in international exhibitions, architectural competitions, contests, export missions and exchange programs (Ibidem). The internationalization of Architecture as a policy objective only started to be formalized as such in the first official Scottish Architectural policy of 2001, which intended to 'promote Scottish architecture at home and abroad' (Scotland 2001).

The Scottish policy established six specific initiatives focused on the international promotion of Scottish architecture. In 2007, the Danish Architectural policy also introduced an objective on internationalization, entitled: 'Better conditions for exports of Danish architecture' (Denmark 2007). Admitting the economic advantages for Danish firms, it argued that export of Danish Architectural services is not an end in itself but a way of increasing strong international interaction between Danish and international designers and thus provide an important contribution to the development of Danish Architecture. With the same purpose, the Norwegian policy of 2009 also set an objective directed at internationalization (Norway 2009), mentioning that Architecture helps to create knock-on effects that promote Norwegian trade and industry, research, innovation, technology and culture and stimulates the export of Norwegian expertise[74]. More recently, the first Portuguese Architectural policy (2015) also introduced a specific objective dedicated to the international promotion of Portuguese Architecture (Policy cover 7.10).

---

[73] The 1991 Dutch policy had the following action on internationalization: 'The government will encourage Dutch architects to take part in competitions and events abroad so they can establish an international reputation and obtain commissions.'

[74] To achieve this goal, the Norwegian policy establishes the following initiatives: exhibitions, presentations, trade fairs, festivals, programmes of visits, media work and internet-based information (Norway, 2009)

Policy cover 7.10 – Portuguese Architectural policy (public consultation document, 2014)

As such, the economic importance of Architecture moves from a national threshold towards a geographic and economic international boundary. Two good examples of specific initiatives within this target area were carried out by the Flemish Government and the Dutch Government, which established a specific office of Export of national Architectural services, offering advice and giving financial support to architectural offices to participate in expos and international fairs. In sum, following the recent financial crises, government support to the internationalization of Architecture and offices has definitely entered into the agenda of Architectural policies.

7.3.4 Sustainability and resilience

The fourth Architectural policy target area comprises the objectives focused on the promotion of a more sustainable and resilient built environment. The former intends to promote architecture and urban design that are efficient in the use of resources and take advantage of eco-friendly solutions and improved energy performance in order to reduce the ecological footprint of buildings and urban areas. The latter is focused on the mitigation and adaptation of territories, landscapes and built spaces to the effects of climate change. In general, it is argued that Architecture can make a major contribution for the achievement of more sustainable urban environments by addressing, at an early stage of design, concerns about the impact of the whole life cycle of buildings and energy efficiency. In addition, it is argued that Architecture has a key coordinator role in improving communication and dialogue between the various agents involved in the different phases of design and construction, in order to prevent and reduce possible failures and deficiencies in new construction or rehabilitation of existing buildings.

Although the aim of a sustainable development has always been a background concern[75], only in the 1990s did the theme of sustainability enter the Architectural policies discourse. In fact, Architectural policies that approach these issues have mainly focused on environmental side of sustainability and not on the notion of sustainability in its widest sense (environmental, social and cultural). In its narrow view, architecture is closely connected with the construction sector, which is responsible for the consumption of large amounts of natural resources and for the production of large amounts of waste, and inevitably has strong impacts on the environment. In this sense, architectural design plays a key role through the choice of building environmentally-friendly processes, integrating them into coherent design technical and aesthetical requirements.

Although the technical requirements for power consumption are continuously strengthened as a result of EU Directives, Architectural policies place a strong emphasis on the energy consumption of buildings. In this context, Architectural policies argue that it is essential to promote the adoption of more sustainable architectural solutions to reduce the environmental footprint of buildings, for example, by building energy efficient buildings, considering the costs due to the building's life cycle and increasing efficiency from the point of view of energy. Interestingly, the proposed policy initiatives to achieve these objectives have mostly been focused on research and knowledge in the context of technological innovation linked to sustainable building. In fact, research in sustainable architecture, both in the design of energy-efficient buildings and in the integration of new technologies in the design, construction and organization of housing, can bring added value to the construction industry and the architectural landscape.

Regarding the issues of resilience, only recently have some polices adopted objectives related to climate change. For example, the 2013 Scottish policy elected low carbon as one of its new policy objectives: 'Low carbon design and planning should be a priority. Project clients, commissioners, designers and approvers should encourage design innovation and take advantage of locally-sourced materials to facilitate sustainable development.' It is argued that the design process offers opportunity to reduce emissions, maximize energy efficiency and climate resilience, and deliver buildings that are flexible over the long term (Ibidem). To reach these goals, the policies promote the concept of passive solar designs and integrate complementary systems of renewable energy (Demanrk, 2007).

The main issue here is that most of these objectives are supported by building regulations, which have to transpose and adapt EU Energy Directives to national contexts. Although indirect, national Architectural policies may play a role in raising awareness of designers and the general public through the support of exhibitions and information on the subject. As will be seen in the next Chapter, the Scottish experience is a good example of this approach.

---

[75] For example, sustainable development in one of the Finnish Architectural policy principles (1998), but it does not constitute a policy objective *per se*: 'architectural policy aims to improve constructional quality, and it gives meaning to the principles of sustainable development in land use planning and building construction' (Finland 1998, p. 19)

7.3.5 Safeguard and enhancement of Architectural heritage

The fifth policy target area comprehends the policy objectives dedicated to the preservation, safeguarding and enhancement of Architectural heritage. When analyzing the comprehensive policies, it is possible to observe that the same broad view on the notion of Architecture is also present in the notion of Architectural heritage. In fact, the concept of Architectural heritage has evolved over time. While in the past art historians had a restricted view on what counted as heritage, today there is a general perception that the latter should include not only monuments but also historical areas and vernacular buildings (see discussion on Section 2.2.3). As the Irish policy notes:

> '*We have inherited an historic built environment of outstanding quality (…) the castles, walled towns, designed urban and demesne landscapes and great houses, the modest cottages, terraced houses and industrial buildings, tell us of our complex past and remain as a legacy for future generations.*' (Ireland, 2009, p. 33)

With small variations, the comprehensive Architectural policies lay down ambitious objectives to ensure that the Architectural heritage is 'conserved and maintained to a high standard' (Ibidem). To do so, they emphasize the public commitment with the protection and enhancement of the built heritage and, in particular, with buildings and structures the maintenance of which is under state responsibility (Croatia 2013) (Policy cover 7.11).

Policy cover 7.11 – Croatian Architectural policy (2013)

Although Architectural heritage has long been an area under the remit of cultural heritage policy, Architectural policies argue that there is strong connection between the two, since what is built today will be the heritage of tomorrow. Because most listed buildings and places belong to other organizations outside government, the need to collaborate with heritage council and local authorities to promote initiatives on this matter is assumed. Again, the ideas of collaboration and partnership appear to be fundamental to achieve the goals of Architectural policies (see Section 3.3.2). In addition, most of the built environment is already built and there is a need to ensure that future transformations, such as renovations or extensions, will not undermine the authenticity of the existing building stock. However, most

of the Architectural policy actions in this area are already being implemented by the heritage policy. As such, the added value of the Architectural policies appears to be more on the co-ordination of efforts between different departments than on practical actions on the ground.

The more recent comprehensive policies emphasize the need for adopting re-use strategies. In fact, due to the financial crisis the construction sector in some EU member states shrank almost 40% and a big percentage of designers became unemployed (Netherlands, 2012). This new context had a direct effect on the real estate market leading to a high reduction of the number of new constructions and creating a higher demand on building renovation and reallocations (Denmark, 2007). In this sense, Architectural polices suggest that design can strengthen reallocation (and the process) by developing new concepts and new insights into form and usage.

7.3.6 Increase awareness and knowledge

The sixth and last policy target area groups the objectives dedicated to raise public awareness of the benefits of design quality in order to increase the interest, demand and participation on built environment issues. As was seen in the previous section, one of the main policy problems that the comprehensive policies are trying to address is the lack of civic culture in appreciation of design quality (see Section 7.2.5). As such, to help solve this issue Architectural policies promote and encourage greater interest on Architecture through public awareness campaigns including a wide range of cultural initiatives and in some cases by setting up specific cultural bodies or enabling organizations[76] (see next chapter). Considering that these objectives sit mainly within the capacity-building tools (see Section 4.3), it was decided to include also in this area the objectives focused on promoting more knowledge and education on Architecture, which is included in some policies as a separate target area.

In line with the theoretical discussion held on Section 3.2, Architectural policies emphasize that the quality of the built environment largely depends on the values that society places on it. In this sense, it is argued that to achieve better places a commitment to quality from all of those who are directly involved in the commissioning, design and construction is needed. However, the realization of good design is not only determined by those directly involved in the production side of the development process, but also by final users and communities. Based on this, they argue that debate about how to get good design is not only for the actors directly involved but for society in general (Scotland, 1999). If demand for quality is to be strengthened, a precondition is that citizens have access and opportunity to acquire information about good design and take part in the Architecture debate. The intention is not to create a consensus on what good design is, but to make sure that the public can relate to – and place demands on – Architecture (Iceland 2007).

---

[76] Several EU member states have established national centers for architecture to broadly communicate the cultural and economic value of architecture to society. Others have created enabling institutions such as CABE in the UK.

One of the ways to achieve the above has been the inclusion of architecture and built environment themes in the school curriculum. In this sense, the policies suggest that the value of Architecture should be recognized and supported as a resource in the curriculum at all educational levels, giving continuation and development to areas where Architectural issues are already included (Ireland, 2002). Interestingly, in some EU member states, the government gives support to several educational programs initially developed by the Architects' professional organizations or simply delivers this task to other bodies outside the state, such as architecture centers. Therefore, there is an evident interinstitutional cooperation towards the implementation of the architectural policy, which will be further discussed in the next Chapter.

Nevertheless, the attainment of better Architectural quality is also dependent on demanding clients and on the availability of skills within the building professions and the construction industry. In the former, there has been a strong effort in some countries to improve public and private commissioning through the development of guidance and specific bodies providing expertise on the topic. In the latter, Architectural polices recognise the need for accelerating access to continuing education and training with regard to sustainable and high quality built environment (Ireland, 2009). This means that government departments, local authorities and state agencies need to invest on the continuous development of their design knowledge and skill base (Iceland, 2007) (Policy cover 7.12).

However, this aim is difficult to achieve if there is a trend to reduce design skills in public departments and local authorities. As will be seen in the next Chapter, in practice, governments have proved unsuccessful in reaching their aims and have been relying on professional institutes to foster better links between the architectural, planning and related professions at local, regional and national levels.

MENNINGARSTEFNA Í MANNVIRKJAGERÐ

Stefna íslenskra stjórnvalda í byggingarlist
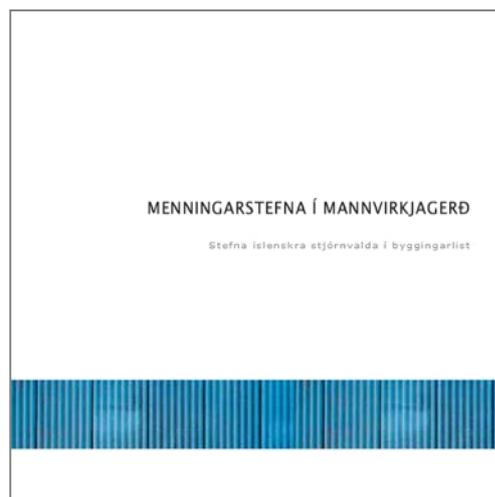
Policy cover 7.12 – Icelandic Architectural policy (2007)

A final set of objectives are focused on defining a research strategy for architecture and the built environment. Basically, it is argued that there is a need for evidence and research capacity to achieve quality within the built environment. As noted by the Irish policy:

'research on the impacts of the designed environment on the quality of life (…) and on the effectiveness of methods used in the creation and maintenance of the built environment, is needed (…) not only into technological aspects (…) but also into aspects of our systems of governance, such as planning and building control.' (2009, p. 21)

Interestingly, the first target area of the 2009 Irish Architectural policy is focused on developing a research strategy for Architecture, stating that a new policy on architecture must be evidence-based. As will be seen in the next Chapter, despite this good will, most of the Irish research initiatives did not leave the policy paper due to the financial crisis that hit Ireland on that year forcing the country to a strong reduction of the Architectural policy budget. This means that, as in all public policies, without proper financial resources a policy action plan is very hard to execute in full.

7.4 Final remarks

The present Chapter has explored the comprehensive Architectural policies discourse. It started by analysing the basis for a formal policy on Architecture. Although contextually dependent, the policies are based on a broad notion of Architecture as built environment design to which other key concepts, such as place or spatial design, have been added. Nevertheless, public recognition that design quality adds value and the principle that everyone has the right to quality environment constitute the main fundaments for a public policy in this domain. As seen in the second part of this Chapter, to achieve this ambition, Architectural polices have defined a broad design agenda that covers themes raging from sustainability and resilience to participation and knowledge. Although some of these topics are the result of fashions or dominant concerns at a certain moment in time, the important issue to retain is the inclusion of design quality in the political agenda as a goal to be pursued. Therefore, comprehensive Architectural policies are fundamentally a policy instrument to set high ambitions towards the built environment.

Although comprehensive Architectural policies have been able to place design quality high on government's agendas, they do not propose a new statutory framework but rather a better interdepartmental coordination and set of stimulus and capacity-building tools. The main question that remains unanswered is to what extent Architectural policies can effectively improve the overall processes of design governance. With this aim in mind, the next Chapter will explore three case studies to research the results of Architectural policies on the ground, the main instruments created and how the main actors perceive the effectiveness of architectural policies. This will help to evaluate the impact of Architectural policies on processes of design governance to understand its effectiveness in enhancing the role of the state in promoting better places.

8 The effectiveness of national Architectural policies

8.1 Introduction

As demonstrated on Chapter 6, the emergence of a formal policy on Architecture at national level is a relatively recent phenomenon and its implementation progress has not been a regular process across the member states of the EU. As such, some questions can be raised about the effectiveness of a formal policy in this area: is Architectural policy able to improve state action in promoting better places, namely by introducing institutional innovations and new policy tools? If yes, what has been the impact of comprehensive policies' instruments on the processes of design governance? These are the type of questions that this Chapter will try to address. A first section will briefly describe the research methods used to interview key stakeholders of the three cases studies: Ireland, Scotland and The Netherlands (See section 5.2.3 for the rationale of the choice of these three countries). A second section will frame the Architectural policies of the three chosen countries in a chronological perspective, where for each there will be a brief description of how the policies were developed, the main objectives, the instruments proposed and main policy outputs. A third section will discuss the effectiveness of the Architectural policies based on a cross analysis of the experience of the three case studies and on a set of semi-structured interviews with the main stakeholders of the three countries under analysis. This will be divided into three parts: it will start by examining the implementation performance of the Architecture policies to show that that there are different levels of maturity among the case studies; then it will explore the main impacts of architectural policies; and, finally, it will develop a review of the policies limitations which will reveal the policies' red lines and the short-range impact of most of their tools.

8.2 Case studies research methods

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the analysis and deconstruction of the policy discourse did not provide empirical data on 'how' the architectural policies are being implemented, or in other words, are policies reaching their intended aims or are they just a rhetorical speech on design quality? Are Architectural policies really intended to enable change or are they just a way of establishing design quality principles to guide a complex administration and inspire a wider network of development actors, based on the perspective that the nation state should 'steer and not row'? To be able to inform these questions, a different research approach had to be adopted to get better insight on the limitations and achievements of a national Architectural policy, setting the stage for the discussion on the effectiveness of a formal policy on Architecture. As such, three member states that had adopted a comprehensive policy on Architecture - Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands – where selected to conduct a series of interviews with key actors (see Section 5.3.2).

Amongst the different methods available to conduct an interview, it was decided to opt for semi-structured interviewing. Although this type of interview approach is based on a preset interview guide, it offers the interviewee a fair amount of freedom on how to respond. Thus, semi-structured interviews: a) enable the interviewee to mention the examples that he or she thinks are the most significant on the impact of Architectural policy; b) provides interviewees with enough leeway to expand on their point of views on the reasons that led to the results achieved; c) give room to interviewees to develop their own interpretation of events. The definition of the interview guide followed Alan Bryman's recommendations, described in his textbook *Social Research Methods* (Bryman 2004). Furthermore, the interviewing process complied with the ESRC guidelines presented in their Research Ethic Framework (ESRC 2012). More specifically, all the interviews were audio recorded and all the interviewees were asked if they consented to the information provided by them being used later exclusively for this PhD research. Respecting interviewees' request for confidentiality was important to create a relationship of trust between interviewer and interviewee.

Selection of interviewees

The selection of the interviewees sought to cover a diversified range of institutions and actors that could offer different perspectives on the role and impact of government policy on Architecture. Adding to this objective, this research tried, as far as possible, to identify the same type of institution in each of the countries surveyed according to the institutional functions, in order to facilitate the comparisons between them. Besides institutions, it was decided to interview a national expert on Architectural policy to get an independent view. As such, the selection of interviewees in each country was based on the following matrix:

a) *Government departments* - responsible for government policy on Architecture and for supervising its implementation at national level;

b) *Government departments* (*public buildings*) – involved in the definition of Architectural policy and responsible for the design of public buildings[77];

c) *Professional associations* – represent the interests of the architects (in some countries it also includes other professional designers) and promotes Architecture in general[78];

d) *Cultural institutions* – responsible for the cultural promotion of Architecture. The type and remit of Architectural cultural institutions varies from country to country, and may include the promotion of exhibitions, conferences, publications, etc;

e) *National design champions* – responsible for championing design quality of Architecture and placemaking through a diversified range of activities[79];

f) *Academic / experts* – due to their vast knowledge, they are generally involved in Architectural policy matters, authoring national design guidance, conducting research-related topics. etc.

---

[77] In the three cases, there is a chief government architect who has responsibilities in the Architectural policy tools.

[78] In the Irish case, it is also responsible for the management of the architects register;

[79] The remit and size of national design champions varies from country to country.

The interviewees' selection process involved two distinct stages: first, the identification of the institutions that interacted directly or indirectly with Architectural policy that could fit into the categories mentioned above (See table 8.1); second, contacts with the institutions selected to identify the most appropriate person to interview within those institutions. In most cases, the interviewees were in executive or general management positions.

Type of institution	Ireland	Scotland (UK)	The Netherlands
State department (supervision)	Built Heritage and Architectural Policy	Architecture & Place division	Directorate-General for Spatial Development
State department (public buildings)	Department of Architectural Services	-	Chief Government Architect
Professional	Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland	Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland	Association of Urban Designers and Planners
Cultural	The Arts Council of Ireland	The Lighthouse, Scotland's Centre for Design & Architecture	The New Institute (former Netherlands Architecture Institute)
Design Champion	Irish Architecture Foundation (IAF)	Architecture and Design Scotland (A+DS)	Foundation Architectuur Lokaal
Academic	Loughlin Kealy	Cliff Hague	Robert Kloosterman

Table 8.1 – List of institutions / actors selected for the interviews

Interview guide

The design of the interview guide was structured according to the three research questions mentioned in the introduction Chapter (section 1.3): a first question seeks to understand the (1) the impact of the Europeanization process in the adoption of a policy on Architecture by individual member states; a second question seeks to illustrate (2) the key features of a formal policy on Architecture and its main objectives; and a third question seeks to assess (3) the impact of an Architectural policy in processes of design governance. The interview guide is, therefore, a multidimensional framework set out to inform the research questions of this thesis. General questions were used to start the interview or redirect it when a particular account of events terminated. The detailed questions were introduced throughout the conversation when appropriate and in the most suitable order as to create as little interference to the interviewee's narrative of events as possible (See example in Annex D).

Because the interviewees came from different countries, the interview guide had to be adapted to each national context (e.g. the number of policy cycles, type of institutions, etc). Furthermore, as explained above, the actors interviewed in each country came from different institutional settings. This means that the interviewees had different roles on the policy process and, as a consequence, their perceptions on the phenomenon under study would also be different. Therefore, the interview guide had to be adapted to the origin of the interviewee.

8.3 The comprehensive Architectural policy in practice: three case studies

8.3.1 The Architectural policy of Ireland (1992-2015)

Precedents (1992-2001)

The definition of an Architectural policy in Ireland began in the early 1990s. According to the general manager of the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland (RIAI), the idea of developing an Architectural policy emerged from a conference held in Amsterdam in 1992, where some RIAI board members first took note of the new Dutch Architectural policy, adopted in 1991 (2015: interview). The international conference therefore facilitated the exchange of information between the two countries influencing the Irish Architectural policy development (See Chapter 6 for the Europeanization process). Inspired by the Dutch example, a small team was set up at RIAI to persuade the government to adopt a policy on Architecture, which would result in the creation of an interdepartmental working group to set an Architectural policy proposal (Irish Expert, 2015: interview). As seen in Section 4.2.3, these events correspond to the first stage of the policy cycle - *agenda-setting* - which focuses on the recognition of a social problem by the policy community and its inclusion on the policy agenda to be addressed by the government.

Image 8.1 – The Dublin Docklands Area, a major project of physical,
social and economic regeneration in the East side of Dublin, managed by the Dublin Docklands
Development Authority established in 1997; Image: Kennedy Wilson.

In June 1996, the working group finally submitted a report to the government and, three months later, a public consultation document was published (Policy cover 8.1). This was a major milestone for the Irish Architectural policy development. Although it was not an official policy, Ireland had for the first time an official document at national level recognizing the social and cultural importance of architecture for Irish citizens (Ireland 1996, p. 69).

Policy cover 8.1 – Irish public consultation document on Architectural policy (1996).

Nevertheless, it would still take seven years before the first formal policy was adopted. Four months later, the consultation process was concluded and a Policy Statement on Architecture was approved. Only in 2000, a new interdepartmental working group was established to define policy proposals and actions and, in 2002, Ireland's first policy on architecture was finally adopted under the title of *Action on Architecture 2002-2005* (Policy cover 8.2)*.* The Irish events described above correspond to the second and third phase of the policy cycle discussed in section 4.2.3. The seven-year period since the publication of the consultation document (September 1996) until the adoption of the first policy (April 2002) reveals how policy-making is a complex and uncertain process.

First policy: *Action on Architecture* **(2002-2008)**

Although it was only approved in 2002, the Irish Architectural policy maintained the same principles, concepts and ideas as set in the consultation document. The Irish policy expert (2015: interview) made the following comment on this:

> *'the direct line between the two documents was due to the fact that the chair of the inter-departmental working group*[80] *in charge of the policy formulation, had also been a member of the working group of the consultation document.*'

Despite the similarities, the 2002 policy made a direct reference to the 2001 EU Council Resolution on Architectural Quality (Ireland 2002, p. 7). According to several interviewees, the EU Council Resolution was important for the Irish policy because it offered legitimacy to the policy development (Interviews with Irish public official, 2015; national policy expert, 2015; RIAI manager, 2015). Nevertheless, this influence was essentially felt at decision-making level rather than in the perception of the policy community. The Irish interviewees also referred to the importance of the EFAP and to other Architectural policies of neighbouring countries. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the EU guidance on Architecture helped the policy coalition to develop an argument in favour of the recognition of the need for a formal policy that embraced design quality, confirming the discussion on Chapter 6 on the Europeanization of Architectural policies.

---

[80] The interdepartmental working group was chaired by Michael O'Doherty, Principal Architect from OPW.

<u>Objectives and instruments</u>

As its name suggests, the Irish policy was an action programme. Its main aim was 'to place architecture higher on the political and cultural agenda and in so doing to remove impediments to the achievement of a built environment of good quality' (Ireland 2002, p. 5). To achieve this, the policy adopted the same objectives delineated in the 1997 Policy Statement on Architecture, defining a wide range of actions spanning different departments[81]. In total, the Architectural policy established twenty nine actions organized around four main themes:

i) *Promoting awareness and understanding of Architecture* - Some of the actions were directed at the school curriculum by developing teaching material and creating educational programmes. In addition, they contemplated the development a *Virtual Architectural Centre*. Although the latter was never created, it would be used as a hook by non-governmental institutions to press the government to set up the Irish Architecture Foundation, which was one of the few practical results that came from the first Irish policy.

ii) *Leading by example* - In line with other Architectural policies (see Section 7.3.1), the Irish policy affirmed that the government should improve the design quality of all public buildings to set an example for the community at large as a building promoter, client and property owner. One of the actions was to include quality as one of the criteria of public procurement, through a system that evaluated such qualities (e.g. quality indicators);

iii) *Encouraging innovation in architecture* - The third theme was dedicated to encouraging innovation in architecture, which highlighted the need for fostering the skill and talent of young designers and create favourable conditions for young practitioners (e.g. The Arts Council, with the OPW, would develop a biennial award aimed at the young practitioners);

iv) *Planning control and architectural quality* - One of the main concerns was to ensure that architectural expertise would be available to local planning authorities. The only action envisaged was the creation of a local authority's Architecture forum to create a framework whereby a network of architectural expertise would be available to local authorities in order to ensure that such expertise (e.g. in-house architects) would be available.

<u>First policy results</u>

Although the approval of the Architectural policy was an important milestone in Ireland, at the end of its implementation period, the policy's lack of results began to come to light. Looking back, the national Policy expert (2015: interview) mentioned that:

> *'The first national Architectural policy was up their some place in the air, it was well intentioned but there was no mechanism put in place for implementing it. (...) One of the reasons for this, was due to the fact that the person who was to*

---

[81] Department of Education and Science; Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands; Department of Environment and Local Government; Office of Public Works; and Department of Finance.

be in charge of monitoring the policy suddenly died, which meant that there was
nobody there who owned it, who took ownership of the policy.'

Adding to the policy coordination deficit, the Irish Government suffered a strong restructuring in May 2002. The Department of Arts ceased to exist and the Architectural policy responsibilities were transferred to the new Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government (DOEHLG) (Mee and Wakely 2008, p. 24). As such, DOEHLG suddenly received a series of new competences, which failed to allow the creation of the inter-departmental committee that should review the Architectural policy. Consequently, only some of the actions envisaged would come to fruition (Mee and Wakely 2008, p. 22). One of the few actions delivered was the creation of a biennial award in 2002, specifically aimed at young practitioners.

Policy cover 8.2 – First Irish Architectural Policy (2002).

Nevertheless, the Architectural policy action 11, which provided for the creation of a new Virtual Architecture Centre, would end up facilitating the establishment of the Irish Architecture Foundation (IAF), in 2005. The idea of setting up an Architectural centre had been envisaged by several institutions for more than ten years. The RIAI general manager recalls that the already referred policy action 11 was used as a *hook* to persuade the government to set up the IAF, in partnership with other stakeholders (RIAI, 2015: interview):

> *'Having a formal policy, which affirmed the importance of involving the general*
> *public about Architecture, was something that RIAI could refer to and use as*
> *'political weapon' to exert pressure for the creation of a cultural institution*
> *dedicated to enhance public engagement with architecture' (Ibidem).*

As such, in an indirect way, the Irish Architectural policy facilitated the creation of the IAF, enabling an institutional partnership between public and private actors in which everyone contributed with a certain amount to support the new Irish Architecture Foundation financially (Table 8.2).

Source	Amount €
Arts Council	58,000
DOEHLG	60,000
Dublin City Council	30,000
Office of Public Works	30,000
RIAI	50,000
TOTAL	**228,000**

Table 8.2 – Principal Core Funding Contributions to IAF in 2008
(based on the Report of the Arts Council *Public Engagement & Architecture*, 2008)

Second policy: *Towards a Sustainable Future* (2009-15)

After the implementation period of the first Architectural policy, which ran from 2002 to 2005, work on the development of a revised policy on Architecture commenced. In October 2007, the Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, John Gormely, announced the development of a new policy on Architecture. The Minister appointed a Steering Committee with representatives from a broad spectrum of public and private sectors and three Focus Groups. Several public consultation meetings coordinated by the IAF were held throughout the country, and a website was created as part of the public consultation process. Finally, in June 2009, the government adopted the new policy entitled, *Towards a sustainable future: Delivering quality within the built environment.*

Image 8.2 – Grand Canal Square, Dublin, Ireland (2007); Design: Martha Schwartz
Partners; Client: Dublin Docklands Development Authority; Image: John McLaughlin Office.

Objectives and instruments

Building on the previous policy document, the 2009 policy introduced 15 new key policy statements, placing more emphasis on sustainable development and urban design. As such, the concept of *place-making* is more central than in the previous version. Nevertheless, it continues to 'encourage and support high quality modern architecture, incorporating architectural heritage in a holistic, integrated manner (Ireland 2009, p. 2). In addition, the new policy continues to promote 'awareness and understanding of the contribution of good design to the daily life and well-being of society as a whole' (Ibidem, p. 6). The revised policy contains 45 actions divided into six parts, covering a number of recurring themes. Its implementation programme extends for seven years and the execution of its actions is distributed among several public and private stakeholders. The most relevant policy actions are described below (Table 8.2).

Research	Commissioning research in areas such as building energy performance, factors affecting the social sustainability of settlements, the range of research going on in other countries, and best practice in sustainable 'place-making'.
State Architect	The creation of a state architect role, with responsibilities such as advising on the implementation of the Architectural policy and acting as an advisor on legislation and regulations affecting the built environment.
Better procurement	Developing quality guidelines for the procurement phase of public buildings; increasing the number of architecture competitions.
Sustainability	Developing guidance documents on sustainability best practice in buildings. Encouraging public authorities to make greater use of the existing building stock through adaptation and conservation.
Incentive schemes	The examination of incentive schemes, led by the DEHLG and the OPW, to encourage the private sector to follow best practice in future-proofing buildings.
Local design champions	Consider the benefits of the potential appointment of City or County Architects to: champion architectural quality at local level, to strengthen and better co-ordinate the design and planning processes and incentivizing good quality.
Greater Awareness	Promoting greater awareness of Architecture in school programs. Encouraging public awareness and engagement with Architecture through exhibitions, events, television programmes and Architect in Residence Schemes.
Architecture forum	Creation of an Architecture forum chaired by the state architect and consisting of DEHLG, OPW and representatives from the public and private sectors.

Table 8.3 – Summary of some of the actions stated in Ireland's Government Policy on Architecture (Based on the Northern Ireland Assembly report, 2013)

Unlike the first season, according to the Irish Senior official (2015: interview), there was a strong commitment from the government to implement the policy action plan. Nearly 30 of the 45 actions had been completed until the date of the interview. Looking back, he refers that part of the success is due to the fact that policy actions have been much more specific than the previous policy, indicating who was responsible for each action (Ibidem). Even so, he stated that it was not possible to complete all the actions as most of them had been attributed to different stakeholders and not all partners work at the same pace (Ibid.). Although the progress was exponential, the results proved more successful in some areas than in others:

> 'With local government and planning and we did a lot of planning and architecture guidelines (…) there was a huge progress (…). The quality element in procurement, not so much progress actually done and that's probably because we needed to involve at least 3 or 4 different people. I think we're (…) getting better but we're still struggling on the procurement. But the educational awareness has been huge here, particularly since we set up the Irish Architectural Foundation.' (Irish policy official, 2015: interview)

One of the factors that contributed to the good levels of success was the ability to work across different departments. The senior official explained that the execution of the actions with regards to planning were successful because there was a very close relationship between the Heritage and Architecture Division, responsible for the Government Policy on Architecture (GPA), and the Planning and Urban Design Division. The same did not happen with other departments, which hindered the delivery of other policy actions. Considering the transversal aims of the GPA, it is possible to conclude that one of the difficulties in policy implementation is to get enough political support to be able to persuade the different departments and state agencies to follow and execute the assigned policy actions. As will be seen, this problem cuts across all three case studies.
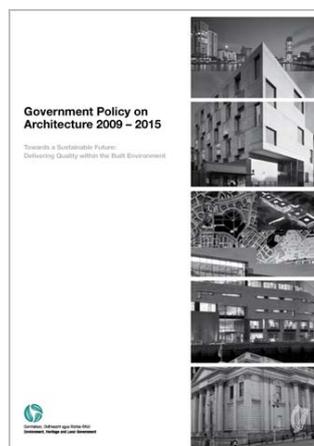
Policy cover 8.3 – Second Irish Architectural policy (2009)

To improve the co-ordination of the policy implementation, two structures were established: 1) an Advisory Committee, a high level advisory group of stakeholders/partners to advise the government on policy actions delivery and implementation; and 2) the Implementation Group, an inter-sectoral platform that managed aspects concerning the implementation of the actions as required. In addition, to secretariat the policy and better coordinate the actions it was decided to have a full-time person responsible for monitoring the policy actions on an ongoing basis. The number of stakeholders involved in the delivery of the actions is noteworthy, which is an advantage but also a problem if the partners to not collaborate.

One of the first actions that was put in place was the change of title of the Principal Architect in the Office of Public Works (OPW) to State Architect (GPA Action 6). Besides the change in the title, his or her role was also reinforced. In this sense, the State Architect assumes a multi-task role leading the Architectural Services of the OPW and promoting a culture of best practice inside the state. At first sight, the change of the title by itself does not seem to have much impact on how the other state departments manage the design quality of their own construction works. However, the current State Architect mentioned that the new title has given him a more strong position inside the government as well as the ability to persuade other departments to raise the design quality of their projects. By having the title of State Architect, he has a reinforced authority to demand better buildings from other departments, which otherwise would not feel obliged to receive advice from someone outside their organization (2015: interview). As will be seen, the State Architect also exists in the other two case studies although with different competences.

Image 8.3 – The design of the new building of Department of Finance was coordinated by
OPW Architectural Services, Dublin, Ireland (2009); Design: Grafton Architects / OPW Architectural Services; Client:
The Commissioners of Public Works; Image: DG - Denis Gilbert.

About the usefulness of having a formal Architectural policy, the new State Architect of Ireland (2015: interview) reported a small episode where it was able of using the policy:

> *'I have been able to use the policy in many arguments with different groupings,*
> *for instance, there is a group here that does public private partnerships and up*
> *to recently they paid no attention whatsoever to architectural quality. (…) There*
> *was huge resistance for that and said "you are not telling us what to do, you we*
> *are from a different organization" and I was able to say "listen here this is a*
> *government policy…'*

Therefore, according to the State Architect, it was important to have a formal policy on Architecture because it gave him legitimacy to persuade others to raise the design quality of their projects. This will be discussed in the next section.

8.3.2 The Architectural policy of the Netherlands (1991-2015)

Precedents (1980-1990)

According with Cousins (2009, p. 9), the Netherlands was the first country in the world to adopt a national comprehensive policy on Architecture. As with all innovations, the Dutch policy was not developed in an empty space. Ten years prior, a bottom-up movement of local initiatives started to develop giving impetus to an overall improvement of the architectural climate in the Netherlands (Jansen, 2015: interview). Already in 1982, the Rotterdam Arts Council had promoted the first Architecture Biennale Rotterdam (Figueiredo 2010, p. 32). At the same time, debates were being held about the location of the new Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAi) (Ulzen 2007, p. 171). Officially established in 1988, the NAi was the result of a merger between three existing architectural bodies[82] which used to work in parallel promoting architectural initiatives to different audiences and decided to merge to share resources and infrastructures (Ibidem). After a design competition, the new building of the NAI would open its doors in 1993 (Image 8.4).

Image 8.4 – The new building of the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI);
Rotterdam (1993); Design: Jo Coenen; Image: João Bento

---

[82] Architecture Museum Foundation (Stichting voor Architectuurmuseum), Netherlands Centre for Architecture Documentation (Nederlands Documentatiecentrum voor de Bouwkunst) and Foundation "Housing/Living" (Stichting Wonen) (Figueiredo 2010).

In addition, both the professional and wider public would benefit from the establishment of 010, a subject-specific publisher in 1983 (Stegmeijer et al. 2012, p. 10). In 1985, the Prix de Rome was reintroduced, closely followed by reintroduction of Archiprix 1986 (graduation project) and Europan in 1989. The value of these competitions was often linked to the possibility of designing a real project representing a major factor in pushing up young talent (Ibidem). As a result there was a reorientation of the architectural debate that allowed it to extend to wider audiences. The Dutch senior official (2015: interview), who was one of co-authors of the first Dutch Architectural policy, mentioned that the rise of the Architecture cultural climate was in part due to the economic crisis of the late 1970s:

> *'the rise of the new initiatives that started to appear from the mid-eighties onwards was also connected with the economic and financial crisis that hit Europe in the seventies and eighties, where a lot of unemployed architects dedicated their free time to cultural initiatives.'*

The Architectural grassroots movement that occurred throughout the 1980s was also a reflection of the dissatisfaction with the quality of buildings and urban spaces developed in the preceding decades. A huge amount of low-quality housing was developed during the 1970s, influenced by post-war housing models in which architectural design was not valued by the market (Figueiredo, 2010). This situation reinforced the idea that design quality needed to be promoted, both socially and in market terms. Another important factor in the adoption of an Architectural policy was the restructuring of the cultural policy (Dutch senior official, 2015: interview). In the mid-1980s, there was a shift in how the state supported cultural activities, and cultural funding was reorganized to create a system to subsidise artistic works based on quality criteria (Ibidem). The new way of financing the arts and cultural supply brought about a change in the Dutch culture policy which paved the way for the first Architectural policy. From 1988 onwards, the NAi was set up with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture and an international study program was established, which led to the creation of the Berlage Institute, in 1990. As such, when the Dutch policy was adopted most of its tools were already in place.

First policy: *Space for Architecture* (1991-1996)

In 1991, Hedy d'Ancona (Minister of Culture) and J.G.M. Alders (Minister of Housing, Planning and Environment) followed up the idea of their predecessors of developing a joint Architectural policy that framed NAi politically (Vollaard, 2003). The essence of the policy was to bring building and culture policy closer by establishing a policy platform between the two ministries. As mentioned in Chapter 7, the first Dutch policy started with an explanation of the meaning of Architecture quality based on a holistic view of quality and inspired by the Vitruvian criteria (see Section 7.2.1) (Policy cover 8.5).
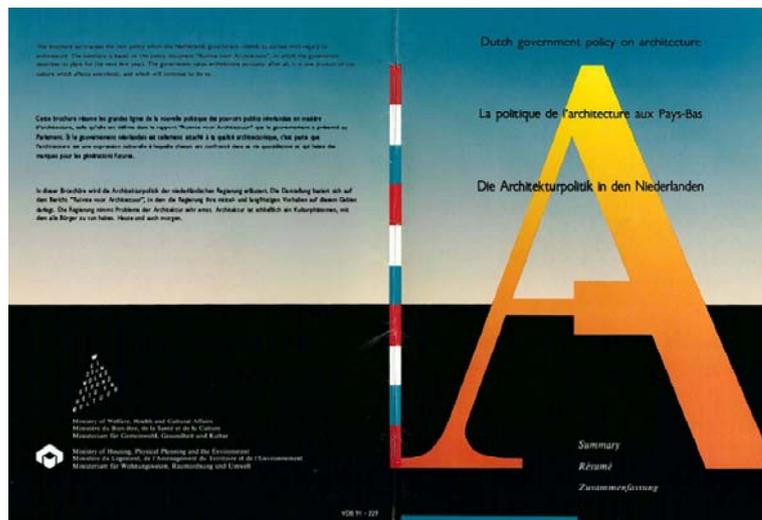
Policy cover 8.5 – First Dutch Architectural policy (1991)

<u>Objectives and instruments</u>

As already noted in Section 7.3.6, the main objective of *Space for Architecture* was to 'create the right conditions for the generation of architectural quality' (Netherlands 1991, p. 13). This main aim was supported by two policy objectives: i) setting an example and ii) to develop a favourable climate that encouraged the generation of architectural quality. With respect to the first objective, the main idea was to influence development actors by promoting better public buildings. Among several initiatives, the role of the Chief Government Architect was reinforced, so that he or she could give advice on the design quality of public projects. In addition, to facilitate inter-sectoral collaboration, an inter-ministerial Architectural Policy Platform was created with a specific budget to monitor policy implementation and results (Ibidem).

Regarding the second policy objective, the main idea was to improve the architectural climate. A system of extended architectural institutions was put in place:

▪ Creation of a special *Fund to Stimulate Architecture* (SFA), which would support a wide range of initiatives such as architecture centres, occasional projects (e.g. special events, exhibitions, publications, television productions and research), sample projects and client expertise;

▪ Strengthening of the role of the NAI, which had its budget increased to deliver a more structured set of tasks, such as promoting a better climate and broadening information available to the general public;

▪ Consolidation of the Funds BKVB, which provided individual subsidies for individuals, e.g. travel, work scholarships, project grants and subsidies;

<u>First policy results</u>

Concerning the first goal, according to Stegmeijer et al. (2012), the public buildings and construction works developed throughout the first four years appear to have been high-

quality undertakings. As a result, the role of the Government Architect in influencing the different departments to raise their standards was valued. Nonetheless, central government's direct involvement in building activities diminished and sub-national authorities gained more responsibilities in the shaping of their environments (Netherlands 1996, p. 13). In 1993, to address this shift, the government created the foundation Architectuur Lokaal (AL), an independent centre for cultural commissioning that provided information and offered incentive programs to local and provincial authorities. It also provided incentives for the creation of local architecture centres. In reaction to this, the number of local architecture centres grew exponentially, reaching 27 centres in 1995, and many municipalities created their own local architectural policy (Stegmeijer et al. 2012).

Image 8.5 - Java Island Urban Development, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
(1990-2000); Masterplan: Sjoerd Soeters Office; Client: Municipality of Amsterdam.

The Architectural institutions described above were successfully put in place. In 1993, NAi's new building opened its doors and became the second largest Architectural institute in the world dedicated to wider audiences (Vollaard, 2003). Moreover, NAi contributed to develop the field by promoting architecture / urbanism exhibitions, conferences and the publication of books (Figueiredo 2010). The Architectural Fund was one of the main incentives by supporting architectural competitions, publications, events and exhibitions. The policy results were also reinforced by specific initiatives promoted by Funds BKVB and the Europan, Archiprix. Another effect of the policy was a huge increase in the number of articles devoted to architecture in the media (newspapers, magazines and TV). The educational offer was also strengthened with the Berlage Institute, in 1991. However, Stegmeijer et al. (2012) refer that the internationalization goal was not achieved.

As an overall evaluation, the second policy document makes a very positive assessment of the first season, mentioning that the cultural infrastructure has improved the 'conditions for thinking about and discussing the realization of architectural quality; adding that it facilitated 'greater public interest with increased public support for the opinion and decision process (…) and an explosion of interest in architecture by the media' (Netherlands 1996, p. 12). The same positive view on the results of the first Architectural policy is also shared by a number of academics (Cousins 2009, Dings 2009, Figueiredo 2010, Stegmeijer et al. 2012) and by all the people interviewed.

Second policy: *The Architecture of Space* **(1997-2000)**

One of the indirect effects of the first policy was a boost of architectural practices and the strong international recognition of Dutch designers, later known as the 'Super Dutch' generation of architectural firms (Kloosterman 2008, p. 6). Despite the rise of innovative designs there was a growing awareness that architectural design by itself was not enough to improve the quality of the built environment. As noted by the Chief Government Architect Wytze Patijn (from 1995 to 2000) in an interview: 'Architecture must not isolate itself (…) The question is (…) how to build bridges between the many organizations involved in spatial planning' (in Dings, 2009, p. 136). Backing these words with action, he was able to convince the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Transport and Public Works to participate in the second policy and expand its scope to include urban development, landscape and infrastructure (Ibidem). As discussed in Section 7.2.3, the second Dutch policy introduced a shift in the policy discourse expanding its scope to higher scales of design from which it would never come back (Policy cover 8.6).

Policy cover 8.6 – Second Dutch Architectural policy (1996)

Objectives and instruments

The central aim of the revised Architectural policy was 'to reinforce the social embodiment of Architecture as a spatial manifestation of culture in the broadest sense' (Ibid., p. 21). To improve the spatial quality of the Netherlands two new themes were delineated: expansion to higher scales; and conciliation of market and cultural objectives. The first theme was intended to expand the concerns about design quality to the scale levels of urban development, physical planning, landscape architecture and infrastructural design (Netherlands 1996, p. 8). The national policy expert (2015: interview) made the following comment on the reason for upscaling the policy scope:

> 'It's a country which is dominated by infrastructural works - keep out the water,
> transport, infrastructure - so (…) the architectural quality is very much linked to

these infrastructural interventions in the Netherlands so it does make sense to not just look at housing, but also at the infrastructures.'

The second theme was focused on conciliating market and cultural objectives by promoting research on the possibility of motivating commercial interests to invest in design quality (Netherlands 1996). In addition, the demand side (clients, residents) should be stimulated through the dissemination of knowledge. Despite the new themes and scope, the policy instruments remained largely the same, and architectural institutions, especially NAi and SfA, had to pay more attention to urban and regional planning in terms of research and activities (Stegmeijer et al. 2012). AL would encourage local authorities to incorporate and refocus their Architectural policy in relation to higher levels. Also the AL mission and the remaining set of architectural institutions should give more attention to professional commissioning. In addition, the scope of the State Prize for good commissioning (the Golden Pyramid) was extended.

<u>Second policy results</u>

Although the second policy aimed at promoting spatial quality at higher scales, the results in this field were considered poor (Council of Culture, 2000; in Stegmeijer et al. 2012). Above the local level, particularly in rural areas, little attention was given to design issues. In addition, the idea of integrated spatial design at a regional scale was not able to thrive due to the separate decision-making processes of rural development, transport and housing (Netherlands 2001, p. 4). One of the obstacles was the multiplicity of stakeholders with conflicting interests and the compartmentalisation among different state departments. In sum, the Architectural policy was not able to cross the different 'silos' and to extend its influence to other policy agendas (this will be discussed in the next section). Even so, a better connection between architecture and spatial design in towns and villages at neighbourhood and district level was improved (Ibidem).

Regarding the second theme, to conciliate market and cultural objectives, the policy was able to achieve more favourable results. According to Stegmeijer et al. (2012), the general interest in Architectural quality has grown not only intrinsically, but also motivated by the (commercial) desire to follow market demand. About the previous goal of improving the architectural climate, the latter remained relatively favourable and was reflected in a stronger interest for Architecture among municipal councillors, the flourishing of local architecture centres and higher attendance at architecture-related activities, such as historical excursions, debates and symposiums (Ibid.). This was the result of an already existent Architecture cultural infrastructure coming from the first policy, which was basically maintained with an increase in funding in some cases.

Third policy: *Shaping the Netherlands* (2001-2004)

In 2001, the Dutch Government published a third policy version. Although it refers that significant social changes had occurred in the previous decade, the concerns are basically the same: exemplary public commissioning, stimulation of a favourable architectural climate,

expansion to higher scales and persuading market forces to invest in quality and cultural issues (Ibidem). There is also a repetition of earlier calls to break down departmental silos and for designers to be given opportunities to use their creative powers (Hague, 2012). The broad scope and the composition of the inter-Ministerial platform is maintained (four ministers), but the way to achieve its objectives is slightly adapted (Policy cover 8.7).
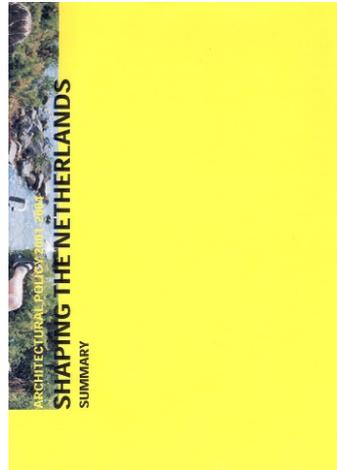
Policy cover 8.7 – Third Dutch Architectural policy (2001)

Objectives and instruments

Although the third policy proposed two new themes, the use of design at higher levels remains on the agenda to promote an integrated design approach between architecture, spatial planning and culture heritage. The culture infrastructure is maintained and its financial framework was reinforced to ensure the 'organisation of exhibitions, debates, studies and design competitions, and for publications, supply of information and recommendations, to maintain the collection, and for environmental education' (Netherlands 2001). *Set an example* continues a policy objective, and ten major government-funded projects were selected to encourage design quality in all sectors of building and urban planning (Cousins 2009). Under the title 'Major Projects', they were characterized by complexity and a high level of ambition with the aim of demonstrating the importance of introducing design as early as possible. As such, the Major Projects would be used to give an example to the market. Although the projects were divided between the different Ministers, the Chief Government Architect could advise on design quality issues.

Third policy results

About the results of the first theme, *Architecture is everyone business*, the third policy basically maintains the same culture infrastructure of the previous policies. As such, the same type of activities focused on raising public awareness and improving the architectural climate are deployed in the same manner: the NAi continues to promote a wide range of cultural activities to a diversified audience, SfA continues to support a wide range of publications, symposiums and specific research projects, AL continues to offer support services to design competitions and commissioning at local level, Berlage Institute continues

to reinforce its position as a post-graduate reference school. The remaining instruments (awards, EuroPan, etc) continue to operate as before. As far as the second strand is concerned, in 2004, the Dutch Government ordered a qualitative evaluation report from Gideon Consultants on the added value of the Major Projects introduced by the policy. The report concluded that the introduction of design at an early stage was a valuable contribution to improving the projects. Although the value of design was proved positive, the report pointed out that more time for design research was needed, namely, multidisciplinary research. Considering the complex administrative structure of government, the creation of the position of a Chief Government Landscape Architect Advisor was seen as a significant step towards higher quality outcomes. However, in general terms, the Gideon Report concluded that the exemplary operation of large projects could be better.

Image 8.6 – Acoustic barrier of 1,5km along a highway, Utrecht,
The Netherlands (2006); Design: ONL; Client: Projectbureau Leidsche Rijn Utrecht.

Fourth policy: *Action Programme on Spatial Planning and Culture* **(2005-2008)**

As the name indicates, the fourth Dutch Architectural policy was not a policy *per se* but an action agenda, which did not require Parliamentary approval. Altough it kept the same tools, the lower profile of the Architectural policy caused a stir in the professional community: 'Architectural policy would be put into the garbage' (Hendriks, 2008; in Stegmeijer et al. 2012). Nevertheless, for decision-makers the policy was mainly continuity and not devaluation (Ibidem). Uniting Architectural policy and Belvedere policy[83] in a single program allowed it to expand inter-ministerial cooperation to seven Ministries. Besides the previous, it was also signed by the Ministries of Economy, Defence and Foreign Affairs (Image 8.8).

Objectives and instruments

In terms of substance, the fourth policy document brought together the Architecture and the Belvedere policy, providing a framework for a variety of initiatives connected with cultural heritage. The policy aim continued vastly broad: 'to improve the spatial quality of our

---

[83] The Belvedere Policy (1999–2009) encouraged the integration of heritage conservation with spatial planning.

buildings, villages, cities and landscapes' (Netherlands 2005, p. 5). Again, the instruments of the fourth policy were organized in two strands. The first was focused on supporting and exploiting the system of architecture and heritage institutions, which consisted of the same bodies and some heritage institutions. The second was focused on concrete state projects to set an example entitled this time, 'Model Projects', in which thirteen different projects from different Ministries were chosen. Finally, the role of the Chief Government Architect was reinforced by an appointment as chairman of the Board of Governments Advisors: one for Landscape, one for Cultural Heritage and one for Infrastructure, each appointed and paid by their own Ministry.

Policy cover 8.8 – Fourth Dutch Architectural policy (2005)

Fourth policy results

Despite the wide range of initiatives foreseen, the fourth policy implementation was criticized for failing to execute its action program to its full extent. Hendriks (2008; in Stegmeijer et al. 2012) refers that the lack of implementation was mostly due to the fragmented government policy for the built environment, in which the sectoral approach of other policies, such as mobility, landscape and spatial planning prevailed. Once again, Architectural policy was not able to strengthen the position of design at higher scales and its translation into practice at municipal level was considered moderate. On the other hand, the Model Projects were considered successful (e.g. the New Holland Water Line or the Design of motorway routes and their surroundings), and the government, together with other partners, was able to demonstrate the value of good design in spatial interventions, which resulted in new collaborations (e.g. School Building Service). The revision of the legal framework was also completed (e.g. Architect Acts and the Guide on Environmental Impact Assessment). Regarding the aim of promoting knowledge and information on Architecture, it was achieved by architectural institutions: NAI, SfA, AL, Europan, Berlage Institute, Funds BKVB, Archiprix, ArchiNed, etc, In 2005, the Ministries of Environment and Culture earmarked €10.5 million per year to Architecture institutions, the largest grant (€ 4.5 million) going to NAi and € 3.3 million to the SfA. The Dutch had the highest policy budget of the three case studies.

Fifth policy: *A Culture of Design - Vision on Architecture and Spatial Design* **(2009-12)**

In July 2008, a revised Architectural policy was adopted. Contrasting with the previous policy, the new Dutch policy had a more strategic outline, starting with a policy vision and introducing the following slogan: 'each spatial modification is a cultural act' (Netherlands 2008, p. 13). According to Stegmeijer et al. (2012), the new strategic policy was the result of an active debate with the professional community and with stakeholders from different departments, from which emerged a desire for a new policy vision. In fact, already in 2008, a sense of a crisis was starting to be felt in the world of design, due to the global financial crises, decentralization of government tasks and reorganization of urban services in local government. Nevertheless, the effects of the new context would not be reflected in the following Architectural policy (Policy cover 8.9).

Policy cover 8.9 – Fifth Dutch Architectural policy (2008)

Objectives and instruments

In its fifth policy version, the value of good design to improve the quality of the built environment was still a valid argument. In this sense, the policy saw the structural reinforcement of the role of design as a condition for 'creating beauty and cultural richness in the Netherlands' (Ibidem, p. 7). To achieve this, three objectives were defined. The first, following the previous policies, was to encourage good public commissioning. Nevertheless, instead of direct examples ('Model Projects'), this was done through a strategy of Design Protocols, a fixed agreement to guarantee structural design input at an early stage. The second objective was to strengthen urban and regional design, as design expertise was gradually disappearing among regional and municipalities authorities. As such, the government intended to reinforce the position of urban design, both in terms of the development of the profession and of its actual practice (Ibidem). To ensure an effective deployment of design at regional level the policy included measures to increase professional expertise among regional authorities and other commissioning authorities.

A third objective was focused on designing for re-designation and redevelopment to address the issue of vacant properties, such as large buildings, complexes and sites. It was directed at the existing building stock, comprehending not only special monuments but also the built environment as a whole (see section 7.3.4). Following the Belvedere policy, the aim was to take advantage of innovative design solutions to re-use and reallocate existing buildings and spaces, thereby strengthening the cultural significance of the environment. In addition to the new objectives, the revised Architectural policy maintained exactly the same policy instruments of the previous policies. The architectural institutions were maintained without any new assignment or restructuring, except for NAi and the SfA that had to develop activities related to the new three themes (Stegmeijer et al. 2012).

Fifth policy results

Concerning the first objective, several design protocols were agreed for a large range of government projects and programs. One of the most successful was the Route Design method. It was primarily a process tool in which the various parties debated and formulated a vision and general direction for a project, adding for reference design specifications for motorways and trunk roads. Another example was design protocols for rural areas, prepared by the Government Advisor for Landscape, providing guidance for the government and the provinces. About the second objective, a limited number of concrete actions emerged. One consisted of a series of roundtable debates between the Chief Government Architect with architecture schools. Although these debates were considered useful, it was clear that the Architectural policy had no direct influence on the form and content of architectural courses (Ibidem). Other actions were focused on building knowledge and expertise around regional design processes, and here the SfA played a central role in financing research development. After 2009, however, the financial crisis changed the role of regional authorities, giving priority to bottom-up initiatives rather than to the management of large area developments. The third objective resulted in a support programme for urban renewal, involving projects in forty districts, where municipalities applied for funding.

Also supported by the policy, the different architecture institutions developed a huge amount of activities and actions contributing to a greater awareness of Architecture. For example, AL developed a Laboratory of Private Commissioning, promoting good practice in this field, organizing excursions, debates, workshops, developing a website, etc. In addition, it developed a digital guide for the procurement of architectural services. The State Prize to inspire good commissioning gained good recognition from professionals and interested citizens, and the TV broadcasts about the nominees and the winners attracted a considerable audience. A new internationalization program was created, the Dutch DFA (Design, Fashion and Architecture), to explore the cultural and economic position of the Netherlands.

Sixth policy: *Action Agenda for Architecture and Spatial Design* (2013-2016)

In 2013, the sixth and current Architectural policy was adopted. As evidenced in the title, instead of a strategic policy, the government preferred (again) to adopt an action agenda. Two years before, debates started to be held among the departments concerned to prepare the new policy. In the beginning of that year, in a period of strong economic recession, the center-right government announced an austerity program in which, for the first time in fifty years, the culture budget was reduced in 25% (Dutch senior officer, 2015: interview). Considering the difficult external environment, the formulation of the new policy would mark a shift in the way Dutch Architectural policy has been carried out in the last 20 years.

A first aspect was a shift in the policy discourse. Although the conceptual basis of the previous policies was not refuted, the economic value of Architecture, at the expense of the cultural value, was presented as the main justification for maintaining a public policy in this area. Considering that Dutch design was an export product, it was argued that the economic and the potential value of the architecture and spatial design sector could contribute to the country's recovery (Netherlands, 2012, p. 7). It also mentioned the existence of externalities and market failure, strategic economic considerations (quality of life and location factor) and the growth potential of creative industries. In this context, the central government positioned itself outside the design processes, delegating such responsibility to private actors and municipalities (Figueiredo 2013, p. 30). The role change was justified by a market change, in which development demand stagnated: large-scale expansion areas ended, the number of building contracts decreased and the rate of unemployment in the design industry reached almost 60% (Policy cover 8.10).

Policy cover 8.10 – Sixth Dutch Architectural policy (2012).

A second aspect was a shift in policy instruments. Influenced by a neo-liberal philosophy, the government assumed the desire of withdraw to its core duties and to provide greater space to other actors (Netherlands 2012, p. 15). In this sense, the action agenda is based on the idea of networks and partnerships. As referred by the Dutch policy officer:

'The time of sort of doing everything top down in general, it is very much over. The influence you have is indirect. (…). I think what we did for this policy is an action agenda working very closely with these different stakeholders and trying to build more like a network governance structure' (2015: interview)

Based on arguments of financial efficiency, the policy announces a 'compact basic cultural infrastructure', withdrawing public funding from several institutions - AL, the Berlage Institute, Archiprix and Europan – and reducing and merging the two main architectural bodies, the NAi and the SfA, with other design institutions. Under the umbrella of creative industries, there is now an Institute for Architecture, Design and Electronic Culture and a Fund for Creative Industries instead of an Architectural Institute and an Architectural Fund.

Image 8.7 – New entrance of Rotterdam Central station, The Netherlands (2014);
Design: Sjoerd Soeters Office; Client: Municipality of Rotterdam; Image: João Bento.

Nevertheless, the goal of excellence in commissioning remains intact, and it is mentioned that the central government maintains the commitment of early inclusion of design and designers in the policy processes of national programs and projects. At end of this year, a new Architectural policy will be announced, and hopefully a report of the results of the present policy will be presented.

8.3.3 The Architectural policy of Scotland (1997-2015)

Precedents (1997-2000)

The development of the first Scottish Architectural policy started with the Scottish devolution process, when the Scots voted yes to a reinforced Parliament in a referendum held in September of 1997. In the Government Programme, drafted by a coalition agreement between the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats, the following initiative was included:

'We will develop the first ever national policy on architecture' (Scotland 1999b).

At the time, the idea of developing a formal Architectural policy was in part influenced by several Architectural national events. In the beginning of 1998, an international competition of ideas was launched for the design of the new Parliament building. A shortlist of five designs was put in public display, and 35,000 people visited the exhibition and roughly 5,000 commented the proposals[84]. That same year, Glasgow was designated the UK City of Architecture and Design, winning over Edinburgh and Liverpool. A national centre for architecture and design, The Lighthouse, was set up to deliver most of the annual activities.

Image 8.8 – New Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, Scotland (2004); Design:
António Miralles; Client: Scottish Government; Image: Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body.

Adding to the above, there was also the awareness that other EU member states already had national Architectural policies (Scottish senior official, 2015: interview). In this sense, and similarly to Dutch case, the decision to develop a national policy on Architecture appeared in a period of policy restructuring together with a greater awareness of Architecture: the national debate on the Parliament design, the Glasgow year of Architecture and the recent national Architecture centre. Furthermore, the fact that Scotland was the first UK country to adopt an Architectural policy was a matter of national pride (Ibidem).

In September 1999, four months after the Scottish elections, the new Executive published a framework document for public consultation entitled '*The development of a Policy on Architecture for Scotland'*, setting out the issues, the range of policy objectives and actions (Scotland 1999b) (Policy cover 7.9).

---

[84] The design competition of ideas resulted in a shortlist of five teams and the design assignment was attributed to the Spanish architect Enric Miralles, in July 1998.
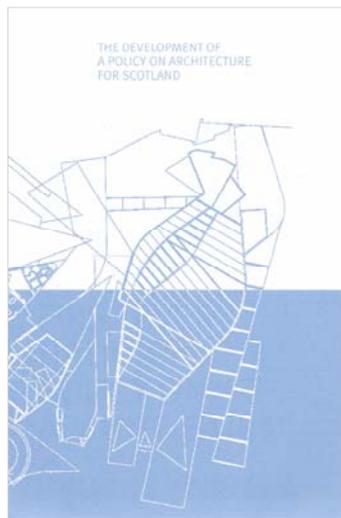
Policy cover 8.11 – Scottish public consultation document on Architectural policy (1999)

Under the coordination of the Chief Architect's Office, a series of public meetings was held across Scotland to collect views and comments on the policy document (LGC, 2000). Similarly to the Irish development, the consultation document was important to legitimatize the government's intention to adopt a formal policy on Architecture. To complement this, the Scottish Chief Architect made the following comment:

> *'the framework document was strongly endorsed in the public consultation and there was broad support for the sentiments expressed as well as strong cross-party support.'* (2015: interview)

Following the theoretical discussion on policy formulation and decision-making (see Section 4.2.3), as in all public policies, having sufficient political and community support was essential for the development of the first Architectural Policy in Scotland and subsequent adoption by the Parliament, in 2001.

First policy: *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland* (2001-2006)

As discussed in section 7.2.3, the first Scottish policy was based on a narrow conception of architecture, which restricted its scope mainly to the design of buildings (Scotland 2001). The restricted notion of architecture as building design (architecture with lower case) was in part due to a parallel policy document entitled *Designing places*, published in the following year, which was dedicated to improve the design quality of places (Scotland 2002). In fact, the architecture policy was only signed by the Minister for Sport, the Arts and Culture, while the place policy was only signed by the Minister of Transport and Planning (Image 8.12). Despite of the nonexistence of an inter-ministerial platform for the built environment, a cross-departmental working group would be created later on, leading to a joint Architecture policy.
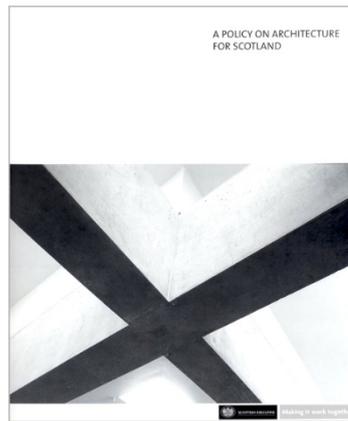
Policy cover 8.12 – First Scottish Architectural policy (2001).

<u>Objectives and instruments</u>

The main aim of the Scottish policy on Architecture was 'to seek improvements in the quality of Scotland's buildings, both public and private, and in the quality of the built environment' (2001, p. 4). To achieve this broad aim the policy advocated for a wider recognition of the importance and value of good design identified five key objectives. To achieve these objectives, the Scottish policy established 40 government actions intended to help raise awareness of the value of good building design and to promote recognition of the importance of architecture (Scotland 2005). See below for a summary of the policy actions.

Promote the value of good design	Continue to provide grants to The Lighthouse for a three-year national programme of activities, events and initiatives; Develop online interactive teaching resource material on Architecture;
Foster excellence in design	Establish a new national award for exemplary achievement in the field of architecture; commission the publication of a bi-annual review of Scottish architecture and urban design;
Encourage community involvement	Work with community groups to develop a network of place activities; enable local authorities to promote Architecture at a local level.
Promote quality in public procurement	Ensure that design quality is properly taken into account in the guidance, training and advice of public construction projects; promote an annual award for best publicly-funded building; and encourage design-quality indicators in publicly-funded projects
Planning and building standards systems	Ensure that design quality is accorded greater significance as a material consideration in the determination of planning applications; encourage the schools of planning and architecture to strengthen the teaching of urban design; review the status and appropriate remit for a national design review body to provide independent advice on development proposals.

Table 8.4 – Summary of the actions of the first Scottish policy on Architecture.

First policy results

One of the first policy outputs was the renovation of The Lighthouse' funding to deliver a wide range of activities, events and initiatives in support of Architecture. The Lighthouse was also responsible by developing specific projects / initiatives such as the SUST programme on sustainability, which involved 18 projects in partnership with a wide range of organisations. Another initiative was the creation of the Building Connections website in 2002, an online interactive teaching resource material on Architecture. In 2005, the Architecture and Design Scotland (A+DS) was established as an independent national champion for good architecture, design and planning in the built environment. Considered a major policy achievement, A+DS took over and expanded the activities of the Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland (RFACS). Inspired by the former English CABE, one of the A+DS roles is to develop *design review* at national level, which is a UK particularity. In 2009, due to financial difficulties, most of the activities of The Lighthouse were transferred to A+DS. Interestingly, all three countries have set up a specific institution to champion the cause of good design, promoting the importance of architecture amongst wider audiences, working with planning authorities and the development industry.

Image 8.7 - Robin House Children's Hospice, Loch Lomond, Scotland (2005); Design:
Gareth Hoskins Architects; Client: Children Hospice Association; Image: Andrew Lee Photography

In terms of implementation mechanisms, the *Policy on Architecture Progress Group (PAPG)* was established to provide a permanent platform to assist in the co-ordination of initiatives across departments, to monitor the success of the policy actions and to provide a forum. The creation of an interdepartmental platform to assist the policy implementation and embed the policy aims across government exists in all three case studies. Due to the transversal nature of Architectural policy, the position of Chief Architect and the existence of an

interdepartmental platform appear to be a critical strategy to turn design quality into a corporate aim across government. This will be discussed in the next section.

Second policy: *Building our Legacy* **(2007-13)**

In 2006, the Scottish Executive published a strategy on the future of cultural policy. There was a commitment to 'develop and launch a new Architectural policy statement, with a strengthened role to influence the quality of the built environment' (2006, p. 53). In May of that year, an Architectural policy consultation document was published setting out twelve challenges that the policy needed to address. Four consultation events were held across Scotland and a debate on Architectural policy was held at the Scottish Parliament. Finally, in 2007, a new Architectural policy document was adopted. Although the new Scottish policy was only signed by the Culture Minister, it stated that there was a need to expand the policy scope to a wider urban design agenda placing an emphasis on the broad concept of place-making: 'great places are formed from *far more than the individual buildings* that they contain' (Scotland 2007, p. 10). As such, the scope of the revised Scottish policy was expanded to the whole built environment advocating an urban design approach (see Section 7.2.3) (Policy cover 8.13).
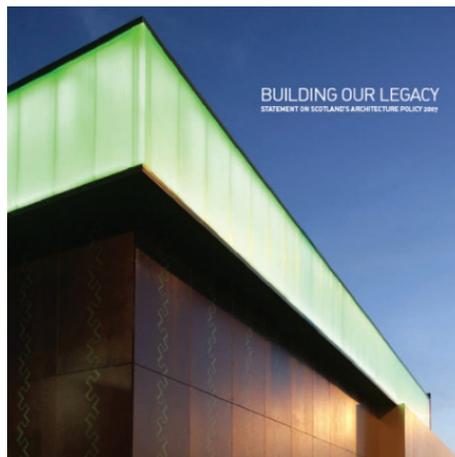
Policy cover 8.13 – Second Scottish Architectural policy (2007).

Nevertheless, the revised Architectural policy did not replace the policy 'Designing places', which still remained official and had to be considered a material consideration in the preparation of local planning frameworks. Nevertheless, this move would culminate in the adoption of a single 'built environment design policy' statement in 2014 (see third policy below).

Objectives and instruments

The main aim of the second Scottish policy remained basically the same but with greater focus on place quality and sustainability. The policy argued that poor design still remained evident in many parts of Scotland, mainly in the periphery of cities (Scotland 2007). Hence, there was a need for a reinforced Architectural policy that could stimulate a virtuous circle of

production, promoting more awareness of the added value of design. The policy set five strategic objectives:

1. *Leadership and delivery* - encourage the quality of new developments in both the public and private sectors to be of a standard that provides a well-designed living environment;

2. *Cultural context* - stimulate a cultural climate which acknowledges and appreciates the role of Architecture and encourages communities involvement in their local environments;

3. *Education, skills and advocacy* - take steps to ensure the right skills, tools and mechanisms are in place to assure the achievement of better places;

4. *Sustainability, accessibility and inclusive design* - strengthen the development of design culture which embraces sustainable, inclusive and accessible design;

5. *Built heritage* - encourage a better understanding of the role that our built heritage can play and better connections between our past, present and future built environments.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives, the policy established 45 initiatives. Despite two changes, the institutional infrastructure and most programs were maintained (see below).

Second policy results

After a period of great financial difficulty, The Lighthouse was declared insolvent and terminated its work in November 2009. After negotiating with the Glasgow City Council, the owner of the building, the Scottish Government was able to maintain The Lighthouse as Scotland's national centre for Architecture in the same location but with a different structure. Through the Architectural policy budget, the government continued to support programs on architecture and sustainability within The Lighthouse building but under the management of A+DS. Nevertheless, A+DS continued to develop several projects. One of them was working with the Scottish Government Health & Social Care Directorate (SGHSCD) and Health Facilities Scotland (HFS) to support Health Boards and create better health buildings and places, by 'assisting those commissioning new, or substantially redeveloped facilities, to set strategic design standards for the project' (A+DS website, consulted July 2015).

Another output of the policy has been the adoption of national planning policies on design. The Scottish Chief Architect (2015: interview) mentioned that:

> 'throughout the years the Architectural policy had a contaminating effect in several Departments, such as the publication of the manual Designing Streets and a series of Planning Advice Notes on design.'

Another innovation has been the appointment of design champions for specific building procurement programs. In addition to this, the appointment of a design champion became mandatory for NHS Scotland Boards. This has also been increasingly recognised by Scottish local authorities as a prerequisite in strategies for the future development of cities (Scotland,

2007, p. 17). Despite these achievements, the Chief Architect (Ibidem) stressed that it has been very difficult to encourage design innovation or experimentation within the framework of EU Procurement policies. The same was highlighted by the other interviewees. This will be discussed in the comparative analysis of the case studies.

Image 8.9 - Scotland's Housing Expo, Inverness, Scotland (2010);
Masterplan: Cadell2; Client: Highland Housing Alliance; Image: Kate Hendry

Third policy: *Creating Places - A Policy Statement on architecture and place* **(2013-18)**

In 2008, the Scottish Government created a new Directorate for the Built Environment, bringing together interests on planning, building standards and architecture (Survey reply, 2011). As part of this reform, the *Architectural policy Unit* merged with the *Design Division of Planning* to form the new *Architecture and Place Division* (APD). This meant that the same governmental unit was now in charge of both the Architecture and Place policies.

In May 2012, the APD published a paper to underpin a public consultation process, which would inform the future shape of design policy, discussing how architecture and place could help provide a better quality of life. After several public meetings, the Scottish Government adopted a new Architecture and Place Policy, in June 2013. The revised policy was signed by the Cabinet Secretary for Culture and the Minister for Local Government and Planning. Thus, Scotland had for the first time a national inter-ministerial policy for the built environment. (Policy cover 8.14).

Policy cover 8.14 – Third Scottish Architectural policy (2013)

Objectives and instruments

Despite the new scope and strategy, the third Scottish policy builds upon the solid foundation of the previous policies, maintaining more or less the same conceptual framework, objectives and implementation instruments. For example, the new policy starts by explaining what is meant by *good design* and *successful places*, recovering the six quality dimensions set out in the 2002 policy '*Designing Places'*. An additional feature inherited from the 2002 policy is that the principles contained in the new policy must be considered 'material considerations in determining planning applications and appeals' (Scotland 2013, p. 8). It is difficult to perceive to what extent this high policy statement has an impact at local level. Even so, the policy contains a specific Strategy for Architecture and Place, which sets out seven objectives:

Strategic objective	Examples of initiatives and actions
Architecture and planning	Design will be embedded in the Scottish Planning Policy. A 'Master planning toolkit' is advocated focusing particularly on town centre design. A 'Place Standard assessment tool' will also be developed.
Investment: Decisions informed by place	The strategy emphasises the value of 'whole-life building costs', in contrast to cheaper up-front costs at the expense of other efficiencies in the longer term.
Developing our potential	Actions include working with schools so that architecture becomes part of the curriculum; publishing an annual review of emerging Scottish designers, and developing the evidence base on the value of good design.
Design for a low carbon economy	Brownfield sites are to be incentivised; the UK Government will consider a reduction in the VAT for building repairs; and a new Bronze, Silver and Gold awards scheme for the construction of sustainable schools.
Cultural connections	Work to develop a program of international 'opportunities' to promote Scottish architectural practice. Support the Festival of Architecture in 2016.
Engagement and empowerment	Raise community participation in the design and planning process through 'charrette' workshops and other forms of engagement.
The role of A+DS	A+DS will continue to champion good design.

Table 8.5 - Summary of some of the intentions in Scotland's new Strategy for Architecture and Place
(Based on the Northern Ireland Assembly report, 2013)

Although it is not feasible to make a comprehensive assessment of the current Scottish policy, as it is still in its early years, based on the information available online and the interviews conducted, it is possible to explore some of actions that are currently being developed. Looking at the first strategic objective, which attempts to improve connections between planning and architecture, it is possible to observe that both the 'Master planning toolkit' and the 'Place Standard assessment tool' are already developed. The 'Place Standard assessment tool' has its own website and allows any user evaluating the quality of places by filling in a simple form. The tool was developed by three partners: NHS Health Scotland, and A+DS and Social Justice Department. Another development in this area was the adoption of the new Scottish Planning Policy (SPP), in June 2014, in which direct mention is made to the '*Creating Places'* policy and its main principles. The Scottish Chief Architect (2015: interview) referred that:

> *'this more close connection between planning and design policy was made possible due to team work resultant from the new Architecture and Place Division.'*

About the cultural connections and engagement objectives, the revised policy continues to encourage debate on the role of Architecture and to enhance the understanding of building design through several cultural programs, mostly delivered by A+DS. As such, A+DS continues to have a pivotal role with regard to the implementation of Architectural policy through its enabling activities and services of design review, both at national and local level. The announced national Festival of Architecture is taking place throughout the all year of 2016 and includes a huge diversity of events, educational programs and debates around the country. Organized by the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland (RIAS), with the support of the government and other national organizations, the Architecture Festival has been able to reach a substantial audience due to good media coverage, publications and specific internet portals.
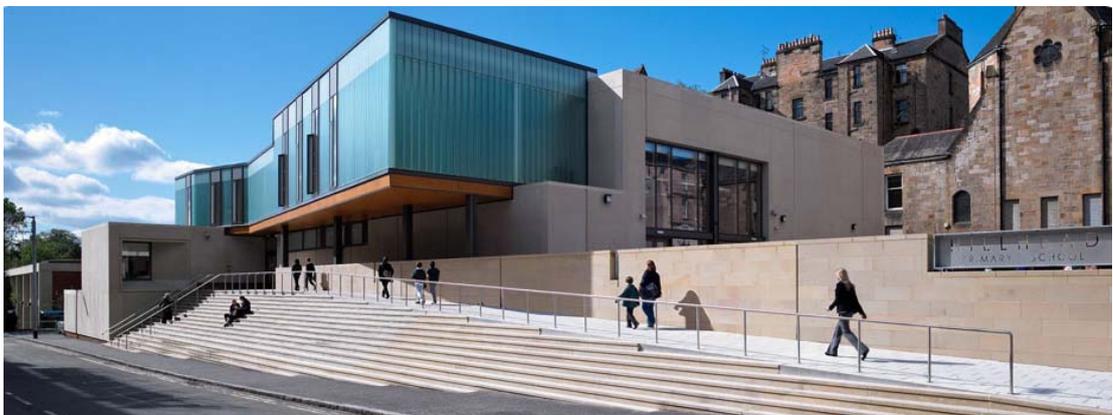
Image 8.10 - Hillhead Primary School, Glasgow,
Sctoland (2011); Design: jmarchitects; Image: Andrew Lee Photography

8.4 National Architectural policies effectiveness: a comparative analysis

The previous section provided a snapshot of the Architectural policy developments of the three case studies, their main goals, instruments and results. As was seen, all three have been implementing a formal policy on architecture for far more than a decade and in the case of the Netherlands for 25 years. In addition, the three have also formally reviewed their policies at least once, which enabled them to change their focus, enhance implementation mechanisms and make readjustments to the set of instruments and specific actions. Against this data and the set of interviews carried out for this research, the present section intends to develop a cross analysis of the case studies with the objective of drawing conclusions on the policies' implementation performance, impacts and limitations, which will inform and underpin the answer to the third research question of this thesis about the effectiveness of the national Architectural policies in improving the system of design governance.

Since the success of the policies is dependent on several variables besides the policy itself, which varies according to the specific context in which it is implemented, this section will start by examining the implementation performance of the Architecture policies to show that that there are different levels of maturity among the case studies. A second part will explore the main impacts of a national Architectural policy on processes of design governance based on the experience of the three countries under analysis. Finally, a third part will discuss the main limitations of architectural policies revealing the policies' red lines and the short-range impact of most of their instruments. At the end, some concluding remarks will be made.

8.4.1 Architecture policy implementation: three different levels of maturity

Although the three case studies offer good examples of how a national Architectural policy operates in real-life context, there are profound differences between them, namely the amount of resources available for policy implementation in each country, which has a direct impact on the degree of the policy's success in reaching its aims. Bearing this in mind, it will be argued that the three countries have different levels of maturity, as they have been implementing their Architecture policies at a different pace and intensity with different results on the ground. There is a wide range of literature on implementation maturity model assessment, with different types of maturity levels and how to assess them, mostly derived from software development or strategic alignment in large and complex organizations. Within this literature, the implementation process is defined as "the process of preparing an organization for an organizational change and the actual implementation and embedding of that change" (Rooimans, Theye & Koop, 2003). In this context, the term implementation process represents the way implementations in general are being realized within an organization (Ibidem). According to this theory, the overall maturity of an implementation process within an organization can be assessed and determined by an evaluation matrix with at least four indicators: *process, human resource, information, means and control* (Ibidem).

Although this research did not intend to develop an in-depth assessment of the Architectural policy implementation process, when cross-analyzing the case studies it became evident

that there are remarkable differences between them, which need to be considered before drawing any conclusions on the effectiveness of policies. In fact, looking at the Architecture policies' development from a chronological perspective, the Netherlands adopted its first policy ten years before the other two countries, in 1991. Since then the Dutch government has been revising its policy every four years, being currently in its seventh version, whereas Scotland has revised its policy two times and Ireland only once[85] (Table 8.6).

0 – Documents for public discussion; 1, 2, 3, 4 – Number of the official policy document
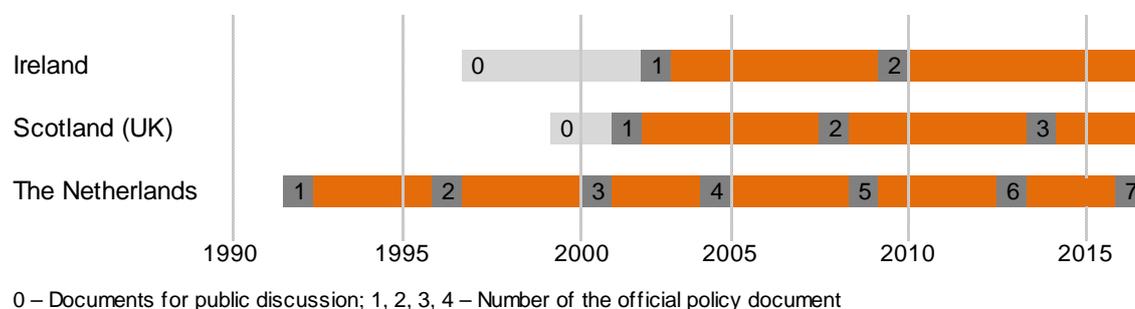
Table 8.6 – Chronological development of the architectural policies of the three case studies

The Architectural policy budget is another important indicator that distinguishes the Dutch policies from all the other policies analyzed for this thesis. Comparing the three policy budgets, the Netherlands is by far the country that has invested the most in its Architectural policy implementation: an annual budget of 10.8 million Euros. It is important to highlight that Dutch policy has been supporting NAI and the SfA from the outset, which consumes most of its policy budget (see Section 8.3.2). The Scottish policy has almost 3 million Euros per year to support its policy programme, mostly delivered by A+DS, while the Irish policy, and with the lowest budget, has less than a quarter of the Scottish annual budget and a very small part of the Dutch annual budget (see Table 8.7).

	The Netherlands	Scotland (UK)	Ireland
Annual policy budget (average)	10,8 million Euros*	2 million Pounds (2,8 million Euros)	400.000€**

* 4.5 million Euros of the Dutch budget go to the Institute for Creative Industries (former NAi) and 3.9 million go to the Stimulation fund for architecture, design and e-culture (former Fund for Architecture)

** This amount has suffered cuts over the years due to budget reduction (Irish Public Official, 2015: Interview)

Table 8.7 – Annual budget for the Architectural policy implementation in the three countries[86]

All these aspects indicate the serious commitment of the Dutch government to its Architectural policy, which has inspired most of the countries with a policy in this domain. As discussed in Section 5.2, conditions and contexts across countries are not homogeneous due to differences in legal and administrative systems, financial resources, cultural and social environments, etc. In addition, such aspects as traditions and values may be a strong

---

[85] For each new version, the Dutch government commissions an evaluation study, generally to an independent institution or an expert panel, to assess the policy's success in reaching its intended aims.

[86] Although the Scottish and the Irish policy documents do not include a policy budget, the analysis of the information contained in the progress reports and in the interviews makes it possible to build a comparative annual budget for the three countries.

determinant for how policies operate in a given context. In this sense, it is important to underline the strong social awareness of territory and landscape that exists in the Netherlands. As was seen earlier, the first Dutch policy was a result of a "bottom-up movement" (Dutch local official, 2015: interview) driven by a combination of factors at the end of the 1980s. According to the Dutch local officer (Ibidem), social concern with the territory is embedded in Dutch culture given the country's continuing struggle against floods, which demanded careful planning of the countryside and of the water system:

> *"In the Netherlands there is a landscape culture (…) to be concerned with what we are building, what we are making, everything, whatever you do, but more important than that, how to keep the country dry. Within that social concern, people are used to making decisions, namely, spatial decisions (…) that it is why we have a strong culture of landscape and spatial planning."*

Although there is not enough room in this research to analyze the correlation between the socio-cultural concerns with the built environment and Architectural policy developments, the strong landscape culture that exists in the Netherlands may explain the abnormal development of Architecture policy in this country compared to that of the EU countries.

Image 8.11 – Aqueduct Ringvaart over the A4 Highway, Haarlemmermeer, The Netherlands (2006).

In the opposite direction, Ireland is also contrasting with the other two case studies. The Irish policy's annual budget was reduced by 80% in the last three years, due to the strong financial crisis that hit the country (Ireland, 2016), having only 70.000 Euros available per year. To overcome these constraints, the Irish Government has formed partnerships with several institutions to advanced its policy actions such as the creation of the Irish Architectural Foundation, in 2005 (see Section 8.3.1). This means that part of the impact of the Architectural policies is not expressed in visible artefacts but as invisible drivers of design governance processes. However, even if it is small, Architectural policies need a policy

budget, otherwise the policy will be unable to carry out any type of initiatives and will therefore become an ineffective policy instrument, largely due to the informal nature of its policy tools (See Annex F).

Inspired by the implementation maturity theory briefly introduced at the start of this section, the three case studies can be classified in three levels of implementation maturity: *advanced* (Dutch), *intermediate* (Scottish) and *low* (Irish)[87]. The Dutch policy shows the highest level of maturity, its government being constantly focused on the continuous improvement of its implementation processes. The Scottish policy is at an intermediate level, with a good implementation performance but still faced with several barriers across government; the Irish policy shows the lowest level of the three, struggling to ensure an effective policy implementation. In order to see how this affects the policy results, a brief analysis of each country will be developed to understand the main policy successes and barriers, which will allow a review of the impacts and limitations of the policies further ahead.

The Netherlands: the advanced level

As depicted above, the implementation of the Architectural policy in the Netherlands in the last 25 years has achieved its goals with some success. Regarding the first policy goal, the first two Dutch policies developed a robust cultural infrastructure dedicated to Architectural promotion, including giving a boost to local architectural centres across the country (see Section 8.3.2 about the Dutch case). This cultural infrastructure was virtually intact until 2012, when the new right-wing government imposed a 25% cut in the cultural budget to face the financial crisis. Despite the recent merger of some of its cultural institutions, the Dutch public investment in this domain for more than two decades has definitely raised the profile of architecture and urban design, having had a spin-off effect on the development of the architectural sector and on the internationalization of Dutch practices, later known as the 'Super Dutch' generation of architectural firms (Kloosterman 2008, p. 6).

One of the drivers for the development of Dutch practices was the vibrant Architectural climate enjoyed throughout the 1990s stimulated by the exponential growth of cultural activities around architecture and urban design developed by cultural institutions and financed by the policies, such as exhibitions, debates and symposiums, articles in the media, the emergence of new specialized magazines, TV series and documentaries, etc. Although the important role of Architecture policies in boosting Dutch architectural practices (Ibidem) has been pointed out by several authors, caution is needed in establishing a direct correlation between government policies and the international recognition of Dutch designers in the 1990s. In fact, the combination of a strong support policy to cultural activities with the work of innovative designers (e.g. Rem Koolhaas) and a new international demand for Dutch architectural services provides a better explanation for this phenomenon.

---

[87] Implementation maturity model (IMM) differentiated five maturity levels in the implementation process; the Initial level (0); the Repeatable level (A); the Defined level (B); the Managed level (C); the Optimizing level (D).

Image 8.12 – Carré Apartments, Breda, The Netherlands (1999); Design: Kem Koolhas (OMA Office); Client: Municipality of Breda; Image: Gerhard Bissell.

In addition to contributing to the development of the sector, the growing number of cultural activities boosted by the Architectural policy slowly raised awareness of the value of good design, thereby persuading clients to pay more attention to design quality. The perception of higher demand on the part of consumers had an indirect effect on the production side of the development process, influencing promoters to invest more in developments with attractive designs and improving the overall quality of housing and commercial buildings (Dutch senior official, 2015: interview). In addition, the Foundation Architecture Lookal helped aldermen to make informed decisions about their local spatial environment. Thus, the policy stimulated both sides of the market: on the one hand, it raised greater awareness amongst private and public clients, as well as the general public; on the other, it improved the environment of designers and led the building industry to invest more on design quality as a way to better compete in estate markets by offering more attractive products.

Although the Architecture policy had a positive effect on design processes by stimulating both sides of the market, other drivers must be taken into account. Large private companies were also starting to invest in new headquarters with innovative designs, and this ended up having a contaminating effect on medium-sized firms. Alongside this, local councils were investing in renewal strategies to improve the quality of historic centres in order to attract investors and residents. In addition, larger cities were promoting all kinds of "flagship projects" to compete with other cities in which Architecture played a crucial role. All these factors contributed to the improvement of spatial quality in the Netherlands. Therefore, Architecture policy cannot be taken out of context, namely more than fifteen years of economic prosperity, major public investment in infrastructural works and a huge amount of private investment. As noted by the Dutch policy expert (2015: interview):

> "it was not an isolated phenomenon. (…) looking at government policies, don't
> fall into the trap of a government bias that everything is determined, or blocked,
> or constrained or whatever, by the government. They are there and of course

they are influential, but there's also a society that does demand out there broad structural changes. In some of these cases the government might lead, some not, they might frustrate or might hamper it or whatever…"

The policy expert´s statement is useful for this research because it points out the diminished power of government to trigger social structural changes, particularly when it involves a societal change about the way how places are designed, produced and managed, which are determined by a multiplicity of actors and stakeholders, some more sensitive to public policies than others. The point to be made is that the Dutch Architectural policy was influential and helped develop a favourable climate for the generation of better places, although there were other powerful forces, actors and events that also determined the improvement of spatial quality on the ground. The same positive view on the results of the Dutch Architectural policy is also shared by a number of academics (Cousins 2009, Dings 2009, Figueiredo 2010, Stegmeijer et al. 2012).

As mentioned in the previous section, a second major objective of the Dutch Architectural policies was to set an example to the community at large by exemplary public commissioning and better spatial integration of major public works[88]. To do so, an inter-ministerial architectural policy platform was put in place composed by two ministries in the first season, extended to four and then to seven ministries in the following versions. Besides the policy platform, the Chief Government Architect acted as a design champion providing advice on design quality across government. In addition, there was an attempt to increase the quality of public commissioning by developing exemplary major projects, which according to the evaluation reports had positive results. Not so successful was the attempt to upscale the message in order to achieve a better integration between conflicting design disciplines of urban and regional planning. One of the obstacles was the multiplicity of stakeholders with conflicting interests and the compartmentalisation among different state departments. In sum, the Architectural policy was not able to fully cross the different 'silos' and to extend its influence to other policy agendas. The same inter-departmental barriers would be found in the other case studies, which is one of the policies red lines.

Scotland: the intermediate level

As described earlier, the first Scottish Architectural policy was adopted in 2001 and focused mainly on building design, as there was a parallel policy that concentrated on designing places. Although both were policies from the Scottish Executive, they were framed by two different departments. The first was developed by the Ministry for Sport, the Arts and Culture, while the second came from Ministry of Transport and Planning. As such, unlike the Netherlands, the first Scottish Architecture policy was only signed by a cultural ministry, which was mainly in charge of the cultural promotion of architectural design. Despite this restrict remit, the policy adopted a broad aim: "to seek improvements in the quality of

---

[88] As the policy expert notes (2015: interview): "*in a country which is dominated by infrastructural works - keep out the water, transport infrastructure, etc - so the quality of space (…) is very much linked to these infrastructural interventions in the Netherlands so it does make sense to not just look at housing, but also at wider scales*"

Scotland's buildings, both public and private, and in the quality of the built environment'. In the end, the degree of the policy's success in reaching this aim is difficult to measure; in other words, has the quality of buildings and built environment improved? Nevertheless, from the evaluation of the Architecture policies' implementation, it can be concluded that most of its initiatives and actions have been successfully put in place.

Probably the most important outcome of the Scottish policy was the establishment of the Architecture and Design Scotland (A+DS), an independent national champion for good architecture, design and planning in the built environment, replacing the Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland (RFACS). Inspired by the work of the English CABE, the activities of A+DS have been instrumental in the execution of the Scottish policy actions. Since 2005, A+DS has been developing a wide range of activities, which can be seen as a set of informal tools of design governance, classified in this research as capacity-building tools, including enabling, campaigning, researching, design review services, etc (See Annex F). Funded by the Scottish Government, A+DS is supervised by the Architecture division that has to approve its annual programme and progress report (Scottish official, 2015: interview). Besides A+DS, until 2008, the Scottish policy also financed The Lighthouse to deliver a wide range of activities, events and initiatives in support of Architecture (See the section 8.3.3).

Like in the other two case studies, a Policy on the Architecture Progress Group (PAPG) was created to provide a platform to assist in the co-ordination of initiatives across departments and to monitor the success of the policy actions. Although the creation of interdepartmental platform appears to be an important move to push forward a message of design quality across different areas of government, the same blockage effect between ministries was also felt here. As the Scottish policy expert (2015: interview) notes:

> *"One big issue is within government, there are many departments, many different ministries, and, so on. They have their own priorities. While the people in the architecture division can say, we would like this, it is not really apparent that they are embedded in the message across government departments as a whole. The education people will still go on building schools, basically based on what is cheapest, value for money or however they will do it. Even when the government is actually a developer, it is basically a different department with different sets of priorities."*

Although a policy document is not intended to "explain the tensions that exist within the different spending departments within the government" (Ibid), the Architectural policies extortions on the value of good design appear not to be enough to convince the wide range of departments and public agencies to raise the level of quality of public buildings and infrastructures. One of the barriers is the public system of procurement, which continues to support contracts based on best value framework predominantly concerned with financial criteria over quality aspects. When strategic investment areas are involved, decision-makers end up following their own priorities and interests. Adding to this, the policy expert (Ibidem) stated the following:

> *"One thing is the architectural division to put out an architectural policy and another is the division start telling the education ministries what to do. That will be a big kicked back from them, notwithstanding all the directives into integration."*

The policy expert's view highlights the diminished power of influence of the architecture and place division to change the "normal" way of doing things of other departments across the Scottish government. One of the tasks of the Chief Architect of Scotland, which is in charge of the Architecture policy implementation, is to persuade other departments through regular meetings to adopt design quality criteria in their procurement systems. However, according to the director of RTPI Scotland (2015: interview) this task is hindered because the position of the Chief Architect is not high enough on the administrative structure, which is equivalent to a chief of division. In his opinion, in a very hierarchical organization such as public administration, the Chief Architect of Scotland should sit near the cabinet secretary, to have some level of power among different ministries. By the same token, he believes that for the Architecture policy to be effective across government, it needs a strong political support by several ministries or by the prime minister, which will always be dependent on political circumstances and on the personal willingness of politicians to assume a leadership role on the promotion of design quality.

As mentioned previously, the bridge between the Architectural policy and local governments is another bottleneck that the Scottish policies have not been able to address successfully. Again, the same issue of strategic alignment between different organizations, in this case between national and local levels, makes it difficult for the national Architecture policy to exercise influence. Although the new Scottish Architecture policy has merged with the *designing places* policy, within which the principles contained in the policy must be considered 'material considerations in determining planning applications and appeals' (Scotland 2013, p. 8), in reality, the staff working on development management with local authorities is dwindling in number, and a high percentage lacks enough design kills. Furthermore, planning teams are generally pressured by developers to process applications in lesser time, meaning that valuable design inputs may be pushed aside in to order to comply with deadlines. As the policy expert (2015: interview) highlights:

> *"That has to be a culture dimension to planning and design (…) although those dimensions can easily be pushed in the margins. The imperative is to approve and to process applications within a given time limit, to make sure that you don't scare off potential investors, and so on. It is good, that there are some more diverse inputs in that process and again, without the existence of ideas and policies or guidelines from the planning sided that would be must weaker"*

As local governments are autonomous entities from central administration and have their own set of interests and constraints, design quality may not always be a priority when a new development may generate tax revenues and increase the number of jobs. Nevertheless, the Scottish policy expert acknowledges the added value of soft instruments like publications

and guidelines to complement other formal tools, such as the local planning framework. In addition, Scottish municipalities have also been promoting architecture and placemaking by their own means by creating, for example, local authority design champions explicitly tasked with providing design leadership (see Section 4.3). This represents an investment in strategic capacity and typically involves organizational culture change.

In sum, the Scottish Architecture policy is being successfully implemented as far as the execution of its action plan is concerned, and A+DS plays a central role on raising the profile of Architecture and on championing design quality through its several informal tools and initiatives (for an evaluation of the impact of informal tools, see Carmona et al. 2017). Despite the progress achieved and the closer connection between Architecture and planning policy, there is still lot of work to be done to push design quality forward, both horizontally and vertically across government. As mentioned earlier, when compared to the other two case studies, the Scottish Architecture policy implementation can be assessed as standing half way between those of the Netherlands and Ireland, the former showing better interdepartmental coordination and the latter being still in its early years. This will be discussed below.

<u>Ireland: the lower level</u>

Although the first Irish Architecture policy was formally approved in 2002, at the end of its implementation period only some initiatives had been delivered due to a lack of policy coordination and to several structural changes within the government. As described in Section 8.3.1, despite its low level of execution, the policy action plan predicted the development of a *Virtual Architectural Centre*, which would be used by non-governmental institutions to press government to set up an architectural centre. In this sense, the adoption of a formal Architecture policy somehow committed the state to promote design quality, which facilitated non-governmental institutions to demand action from the government in this domain. After some rounds of negotiations, the solution found was the creation of a small non-profit organization financed by six different entities allowing the establishment of IAF in 2005 (see Section 8.3.1). For the first time, Ireland had an organization specifically directed at the promotion of the cultural value of Architecture, aimed at raising general awareness and at creating audiences for Architecture and at developing an engagement with the built environment. As noted by the Irish policy expert (2015: interview):

> *"I would say that it was very important that the government policy was able to support the Irish Architecture Foundation. I think that is a major achievement of the movement from here to there; that the Architecture Foundation was recognized and it continues to be supported. (…) there are very different things happening due to the Foundation, with other bodies, to work with kids in schools and things like that. (…) It's not a uniform picture. But, you'd have to say yes. The level of awareness has been raised and specifically in relation to the work of the Foundation."*

According to the Irish policy expert and to other interviewees, the activities produced by IAF are having an impact on the general public's perception of the value of design quality and built environment. Nevertheless, compared with the Dutch cultural institutions or the Scottish design champion A+DS, the Irish Foundation is a very small organization, having only one full-time and two half-time employees and delivering a much smaller range of activities. To quote but a few figures: the NAI has more than 100 employees, combining in a unique building an architecture museum, a centre and a library; A+DS has 22 employees to manage and deliver a diversified programme. As such, there are several policy tools that IAF simply does not have the capacity to deliver, such as an enabling programme to promote design quality across public and private developers; a research programme to produce guides, booklets and tools; design review services, etc. Firstly, its funding is much smaller and comes from multiple entities which sometimes do not meet their commitments in a timely manner (Irish Official, 2015: interview). Secondly, it does not have the same infrastructures as counterparts, such as spaces for exhibitions, library or auditorium. Thirdly, IAF is dependent on specific funding via the Architecture policy budget or on private sponsoring for bigger events. The impact of IAF on the processes of design governance is thus very limited when compared to the other two case studies.

Furthermore, the establishment of the IAF was only an indirect result of the first Irish policy as the idea of setting up IAF was already being discussed between stakeholders for several years before the Architecture policy had been approved (RIAI official: 2015: interview). In this sense, the first Irish policy was simply not implemented and, as a result, had a very low impact on the processes of design governance. The Irish experience has shown in first seven years of its operation that whilst the Architectural policies may be a valuable contribution to define design quality principles, they are not effective instruments to drive design governance in the absence of coordination and implementation resources.

Nonetheless, in 2007, the Irish government decided to review its first policy by creating three working groups composed by different government departments, professional bodies and several academics, which led to the adoption of a new Architecture policy two years later (see Section 8.3.1). From 2009 onwards, there has been a strong commitment from the heritage department to implement its second Architectural policy, namely by investing time and money in the execution and delivery of its action plan; by pressing other departments to advance their committed actions; by making partnerships with non-governmental bodies to promote national events; by providing an annual grant scheme to co-finance projects; and by issuing bi-annual policy progress reports, etc (see Section 8.3.1). As in all public policies, in order to have some impact on the design decision-making environment, policy discourse needs to be backed with actions.

One of the interesting outputs of the second Irish Policy was the change of title of the Principal Architect, who is in charge of the Architectural Services of the OPW, to State

Architect of Ireland[89]. Similarly to the Dutch and the Scottish examples, the Irish policy argued that it was necessary a State design champion to promote design quality inside the government. At first sight, the change of title by itself does not seem to have much impact on how the State Architect will influence the way other departments manage the design quality of their own construction works. However, the current State Architect mentioned that the new title has given him a more strong position inside the government as well as the ability to persuade others to raise the design quality of their projects. By having the title of State Architect, he has a reinforced authority to demand better designs from other departments, which otherwise would not feel obliged to receive advice from someone outside their organization (2015: interview). Hence, complex issues are not easy to solve. As the Irish policy expert (2015: interview) notes:

> *"I think the policy has less success than we would have hoped for. The main thing would be in the area of building procurement where I think it's still dominated very much by financial criteria"*

About the usefulness of having a formal Architectural policy, the Irish State Architect (2015: interview) reported that it was important to have an Architecture policy because it gave him legitimacy to persuade others to raise the design quality of their projects. As was seen in the other cases, governments have a wide range of departments and agencies that have a high level of autonomy and may not be willing to receive advice from outside actors. Therefore, for the Architecture policies to be effective they need to count on strong ministerial support, or they will face the risk of not having any influence at all over different ministries and agencies. Nevertheless, an Architecture policy is not a static tool, rather it is a vehicle to improve state action and its outputs. As the recent Architecture Policy Evaluation Report (Ireland, 2016) highlights:

> *"policies like those on architecture can be both the driver and the glue for the horizontal principals of place-making. If we are to bridge the gap between key strategies and deliverable implementation, we need to do it collectively on a horizontal basis; in a transdisciplinary way; supported by clear actions, financial support programmes and collaborative and innovative partnering approaches. This involves both direct and indirect actions, and hard and soft applications but most importantly it is the combination or synergy between these various tools which may allow us to achieve our maximum potential."*

Theoretically, investing in a mix policy approach that combines formal and informal tools will be a more successful strategy than just relying on the traditional regulatory tools. However, in the years 2013, 2014 and 2015 the financial supports available to the Irish Architectural policy implementation were extremely constrained to an annual budget of 70.000 EUR per year, which reduced the number of projects that the government was able to support as well as the funding available for individual applications. The positive effects that were generated

---

[89] Ireland presents a singularity in comparison with the rest of the EU countries, as the management task of most of its public facilities is still centralized in the Architectural Services of the OPW.

by the funding available had "*to be multiplied by the effort of those who successfully undertook projects on restricted budgets*" (Ibidem). In times of austerity, the Irish policy has reached near-stagnation, evidence that to implement a set of capacity building tools a minimum level of resources is necessary and an indication of a great weakness of the Architecture policies.

As was seen, the case studies present three different levels of implementation performance. This has a direct impact on the effectiveness of policies designed at improving the processes of design governance. Nevertheless, by crossing the experience of the different case studies, it is possible to extract the main impacts and limitations of the policies, which will be discussed below.

8.4.2 Architectural policy impacts in the governance of design

> *'In its own response to the review, the DCAL Ministerial Advisory Group (MAG) on Architecture and the Built Environment emphasised that having a formal Architectural policy owned by government can be 'enormously helpful in encouraging better outcomes'. (…), the MAG states that 'it has taken several years and excellent Ministerial leadership to give it confidence and connections that are now making real differences to places week by week and establishing methods of working in central and local government'* (Northern Ireland, 2013, p. 9)

The above extract reports the position of the Northern Ireland Government on the recent 'Review on Architecture and the Built Environment' coordinated by Terry Farrel. The Farrell Review (2014) had a specific question on the need or not of a formal Architectural policy to achieve better building outcomes, and if so, what were the main advantages of having such a policy. The MAG reply is quite explicit in terms of the added value of having a formal policy on Architecture, saying that the policy has been enormously helpful for the government to lead and encourage central and local governments to aim for better places, as well as to make connections with other stakeholders and improve methods of working with local communities. Although at different degrees, the same positive view on the role of an Architectural policy has been given by the 25 interviewees of the three countries under analysis. In fact, they all agree in one point that is crucial for this investigation: having a formal policy on architecture is important to raise the profile of the value of design quality and set an agenda for future action, even if the extent of its impact may not be easily perceived. To understand the reason for this positive opinion, this section will break down the impacts of a formal policy on Architecture in four dimensions.

<u>Better design governance</u>

One of the main impacts a formal policy on Architecture is, according to interviewees, its capacity to improve the processes of design governance. As discussed in Chapter 3, a conceptual shift from 'government to governance' has been taking place since the beginning of the 1990s, which embodies the idea of a 'new way of thinking about state capabilities and sate-society relationships' (Pierre and Peters, 2000). In all the three case studies, the adoption of the national Architectural policies was preceded by a process of participation and

negotiation between policy actors, including public and private stakeholders. In addition, in the Irish and Scottish case, there have been periods of public consultation before the adoption of the policies, animated by debates to improve the policy formulation and integrate as many different views as possible[90]. The development of the policies also facilitated the development of networks of trust and cooperation between the actors, based on the assumption that the state will achieve better results by persuading others and by creating incentives instead of issuing orders in an 'authoritarian way' (see Section 3.3).

Considering the complex system of actors involved in the design of the built environment (see Section 3.2.2), the development of a formal Architectural policy has been working as a kind of "facilitator device" between stakeholders providing opportunities to reconcile different interests and the establishment of compromises between public and private actors in order to achieve better places. In addition, the state does not have the financial capacity to implement many of the policy actions alone, which means that it has to build partnerships and share decisions and investments (e.g. Irish Architectural Foundation in Ireland). Furthermore, the Architecture policies created spaces of conversation about subjects that otherwise would be difficult to create, sitting different people at the same table to exchange strategies to improve the system of rules, stimulus and structures involved in the processes of design. It is therefore possible to conclude that the processes involved in the preparation and development of a formal policy on Architecture contributed to a better process of design governance, involving a wide range actors in a cooperative and inclusive way.

Design leadership

The adoption of a national policy on Architecture is a direct way for the government to take a leading role in design governance by fostering and promoting a place-making culture. In accordance with the theoretical discussion held in Chapter 3, from a governance perspective the state should 'steer and not row'. This means that by setting a public policy on design quality based on a medium and long-term view, the government shows the direction that society and development actors should go in, or in other words, by 'encouraging organisations to act holistically and work in a joined-up fashion with others to achieve a quality place rather than think and act in silos to suit their own professional interests' (Tiesdell et. al. 2013). In addition, setting up a public compromise to the promotion of better places, even if in practical terms it does not impose a new statutory framework, has an important symbolic function. Nevertheless, the recognition of the value of architecture and design in itself is not enough to improve the quality of the built environment. It is only by demonstrating the willingness to invest in the front end vision to achieve quality places that Architectural policy can produce an impact and give an impetus to cultural change.

Improvement of interdepartmental coordination – design quality as a corporative aim

---

[90] In the Dutch case, although there were no public consultations documents, there were always several round tables to discuss and improve the policy formulation and integrate as many different views as possible.

Another advantage of having a formal policy on Architecture that emerges from the case studies is the improvement of inter-ministerial coordination on design quality issues. This theme, however, appears in both categories, that is, it is a valuable area of work improving public policy efficiency and at the same time one of the policies' red lines. In fact, as a result of Architectural policy, all three case studies have developed mechanisms of transversal collaboration between different state departments and agencies with the objective of placing design quality as a corporate aim. To do so, all three countries have established an interdepartmental policy platform to assist in the co-ordination of initiatives between built environment bodies. The platforms meet regularly to debate the progress in Architectural policy and monitor its action agenda. According to some interviewees, the joint meetings are important to develop bridges and stimulate connections between government departments with responsibilities in built environment issues (e.g. planning, transport, heritage, public works and education).

New set of capacity building tools

One of the main impacts of the national architecture policies was the creation of new set of capacity building tools delivered by new organizations created for that purpose, such as cultural centres or public bodies like A+DS. This new organizations have producing a great amount of cultural activities, professional colloquiums, expositions, design guidance, etc., that did not existed before the policy (See Annex F). As seen, the impact of this new capacity building initiatives, that is, will different development actors start paying more attention to design quality, is not easy to assess. Although there is a danger of "simply talking to the converted, telling architect, that it should be into placemaking, that good design is important" (Scottish policy expert, 2015: interview), informal tools are important to complement regulatory design instruments, that alone may not be enough to improve the quality of places. Nevertheless, culture change has to be seen as long term objective (see below).

8.4.3 The limitations of national Architectural policies

> *'There is a complete and cynical disconnection between the political rhetoric on the value of design and place-making, and the reality of procurement in Scotland.'* (Paul Stallan, Stallan-Brand Architects)

> *'How do you get the policy to relate to people on the ground (…) the average housebuilder / developer would not comply with the policy recommendations. Its lack of statutory powers diminished its effectiveness.'* (BEFS workshop, 2013)

The first quote reveals a paradox between government statements on the value of design quality and the procurement practices of most public authorities and agencies in Scotland. In fact, the state is a complex and multi-level organization, and it is extremely difficult to mobilize and persuade the wide array of departments and public agencies to raise their design standards against the culture of the lowest price. The second quote, points out a lack of effectiveness of the Architectural policy instruments in introducing changes in the development process. As discussed in the previous Chapter, there is a tension between the

Architectural policy goals and the building and planning reality because under market conditions design quality is most of the times regarded as 'superficially' and is not seen as safe investment. The construction industry, estate promoters and urban developers are mostly guided by commercial interests and market considerations, which do not take a longer-term view (see Section 3.2). As such, if Architectural policies are to have a positive impact on procurement and development processes, its policy tools must be reinvented, since merely demonstrating that investment in quality pays off may not do the trick. Against this background, this section will try to address the main limitations of Architectural policies, identify the main barriers to policy and which levers need to be pulled.

The lack of statutory 'status' and regulatory tools

As seen before, the wide range of Architectural policy instruments is essentially related to capacity-building tools and is generally known as soft instruments. Although these tools are important to raise awareness and stimulate the demand side, there is a risk that they might not be able to influence the choices of producers (investors, developers), who end up having most of the decision-making power on the overall quality of developments. As discussed in Section 3.2, the development process is mostly a profit-driven process in which commercial pressures often go against long-term investment in design quality. The problem is complex, as most decisions related to the built environment are carried out by development actors 'far removed from their impact on the ground' (Carmona et al. 2003). For this reason, exhortations of the public benefits of good design will have a limited impact in a climate in which financial value and return are the main drivers for private sector investment (Ibidem). The question of effectiveness is therefore one of the crucial issues that Architectural policies need to address and better convene in the future.

Although each national context has its own regulatory system, there are certain quality criteria that may be introduced in the procurement and development processes without restricting too much the design capacity for innovation. For example, the aforementioned merger of the two Scottish policies, Place and Architecture, appears to be a valuable move, namely with respect to placing the principles of good design as 'material considerations in determining planning applications and appeals'. Another example was the development of a Place Standard assessment tool, aimed at creating greater certainty around quality of place. Another interesting example was the establishment of Quality teams in the Dutch local authorities, to introduce design quality concerns early on in the development process. Nevertheless, local design statement and non-statutory design guidance within the planning policy are also important tools. In this sense, Architectural policies should pursue a mix of policy tools, combining regulatory and capacity-building tools, in order to raise the effectiveness of the policies.

Inter-sectoral barriers and the need for better co-ordination

One of the main barriers that Architectural policies have to face with regard to their implementation strategies is how to influence different state departments and improve the co-ordination of the wide range of policies that affect the built environment. As the policy scope increased to higher spatial scales (e.g. urban planning, infrastructure and landscape design), the number of supporting departments that need to be involved also increased. In addition, as seen in the previous Chapter, Architectural polices argue that the state should present itself as an exemplary client committed to quality in every aspect of building procurement and property development. However, public administration is a complex and multi-level organization. Consequently, to achieve their aims, Architectural policies have to be able to persuade a constellation of public managers and principals, who have their own agendas and priorities, to give more priority to design quality.

Looking at the three case studies, one of the ways of addressing this has been to create an inter-departmental platform and to set up the position of a Chief Government Architect. As seen earlier, the creation of an inter-departmental working group is important to get different state actors involved in the policy formulation, to monitor the policy progress and improve inter-departmental co-ordination. Although with different roles, the position of Chief Architect has also been important to ensure that design quality is a corporate aim and is not seen as an optional extra. Nevertheless, in the Scottish case, some of the interviewees mentioned that the Chief Architect was not placed higher enough in the governmental structure, which curtailed his or her capacity to demand higher design standards in public agencies outside his or her department. Some interviewees suggested that the position should sit near the cabinet. This means that, despite the title and the small team that supports its activities, inter-departmental barriers will continue to be a difficult challenge if the Chief Architect does not have enough political support.

A long-term goal: the need to create a virtuous circle of production

As discussed in section 3.2.3, the production of the built environment is a complex field where multiple actors intervene and where several interests are at stake. Through the adoption of a formal policy on Architecture central governments are recognizing that to achieve successful and sustainable places a constant endeavour from all actors involved in the production of the built environment is needed and that it will depend on a shift in the attitudes, expectations and practices of the design quality of places (Cowan, 2003). As such, one of the policy arguments is that it is not enough to regulate the development process to achieve better places and that it is also necessary to improve the skills and knowledge of producers (developers, designers) and to create an informed and educated demand (clients and consumers). Several interviewees mentioned that while the interest in Architecture has increased, it remains circumscribed to a select group of people. In addition, they mention a gap between the professional and the public debate that was difficult to bridge. This shows the complex task and long-term goals of Architectural policies. In fact, changing attitudes towards better design, and developing skills where they barely exist, will be a slow process.

Thus, the policies' objectives will not be achieved in a short period of time, which hinders decision-makers' perception of the impact of policies.

Policy reorientation in a period of austerity

The prosperous times of the 1990s, which lay down the fertile ground for the birth of the first generation of Architectural policies, are over. Besides the economic turn, the social and political context has also changed. Considering the new scenario, national Architectural policies have been facing great challenges. In fact, all the interviewees have mentioned the effects of the financial crisis on the budget of Architectural policies, leading to a recalibration of their policy instruments. As was seen, a 25% reduction in the Dutch cultural budget led to a restructuring of Architectural policy instruments. To justify its role, the Dutch policy discourse turned for the economic value of design with a stronger focus on cultural industries, product innovation and internationalization. In the Irish case, the policy budget also suffered notable cuts preventing the execution of most of its research actions. This means that in a time of crisis and austerity, Architectural policies need to reinvent themselves or they will face the risk of losing their position as a policy. Issues like housing, shrinking cities and vacancy have entered the agenda, and Architectural policies should take advantage of design thinking to propose new ways of improving social conditions in a holistic manner with fewer resources.

Bridging with local authorities

In all three countries, interviewees reported that local authorities were slowly losing their design skills by dismissing architects and designers. Although some of the Architectural policies contained an explicit reference to this phenomenon, the central state has been unable to reverse this trend. Some of the policies introduced the wish to appoint city and county architects in each county, to act as design champions. The aim was to strengthen design processes at local government level to better co-ordinate the design and planning processes, guaranteeing design skills at all stages of the planning process as a way to encourage good design quality. According to the interviewees, however, they were not able to financially support these positions due to budget cuts. To address this shift, the Dutch Government established the AL in the 1990s, an independent centre for cultural commissioning that provided information and incentive programs to local and provincial authorities. AL's aim was to raise commissioning expertise of local authorities and inspire them to develop municipal architectural policies.

8.5 Final remarks

A formal comprehensive policy on Architecture embodies a public desire to improve the quality of the built environment, introducing a new approach to the evolution path of Architecture as public policy. In this respect, it is simultaneously an outcome and a catalyst of the design governance processes. About the difficult question of policy effectiveness, architectural policies have to be assessed primarily on the basis of their degree of execution, i.e: are they being successfully put in place, are their instruments operating and delivering the outputs that they were designed for? As was seen, the three case studies present different levels of maturity which are different in intensity and scope. However, considering the amount of resources available they are producing several positive impacts. Nevertheless, Architectural policies still face strong barriers and limitations, namely how to work horizontally and vertically across the different sectors and levels of the state, which steps have been taken but not with the expected level of success. This is mostly due to the complex and hierarchical nature of the administration and the established system of procurement. Design quality as a political aim needs to be backed up by a strong political support from the top but also from within. In an overall evaluation, regardless of the results achieved in the different case studies, it is possible to conclude that Architectural policies are important policy instruments for improving the processes of design governance, if they are effective implemented. If not, they will turn into invisible and ineffective design policies.

Resuming the research findings, Chapter 6 provided an interpretative narrative of the processes of Europeanization involved in the evolution of the EU policy on Architecture. Chapter 7 examined the design of a *comprehensive* architectural policy, namely the main ideas and values underpinning the policies, the main concepts used which sustain the policies' scope and the problems that they were addressing. The present Chapter introduced the three case studies, providing a brief overview of the main policy developments, its main aims, the instruments used and the results achieved in each country (Section 8.2). Furthermore, Chapter 8 developed a comparative analysis of the findings of the three case studies against the backdrop of the thesis' conceptual framework outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Next, Chapter 9 will outline the most significant conclusions of this dissertation, revisit the thesis' key hypothesis and advance a set of recommendations for future research.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This investigation explored the recent phenomenon of national Architectural policies and its hypothetical contribution to the wider processes of design governance. It started by exploring the dynamics of Europeanization as a potential catalyst for the adoption of national policies on Architecture. The objective was to determine whether the growing number of countries developing a formal Architectural policy was being triggered by a process of mutual influence between EU member states and domestic adaptation of European guidance. This meant investigating which types of approaches were being pursued and if there was a pattern in the type of policies adopted. Once this was empirically possible to substantiate, the focus of the inquiry turned into the examination of the main differences between the approaches and how their adoption had been evolving. As such, the first part of this research sought to evaluate the impact of the Europeanization processes on the development of national Architectural policies and measure its implementation progress.

Considering that the majority of the EU member states had adopted a *comprehensive* policy on Architecture, it was decided to examine this approach to understand what the added value of this type of policy was. In order to do so, it was first necessary to unpack the policies' discourse to identify the main ideas and values, namely, the rationale for the government to frame design quality as an object of public policy. Nonetheless, this would not provide empirical data on the extent of the impact of an Architectural policy. For this reason, this research developed three case studies to try to assess the effectiveness of the Architecture policies in a real life context, by analysing its implementation performance, main impacts limitations. The end result is a three-part analysis that addresses the complex interplay between the EU and the member states involved in the development of policies (Chapter 6), the principles and concepts that inform the design of a comprehensive policy (Chapter 7) and the effectiveness of an Architectural policy (Chapter 8).

The present Chapter starts by outlining the most significant conclusions of this dissertation following the structure provided by the three research questions: the conclusions on the impact of Europeanization processes on the development of Architectural polices (first research question), the conclusions on the key features of a comprehensive Architectural policy (second research question) and the conclusions on the effectiveness of a comprehensive Architectural policy in processes of design governance (third research question). The following section revisits the main hypothesis that kick-started this investigation. Finally, the main contributions and limitations of this research will be identified, and one last section will advance a set of recommendations for future research.

9.2 Answering the research questions

9.2.1 The impact of Europeanization processes on Architectural policies development

Looking at the progression of national Architectural policies across the EU, it is possible to observe that a process of Europeanization is underway. Currently, 19 administrations in the EU have an official Architectural policy at the national level, plus Iceland and Norway. This number has been increasing since the beginning of the 1990s and it is expected to continue to grow in the following years. The rise of national Architectural policies, together with the creation of an international coalition on the topic, led to the adoption by the EU Council of Ministers of the *Resolution on Architecture Quality*, in 2001, and of the *Conclusions on Architecture*, in 2008. In the opposite direction, the EU guidance calls on the member states to promote design quality as a way to achieve better places granting political legitimacy to the countries that are starting to develop their Architectural policies. Transversely to these dynamics, policy transfer has been facilitated by the activities of the EFAP, namely, through its regular meetings and conferences. As such, it is possible to conclude that the development of national Architectural policies has been influenced by three interrelated drivers:

1) The role of member states

As seen in Chapter 6, the member states that already had an Architectural policy played a key role in placing Architecture in the EU agenda. From a historical point of view, the first two Dutch policies on Architecture (1991 and 1996) were fundamental for the development process of Architecture as a public policy at European level. The former provided the first example of a comprehensive policy on Architecture and the latter set the conditions for the first international meeting on Architectural policies. At the same time, Dutch officials supported several member states in the formulation of their own policies, providing advice and promoting bilateral meetings on the subject. Furthermore, the French participation in the policy process – both EU Council Resolution (2001) and Conclusions (2008) were approved under the two French EU presidencies – mirrors the power of member states to influence EU policy making. Finally, the coalition between France, Finland and the Netherlands led to the birth of the EFAP network by organizing its first meetings and financially supporting its activities.

b) The role of EU policy

The approval of the EU Council Resolution on Architecture Quality (2001) symbolized the public recognition of the importance of Architecture quality at European level. Later on, the adoption of the EU Council Conclusions on Architecture (2008) expanded the policy scope and highlighted the contribution of architecture and urban design to achieve sustainable development. As the research has demonstrated, the two EU policies were important for the legitimization of the Architectural policies already adopted and, most importantly, for the stimulation of the ones that were and are being developed. Nevertheless, the extent of its

impact on national government programmes and procurement processes is limited. Like every other EU soft policy, the two documents are not mandatory for the member states, which mean that they will have very limited capacity of influencing domestic policies. However, the need for a more direct approach – for example an EU Directive of Architecture - was not mentioned by any of the survey's correspondents.

3) The role of the EFAP

The setting up of an international network on Architectural policy played a decisive role in the dissemination of national Architectural polices across Europe. Gathering representatives from government bodies, cultural institutions and professional organizations, as evidence shows, represented an important forum of socialization in terms of validation, political weight and, in theory, the legitimacy to call for a more central coordination of the EU institutions. Through the organization of forums and events and the creation of spaces of socialization among stakeholders, the values, beliefs and practices of Architectural policies were shared and consolidated at EU level.

In conclusion, the specific role of some member states, the EFAP cross-national coalition and the approval of the two EU Architectural policies are in themselves evidence of an Europeanization process. Therefore, the dynamics of Europeanization has been occurring in two directions, both vertically and horizontally. Mutual influence processes between member states and EU institutions have led to the 'institutionalization of formal and informal rules, ideas, styles and 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs' (Radaelli, 2003). Nevertheless, as discussed in section 4.2.3, these processes should not be seen as simple European integration or as the convergence of policy approaches. Reflecting the diversity of contexts across the EU, some member states have preferred to adopt national legislation on Architecture, while others have adopted comprehensive Architectural policies and others still have chosen to adopt sectoral policies.

The different approaches derive from the fact that member states still differ in many aspects, such as historical development, political/legal systems, cultural and social backgrounds. As such, the nature and content of the policies cannot be divorced from the constitutional, administrative and political framework in which the policies were developed. The richness of the Europeanization processes lies in the different domestic adaptations of European policies. Nonetheless, as shown in Chapter 6, it is possible to identify a growing tendency towards the development of comprehensive Architectural policies, with national governments assuming a leading role in the processes of design governance.

9.2.2 The key features of a comprehensive policy on Architecture

The interpretative deconstruction of the comprehensive Architectural policies discourse provided an overview of the dominant ideas and values underlying a formal policy in this domain. The specific way in which the policies are structured and the themes that should be addressed are always influenced by contextual factors, such as administrative structure, cultural and social system, etc., which tend to change from country to country. Thus, the

main purpose of the comparative content analysis was to gain a better understanding of the basic principles of a comprehensive Architectural policy in order to situate them within the wider design governance agenda before scrutinizing how the policies operate in a real-life context. Before looking at the policies' impact, this section highlights four main points that are transversal to different policies.

1) Architecture as an object of public policy

From the comparative content analysis of the policy documents it was clear that Architectural policies are based on the broad notion of Architecture, which encompasses not only buildings but also public spaces and all built elements that compose human settlements. Although the conceptual bases of the policies have been evolving throughout the years - initially focused on architecture design and close surroundings and later expanded to the scale of the city and territory - the central core of the policies is in fact the built environment. As discussed in Chapter 2, architecture is a polysemic term and can have very different interpretations according to the context in which it is used. Traditionally, architecture was mainly seen as building design and in some circles only as building designs with special aesthetic qualities, which is the opposite view of Architecture as built environment design. This semantic divide is exacerbated in contexts with a strong professional specialization such as the UK. Aiming for integration, the policies started to include other related concepts that could better convey the inter-disciplinary nature of built environment design, such as *spatial design* in the Netherlands, *place* in Anglo-Saxon countries and *baukultur* in the Germanic states. This raises the question of whether Architecture, even with uppercase A, is still a valid concept for such holistic built environment design policy. In conclusion, if the aim is to promote better designed environments and successful places, the main issue is not whether or not its name is comprehensive enough, but whether or not it has the capacity to build bridges and achieve compromises between different design professionals and stakeholders to accomplish better outcomes.

2) Grounds for a national policy on Architecture

One of the main arguments for the development of a formal policy on Architecture is the recognition that the design of the built environment has a direct effect on citizens' quality of life. In this sense, high-quality environments are seen as a right of every citizen. In line with the theoretical discussion in Section 3.2, the policies proclaim that to raise the standards of design and achieve better places there must be a constant effort of all the actors and stakeholders that intervene in the built environment. As national legislator, planner and development controller, the state plays a key role in the definition of the built environment through several statutory and non-statutory functions embracing a wide range of tools and instruments. In view of its special responsibility, the government should set an example for the community at large providing leadership in design matters. In this sense, through the definition of a formal policy on Architecture, the government sets a medium and long-term vision assuming an active leadership role disseminating a message of quality, promoting awareness among the public in appreciation of architectural, urban and landscape culture.

3) Design quality as a policy aim

Good design is both the aspiration and the crux of Architectural policies. As was discussed in Chapter 2, it is very difficult to establish a precise definition of what design quality is, as it will always mean different things to different people due to the subjective aspects that the concept entails. In line with the theoretical corpus, Architectural policies argued that to understand the notion of quality in architecture and urban design it is necessary to adopt a holistic view that embraces several dimensions of quality. Interestingly enough, as noted, several policies make reference to or are inspired by the Vitruvian universal principals of utility, durability and beauty. In accordance with the same holistic view, some policies introduced the concepts of *spatial quality* and *successful places,* extending the meaning of quality to higher scales. Despite the difficulty in setting a precise definition, the Architectural policies stress that the concept of design quality does not only refer to aesthetic quality, but to an integral idea of quality, which cannot be reduced only to the external appearance of a building or to aesthetic concerns. In fact, design is a creative process that delivers value. Assuming design quality as a policy ambition reflects the conviction that it is not just an optional extra but something that needs to be managed, cherished and promoted.

4) Architectural policy target areas

As mentioned above, the specific way in which Architectural polices intend to achieve their aims is influenced by the context in which they are produced, such as legal and administrative traditions, cultural background of the people involved and a particular period in time. Nevertheless, to understand the policies' main areas of intervention, this thesis has identified six main policy dimensions: 1) leading by example; 2) internationalization; 3) urban planning; 4) sustainability and resilience; 5) architectural heritage; 6) awareness and knowledge. In general terms, the first and the last target area have been the backbone of all Architectural policies, whereas the remaining four areas have been present at different degrees according to the time period in which they were created. For example, internationalization used to be just a specific initiative of the first policies' generation, now it is a major goal due to the current need of economic recovery. Another example has been the inclusion of sustainability and resilience objectives as a reaction to issues of climate change. In some policies, reuse and vacancy have become the dominant concern, replacing more traditional themes about Architectural heritage. In sum, as in all public policies, the Architectural policy's aims and goals will always be influenced by the 'spirit of the times'.

9.2.3 The effectiveness of Architectural policies in processes of design governance

Against the experience of the three case studies examined, the second part of Chapter 8 developed a cross analysis of the implementation performance and of the impacts and limitations of the national Architectural policies in order to extract some conclusions on the effectiveness of the policies in improving the processes of design governance. As discussed above, the evaluation of effectiveness is hindered by the multiple causes of the problem that policies intend to solve, i.e., the quality of places, which can be considered as a "wicked" problem due to its complex nature. Therefore, some of the policy outputs such as the number of existent instruments before and after the policy are more tangible and possible to be measured, while others such as the degree of mindset change of the different development actors are more intangible and less tractable. Although the full evaluation of the policies effectiveness would require an in-depth analysis of the policies impacts on the complex system of rules, norms and practices and of the way they influence development actors choices in processes of built environment design, this research would not be complete without a proper discussion of the effectiveness of national Architecture policies.

As was discussed in the theoretical chapters, to improve the quality of the built environment, public authorities should develop a mix policy approach, including formal and informal policy tools, to enhance the processes of design governance. One of the main outputs of Architecture policies has been the development of a new set of informal tools that did not exist before mainly focused on people' mindsets, that is, reframing actors' value systems about the built environment (see Annex F). Hence, informal policy tools are based on *soft power* instruments that aim to shape the preferences of development actors - developers, regulators, designers or clients - influencing their choices and decisions using persuasion and not coercion (see Section 4.3). However, cultural change is difficult to achieve in the short term, as some development actors that may have more power than others will attempt to resist change. Therefore, the goal of improving the performance of development actors must be seen as long term. As such, it is not possible to sift this sort of 'fuzzy' assessment by using quantitative inference or exhaustive mapping of the number of initiatives and actions generated by the policy process.

As was demonstrated by this research, despite the different maturity levels between the countries concerned, the Architectural policies are having substantial impacts, although more in some areas than in others, their intensity varying according to the amount of resources that are available and to the diversity of initiatives on the ground. Nevertheless, Architectural policies will only enhance the role of the state if they are effectively implemented. The Irish experience has shown over the first seven years of its existence, that whilst the adoption of Architectural policies may be important to define design quality principles these policies will be simply static and will not be effective instruments to drive design governance in the absence of good coordination and implementation resources. Therefore, Architecture policies need to have some policy budget, even if it is a small one, or they will be prevented from carrying out any initiatives, and will therefore become an ineffective policy instrument.

Despite the Europeanization process of Architectural policies demonstrated in Chapter 6, it is relevant to highlight that several EU countries are still suspicious about the role of national Architectural policies and its effectiveness in promoting better places. In fact, one of the weaknesses of Architecture as public policy lies in the substance of its main concern: the design quality of the built environment. Although the aesthetic component is only one of the dimensions of quality, the difficulty in defining, explaining and assessing the design quality of buildings and places induces politicians to adopt a free hand strategy, that is, the market and development actors will determine what it is best (see Section 2.2). In this sense, in the absence of clear evidence on the added value of design quality, the perception of most governments is that they should not have a role in processes of design governance.

While in some areas, Architectural policies are having less impact than what was expected, all the interviewees were supportive of a greater involvement of the state in processes of design governance. The question of the effectiveness of Architectural policies will always be difficult to perceive as some effects are visible artefacts or products generated by the policies, while others are very diffuse in nature and focused on influencing the design processes and the actors' decision environment rather than on making tangible interventions at the scale of the project. Starting from an interpretative stance, this research acknowledges that policymaking is a continuous and incremental process in which the main ideas and values sustained by a policy community will have a decisive effect on how the policy actors perceive the degree of influence that the policies may have triggered. Although this can introduce some bias on the results of this research, some conclusions on the policies' performance of the three case studies will be summarized below. In addition, an overview of the conclusions on the impacts and limitations of the policies will also be provided.

1) Implementation of architectural policies

As was seen, the policy implementation process of the three case studies presents different levels of maturity, the Netherlands standing out as the country that has been putting more efforts and resources into the delivery of its policy tools. According to the interviewees, the 25 years of Architectural policies development have successfully raised the profile of Architecture and the level of awareness of clients and the general public, which ended up influencing the producing side of the development process and led to the improvement of the quality of the Dutch built environment and landscape. This has been the result of a strong and continued investment in its Architectural policies instruments, together with a sophisticated planning system and other social aspects described earlier which could not be thoroughly examined in this research. Although it is not possible to determine with accuracy the impacts of the policies on the design quality of buildings and urban places, as they are also the result of a combination of several policies and other social factors, the Dutch Architectural policies have clearly had an impact on the development actors decision-making environments and have played an important role in raising the standards.

With regards to the other two case studies, the Scottish government has also been implementing the majority of its Architecture policy instruments and investing considerable

amounts of resources in its execution, although not in the same proportion as the Dutch policies. Again, the question of whether the Scottish policies are effectively improving the quality of places has to be seen in the light of its context, in which most of the policy tools are informal in nature and long-term aimed. Therefore, within the time frame of this research it is not possible to provide a more precise answer than to say that the policies' instruments are being effectively delivered. According to the interviewees, the wide range of activities and programmes developed by A+DS are having a positive impact on the wider community, clients and designers. A+DS is also delivering design review services, which is quite a unique policy instrument, improving the standards of design of the built environment.

Of the three countries, Ireland has been the least successful in putting its Architecture policy in operation. In its first seven years, the policy did not generate any visible results and its implementation was considered a failure. Nevertheless, the second Irish policy introduced a much more comprehensive action plan, identifying and committing the different policy stakeholders, which included not only public bodies but also several non-governmental entities. Despite the huge difference with the Dutch budget, the Irish department in charge of the second policy was able to guarantee an annual funding for the total seven-year period, although in the last three it has suffered a reduction by more than 80%. Hence, the level of impact of the Irish policy actions does not have the same extent as the more diversified agenda of the other two countries. According to several interviewees, the new IAF is having a considerable impact, even if the range of initiatives is more restricted than in the other two countries. The schoolchildren's programme or the Open House event, are examples of two initiatives which are successfully creating an audience and raising awareness about the value of design. Equally important has been the commitment of several government players revealing a new impetus for better places that did not exist before.

2) The impact of national Architectural policies

The impacts of Architectural policies on design processes can be seen in two dimensions: the *impacts inside the public sector* and the *impacts outside the public sector*. About the former, the policies have been promoting design quality across government through the following instruments: i) *interdepartmental platforms*, which are aimed at enhancing communication and coordination between different policy sectors and stakeholders; ii) *State architect*, who has the role of championing design quality across government; iii) *architectural policy unit*, which is responsible for the Architectural policy implementation and for ensuring that its initiatives are delivered; iv) *local Architectural foundation* (in the case of the Netherlands), which is promoting best practices at local level. Although these new tools have not been very effective in placing design quality as a corporate aim across the public sector, the Architecture policies were important "vehicles" for the creation of these new tools, which otherwise would probably not have been created. The question of how these instruments can effectively influence the different sectors and levels of the administration is one crucial issue that the Architectural policies need to address and better convene in the future (this point will be discussed below under the main policies' limitations).

About the policy impact on processes of design governance outside the public sector, as seen in Chapter 8, the national Architectural policies have been promoting a diversified design agenda directed to the general public and development actors. To deliver this agenda, the different countries have established new bodies to develop national cultural programmes and related initiatives to raise awareness and enable a culture change. As was seen, some of the these new bodies are more equipped with informal design tools than others, as their size and structure varies according to the level of financial resources available: the Dutch have established a robust cultural infrastructure; the Scots have established a national design champion (A+DS); and the Irish have created a small foundation (IAF) together with other partners. Adding to this, the state departments themselves have been in charge of managing national grant programmes in support of the Architecture policies' initiatives and events.

Besides the above, there are other two dimensions of impact that cut across the public and private spheres: *governance* and *communication*. A third impact dimension of the Architecture policies has been the creation of a more inclusive policy process. As discussed in Chapter 4, public policies are intrinsically connected with processes of policymaking, in which social problems are first recognized and then policies are formulated and approved, involving different actors and decision-making environments. In all the three countries, the Architectural policies have been preceded by processes of participation and interaction between decision-makers and other policy actors, including public and private stakeholders. Considering the complex system of actors involved in the built environment design, the development of Architectural policies has been an opportunity to interchange and conciliate different interests and to make compromises between public and private actors, namely in the choice of the policy problems, goals and tools.

A fourth dimension refers to the impact of the Architectural policies' discourse and communication, affecting both public administration and the wider community. In fact, policy discourse is one of the principal instruments used by policymakers to define and forward governmental goals, including not only language but also a *set of ideas* and *interactive processes* which relates to the policy substance that it promotes and to how these are communicated to the public. In fact, the adoption of a national Architectural policy is in itself a high policy statement on the value of design quality and on the need to raise design standards. In the three case studies, national Architectural policies were published in the format of illustrated books and distributed across departments and stakeholders. For example, the Irish State Architect reported that he had used the Architectural policy book at several meetings to pressure external agencies to raise their design standards. In addition, the Architectural policies have financed and promoted several other written materials, such as urban design guidance, research reports, best case guides, web portals and digital books, which constitute a powerful way of disseminating information. As such, the architecture policies are having an impact by communicating and integrating design quality principles, directly or indirectly, in other design policies, documents, publications and websites.

3) The limitations of national architectural policies

Despite the positive impact described above, Architectural policies have several limitations and weaknesses (see section 8.4.3). As was seen, one of the main limitations of the policies is its lack of effectiveness in persuading the constellation of public managers and principals to give more priority to design quality, both horizontally and vertically, across different sectors and levels of the administration. In fact, the hierarchical and complex structure of modern states makes it difficult to coordinate and assure integration of the wide range of policies that affect the built environment. As was seen above, this can be done by creating interdepartmental platforms that can build bridges and facilitate communication between different departments. Another way to achieve it is to establish a Chief Government architect, who would take a leading role and push for the implementation of a design agenda. Nevertheless, these policies tools need to have a strong political support to effectively introduce change and stimulate better practices of procurement and development control.

Although the comprehensive Architectural policies aspire high-quality environments, these aims are very difficult to achieve in the short term. As was discussed previously, design quality can be considered a complex social problem as it is dependent on a wide range of actors involved in the production, maintenance and renovation of urban spaces. In this sense, an Architectural policy needs to implement a diversified policy agenda and a mix of policy tools covering a wider spectrum of areas. If regulatory instruments are the only tools available to policymakers and planners, their primary concern will be reduced to the verification of compliance to the norms and of the speed in which regulatory decisions are made. Although capacity-building tools may have a lower impact, they must be seen as a long-term investment in people geared to changing the behaviour of development actors, mainly through persuasion and by promoting a change of mindset, focused on enhancing the skills, competence and knowledge of development actors. Only by enabling a cultural change in relation to the built environment will it be possible to achieve more integrated and sustainable places.

However, since the majority of the Architectural policy instruments are essentially capacity-building, generally known as soft instruments, the policies face the danger of not being able to effectively influence the choices of producers (investors, developers), who end up holding the greatest decision-making power on the overall quality of the development. Although capacity-building tools are important to raise awareness and stimulate both sides of the market, the development process is mostly a profit-driven process in which commercial pressures often go against long-term investment in design quality. This being so, exhortations of the public benefits of good design will have a limited impact in a climate in which financial value and return are the main drivers for private sector investment (see Chapter 3). To reinforce its effectiveness, Architectural policies could introduce certain regulatory instruments such as quality criteria in the procurement process or specific design standards in the planning system without restricting too much the design capacity for innovation. .

9.3 Revisiting the main hypothesis of the dissertation

This investigation explored the hypothetical contribution that a national Architectural policy plays in the wider processes of design governance and whether it can improve the role of the state in promoting better places. Considering the high number of countries that have adopted Architectural policies in the last twenty years, the following hypothesis was established:

> *A national policy on Architecture is an important policy instrument to improve the system of design governance, enhancing the role of the state in promoting better places* (See Section 1.3).

Looking at the research findings originating from the research and the case studies, it is possible to conclude that this hypothesis although correct was too optimistic. As outlined in the last section, in all three case studies the comprehensive Architectural policies were important instruments to improve the system of design governance. Besides placing design quality high on the political agenda, they facilitated at different degrees: i) the creation of interdepartmental platforms on Architectural policy; ii) the democratization of the policy process by allowing a more open and transparent public policy formulation; iii) a more effective policy delivery through the establishment of partnerships with non-governmental actors. In addition, the comprehensive Architectural policies were important in increasing the toolbox available to public officials, allowing them to have a more diversified public intervention in design processes.

This research, however, has focused on three countries that have been making an effort to implement their Architectural policy instruments and actions (the rationale for selecting these specific three countries was referred to in Section 5.3.1). In the European panorama, several other countries have also adopted national Architectural policies but were not able to implement their policies due to the lack of political will or availability of resources. In these cases, Architectural policies are mainly *symbolic* statements on the value of good design with very little (if any) impact. Therefore, as in all public policies, national Architectural policies will only be a useful instrument if they are provided with the means and resources for an effective implementation. Otherwise, they will remain static in time and with no capacity of intervention. This means that the three chosen countries were good case studies to find evidence on the impacts of a national Architectural policy in a real-life context, but this cannot be generalized to all EU member states.

Against this background, it is possible to extrapolate a more accurate conclusion:

> *A national policy on Architecture is an important policy instrument to improve the system of design governance, enhancing the role of the state in promoting better places, if it is provided with the means and resources for its effective implementation, otherwise it will just be a well-intentioned high-policy statement on the value of good design.*

9.4 Research contributions and limitations

Concerning the debate on the symbiotic relationship between the processes of Europeanization and the development of national Architectural policies, this thesis represents an addition to the growing number of available interpretative narratives of the Europeanization of public policy. However, when it shifts its focus to the role and the impact of *comprehensive* Architectural policies on processes of design governance, this dissertation offers a more structural contribution to knowledge. As such, this investigation adds substance to the reduced number of investigations that aim to get a better understanding of the processes of design governance underpinning the making of and implementation of Architecture as public policy.

Nevertheless, this research has several limitations. Firstly, it only investigates (in depth) comprehensive Architectural policies, leaving aside other type of policy approaches. Secondly, given that its scale of analysis is focused at the national level, it cannot be extrapolated so that a similar policy dynamics may potentially take place at the regional and local level. Thirdly, its focus on policymaking processes and policy outputs does not allow it to understand the extent of its impact on the ground, that is, to what extent a formal policy on Architecture and its instruments really influence 'first order' design processes, development actors and ultimately the quality of places. Therefore, a recommendation for a future research would be to examine how Architectural policy tools are able to introduce change in design processes at regional and local levels.

9.5 Further research agenda

A future research agenda should take stock of the limitations identified throughout this investigation and place its future emphasis on a better understanding of the mechanisms and of the extent to which socio-cultural contextual factors influence the development and implementation of Architecture as public policy. More knowledge on the dynamics of design governance will enable and inform the design of policies that aim to steer it. The present section outlines two sets of recommendations, distinct in nature and scope.

Architectural policies: filling the gap

There is little reference to national policies on Architecture within academic literature on architecture and planning. As such, the gap in the knowledge is considerable. Based on the limits to the research design of this investigation, it is possible to outline some future lines of research:

a) *Legislative and sectoral model*s - It would be a contribution to knowledge to explore the other two types of national policies on Architecture, namely, a national Law on Architecture such as the one that exists in France and Sweden; and sectoral Architectural policies such as the CABE experience in England. A comparative analysis of the effectiveness of the three models would be an added value for the policy and academic community;

b) *Recent national policies on Architecture* – There are some countries that have just recently approved their national policy on Architecture (e.g. Portugal, Croatia). Although the specific national contexts will have a strong influence on the progress of their Architectural policies, it would be interesting for the wider community to understand what were the external inputs received from other policies and which innovations they intend to put in place;

c) *Municipal Architectural policies* – local authorities are responsible for ensuring and managing the overall quality of their local built environment, having several design tolls at their disposal. Today, several local authorities have already adopted municipal Architectural policies placing a future vision and setting a set of design initiatives and actions (e.g. Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands). It would be a contribution to knowledge to understand what have been the results and setbacks of such experiences.

Architectural policies in the EU: the comparative challenge

In the context of a wider European debate, the different experiences of member states can provide useful lessons on the dynamics of design governance. Addressing this aim implies developing a systematic EU comparative exercise focused on the different modes of state intervention on processes of built environment design. The objective would be to learn which factors enable or hinder better design outcomes, and when the latter is proven to have occurred to identify the possible drivers that could potentially improve the policies efficiency.

9.6 Final thoughts

At the end of this thesis, I believe in a greater societal role for Architecture as a public policy. Nevertheless, the specific way in which Architectural policy will be structured in the future will depend on several political and social factors, where each nation will have to conciliate its own internal constraints and ambitions in the best way possible. Considering that the design of the built environment is a reflex of a community and that the responsibility for its overall quality rests largely on the hands of the public sector, public authorities must champion the value of Architecture as a public policy if it is to become part of the societal ethos.

The end.

List of references

AAP, 1996. *Livro Branco da Arquitectura e do Ambiente Urbano em Portugal*. Lisbon: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses, Litografia Tejo.

Adams, D., 1994. *Urban Planning and the Development Process*. London, UK: UCL Press.

Adams, D. and Tiesdell, S., 2013. *Shaping Places*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Adcock, R. and Collier, D., 2001. Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research. *American Political Science Review*, 95, 529–546.

Alexander, C., 1965. A City is not a Tree. *Architectural Forum*, 1 and 2 (122).

Ambrose, P., 1994. Huma Nature and the Urban Environment. *In*: *Urban process and power*. London, UK: Routledge, 3–15.

Anderson, J. E., 2000. *Public Policymaking: an Introduction*. Boston, United States of America: Houghton Milfflin Company.

Architects' Council of Europe (ACE), 1994. *White Paper: Europe and Architecture Tomorrow*. Brussels.

Arge, K., 1995. Architectural quality. *Building Research & Information*, 23 (4), 234–236.

Arts Council, 2003. *Architecture and the Built Environment - policies, strategies and actions*. Belfast: Arts Council of Northern Ireland.

Australia, 2011. *Creating Places for People. An Urban Design Protocol for Australian Cities*. Retrieved from: http://urbandesign.org.au/: Australian Government.

Bache, I. and Flinders, M., 2004. *Multi-level Governance*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M. S., 1963. Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework. *The American Political Science Review*, 57 (3), 632–642.

Ballantyne, A., 2002. *What is Architecture?* London, UK: Routledge.

Barret, S., Stewart, M., and Underwood, J., 1978. The land market and the development process. *Occasional paper 2, School for Advance Urban Studies, University of Bristol*.

Barrett, S. M., 2004. Implementation Studies: Time for a Revival? Personal Reflections on 20 Years of Implementation Studies. *Public Administration*, 82 (2), 249–262.

Benevolo, L., 2001. *A cidade e o arquitecto: método e história na arquitectura*. 2nd ed. São Paulo, Brazil: Perspectiva.

Benevolo, L., 2009. *Introdução à Arquitectura*. Lisboa, Portugal: Edições 70, Lda.

Ben-Joseph, E. and Szold, T. S., 2005. *Regulating Place: Standards and the Shaping of Urban America*. Oxford, Great Britain: Routledge.

Bentley, I., 2002. *Urban Transformations: Power, People and Urban Design*. London, UK: Routledge.

Biau, V., 2002. *The Attribution of Public Contracts to Project Consultants in Europe*. Paris, France: Ministry of Culture and Communications, Architecture and Heritage Division, Mission for Quality in Public Construction.

Birkland, T. A., 2005. *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making*. New York, United States of America: M.E.Sharpe, Inc.

Bishop, P., 2011. *The Bishop Review: The Future of Design in the Built Environment*. London, UK: Design Council.

Booth, P., 1982. Housing as a Product: Design Guidance and Resident Satisfaction in the Private Sector. *Built Environment*, 8 (1), 20–24.

Booth, P., 1995. Zoning or Discretionary Action: Certainty and Responsiveness in Implementing Planning Policy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 14 (2), 103–112.

Booth, P., 1996. *Controlling Development: Certainty, Discretion and Accountability in Europe, the USA and Hong Kong.* London, UK.

Brandão, P., 2004. Ética e Profissões, no Design Urbano Convicção, Responsabilidade e Interdisciplinaridade Traços da Identidade Profissional no Desenho da Cidade. Departamento de Escultura, Universidade de Barcelona.

Brandão, P., 2013. Do Livro Branco à Politica de Arquitectura - Nota (não apenas histórica) sobre o fim de ciclo. *Boletim Arquitectos*, 231 (Ordem dos Arquietctos), 10–11.

Bryman, A., 2004. *Social Research Methods.* Second. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Burdette, J., 2004. Form-Based Codes: A Cure for the Cancer Called Euclidean Zoning? Blacksburg VA.

CABE, 2002a. *Client Guide. Achieving well designed schools through PFI.* London, UK: CABE.

CABE, 2002b. *Better Civic Buildings and Spaces.* London, UK: CABE.

CABE, 2006a. *Design review: how CABE evaluates quality in architecture and urban design.* London, UK: CABE.

CABE, 2006b. *Better public building.* London, UK: CABE.

CABE, 2007. *Building Schools for the Future: the role of a design champion.* London, UK: CABE.

Caeiro, J. C., 2008. *Políticas Públicas, Política Social e Estado Providência.* Lisboa: Universidade Lusíada Editora.

Carmona, M., 1996. Controlling Urban Design-Part 1: A Possible Renaissance? *Journal of Urban Design*, 1 (1), 47–73.

Carmona, M., 1998. Design control — bridging the professional divide, part 1: A new framework. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3 (2), 175–200.

Carmona, M., 2009. Design Coding and the Creative, Market and Regulatory Tyrannies of Practice. *Urban Studies*, 46 (12), 2643–2667.

Carmona, M., 2011. Design Coding: Mediating the Tyrannies of Practice. *In*: Tiesdell, S. and Adams, D., eds. *Urban Design in the Real Estate Development Process.* Oxford, Great Britain: Wiley-Blackwell, 54–73.

Carmona, M., Heath, T., Oc, T., and Tiesdell, S., 2003. *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design.* Library. Oxford, Great Britain: Architectural Press.

Carmona, M., Heath, T., Oc, T., and Tiesdell, S., 2007. *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design.* Oxford, Great Britain: Architectural Press.

Carmona, M., de Magalhães, C., Edwards, M., Awuor, B., and Aminossehe, S., 2001. *The value of urban design.* London.

Carmona, M., Natarajan, L., and de Magalhães, C., 2017. *Design Governance: The CABE Experiment.* London: Routledge.

Carmona, M., Punter, J., and Chapman, D., 2002. *From design policy to design quality the treatment of design in community strategies, local development frameworks and action plans.* London: Thomas Telford.

Carmona, M. and Sieh, L., 2004. *Measuring Quality in Planning, Managing the Performance Process.* Oxon, UK: Spon Press.

Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S., 2007. *Urban Design Reader.* Oxon, UK: Architectural Press, Routledge.

Champy, F., 2001. *Sociologie de l'Architecture*. Paris, France: La Découverte.

Conway, H. and Roenisch, R., 2005. *Understanding Architecture. An Introduction to Architecture and architectural history*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Cook, M., 2007. *The Design quality manual, Improving building performance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Corradi, J. E., 2009. By Reason or by Force The International Crisis and the Return of Public Intervention. *Geopolitics*, (74).

Cousins, M., 2009. *Design Quality in New Housing Learning from the Netherlands*. Abingdom, Oxford: Taylor & Francis.

Cowan, R., 2005. *The Dictionary of Urbanism*. UK: Streetwise Press.

Croatia, 2013. *Architectural policies of the Republic of Croatia 2013-2020, ApolitikA, National guidelines for excellence of building and building culture*. Ministry of Construction and Physical Planning.

Cuthbert, A. R., 2005. A debate from down-under: spatial political economy and urban design. *Urban Design International*, 10 (3-4), 223–234.

Cuthbert, A. R., 2007. Whose Urban Design? *Journal of Urban Design*, 15 (3), 443–448.

Dahlgaard, S. M. P., 1999. The evolution patterns of quality management: Some reflections on the quality movement. *Total Quality Management*, 10 (4-5), 473–480.

Davis, H., 2006. *The Culture of Building*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Delafons, J., 1994. No Title. *In*: Scheer, B. and Preiser, W., eds. *Design Review, Challenging Urban Aesthetic Control*. New York, USA: Chapman & Hall.

DeLeon, P., 1992. The Democratization of the Policy Sciences. *Public Administration Review*, 52 (2), 125–129.

Denmark, 2007. *Nation of Architecture Denmark, Settings for Life and Growth, Danish Architectural Policy 2007*. Copenhagen: The Danish Government, Ministry of Culture.

DETR/CABE, 2000. *By Design. Urban design in the planning system towards better practice*. London: Thomas Telford.

Dewulf, G. and Meel, J. Van, 2004. Sense and nonsense of measuring design quality. *Building Research & Information*, 32 (3), 247–250.

Dings, M., 2009. Historic Perspective. *In*: Ovink, H. and Wierenga, E., eds. *Design and politics, Volume 1*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 9–176.

Draelants, H. and Maroy, C., 2007. *A Survey of Public Policy Analysis*. Knowledge and Policy in Education and Health Sectors.

Dryzec, J., 1993. Policy Analysis and Planning: From Science to Argument. *In*: Fischer, F. and Forester, J., eds. *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*. Durham, USA: Duke University Press.

Dryzec, J., 2002. A Post-Positivist Policy - Analytic Travelogue. *The Good Society*, 11 (1), 32–36.

Durning, D., 1993. Participatory Policy Analysis in a Social Service Agency: A Case Study. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 12 (2), 297–322.

Dye, T. R., 1995. *Understanding Public Policy*. New Jersey, United States of America: Prentice-Hall.

Edwards, M., Campkin, B., and Arbaci, S., 2009. Exploring Roles and Relationships in the Production of the Built Environment. *CEBE Transactions*, 6 (1), 38–61.

EEC, 1985. *Architect Directive 85/384/EEC*. European Union.

EFAP, 2005. *European Survey*. Brussels, Belgium: European Forum for Architectural Policies.

EFAP, 2007. *A Chronological History.* Brussels, Belgium: European Forum for Architectural Policies.

EFAP, 2008. *Manifesto for European Cities, European Forum for Architectural Policies.* Brussels.

Elmore, R. F., 1987. Instruments and Strategy in Public Policy. *Policy Studies Review*, 7 (1), 174–186.

England, 1994. *Quality in Town and Country.* London: Department of the Environment.

ESRC, 2012. *Framework for Research Ethics.* Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Estonia, 2002. *The Architectural Policy of Estonia.*

EU, 2001. *Council Resolution of 12 February 2001 on architectural quality in urban and rural environments (2001/C73/04).* European Union.

EU, 2004. *Directive 2004/18/EC.* European Union.

EU, 2007. *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities.* European Union.

EU, 2008. *Council conclusions on architecture: culture's contribution to sustainable development.* European Union.

EU, 2009. *Guide to the Commission's architectural policy.* Brussels, Belgium: European Comission.

Farrell, T., 2014. *Our Future in Place. Terry Farrell Review of Architecture + the Built Environment.* London, UK: Pipers.

Featherstone, K., 2003. Introduction: In the Name of 'Europe'. *In*: Featherstone, K. and Radaelli, C. M., eds. *The Politics of Europeanization.* Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 3–26.

Fernandes, J. M., 1991. *A Arquitectura. Sínteses da cultura Portuguesa.* Portugal: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Figueira, J., 2009. A Periferia. Perfeita. Pós-Modernidade na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80. Universidade de Coimbra.

Figueiredo, S. M., 2010. Going Dutch - the NAi and the Search for Quality Architecture in the Netherlands. *Conditions. Independent Scandinavian Magazine on Architecture and Urbanism*, (5/6), 30–35.

Figueiredo, S. M., 2013. De Política Cultural a Politiquice Económica: 25 anos de políticas de arquitectura na Holanda (1991-2016). *Boletim Arquitectos*, (231), 29–31.

Finland, 1998. *The Finnish Architectural Policy, The Government's architectural policy programme.* Porvoo: Arts Council of Finland and Ministry of Education.

Fischer, F., 2003. Beyond Empiricism: Policy Inquiry in Post positivist Perspective. *In*: Hajer, M. and Wagenaar, H., eds. *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Fischer, F., 2007a. Policy Analysis in Critical Perspective: The Epistemic of Discursive Practice. *Critical Policy Analysis*, 1 (1), 97–109.

Fischer, F., 2007b. Policy Analysis in Critical Perspective: The Epistemics of Discursive Practices. *Critical Policy Studies*, 1 (1), 97–109.

Fischer, F. and Forester, J., 1993. *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning.* Durham, USA.

France, 1977. *French Law on architecture no. 77-2 of 3rd January.* Paris: Parliament of France.

France, 1985. *Maitrise d'Ouvrage Public Act.* Parliament of France.

Franceschini, F., Galetto, M., and Gianni, G., 2004. A new forecasting model for the diffusion of ISO 9000 standard certifications in European countries. *The International Journal of Quality & Reliability Management*, 21 (1), 32–50.

Friedrich, C., 1963. *Man and His Government*. New York, USA: McGraw-Hill.

Gann, D. M., Salter, A. J., and Whyte, J. K., 2003. Design Quality Indicator as a tool for thinking. *Building Research & Information*, 5 (31), 37–41.

Garvin, D. A., 1987. Competing on the eight dimensions of quality. *Harvard Business Review*, (November-December), 101–109.

Garvin, D. A., 1988. *Managing Quality: The Strategic and Competitive Edge*. New York, USA: The Free Press.

George, R. V., 1997. A Procedural Explanation for Contemporary Urban Design. *Urban Design*, 2 (2), 143–161.

Germany, 2007. *Baukultur! Planning and Building in Germany*. Berlin: Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs.

Gerston, L. N., 1997. *Public Policy Making: Process and Principles*. New York, USA: M.E.Sharpe, Inc.

Ghilione, R. and Matalon, B., 1992. *O inquérito. Teoria e prática.* Oeiras, Portugal: Celta Editora.

Guy, S. and Henneberry, J., 2000. Understanding Urban Development Processes: Integrating the Economic and the Social in Property Research. *Urban Studies*, 37 (13), 2399–2416.

Hague, C., 2012. What is an architecture policy and what should it do? *Planning Resource* [online], 2012. Available from: www.planningResource.co.uk.

Hajer, M., 2005. Coalitions, practices, and meaning in environmental politics: From acid rain to BSE. *In*: Howarth, D. and Torfing, J., eds. *Discourse Theory in European politics*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 297–315.

Hajer, M. and Wagenaar, H., 2003. *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, A. C., 1996. *Design Control, towards a new approach*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Hantrais, L., 1999. Contextualization in cross-national comparative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2 (2), 93–108.

Hantrais, L., 2009. *International Comparative Research: Theory, Methods and Practice*. Hampshire, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan Press.

Harkness, J., 1999. In pursuit of quality: Issues for cross-national survey research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2 (2), 125–140.

Harries, K., 2000. *The Ethical Function of Architecture*. USA: MIT Press.

Healey, P., 1991. Models of the development process: A review. *Journal of Property Research*, 8 (3), 219–238.

Healey, P., 1992. An institutional model of the development process. *Journal of Property Research*, 9 (1), 33–44.

Heclo, H., 1972. Review Article: Policy Analysis. *British Journal of Political Science*, 2 (1), 83–108.

Hendriks, M., 2008. Ontwerpen aan Nederland 2.0: het verborgen succes van het Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur. *Blauwe Kamer: tijdschrift voor landschapsontwikkeling en stedebouw*, 54–62.

Hirst, P., 2000. Democracy and Governance. *In*: Pierre, J., ed. *Debating Governance, Authority, Steering and Democracy*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 13–35.

Hogwood, B. W. and Gunn, L. A., 1984. *Policy Analysis for the Real World*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Holanda, F. de, 2010. Sociological Architecture: A Particular Way of Looking at Places. *The Journal of Space Syntax*, 1 (2), 337–355.

Hood, C., 2006. The Tools of Government in the Information Age. *In*: Moran, M., Rein, M., and Goodi, R. E., eds. *The Oxforfd Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press, 469–481.

Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., and Perl, A., 2009. *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles & Policy Subsystems*. Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Hungary, 2015. *National Architectural Policy*. Budapest, Hungary: The Prime Minister's Office.

Iceland, 2007. *Icelandic Government Policy on Architecture*. Ministry of Culture.

Imrie, R., 2007. *The codification and regulation of architects' practices'*. King's College London, University of London.

Imrie, R. and Street, E., 2009. Regulating Design: The Practices of Architecture, Governance and Control. *Urban Studies*, 46 (12), 2507–2518.

Imrie, R. and Street, E., 2011a. The Coding of Design and Architecture. *In*: *Architectural Design and Regulation*. Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Imrie, R. and Street, E., 2011b. *Architectural Design and Regulation*. Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ireland, 1996. *Developing a Government Policy on Architecture*. Dublin: Department of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht.

Ireland, 2002. *Action on Architecture 2002-2005*. Dublin.

Ireland, 2009. *Towards a Sustainable Future: Delivering Quality within the Built Environment; Government Policy on Architecture 2009 – 2015*. Dublin: Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

Jacobs, J., 2000. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Virginia: Pimlico.

Jann, W. and Wegrich, K., 2007. Theories of the Policy Cycle. *In*: Fischer, F., Miller, G. J., and Sidney, M. S., eds. *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis. Theory, Politics, and Methods*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, Taylor and Francis Group, 43–62.

Jarvis, R. K., 1980. Urban environments as visual art or as social settings? a review. *Town Planning Review*, 51 (1), 50–66.

Jessop, B., 1998. The rise of governance and the risks of failure: the case of economic development. *International Social Science Journal*, 50 (155), 29–45.

Jones, C., 1970. *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy*. Belmont (California, USA): Duxbury Press.

Kazemian, R. and Rönn, M., 2009. From Architectural Policies to Implementation of Architectural Competitions. *Gastkommentar, wettbewerbe-aktuell*, 5, 1–6.

Kelbaugh, D. and McCullough, K., 2008. *Writing Urbanism: A Design Reader*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Kingdon, J. W., 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. New York, USA: HarperCollins College Publishers.

Kloosterman, R. C., 2008. Walls and bridges: knowledge spillover between 'superdutch' architectural firms. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 1–19.

Knoepfel, P., Corine, L., Varone, F., and Michael, H., 2011. *Public Policy Analysis*. Public Policy Analysis. Bristol (UK): The Policy Press.

Knott, D., Muers, S., and Aldridge, S., 2008. *Achieving Culture Change: A Policy Framework*. London, UK.

Knox, P. and Ozolins, P., 2012. The built environment. *In*: Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S., eds. *Urban Design Reader*. Oxon: Routledge, 313–318.

Koch, D., 2010. Architecture Re-Configured. *The Journal of Space Syntax*, 1 (1).

Kohn, M. L., 1987. Cross-national Research as an Analytical Strategy. *American Sociological Review*, 52 (December), 713–731.

Kooiman, J., 1999. Social-Political Governance. *Public Management Review*, 1, 67–92.

Kooiman, J., 2000. Societal governance: Levels, models, and Orders of Social-Political Interaction. *In*: *Debating Governance, Authority, Steering and Democracy*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Kooiman, J., 2003. *Governing as governance*. Governance An International Journal Of Policy And Administration. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Lang, J., 1994. *Urban design, the american experience*. New York, USA: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Lasswell, H. D., 1979. *The signature of power, Buildings, Communication and Policy*. New Jersey, USA: Transaction.

Lawrence, D. L. and Low, S. M., 1990. The built environment and spatial form. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19, 453–505.

Levi-faur, D., 2011. *The Odyssey of the Regulatory State. Episode one: the rescue of the Welfare State*. Jerusalem Papers in Regulation & Governance. Jerusalem, Israel. No. 39.

Lithuania, 2005. *Architectural Policy Trends in the Republic of Lithuania*. Lithuanian Government.

Livingstone, S., 2003. On the Challenges of Cross-National Comparative Media Research. *European Journal of Communication*, 18 (4), 477–500.

Lopes, F., 2012. *Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico. Noção e Normas de Proteção*. Casal de Cambra. Portugal: Caleidoscópio.

Luxembourg, 2004. *Pour une Politique Architecturale*.

Lynch, K., 1984. *Good city form*. City. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Macmillan, S., 2004. *Designing Better Buildings. Quality and Value in the Built Environment*. Oxon: Taylor & Francis.

Madanipour, A., 1997. Ambiguites of Urban Design. *Town Planning Review*, 68 (3), 363–383.

Madanipour, A., 2006. Roles and Challenges of Urban Design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 11 (2), 173–193.

Majone, G., 1994. The rise of the regulatory state in Europe. *West European Politics*, 17 (3), 77–101.

Mangen, S., 1999. Qualitative research methods in cross-national settings. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2 (2), 109–124.

MCC, 2002. *A Resolution for architectural quality in Europe*. Carnets in. Paris, France: Minist re de la Culture et de la Communication, Direction de L´Architecture et du Patrimoine.

McGlynn, S., 1993. Reviewing the rhetoric. *In*: Hayward, R. and McGlynn, S., eds. *Making Better Places: urban design now*. Oxford, Great Britain: Butterworth-Heinemann.

McGlynn, S. and Murrain, P., 1994. The politics of urban design. *Planning Practice and Research*, 9 (3), 311–319.

Mee, A. and Wakely, R., 2008. *Public Engagement with Architecture in the Republic of Ireland with*. Mullan Consulting.

Meijer, F. and Visscher, H., 2005. *The legal position of architects in the European Union*.

Montgomery, J., 1998. Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3 (1), 93–116.

Moore, C. W., 1965. Architecture - Art and Science. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 19 (4), 53–56.

Morris, W., 1881. The Prospects of Architecture in civilisation. *In*: *Hopes and Fears for Art.* Longmans, Green and Co.

Moudon, A. V., 1992. A Catholic Approach to Organizing What Urban Designers Should Know. *Planning Literature*, 6 (4), 331–349.

Mourato, J., 2011. Europeanisation and Territorial Governance: An Inquiry Into Power and Institutional Culture Change in Portugal. University College London.

Muller, P. and Surel, Y., 2010. *A Análise das Políticas Públicas*. 2nd ed. Pelotas: Educat.

Nelson, C., 2006. *Managing Quality in Architecture: A Handbook for Creators of the Built Environment*. Oxford, Great Britain: Elsevier.

Netherlands, 1991. *Space for Architecture, Memorandum on Architectural Policy 1992-1996*. Den Haag: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

Netherlands, 1996. *The Architecture of space, Memorandum on Architectural Policy 1997-2000*. Den Haag: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

Netherlands, 2001. *Shaping the Netherlands. Architectural Policy 2001-2004*. Den Haag: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

Netherlands, 2005. *Action Programme on Spatial Planning and Culture, Architecture and Belvedere Policy, 2005-2008, Summary*. Den Haag: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

Netherlands, 2006. *The Chief Government Architect and the Policy on Architecture*. The Netherlands: atelier Rijksbouwmeester.

Netherlands, 2008. *A Culture of Design. Vision of architecture and Spatial Design*. Den Haag: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

Netherlands, 2012. *Building on the strength of design. Action Agenda for Architecture and Spatial Design: 2013 - 2016*. Den Haag: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

Noble, A. G., 2007. *Traditional Buildings: A Global Survey of Structural Forms and Cultural Functions*. New York, USA: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.

Nogueira, P., 2013. Práticas Coletivas para uma Arquitetura Expansiva: Os novos compromissos da Arquitetura na Contemporaneidade. Universidade do Minho.

NorthernIreland, 2005. *Architecture and the Built Environment for Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure.

NorthernIreland, 2013. *Recent developments in architectural policy across the UK and Ireland*. Belfast.

Norway, 2009. *Architecture.now. Norwegian Architectural Policy*. Oslo: The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs.

Papadimitriou, A. and Stensaker, B., 2013. *Capacity building as an EU policy instrument: the case of the Tempus program*.

Pasquino, G., 2010. *Curso de Ciência Política*. Parede, Portugal: Princípia Editora, Lda.

Pedro, J. B., Meijer, F., and Visscher, H., 2009. Comparison of tasks and responsibilities in the building control systems of European Union countries. *In*: *COBRA 2008 - The construction and building research conference of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors*. Cape Town: RICS COBRA Research Conference.

Pereira, M. T. A., 2009. Da Arquitectura à Teoria e o Universo da Teoria da Arquitectura em Portugal na Primeira Metade do Século XX. Universidade Técnica de Lisboa - Portugal.

Perelló, A. M., 1994. *Las Claves de la Arquitectura*. Barcelona, Spain: Planeta.

Pevsner, N., 1990. *An Outline of European Architecture*. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Pierre, J., 2000. *Debating Governance, Authority, Steering and Democracy*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Pierre, J. and Peters, B. G., 2000. *Governance, Politics and the State*. Hampshire, United Kingdom: Macmillan Press.

Portas, N., 2009. *A Arquitectura para Hoje. Evolução da Arquitectura Moderna em Portugal*. Lisboa, Portugal: Livros Horizonte.

Portas, N., 2013. Política Pública de Arquitectura: Dúvidas na negociação que nos espera. *Boletim Arquitectos*, (231), 12–15.

Portas, N., Domingues, Á., and Cabral, J., 2003. *Políticas Urbanas. Tendências, estratégias e oportunidades*. Lisboa, Portugal: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Portugal, 2007. *Programa Nacional de Politica de Ordenamento do Território*. Lisbon: Miinistry of the Environment.

Portugal, 2015. *Política Nacional de Arquitectura e Paisagem*. Lisboa, Portugal: Miinistry of the Environment.

Punter, J., 1986. A History of Aesthetic Control .1. 1909-1953 - the Control of the External Appearance of Development in England and Wales. *Town Planning Review* [online], 57 (4), 351–381. Available from: ISI:A1986G952500002.

Punter, J., 1991. Participation in the design of urban space. *Landscape Design*, 200, 24–27.

Punter, J., 1999. Improving the instruments, processes and products of aesthetic control in Europe. *Urban Design International*, 4 (1&2), 79–99.

Punter, J., 2007. Developing Urban Design as Public Policy: Best Practice Principles for Design Review and Development Management. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12 (2), 167–202.

Punter, J., 2011a. Urban Design and the English Urban Renaissance 1999–2009: A Review and Preliminary Evaluation. *Journal of Urban Design* [online], 16 (1), 1–41.

Punter, J., 2011b. Design Review – An Effective Means of Raising Design Quality? *In*: Tiesdell, S. and Adams, D., eds. *Urban Design in the Real Estate Development Process*. Oxford, Great Britain: Wiley-Blackwell, 182–198.

Punter, J. and Carmona, M., 1997. *The design dimension of planning theory, content and best practice for design policies*. London: E. & F. N. Spon.

Radaelli, C. M., 2003. The Europeanization of Public Policy. *In*: Featherstone, K. and Radaelli, C. M., eds. *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 27–56.

Rapoport, A., 2005. Vernacular architecture and the cultural determinants of form. *In*: King, A. D., ed. *Buildings and society: essays on the social development of the built environment*. London, UK: Taylor & Francis, 158–169.

RFAC and Cantacuzino, S., 1994. *What makes a Good Building? An inquiry by The Royal Fine Art Commission*. The Royal Fine Art Commission.

Rhodes, R. a. W., 1994. The Hollowing Out of the State: the changing nature of the public service in Britain, 138–151.

Rhodes, R. A. W., 1996. The New Governance: Governing without Government. *Political Studies*, 44, 652–667.

Rhodes, R. A. W., 1997. *Understanding governance: policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*. Public policy and management.

Rönn, M., 2011a. Architectural quality in competitions: A dialogue based assessment of design proposals. *FORMakademisk*, 4 (1), 100–115.

Rönn, M., 2011b. Quality in Architecture - A Disputed Concept. *In*: *Considering Research: Reflecting upon current themes in Architectural Research*. Detroit, USA: ARCC.

Rooimans, R., Theye, M. de, & Koop, R. (2003). Regatta: ICT-implementaties als uitdaging voor een vier-met-stuurman. The Hague, The Netherlands: Ten Hagen en Stam Uitgevers

Rose, R., 1991a. What Is Lesson Drawing? *Journal of Public Policy*, 11, 3–30.

Rose, R., 1991b. Comparing Forms of Comparative Analysis. *Political Studies*, 39 (3), 446–462.

Rose, R., 2005. *Learning from comparative public policy. A pratical guide*. Oxon: Routledge.

Rossi, A., 1984. *The Architecture of the City*. New York, USA: Oppositions Books.

Rowley, A., 1994. Definitions of urban design: The nature and concerns of urban design. *Planning Practice and Research*, 9 (3), 179–197.

Rowley, A., 1998. Private-property decision makers and the quality of urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3 (2), 151–173.

RTPI, 2013. *RTPI answer to the Call for Evidence of the Farrell Review of Architecture and the Built Environment*.

Sabatier, P. A., 1991. Toward Better Theories of the Policy Process. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 24 (2), 147–156.

Scheer, B. and Preiser, W., 1994. *Design Review, Challenging Urban Aesthetic Control*. London: Chapman & Hall.

Schofield, J. and Sausman, C., 2004. Symposium on Implementing Public Policy: Learning from Theory and Practice. Introduction. *Public Administration*, 82 (2), 235–248.

Schurch, T. W., 1999. Reconsidering urban design: Thoughts about its definition and status as a field or profession. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4 (1), 5–28.

Scotland, 1999a. *The Development of a Policy on Architecture for Scotland*. Edimburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Scotland, 1999b. *Making it Work Together: A Programme for Government* [online]. Edimburgh: Scottish Executive. Available from: http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/158140/0042788.pdf [Acessed 24 July 2015].

Scotland, 2001. *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland*. Edimburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Scotland, 2002. *Designing Places, A Policy Statement for Scotland*. Edimburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Scotland, 2005. *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland, Progress Report 2005*. Edinburgh: Crown.

Scotland, 2006. *Scotland's Culture*. Astron: Scottish Executive.

Scotland, 2007. *Building our Legacy, Statement on Scotland's Architecture Policy 2007*. Edimburgh: Crown.

Scotland, 2013. *Creating Places - A policy statement on architecture and place for Scotland*. Edimburgh: The Scottish Government.

Shaw, M. and Garlan, D., 1996. *Software Architecture: Perspectives on an Emerging Discipline*. London, UK: Prentice Hall.

Simmons, R., 2008. *Good design: the fundamentals*. London, UK.

Stegmeijer, E., Kloosterman, R., and Lupi, T., 2012. *Bouwen op een sterk fundament. Een tussenevaluatie van het architectuurbeleid (Building on a strong foundation. An interim evaluation of the architectural policy)*. Den Haag.

Sternberg, E., 2000. An integrative Theory of Urban Design. *Journal of American Planning Association*, 66 (3), 265–278.

Stoker, G., 1998. Governance as theory: five propositions. *International Social Science Journal*, 50 (155), 17–28.

Sweden, 1998. *Forms for the Future - An Action Programme for Architecture and Design, (1997/98:117)*. Stockholm: Ministry of Culture.

Syms, P. and Clarke, A., 2011. Good Design in the Redevelopment of Brownfield Sites. *In*: *Urban Design in the Real Estate Development Process*. 137–158.

Tibbalds, F., 1992. *Making People-friendley Towns Improving the public environment in towns and cities*. London: Spon Press.

Tiesdell, S. and Adams, D., 2011. Real Estate Development, Urban Design and the Tools Approach to Public Policy. *In*: Tiesdell, S. and Adams, D., eds. *Urban Design in the Real Estate Development Process*. Oxford, Great Britain: Wiley-Blackwell, 1–33.

Tiesdell, S. and Allmendinger, P., 2005. Planning Tools and Markets: Towards an Extended Conceptualisation. *In*: Adams, D., Watkins, C., and White, M., eds. *Planning, Public Policy & Property Markets*. Blackwell.

Torgerson, D., 1985. Contextual Orientation in Policy Analysis: The Contribution of Harold D. Lasswell. *Policy Sciences*, 18 (3), 241–261.

Ulzen, P. van, 2007. *Imagine a Metropolis: Rotterdam's Creative Class, 1970-2000*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Upton, D., 2002. Architecture in Everyday Life. *New Literary History*, 33 (4), 707–723.

UTF, 1999. *Towards An Urban Renaissance*. London, UK: Urban Task Force; E. & F. N. Spon.

Volker, L., 2010. Deciding about Design Quality. Value judgements and decision making in the selection of architects by public clients under European tendering regulations. Sidestone Press Dissertations.

Wasserman, B., Sullivan, P. J., and Palermo, G., 2000. *Ethics and the Practice of Architecture*. USA: John Wiley & Sons.

Winters, E., 2007. *Aesthetics and Architecture*. London, UK: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Wollmann, H., 2007. Policy Evaluation and Evaluation Research. *In*: Fischer, F., Miller, G. J., and Sidney, M. S., eds. *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis. Theory, Politics, and Methods*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, Taylor and Francis Group, 393–402.

Zevi, B., 1984. *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture*. São Paulo, Brazil: Livraria Martins Fontes.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A.

Council resolution on architectural quality in urban and rural environments

Official Journal C 073 , 06/03/2001 P. 0006 - 0007

Council Resolution of 12 February 2001 on architectural quality in urban and rural environments (2001/C 73/04)

THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION,

Desirous of improving the quality of the day-to-day environment in the life of European citizens,

I.

1. RECALLING the objectives assigned to the European Community under Article 151 of the Treaty;
2. RECALLING Directive 85/384/EEC(1), which states in particular that "architecture, the quality of buildings, the way in which they blend in with their surroundings, respect for the natural and urban environment and the collective and individual cultural heritage are matters of public concern";
3. RECALLING the Council Conclusions of 10 November 1994 on the Commission communication concerning European Community action to promote culture(2);
4. RECALLING the Council Conclusions of 21 June 1994 on the cultural and artistic aspects of education(3);
5. RECALLING the Council Resolution of 4 April 1995 on culture and the multimedia(4);
6. RECALLING the Council Conclusions of 17 December 1999 on the culture industries and employment in Europe(5);
7. TAKING NOTE of the Presidency conclusions of the informal meeting of Environment Ministers in Oporto on 15 and 16 April 2000, which emphasise the importance of the quality of built-up areas;
8. NOTING the holding on 10 and 11 July 2000 of a European Architectural Policies Forum which brought together representatives of the professions and authorities in charge of architectural matters in the fifteen Member States;
9. WELCOMING the Community and intergovernmental discussions which have taken place for a number of years on architectural heritage and the built, spatial and social environment, and more especially:
a) the fifth research and development framework programme (RDFP) which, for the first time, incorporates a "key action" on the theme of "the city of tomorrow and cultural heritage" and addresses the issue of establishing a good-quality building environment;

b) the "Framework for action: sustainable urban development in the European Union" submitted by the Commission, which includes the preservation and improvement of building quality as an objective of the European Union;

c) the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), which evokes the concept of "creative management of the architectural heritage", including contemporary architecture, in an approach to preserving the cultural and architectural heritage.

HEREBY AFFIRMS THAT:

a) architecture is a fundamental feature of the history, culture and fabric of life of each of our countries; that it represents an essential means of artistic expression in the daily life of citizens and that it constitutes the heritage of tomorrow;

b) architectural quality is a constituent part of both the rural and urban environment;

c) the cultural dimension and the quality of the physical treatment of space should be taken into account in Community regional and cohesion policies;

d) architecture is an intellectual, cultural, artistic and professional activity. Architectural service therefore is a professional service which is both cultural and economic.

HEREBY EXPRESSES ITS ATTACHMENT TO:

a) the common characteristics shared by European towns and cities, such as the importance of historical continuity, the quality of public areas, the social mix and the richness of urban diversity;

b) the fact that good quality architecture, by improving the living context and the relationship between citizens and their environment, whether rural or urban, can contribute effectively towards social cohesion and job creation, the promotion of cultural tourism and regional economic development.

II.

HEREBY ENCOURAGES THE MEMBER STATES TO:

a) intensify their efforts to improve the knowledge and promotion of architecture and urban design, and to make contracting authorities and the general public more aware of and better trained in appreciation of architectural, urban and landscape culture;

b) take into account the specific nature of architectural service in the decisions and measures which require it;

c) promote architectural quality by means of exemplary public building policies;

d) foster the exchange of information and experience in the field of architecture.

III. CALLS ON THE COMMISSION TO:

a) ensure that architectural quality and the specific nature of architectural service are taken into consideration in all its policies, measures and programmes;

b) seek, in consultation with the Member States and in accordance with the rules governing the Structural Funds, ways and means of ensuring in the application of those

funds a wider consideration of architectural quality and the conservation of cultural heritage;

c) in the context of existing programmes:
  - foster measures to promote, disseminate and raise awareness of architectural and urban cultures with due respect for cultural diversity,
  - facilitate cooperation and networking between institutions devoted to upgrading cultural heritage and architecture, and support incipient European-scale events,
  - encourage, in particular, the training and mobility of students and professionals and thus promote the dissemination of good practice;

d) keep the Council informed of the implementation of such measures.

(1) Council Directive 85/384/EEC of 10 June 1985 on the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal requirements in architecture, including measures to facilitate the effective exercise of the right of establishment and freedom to provide services (OJ L 223, 21.8.1985, p. 15).

(2) OJ C 348, 9.12.1994, p. 4.

(3) OJ C 229, 18.8.1994, p. 1.

(4) OJ C 247, 23.9.1995, p. 1.

(5) OJ C 8, 12.1.2000, p. 10.

APPENDIX B.

Council conclusions on architecture: culture's contribution to sustainable development (2008/C 319/05)

Official Journal C 319/13, 13.12.2008

THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION,

1. HAVING REGARD TO:

— the Treaty establishing the European Community,

— the Council Resolution of 12 February 2001 on architectural quality in urban and rural environments ([1]), which affirms that architecture is a fundamental feature of the culture and the fabric of life of each of our countries,

— the Council conclusions of 24 May 2007 on the contribution of the cultural and creative sectors to the achievement of the Lisbon objectives ([2]), which point out that cultural activities and creative industries, including architecture, play a critical role in boosting innovation and technology and are key engines of sustainable growth in the future,

— and the Council Resolution of 16 November 2007 on a European agenda for culture ([3]) which, further to the Commission communication of 10 May 2007 ([4]), brings out the cross-cutting role of culture.

2. TAKING NOTE OF:

— the renewed European Union Sustainable Development Strategy ([5]), adopted by the European Council of 15 and 16 June 2006, the overall aim of which is to identify and develop actions to enable the EU to achieve continuous improvement of quality of life both for current and for future generations, through the creation of sustainable communities able to manage and use resources efficiently and to tap the ecological and social innovation potential of the economy, ensuring prosperity, environmental protection and social cohesion,

— the Leipzig Charter on sustainable European cities, adopted on 24 May 2007 by the Ministers with responsibility for urban development ([6]), which underlines the importance of building culture and calls for the adoption of an integrated urban development approach covering the economic, social, ecological and cultural aspects of towns and cities, on the basis of cooperation between the different tiers of administrative and political responsibility and between public and private sector actors.

3. WELCOMING:

— the work of the European Architectural Policy Forum on issues of architectural quality and sustainable development.

4. POINTING OUT THAT:

— architecture, as a discipline involving cultural creation and innovation, including a technological component, provides a remarkable illustration of what culture can contribute to sustainable development, in view of its impact on the cultural dimension of towns and cities, as well as on the economy, social cohesion and the environment,

— architecture is also an example of the cross-cutting nature of culture, being affected by a number of public policies and not just cultural policies.

5. CONSIDERING THAT:

— Europe's towns and cities today face major challenges: demographic change and its implications for urban sprawl, environmental issues and climate change mitigation, maintaining social cohesion, particularly against a background of economic and cultural change, and the protection and development of architectural and cultural heritage,

— the way to respond to those challenges is by means of sustainable urban development, a creative, integrated approach under which culture, economics, social affairs and the environment each play an equally important part,

— sustainable urban development means:
   — paying particular attention to architectural quality and diversity as aspects of cultural diversity, to heritage conservation and enhancement and to the individual identity of natural or urban landscapes,

   — contributing to the management of projects to use and convert land and buildings, in particular industrial wasteland, control energy resources in the context of climate change and reduce pollution,

   — reflecting, through innovative approaches to architecture and urban planning, developments in population lifestyles, particularly issues of mobility and demographic change, as well as objectives of social cohesion, social mix, intercultural dialogue and civic involvement,

   — encouraging high-quality architectural creation as an economic stimulus and tourist attraction for towns and cities,

— architecture can play an integrating and innovative role in implementing sustainable urban development, in particular by:
   — reconciling the sometimes differing requirements of building and landscape conservation and contemporary creation or of inhabitants' legitimate aspirations and controlling urban sprawl,

   — contributing, by its diversity, quality and creativity, to the urban population's cultural enrichment and quality of life and to the economic, commercial and tourism-related vibrancy of towns and cities, in particular by serving as a breeding ground for small

and medium-sized businesses,

— sustainable urban development, lastly, provides an opportunity for creation, innovation, renewal architectural styles and the reappropriation and reinterpretation of traditional practice.

6. NOTING WITH INTEREST:

— initiatives by many European towns and cities, in particular as European cultural capitals, to use culture and especially architecture as a major means of regeneration,

— the emergence of creative towns and cities, whose sustainable urban development is based on new competitive factors, including urban infrastructure quality and interaction between culture and industry.

7. CALLS ON MEMBER STATES AND THE COMMISSION, WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF COMPETENCE AND WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY, TO:

— make allowance for architecture and its specific features, in particular its cultural aspects, in all relevant policies, especially in research, economic and social cohesion, sustainable development and education policies,

— devise for architecture, apart from technical standards, an approach involving overall economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives,

— encourage innovation and experimentation in sustainable development in architecture, urban planning and landscaping, particularly within the framework of European policies or programmes and when commissioning public works,

— improve knowledge of the architectural sector and its contribution to sustainable development, particularly in terms of statistics,

— raise public awareness of the role of architecture and urban planning in the creation of a high-quality living environment and encourage public involvement in sustainable urban development,

— consider the feasibility, in cooperation with professionals and in the light of experience in a number of Member States, of an annual European architecture 'event',

— work together to ensure that these conclusions are acted upon and take stock of their implementation in 2012.

8. CALLS ON MEMBER STATES TO:

— endeavour to have architecture play an integrating and innovative role in the sustainable development process, beginning with the design stage of architectural, urban planning,

landscaping and rehabilitation projects,

— help develop the economic growth and employment potential of architecture, as a creative, cultural industry,

— promote education in architecture and heritage, and in the living environment, in particular through artistic and cultural education,

— promote the initial and further training of architects, urban planners and landscapers as regards sustainable development,

— highlight architecture in implementing the European Year of Creativity and Innovation (2009),

— where appropriate, apply the open method of coordination for culture.

9. CALLS ON THE COMMISSION TO:

— take architecture into account in preparing its Green Paper on cultural and creative industries,

— involve networks of public and private-sector architectural experts and practitioners, such as the European Architectural Policy Forum, in work and consultations on issues and/or matters relating to architecture,

— in cooperation with those networks and the European network of schools of architecture, encourage:

  — the provision of information and sharing of good practice and research among architects, developers and users,

  — the training of young architects, urban planners and landscapers in sustainable development, promotion of their work and access for them to public or private Commissions.

(¹) OJ C 73, 6.3.2001, p. 6.
(²) OJ C 311, 21.12.2007, p. 7.
(³) OJ C 143, 10.6.2008, p. 9.
(⁴) 9496/07 + ADD 1.
(⁵) 10117/06.
(⁶) http://www.eu2007.de/en/News/download_docs/Mai/0524-AN/075DokumentLeipzigCharta.pdf

APPENDIX C.

Questionnaire of the European Survey on Architecture Policies

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Identification of correspondent

Country:

Ministry:

Department:

Address:

Website:

Contact person (For further information)

Name: Position:

Email: Phone:

B. Departments responsible for architectural policy

1. Does a specific department exist in charge of architectural policy?

YES ☐ / NO ☐

2. If the answer is YES

2.1 Please specify:

Name	
Ministry	
E-mail	
Telephone	
Website	

2.2 When was it formally created?

2.3 Its terms of reference?

3. If there is more than one department involved, please list the departments responsible for architectural policy.

Name	
Ministry	
E-mail	
Telephone	
Website	
Competences	

Name	
Ministry	
E-mail	
Telephone	
Website	
Competences	

Name	
Ministry	
E-mail	
Telephone	
Website	
Competences	

(Other names may be added in appendix)

4. Please use this space to describe any country specific structures (e.g. Decentralised official bodies, which you may feel have not been adequately mentioned)

C. Policy documents

In the context of the *EU Council Resolution on architectural quality* (2001/C 73/04) and *Council Conclusions on architecture* (2008/C 319/05), please indicate what official documents of architectural policy[91] exist that promote high standards in architectural design in both the private and public sector.

5. Do you have any official publication (memorandum, bill or act) outlining Government Policy on Architecture?

YES ☐ / NO ☐

6. If the answer to Question 5 is YES:

6.1 When was the policy created?

6.2 Who were the initiators and formulators of the policy?

6.3 Was the policy formally adopted at Government Level?

6.4 What processes were used to develop the policy?

6.5 What is the legal status?

6.6 What are the main objectives of the policy?

6.7 Is there cross sectoral co-operation and what Ministries are actually engaged?

6.8 What have been the successes of the policy or which initiatives have been the most successful?

6.9 What have been the areas where success has not been achieved?

6.10 Has the implementation of the policy been formally reviewed? If so, please specify any changes/ emphasis in policy or implementation process.

7. If the answer to Question 5 is NO:

---

[91] Architectural Policy – a public policy for safeguarding and promoting cultural and architectural quality in building, urban design and culture heritage.

Is there any plan to develop such a policy?

YES ☐   /   NO ☐

8. If the answer to Question 7 is YES:

8.1 Who is in charge of it?

8.2 Who are the main advocates of the policy?

8.3 Is it a voluntary initiative or based on legislative or other obligations?

8.4 The current status?

8.5 Is there cross sectorial co-operation?

9. If the answer to Question 5 and Question 7 is NO:

If there is no official publication (memorandum, bill or act) and there is no plan to develop one, do you consider that the aims of architectural policy are addressed in your country by others means? If so by what means?

10. If you have any further information or observations which you feel have not been adequately covered in the above questions, please comment here.

D. Specific initiatives / actions

11. What specific initiatives / actions have been undertaken in support of the policy and/or *Council Resolution on architecture quality in urban and rural environments* (2001/C 73/04) objectives in terms of:

11.1 Improving knowledge and promotion of architecture, urban design, landscape and cultural heritage?

11.2 Promoting awareness among the general public in appreciation of architectural, urban and landscape culture?

11.3 Promoting awareness and training among contracting authorities?

11.4 Fostering a culture of best practice in procurement of architectural projects?

11.5 Fostering exchange of information and experience in the field of Architecture and Architectural procurement?

11.6 Any other initiatives / actions?

12. What specific initiatives / actions have been undertaken in support of the policy and/or *Council Conclusions on architecture: culture's contribution for sustainable development* (2008/C 319/05) objectives in terms of:

12.1 Making an effort to have architecture play an integrating and innovative role in sustainable development?

12.2 Promoting education in architecture and heritage, and in the living environment, in particular through artistic and cultural education?

12.3 Improving knowledge of the architectural sector and its contribution to sustainable development, particularly in terms of statistics?

12.4 Promoting the initial and further training of architects, urban planners and landscapers as regards sustainable development?

12.5 Helping to develop the economic growth and employment potential of architecture, as a creative, cultural industry?

12.6 Encouraging innovation and experimentation in architecture, urban planning and landscaping, particularly within the framework of European policies or programmes and when commissioning public works?

12.7 Any other initiatives / actions?

E. Annex - Documentation

If possible please send us relevant documents about the architectural policy in your country in PDF format and / of hard copy so we can add that information to our website. If the documents are not in English please send us a list of the documents with the title and a small resume in English.

APPENDIX D.

Interview guide

As an example, the interview guide used to conduct the interview to the director of the state department responsible by the Irish architectural policy is presented below.

Research line A – Key research questions
▪ What overall influence do you think that the approval of the Council Resolution on Architecture Quality 2001 or the Council Conclusions in 2008 had in the Irish architectural policy development?
▪ Both documents are considerate 'soft law'. Do you think it would be important for the Irish context a more direct approach from the EU institutions, such as a 'Directive of architecture'?
▪ Does the EFAP activities beneficiate the development of the Irish Architecture policy? If so, in what aspects?
▪ Does the Irish architectural policy being influence by other type of external factors? Such as the example of other policies (eg. CABE in UK/England, Dutch architectural policy instruments)?
▪ Is the EU architectural policy (and EFAP) the main source of influence to the Irish architectural context or are there other processes of Europeanisation of other policies (Environmental, Cohesion, etc.) that have a stronger impact?
▪ Where can we see the effects? i.e. process, policy content, governance solution, nature of actors' involvement, values, attitudes and behaviors, etc. How do you think these came to be?
▪ In retrospect how would you see the Irish architecture policy environment today had the process of Europeanization of architecture policy did not occur?
▪ Do you have the perception that your institution played a role in the Europeanization process of architectural policy? (e.g. EFAP meeting Dublin 2004 / EFAP Survey in 2005 / EFAP meeting in Dublin 2013)

Research line B – Key research questions
▪ Why a comprehensive policy on architecture and not other type of approach, such a national law on architecture or a sectoral policy on design?
▪ In your opinion, the scope of the Irish Architectural policy is well defined?
▪ How does the architectural policy connect with other governmental policies, such as, housing, planning or environment?
▪ Does the range of policy instruments enough to reach the policy goals?
▪ Which policy instruments were not included in the currently policy?
▪ What were the main innovations from the previous architectural policy (2002)?

Research line C – Key research questions

- In your opinion, how effective have the Irish Architectural policy been in terms of reaching its intended goals?
- In terms of: improving the legal framework, increasing institutional interaction, raise public participation and engagement, 'real' decision-making power, etc.

- Does a formal Architectural policy contribute to solve architectural / planning problems?

- In the last 20 years what were the key areas of innovation and improvement and what were pre-existent problems that prevail up until today?
- Why were these not tackled?

- Which policy instruments are more effective in changing development actor's decisions environments and which ones are not?

- What are the main barriers to the policy implementation?

- Does the adoption of a formal Architecture policy introduce any institutional innovation? In terms of: new procedures (life mandatory formation, architects requirement for planning /building permits, etc), new institutions (professional, cultural?)

- In your opinion how can we improve quality and induce change in the Irish development process?

- If you revisit your professional experience what examples can you name of what you consider institutional innovation? i.e. policy content, policy design, governance solutions, etc.

- If we are able to identify the mechanisms through which Architecture policy has influenced culture change related to architectural quality? That is, can we anticipate that a catalyst for culture change developed at the national level will have a cascade effect down to the regional and local level?

- What are the main drivers and obstacles to culture change about design quality?

APPENDIX E.

European commission's architectural policy: ten quality elements

	Reference elements	Specific elements to consider:
1	Urban integration	• Integrated in a harmonious and coherent way into the urban environment; • Appropriate urban mix between office, residential and commercial property;
2	Accessibility and mobility	• Promoting and encouraging environmentally-friendly modes of transport (walking, cycling and public transport); • Quickly and easily accessible by public transport; • Accessible and usable by persons with reduced mobility, based on the "design for all" concept;
3	Respect for the environment and energy efficiency	• Comply with the most stringent energy efficiency parameters: each building must be developed in line with a global energy concept; polluting emissions must be limited; the use of renewable energy sources must be encouraged; • Use of materials with a low environmental impact during their production, implementation and recycling phases (life cycle); • Design should take account of sustainable/environmentally-friendly strategies (waste management, water saving, etc.);
4	Quality of construction and well-being	• Buildings should be designed and built in line with the rules and standards in force in Europe (Directive on construction and products8 and Eurocodes); • Architectural concept must contribute to ensuring the health and well-being of the building occupants; • Building design must focus on ensuring user-friendliness and a "feeling of belonging";
5	Innovation	• Introduce innovation in all aspects related to architecture (technologies, materials, functionality, layout) and urban integration, in particular to obtain significant energy savings and ensure respect for the environment
6	Clarity of purpose and comprehensibility of buildings	• The distribution of volumes must be straightforward and there must be a balanced building environment; • Buildings must be easy to use and readily-understood by both occupants and visitors.
7	Aesthetic aspect and image	• Building's appearance should reveal its function and its role within its urban environment; • Should project an image and display values; • The image conveyed by the façades and volumes should incorporate slender curved lines, the boldness, transparency and dynamics of the European project;
8	Functionality, modularity and flexibility	• Buildings should facilitate communication through efficient management of internal flows and of incoming/outgoing flows (for instance visitors and suppliers); • buildings must, where possible, be modular so that internal spaces can be easily rearranged. • flexibility should make it possible to introduce innovative working environments in terms of allocating space;
9	Costs	• The architectural approach should result in an overall reduction in investment, operating and maintenance costs and a limitation of present and future expenses;
10	Cohesion: a common thread	• Establishment of a symbolic common thread linking all the buildings and building clusters occupied by the Commission.

APPENDIX F.

Architectural policy tools: a set of capacity-building instruments

Although architectural policies do not have a predetermined set of tools, once the analysis of the different approaches was completed it was possible to observe that the comprehensive policies have developed a diversified range of policy tools. So, in order to better understand which are the main instruments used and the initiatives proposed, the present appendix illustrates twelve main instruments that support Architectural policies. Although some of the policies may propose improvements on specific regulatory systems, it will be seen that the majority of the policy tools fall into the category of capacity-building tools.

1. Cultural institutions dedicated to architecture and the built environment

The three countries have been supporting cultural organizations directly engaged with the promotion and awareness of Architectural culture. One of the main aims of Architectural polices is to create a favourable climate to generate design quality. With this in mind, their aim is to raise public awareness which in turn will have an impact on the quality of the built environment by raising consumer (clients, buyers, communities) expectations about the quality of design. In this sense, the recognition of the importance of communicating the value of Architecture to the general public has led the three governments to financially support new cultural organizations, mainly through the ministries of culture, and obtain the remaining funding from private sponsorship and donations. Thus, cultural institutions have been developing programs targeting different audiences, such as young generations (schools workshops, teaching materials, etc.), professional designers (lectures, debates, etc.) and the general public (exhibitions, open houses, TV programmes, etc.). Although the scale and concept differ between the different bodies, their main objective is to present and provide information about architecture and urban matters, creating spaces for debate on the future of the built environment.

2. Support to cultural programmes

Besides the government support to cultural organizations, the countries under analysis have also supported cultural initiatives and projects through direct funding programs to innovative cultural projects, such as temporary installations, experimental projects or exhibitions, etc. An interesting example is the Irish initiative *Engaging with Architecture Scheme*, the result of a partnership between the Arts Council and the Department of Arts and Heritage. The aim of the scheme is to support ambitious, innovative and creative, high-quality initiatives that specifically aim to enhance and extend the public's experience of and engagement with architecture. It finances cultural projects and is open to individuals, local authorities and organisations.

3. Support to research projects and publications

All three countries have funding programs for research projects that include Architecture and spatial design issues. An interesting example is the Dutch Architectural Fund created in 1991, which has various grant programs aimed at developing and exchanging knowledge about the design disciplines and increasing interest in architecture, urban design, planning, landscape architecture, and interior architecture[92]. Besides the research programs, some governments are also supporting on a regular basis several publications in the areas of architecture, urban design, landscape and heritage such as yearbooks of Architecture through the different Ministries, departments and agencies,

4. Guidelines and manuals

The Architectural policies also promote the development of guides and manuals on different aspects of the built environment which comprise a wide range of topics, such as architecture, urban design, heritage and conservation, sustainability, etc. This documentation is an important source of information that complements existing legislation with appealing and easy-to-read material drawing from examples of validated best practice. There has been a huge effort to publish guidance documents not only directed at the professional sector and public servants but also at the general public.

5. Architectural websites and databases

Internet websites are powerful tools to disseminate knowledge and information about architecture and the built environment. Therefore, some of tools introduced by the Architectural policies are internet portals, with information about architecture, urban design and heritage. Moreover, by ensuring financial support for architectural centres, governments are also indirectly supporting the creation of architectural websites developed by these organizations.

6. Architectural prizes

With the objective of promoting innovation in the built environment, all Architectural policies in the three countries have created a number of Architectural prizes. By publicly acknowledging extraordinary achievements, governments hope to raise design quality and award reference projects that set up new benchmarks. Nowadays, however, there is already a proliferation of prizes promoted by a panoply of entities, and the impact of this type of initiative can be questioned. Nevertheless, the Dutch policy on Architecture introduced the National Commission Award (golden Pyramid), which intends to promote good commissioning practices among developers and promoters (See section 8.2.2).

---

[92] Today, the Architecture Fund has merged with other two Funds (see Section 8.2.2)

7. Educational programmes

One of the best ways to promote public awareness of the built environment is through educational programs. The main objective of these programmes is to stimulate the taste of younger and future generations for their built environment so that they can become active and participant citizens in the city's decision-making process. To support this objective, Ireland and Scotland have introduced the production of Architectural teaching material in their policies to assist teachers in primary and secondary schools. Scotland has developed a website that incorporates educational material for primary and secondary schools, advice for those who consider studying architecture, as well as information about architectural and urban designs courses.

8. Architectural festivals and events

Another type of initiative used by the Architectural policies is to support architectural festivals and events. The architectural festivals usually include a wide diversity of related activities, such as street installations, exhibitions, debates and conferences, guided walks, cycle rides, boat tours, parties, design workshops, small talks, etc. Some of the festivals are organized every year and last for a couple of days, one week or even a month, while others are biennial (e.g. London Festival of Architecture) or triennial (e.g. Lisbon Architecture Triennial). Although the festivals have a main theme that changes from one edition to the next, the topics chosen are generally related with the place where the festival takes place, inviting people to discover the buildings and the history of their city's public spaces, namely in guided tours. Another interesting initiative is the "open house" concept, in which people can visit for free architects' offices and interesting buildings (old and new) that are not usually accessible to the public,

9. Architectural advisory body (national)

To ensure that design quality is a corporate aim of all government departments and agencies the three case studies have created an Architectural advisory body to promote design quality within the public sector. The configuration and competence of these bodies changes considerably from country to country depending on the public client organization and administrative structure. Nevertheless, they all abide by the general principle that the state should lead by example a be a role model for society a building promoter, client and property owner. As seen previously, Scotland established the A+DS to champion the highest standards in architecture and place-making, advocating a better understanding of the importance of quality design in both the public and private sectors. A+DS works through six programmes to advocate the benefits of excellence in design, including urban design, design review, school design and healthcare design.

10. Architectural advisory body (local)

Some countries have created local Architectural advisory bodies dedicated to promoting design quality at the local level. Some of these bodies provide free technical advice to clients and local authorities while others charge a small fee for their expert service such as helping to set up architectural competitions. As mentioned, the Netherlands created the *Foundation Architectuur Lokaal* (AL), an independent centre of expertise and information devoted to the commissioning of building development in the Netherlands. This lightweight structure (10 people) is subsidised by four Ministries related to architecture (culture, town planning, environment and transport), and is in contact with both public and private clients: these include the local authorities as well as real estate developers and private individuals involved in building operations. AL mission is to act as a link between national policies and local practices, to help local agents apply national policies and to incorporate local practices and experience in national decisions.

11. Design champion (state architect)

Another way to offer design leadership is through the appointment of a national design champion, who will foster a place-making culture and capacity. As seen in the previous section, the three countries have the position of State Architect, who acts as design champion within the government, being responsible, among other issues, for advising other departments on design quality, providing support in the preparation of design competitions, monitoring the implementation of the architectural policy actions and contributing to the development of best practices in procurement and contracting policies. In fact, the Netherlands has had a Chief Government Architect since the beginning of the nineteenth century (Netherlands 2006). Nowadays, the Dutch Chief Architect is assisted by a Board of Government Advisors and a small staff team (see section 8.2.2). Among other tasks, the Chief Architect promotes and monitors the urban integration and architectural quality of all government buildings, harmonizing architecture with urban and rural planning, monument preservation and the use of art works. As mentioned earlier, the Irish policy established the position of State Architect in 2009.

12. Architect's title registration and professional training period

One way of guaranteeing more skilful designers is to impose a more demanding system of access to the profession. In Ireland, the mandatory registration of the title of 'architect' was imposed by a revision of the Building Control Act in 2007, where RIAI was designated as the registration body and the competent authority with regard to architects. Although this change was not part of the 2002 Irish Architectural policy, the RIAI CEO (2015: interview) referred that the Irish policy facilitated the introduction of the new system. In a more direct way, the Dutch Architectural policy introduced the obligation for prospective designers (architects, urban designers, landscape and interior designers) to gain two years of professional experience before entering the Register of Architects. The referred obligation was confirmed by an amendment of the Architects' Title Act and came into force in 2009, transforming the Stichting Bureau Architectenregister (SBA) in a public body for the sector and the profession.