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PATRONAGE, POWER and PROBITY

**Accountability and aspiration in publicly funded
development**

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Abstract

The research examines actions and relationships described as patronage which have contributed to the development of architecture and the built environment. In so doing it first seeks to identify the characteristics that have defined such patronage historically. It then moves to examine whether such characteristics could be identified in the promotion and execution of publicly funded projects in the modern day. The focus on aspirational forms of development which relied upon the commitment of public resources allowed the following proposition to be more fully tested. That is that the forms of patronage evidenced historically cannot be replicated in a democratic polity like contemporary Britain for reasons which include current requirements relating to the exercise of probity in management and public office. As an inevitable consequence of the universal franchise and wider democratic accountability those commissioning public works do not then enjoy the relative autonomy exercised by those described as patrons historically.

A case study research strategy was adopted and undertaken focussing on major publicly funded developments in Cardiff between 1986 and 2006. Those, expressly or implicitly, aspired to the creation of places which would embody symbolic or cultural capital. Among the factors examined are the impartiality required of bureaucracies and political pressures for public bodies to prioritise quantifiable short-term outputs over less tangible longer-term assessment of environmental qualities. Other countervailing forces considered are prevailing economic conditions and market forces, which are similarly short-term, the cultural climate and public support for such development.

The conclusions of the research then question the extent to which actions and relationship described as patronage can be the effective means of realising publicly funded urban development of notable quality.

Declaration and Statements

Declaration

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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Statement 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

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Statement 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

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I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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1 Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Issues

References to patrons and patronage are frequently made in writing on architecture and urban development wherein they are said to be important in its progression historically. Such suggestions may be as emphatic as the statement attributed to Sir Edwin Lutyens that; *“There will never be great architects or great architecture without great patrons”* (Churchill 2016 no pagination). This was echoed in 2012 by Jonathan Meades who stated that; *“no architectural idiom can survive without the armature of patronage”* (Meades 2012 p170). The contribution of patrons was expressed as follows:

“Architectural history has too often been about the study of architects, while the role of patrons has consistently been underestimated.....

Innovation might be laid at the feet of a designer but it is just as likely to have originated from a patron who was better read, more widely travelled, and who had seen and experienced many more different types and styles of building”(Thurley 2013 p11)

Between 1983 and 1984 the *Harvard Architectural Review VI* sponsored four seminars which considered some of the complex issues arising from the intersection of polemics and ethics in matters relating to patronage and how the interests of client, architect and society interact. The publication that followed those seminars opened with the statement that;

“Architecture finds its way into the world through patronage..... Yet patronage as an operative force has been so effectively bypassed in the formation of architectural ideology that the importance of critically

exposing a social reality that underpins the shaping of our environment cannot be overstated.”(Kieran et al. 1987 p4)

A critical examination of such patronage is presented in this dissertation and some conclusions offered as to whether the actions and behaviours so described are an effective ‘operative force’ in the commissioning of public buildings and spaces.

A key issue is that whilst the terms patron and patronage are used in architectural texts they are seldom, if ever, clearly defined in such writing. In common usage patronage may refer to a range of actions and relationships merging, at one extreme, with philanthropy and beneficence and, at the other, with favouritism and corrupt practices in appointment to office or the procurement of goods and services. Wider and more general use of the term can then give rise to contradictory, or conflicting, views of actions and relationships so described. Even when applied to the field of architecture specifically it has been recognised that patronage is an ambiguous concept and that;

“ Nothing inherent in patronage predisposes it to be a force either for or against ethical or architectural good” (Kieran et al. 1987 p4)

On the one hand there are those who suggest that the creative autonomy conferred upon the architect or urban designer by those with command of the necessary resources, described historically as patrons, is essential in advancing architectural development. From that perspective patronage is beneficial as one of the motive forces that may drive a society or culture forward. In so doing the buildings and places created stand as an enduring testament to the achievement of such society. This may be taken to be the view implied by architectural historians such as Summerson (1953) Jenkins (1961), Pevsner (1968) and Thurley (2013). Patronage is presented as a process that has produced places which embody and display commendable qualities that would not otherwise have existed without the effective support of a person or organization described as a patron.

A more critical view is that buildings and places produced by the process of patronage are a physical manifestation of the inequitable distribution of resources in society. From that perspective patronage may be the preoccupation and privilege of power elites. Historically these have included the Monarchy, Aristocracy, Church or the Corporation, known collectively by Marxist critics as the Ideological State Apparatus (Gendall 2010). In the examination of patronage the approach offered by Marxist dialectics is relevant as regards two key elements, surplus value and the materialist conception of history. However, this offers only a partial view as the creation of buildings may require the command of resources other than finance and necessitate the deployment of a range of other powers. Also, a patron's desire or support for architectural representation may range from the materialistic to the altruistic. It is therefore necessary to consider acts of patronage impelled by cultural development, faith and belief or other motivating forces. These challenge any characterisation of architectural patronage as purely the ostentatious display of wealth and the places produced as physical evidence of an inequitable distribution of economic resources in society.

The research therefore considers references to the 'rich and powerful' or 'powerful and wealthy' which may preface the term 'patron' as a trope in literature and journalism. Whilst recognising that the command of economic resources is a key element in effective patronage the research identifies other relevant sources and instruments of power that may be commanded and deployed by those described as patrons. In so doing financial wealth is then considered to be one such source, and its deployment an instrument by which power may be exercised.

What are also examined are the constraints on such power. On the one hand probity, expressed as the virtue of having strong moral principles, can be seen to have informed the actions of some of those described as patrons historically. This is demonstrable in activity clearly motivated by altruism and beneficence. At the other extreme the autonomous action of

those undertaking development has been progressively constrained and regulated in the interests of more egalitarian societies. Consideration must then be given to probity, expressed as wider accountability, as a possible constraint. This may be especially directed at patronage in the negative sense of that word meaning favouritism or outright corruption in the appointment and commission of publicly funded works.

It is through the focus on publicly funded works that the foregoing issues are examined in this research. At the end of the 20th century it was suggested that there has been a decline in the role of The State and its agencies as a patron of architecture and the built environment in Britain. This was articulated in 1992 by Lord St John of Fawsley, Chairman of the Royal Fine Art Commission who cited Government as;

“...the direct successor of some of the great patrons of the past. But it is far from reaching the high standards of building achieved by many of them”. (Hillman 1992 p V)

The following year the Arts Council of Great Britain published a brief report of its investigation into the reasons for the failure of government agencies to achieve quality in the commissioning of buildings and places (ACoGB 1993). Both the Royal Fine Art Commission and the Arts Council of Great Britain made reference to pronouncements on urban design quality of the Government at that time (DoE 1990).

Since the 1990's the journal of the Royal Society of Architects in Wales, *Touchstone*, has made repeated references to patronage. The words 'patron' or 'patronage' appear in the sub-heading of three of the five main articles listed on the cover of the first edition in October 1996. Through the next eighteen editions over a period of fourteen years there is recurring reference to patronage and patrons, much of it lamenting the quality, or absence of, 'enlightened' and 'effective' patronage or applauding what appear to be exceptions to that rule. The word appears on the cover of the edition (19) of September 2012 in connection with an article on the

procurement policy of the regional government and asks ‘...*what happened to the architecture and discerning patronage?*’

It is then necessary to identify the factors which might inhibit or prevent effective support for aspirational publicly funded development. These will include the priorities given to forms of development which should embody or reflect the aspirations of wider society in a modern representative democracy. A question to be addressed is whether contemporary requirements for probity, expressed as public accountability, are a constraint on architectural aspiration and innovation. If that is the case then the further issue to be addressed concerns how such development might be realised without actions and relationships which have traditionally been described as patronage in the architectural community.

To examine such issues it is necessary to identify the characteristics that have defined patronage historically. As noted earlier the terms are seldom defined in detail in such literature or, where they are, often refer specifically to the patron/architect relationship. For example the *Harvard Architectural Review V1* of patronage suggests that;

“Broadly it may be considered the activity of support from an individual or group of individuals, whether this support is shown by awarding the commission for the design of a building or by publishing an unbuilt design” (Kieran et al. 1987 p4)

This thesis is concerned with a wider definition than that, not least in the critical role of those described as patrons in the successful implementation and full realisation of such designs. In addressing the term as used by architectural historians or other advocates of patronage it must be questioned whether that specific application can be separated from other actions and behaviours described as patronage.

An issue addressed then concerns the use of the terms patron and patronage and whether this may specify behaviours and actions within the

disciplines of architecture and urban design but imply a different meaning to those outside. The terms patron and patronage may be applied to a range of relationships, actions and behaviours and have widely differing meanings and connotations in general use. In their evolution over time one can discern characteristics which are potentially problematic in the commissioning of publicly funded works in in a modern democratic polity.

As suggested by Wittgenstein, to better understand the meaning of a term we should not ask what it stands for but examine how it is actually used. In so doing we may conclude that there is no underlying single structure as some words, whilst initially appearing to perform similar functions, operate to distinct sets of rules. In such examination of how language is actually used an initial observation may be made that the terms patron and patronage have a multiplicity of uses and consideration given as to whether there are underlying similarities. This may then identify what Wittgenstein termed 'family resemblance' concepts and indicate whether, in some instances;

- differing applications of the terms patron and patronage may not have a single component in common or;
- whether any consistent characteristics may be determined in the use of the terms.

The use of language is also relevant to later examination of the manipulative deployment of such terms in the rationalisation of actions and behaviours. In such instances claims may be made upon patronage to support and advance property development. On the other hand, negative connotations of the term can be invoked by opponents or critics of such proposals. Such usage may then be considered 'rhetorical' in its intent to persuade or influence. Related questions addressed in the research then concern *who* uses the term patronage and to what purpose. In better clarifying what patronage may mean or 'be' under given circumstances is, in that respect, an ontological question.

A particular challenge presented is that the characteristics that may define forms of patronage in a specific relationship, action or period can be contradictory or problematic in a different application or social context. For the purposes of this introduction the following outline of the etymology and evolution of the term patronage serves to illustrate this point.

1.1.1 Definition of patronage by common usage

The term patronage may be taken to mean;

- a) special countenance or support; favour, encouragement, or aid, afforded to a person or group which may include;
 - a. The power to distribute or appoint people to governmental or political positions,
 - b. the act of distributing or appointing people to such positions and,
 - c. the positions so distributed or filled.
- b) the support or encouragement of a patron for the arts or sciences, an institution or a cause
- c) regular custom of a commercial business, for example, for a particular hotel, shop or public house

Clear and fixed separation of such classification is challenging as there are many instances where these may merge. What is common to all is that they are actions which establish a particular direct relationship between individuals and groups in society.

Some of the issues outlined above can be illustrated by reference to the etymology of the terms patron and patronage and their chronological development and evolution. Broadly these are;

1. The **socio-political** meaning from the early Roman Empire

2. Support for and encouragement of **cultural** activity from the Renaissance
3. Regular **commercial** custom from circa the 18th century

Social and Political Patronage .

“Our study begins with a problem. Patronage is difficult to define precisely as are other types of complex behaviour, because it shares characteristics with other categories of relations into which it merges”.
(Saller 1982 p1)

The complexity referred to by Saller was evident in the forms of patronage he considered integral to early Roman society. This was a form of social link connecting the two distinctly separate bodies of that society, the patricians and the plebeians. In the earliest periods, patricians would have served as patrons. Both *patricius*, "patrician," and *patronus* are related to the Latin word *pater*, "father," and in this sense symbolically indicated the patriarchal nature of Roman society. Although other societies have similar systems, Saller considered the *patronus-cliens* relationship to be "peculiarly congenial" to Roman politics and the sense of *familia* in the early Roman Republic. The relationship between the *patronus* (patron) and his *cliens* (client) was hierarchical, but obligations were mutual. The *patronus* was the protector, sponsor, and benefactor of the client. Although a patron and client might even hold the same social rank, the former would possess greater wealth, power, or prestige that enabled him to assist or bestow favour upon the client. The importance of the patron, his prestige or *dignitas* was demonstrated by the number of clients he had. This primary association between 'wealth, power and prestige' and patronage is a persistent and recurring theme in this study.

In Roman society the hunger for greater wealth and status and abuse of such power contributed to the increasingly complex range of behaviours

referred to by Saller. Patronage became associated with the systematic purchase of votes, questionable commercial relationships, corruption and venality. By 204 B.C. legislation was implemented to curb the rapacity of patrons in the form of the *Lex Cincia*, which prohibited their taking gifts of money from their clients (Saller 1982).

The definition of patronage as meaning 'special countenance or support; favour, encouragement, or aid', can then be seen to have had some negative connotations from antiquity. That is through the use of the word patronage in reference to corruption or favouritism in which an individual or organisation in power rewards individuals or groups for their electoral support using gifts, other forms of reward or appointments or contracts. Such use, and the connotations of questionable behaviour in governance and commerce, therefore appears to pre-date the use of the terms as applied to beneficent support and encouragement for the arts and architecture.

Saller identifies three elements or characteristics which appeared to be common in references to patronage at that time;

- a) There is a reciprocal exchange of goods and services but,
- b) It is distinguished from a commercial relationship in the marketplace by having a personal relationship of some duration and,
- c) It can be asymmetrical in the sense that the two parties are of unequal status and offer different types of goods or services in the exchange

The second of these characteristics, a personal relationship, can be noted as problematic in appointment to public office or the award of publicly funded commissions.

Also, in the Roman use there is a clear differentiation of those terms patron/ client as they are distinctly separate parties in the arrangement.

The definition of what constitutes patronage in architecture involves some consideration as to whether a clear distinction might be drawn between the term patron and client, customer or other term in the modern day.

The asymmetrical nature of the relationship must be considered in understanding the relevant powers commanded and exercised in the relationship between the patron and architect. In so doing financial wealth, knowledge and prestige can be regarded as 'commodities' which may be exchanged and therefore considered as resources or elements of power. From that questions arise concerning asymmetrical relationships which may favour the supplier, the architect. The issue is whether those described as 'patrons' are merely engaged in the commercial acquisition of the widely established prestige or status enjoyed by the architect. Such actions may characterise the commissioning of designers with established international reputations. In such situations there may be patronage of architecture by what may be more accurately termed clients, or customers, rather than patrons of the architect.

The socio- political context of the term patronage in antiquity is then relevant in the consideration of contemporary issues, not least in the persistent and recurrent links between behaviour associated with its definition as the power to distribute favour and appointment.

Patronage of the arts.

In literature on architecture and the built environment this would appear to be the more common usage and association which, as noted, generally implies a beneficial role of the patron.

During the later mediaeval period the term patron developed the meaning as one who advances the cause of an artist or institution by that person's wealth and power and, during the Renaissance, such forms of patronage flourished. By the mid C16th patronage was already firmly institutionalized in Florentine life where it was the key to social status in an absolute social

hierarchy. A career and social mobility were impossible unless involved in a network of patronage relationships. The reciprocity of the socio-economic patronage of Rome is reflected in the social standing of the patron of the arts and sciences who benefitted from the arrangement. Sponsoring several clients indicated substantial wealth and presented an image of beneficial interest in the civic community. Wider recognition of the accomplishments of those artists and scientists brought added prestige to patrons.

From the practices of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance an important point is that works of art were *commissioned* by a patron and then made to order. The process of commissioning will be seen to be a feature of patronage but is not a defining characteristic in itself. Many structures are commissioned and built to specific instructions which are never referred to in terms of patronage. Both those described as 'patron' and 'client' may commission a bespoke building development. A question then is whether those structures and places attributed to patronage are without exception commissioned by a patron. Throughout history graphic representations of buildings and places have been produced speculatively and some have influenced architectural theory and urban design. However, to be fully realised and implemented architecture requires the command of much greater resources than other visual and applied arts. A related issue is then whether the acquisition of buildings produced speculatively can correctly be termed patronage. For example, those individuals and organisations who have acquired buildings of architectural merit to ensure their conservation and preservation may be described as patrons.

A further complication could then be those instances where buildings produced speculatively with no architectural merit are acquired and put to beneficial social use by benefactors who may be described as patrons. That leads in turn to questions as to whether the qualities or other features of buildings and places are a more definitive measure of patronage. There must then be examination of the distinction that can be made between

buildings which are 'mass produced' speculatively to meet perceived market demand and the limited production of buildings or places to achieve other than purely commercial or utilitarian objectives.

Patronage of the arts is often associated with charitable and altruistic support and can thus have positive connotations. There is, however, an inconsistency of use and application which may be illustrated as follows. In the visual arts reference may be made, for example, to patrons of a museum or major public art gallery and the term may be applied to;

- i) A major donor, perhaps of the building itself or a major collection, who may otherwise be referred to as a 'benefactor';
- ii) those who pay an annual subscription and might, elsewhere, be termed 'Friends of the Museum' or ;
- iii) regular attendees at fundraising events or exhibitions

Such distinctions are even less clear in the performing arts where the term patron is invariably used for ballet and opera but occasionally applied to regular attendees of some theatres and cinemas. In sport a form of class distinction or hierarchy may be discerned between, for example, those attending the major events of 'The Season' – Ascot, Wimbledon, Henley Regatta- or golf and show jumping who may be described as patrons and those attending football matches, who would not. In the latter case a further anomaly is that a local MP or civic dignitary may be described as the patron of a local amateur football club but those with the resources to acquire major professional football clubs and build stadia to house them are seldom so described.

There is then an inconsistency in application of the terms patron and patronage within its meaning of support for the arts or creative enterprise which warrants more detailed examination. The suggestion that a distinction between a patron rather than a client or customer is based

upon some generally accepted perception of the status of the activity or individual is explored further below.

Commercial Patronage.

During the course of the late 17th or 18th Century the term patron entered use as an obsequious term for a regular commercial customer. This application of the term raises several points for further examination. This use of the term patron in place of 'client' or 'customer' may be intended to flatter and appeal to the vanity of the purchaser of goods and services to the advantage of the supplier. It can be seen as mutually beneficial to both supplier and customer in implying that the supplier is not a mere tradesman but the provider of goods or services of superior quality that attract a loyal clientele of taste and discernment.

The recurrent use of the terms patron and patronage in architectural writing may also be interpreted as an affectation on the part of the design professions intended to distinguish themselves as 'artists' and not merely technicians. However, even if the term were used pretentiously it evidences a distinction that is consciously made in the relationship between designers and those that engage them. Some claim may be made as to superiority or status through adoption of the term.

It is not uncommon in writing on architecture and the built environment for the terms 'patron' and 'client' to be interchangeable and any consistent use or definition of the former to be absent. The term patron is often loosely used and the use of 'client' as a synonym can be seen to be a manifestation of that. There is also an ambiguity in the use of such terms as exemplified by such statements as;

"No matter what the regime, architecture depends upon a client's patronage" (Meades 2012 p119).

It may be noted that Meades uses the phrase 'client's patronage' and in so doing may either be making no clear distinction between a 'patron' and a

'client' or suggesting that patronage is something that emanates from a client.

Architect and Patron by Frank Jenkins is a work which specifically addresses architectural patronage but offers no clear definition of the term patron. Jenkins does not differentiate between the term patron and client and the latter word is used more frequently in his introduction (Jenkins 1961). An underlying question concerns whether it is necessary or desirable to more clearly differentiate between such terms.

The next question concerns the exercise of discretionary choice in the selection of suppliers of goods and services. In this case those termed patrons are demonstrating a considered preference for one supplier rather than another. The exercise of choice may be subjective and such preferment can be problematic for those more widely accountable for public expenditure that may need to demonstrate objectivity. This relates to the negative connotations of patronage as personal favouritism in the procurement of goods and services or appointment to office. The use of the term in this context then relates directly to the issue of probity.

It is also relevant to the interpretation of standing commercial relationships as, in the property and construction industry, designers and firms may be said to be 'patronised' in the sense of being favoured by regular instruction. This may be explained as 'patronage' of architects and designers by commercial clients but the outcome as regards the places then built may not, however, be described as patronage of architecture or the built environment. Those individuals and design practices are, in some cases, effectively employed by a commercial undertaking on a retainer and the degree of creative autonomy that they enjoy limited. Such distinctions must necessarily be made in clarifying the characteristics of that described as patronage in writing on architecture.

The next issue is perhaps more general and concerns the implied exercise of discerning choice as an indication of relative prosperity or other social

advantage. Put simply, the exercise of discernment evidences that options are available to that individual and are an indicator of privilege and wealth. On a more fundamental level it signifies that, for some in society, the procurement of goods and services has advanced beyond the demands of mere subsistence. The challenge of daily survival remains the case elsewhere in the world. In contemporary Western society choice may also be constrained by economic resources. The distinction that is made here is that in considering the patronage of architecture we are concerned with a significant division of society. That is the command of sufficient economic and other resources to exercise discerning choice on quality not cost.

The foregoing point may then be extended by again referring to the use of the term in association with leisure and entertainment. There are ambiguities and inconsistencies in the application of the term patron in that field but, as a generality, it is frequently attached to those who support the fine arts or leisure and recreation pursuits of 'quality'. That may be seen to be simply an enduring conceit but, on examination, be analogous with the patronage of architecture and serve to identify some of its characteristics. These include a distinction between the construction of buildings to meet real utilitarian need for shelter or their commissioning primarily for pleasure or other reasons. From this issues relating to consumerism and, in particular, the commodification of arts and culture can be considered.

1.1.2 Related terms.

Patronage may have positive connotations in writing on the historical development of architecture but related terms can have negative associations in writing on town planning and urbanism. Such terms derive from the common Latin root *pater* – and include patronising, paternalistic and patrician.

In general use the term patronising may be used in the sense of condescension, meaning a lofty disdain, and again imply the presumption of superiority. In this context that characteristic may be displayed by those who claim the status of patrons or those who seek patronage. The latter may demonstrate such attitudes through the implication that those who do not recognise their talent have inferior intelligence or taste. More explicitly patrician inclinations can be associated with an assumption of social superiority and have relevance to issues of class distinction. In this respect architectural patronage has been attributed to members of the landed aristocracy in 'western' societies over a lengthy period. Their actions and behaviours are then, in turn, reflected in the affectations of the aspirant middle class of merchants and industrialists who subsequently commanded and deployed the necessary economic capital in acts described as patronage. Both the beneficiaries of inherited wealth and those who generated surplus capital through their own enterprise raise issues relating to paternalism and a patriarchal society. These include the perpetuation of a status quo and consolidation of wealth through the customs and laws of primogeniture.

Also to be considered are those instances of beneficence or altruism, described as patronage, which have been criticised as being paternalistic. Instances include the provision of exemplary housing which has been accompanied by proscriptive rules and regulations governing the occupants conduct and behaviour.

Finally a related term patrimony, which may mean both heritage and inheritance, is relevant to the study of patronage in several respects. It is, for example, pertinent in the retrospective recognition and appreciation of the qualities of that produced by those described as patrons. The original motivation for the creation of many buildings and places might have been self-interest and the choice of architect or design entirely subjective and individualistic. Over time, the places created might then be absorbed and accepted as part of a common cultural heritage. In France the word

patrimoine is used in place of both heritage and inheritance whereas in the UK they can retain the separate connotations of;

- a) Heritage as that recognised as worthy of conservation or preservation by and for society and,
- b) Inheritance as more commonly that which is directly bequeathed from one generation of a family to specific legatees.

As regards the former the criteria adopted for the assessment of historic buildings and places can be considered to determine whether the qualities attributed to those assist in defining patronage. The question then is whether the product of architectural patronage can be said to be that which adds to the cultural landscape as defined by the World Heritage Committee as that most deliberately 'shaped' by people (Mitchell et al. 2009).

1.2 The Thesis

The proposition is that the characteristics of patronage as a set of relationships and actions can be analytically defined and that these may distinguish a patron from a client or other promoter of development. The relevance of such distinction is that in situations where aspirational development is publicly funded, the role of the state and its agencies in their promotion and implementation can be anomalous. In such cases the wider public might be considered the 'client' or user of the development created and, collectively, its financier. The role of the state and its agencies as 'patron' or 'client' is therefore ambiguous.

The further proposition tested is that the forms of patronage evidenced historically cannot be replicated in a democratic polity like contemporary Britain for reasons which may include:

- a) requirements relating to probity and accountability in management and public office
- b) the impartiality required of bureaucracies
- c) the political pressures for public bodies to prioritise quantifiable short-term outputs over less tangible longer-term assessment of environmental qualities
- d) prevailing economic conditions and market forces which are similarly short-term and
- e) the cultural climate and the 'public temper' relating to public expenditure

The thesis thereby questions the extent to which actions and relationship described as patronage historically can be the effective means of realising publicly funded urban development of notable quality in a democratic polity.

1.3 Objectives and contribution to knowledge

The research identifies the characteristics which have defined patronage and thereby offers a better understanding of the relationships, actions and behaviours so described. The objective is to advance understanding of patronage as a social reality which may have shaped the built environment.

Through the examination of the sources and instruments of power which must be commanded and deployed in the effective commissioning of aspirational development the study contributes to knowledge of power dynamics in planning studies.

Architecture and building construction, by its nature, inevitably has some wider societal impact. The built environment has been, and continues to be, significantly shaped by those who command the necessary resources to do so. The Marxist critique of architectural patronage as a manifestation of

the inequitable command of resources raises questions concerning social and economic elites. The research also addresses related issues concerning leadership by cultural elites and the setting of quality standards by those who are leaders in a given field of activity. Commentary is offered on cases where those who have claimed expertise and exercised leadership have conspicuously failed to achieve their stated objectives.

The review of literature will evidence that architects have actively sought a degree of creative autonomy through the patronage of economic, social or political elites. Historically those referred to as patrons have exercised autocratic authority. In the mid-20th Century Elite Theory concerned the proposition that small numbers of people exert disproportionate influence through the exercise of powers at their disposal (Michels 1949). In examining patronage the concept of a cultural elite outlined by Bourdieu (1979) must also be addressed. A question as to whether patronage remains the privilege of a power elite, and is primarily a preoccupation of a cultural elite, leads to consideration of the roles of elites within a democratic society.

Through a focus on publicly funded projects the thesis considers patronage in the implementation of aspirational development which meets the needs of wider society. Patronage in that context is then loosely defined as the intervention and support necessary to bring about development that might not have been produced by other means. Among those to be examined are 'stroke-of genius' reforms that are periodically attempted and the capricious trends and fashions regularly evidenced in urban development processes (La Cecla 2012 p4). These include instances of patronage which may succeed in some respects but be perceived to have failed by other measures. In the field of town and country planning there have been, for example, recurrent attempts of benefactors to create ideal forms of settlement. Even where exemplary developments have been realised a criticism has been that these essentially paternalistic ventures (Knox 2011 pps75-78)

Central to this study are the causes of such failure that can be attributed to the requirements for economic, social and political accountability, expressed here as probity, and the constraints that these place on the autonomous action of individuals and organisations.

Observations are therefore made on governance in the commissioning and procurement of publicly funded buildings and places. In addition some issues relating to civic culture in the United Kingdom are addressed which include;

- the commodification of architectural heritage and place,
- consumerism and the attendant hunger for novelty and,
- Whether there is an instinctive recognition of that which represents symbolic and cultural capital among wider society

From this some conclusions may be drawn as to whether there is a wider desire for improved design quality which might signal support for those who promote the creation of buildings and places which will add to and enhance the cultural landscape.

That which is said to have been produced by patronage historically has qualities which have proved to be enduring and therefore sustainable. The construction of buildings and infrastructure involves the highly visible exploitation and consumption of non-renewable resources. In contemporary parlance the 'life cycle costing' of such structures is then an important consideration. The research thereby offers a perspective on the longer term view evidenced by those described as patrons and considers what may be learned from social, political and economic institutions which would not ordinarily be associated with wider social or environmental benefit. For example, a similar long term view has been taken by those who have sought to embody and perpetuate totalitarian regimes through the patronage of monumental structures and places.

1.4 Initial approach

The research methodology was approached in two stages. The preliminary research examined the terms patron and patronage to better define the characteristics of actions, behaviours and relationships so described. As noted above, the Marxist critique of architectural patronage presented a valid but potentially limited perspective. Notwithstanding that reservation a broadly dialectic approach was adopted to address the apparent conflict in the wider meanings and connotations of the terms patron, patronage and probity. This partially informed the literature review and initial research which considered;

- Those that have been described as patrons and the sources of patronage historically
- The characteristics which defined those actions and relationships to the mid-20th century
- The powers commanded and deployed and the constraints on such powers
- The qualities of those structures and places said to have been produced by patronage
- The motivation for such patronage

Also, in considering the evolution of such patronage historically, issues emerged on the development of the status quo, how that may have changed or been negated and the periodic recurrence of features of the original status quo.

An extensive review of literature was undertaken. This presented some challenges in that references to architectural patronage span a period of two millennia and several continents. The context of patronage necessarily involves other subjects including history, sociology, politics and

governance, philosophy and economics. Distillation of the literature review was therefore essential and that followed an initial assessment of the characteristics identified and the issues arising. Among those issues was the re-assertion of a neoliberal regime favouring laissez faire capitalism in the United Kingdom. Questions arising from this concerned the freedom of action of individuals in an increasingly consumerist society, particularly within the property development industry and market. In that respect the emphasis placed on materialism over social consciousness in the Marxist dialectic was a recurrent issue. Dialectical materialism was therefore revisited as a part of a methodological approach which recognised both the existing state of things and inevitable change. The wider associations of the term patronage with power, class and social status were also relevant to the development of that approach as regards issues relating to quantity and quality and social change.

However, within that general context, the research was directed more specifically to publicly funded projects as a means of examining both financial and wider political accountability. There was then the necessity to consider forms of Post- Keynesian economic policy discernible in State intervention in property markets. Notwithstanding the general trend toward de-regulation of such markets the potential constraints on patronage presented by statutory and other development control remain relevant as regards the autonomous action of the individual within wider society. This also had to be taken into account in developing the research methodology.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2- Literature Review

The review of literature presents the findings of the literature review and preliminary research, establishes background theory relevant to the

research and identifies the key issues arising. It first outlines how those described as patrons can differ from other promoters or sponsors of development as regards their actions and relationships. That is by reference to some established theories on property development more generally. The chapter then moves to consider how the relevant powers of those so described may be best examined. The aspiration to realise particular qualities is introduced as a characteristic that has defined patronage of architecture historically. Issues relating to such qualities are important in several respects, not least the exercise of discernment by those described as patrons in stipulating the required standard.

The motivation and intent and of patrons is discussed as regards the commitment of resources to the realisation of places which are not purely utilitarian or economic but embody other aspirations. Such aspiration and the exercise of discernment are then offered as defining characteristics in the inception of projects by those described as patrons. The direct association of the patron with the project from inception to completion and the relationship between the patron and designer/ builder are also factors identified for further examination. Finally, to fully realise such aspiration there must be command of adequate financial resources and such powers as are necessary to secure consents and permissions for the development.

Such characteristics are then offered for examination as factors in aspirational development which is publicly funded development in the modern era. The review thus serves to refine the focal theory and develop a methodological approach to determine the extent to which wider democratic accountability might present a constraint on such aspiration.

Chapter 3- Methodology.

The chapter establishes the theoretical perspective and methodological framework for the research. It is explained why a critical realist approach was adopted which informed the qualitative methodology and case study method used. The methods of data collection are outlined and the analytical approach to that data developed further.

The case studies chosen are outlined together with the rationale for their selection. Each of the projects examined was an aspirational form of publicly funded development which had, in some way, been constrained and had failed to fully realise the objectives originally stated by its promoters. The use of several major development projects in one city during a twenty year period presented many consistent factors. This facilitated more direct comparison and allowed particular characteristics or features to be progressively tested across the studies.

Chapters 4-6 – The Case Studies

The case studies are presented as a narrative account of the projects selected and those events examined to determine whether the characteristics that have traditionally defined patronage were manifested. In each case the initiation of the projects is considered as regards the setting of aspirational objectives and the exercise of discernment. Factors which contributed to the failure to achieve such aspirations in the implementation of the projects are then investigated. In so doing, the countervailing forces to the powers exercised by the promoters of such development are identified.

The specific findings from the projects studied are analysed and summarised.

Chapter 7- Analysis and Conclusion

The final chapter draws together the key findings of the empirical research for further analysis. From that overall analysis the research is reviewed and conclusions offered on the extent to which the issues identified, and questions arising, have been addressed.

1.6 Clarification of terms

The research is concerned with the role of those described as patrons in 'place making' and the shaping of urban form. It therefore concerns the patronage of designers who may not be accurately termed 'architects' by qualification. However, in the following review of literature the term 'architect' will be used to avoid unnecessary repetition of the suffix 'and urban designers'. Also, for reasons identified in the course of the literature review, much of the material sourced concerns architecture and reference is made by the authors to architects and the architect/ patron relationship. Should the individual or practice referred to be more readily known as an urban designer, planner etc. that will be clarified in the text.

Similarly, to avoid unnecessary repetition, the terms 'patron' and 'patronage' will be used without the suffix 'of architecture' or 'of the built environment'. Specific references to other forms of patronage in the thesis are then prefixed or more fully explained in the text.

Also, for clarity, it should be stressed that the research is concerned with architectural patronage in the United Kingdom. This will be reiterated when later defining the characteristics of democracy which have a bearing on the research and the range of political ideology accommodated within that system of government.

2 Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

An objective of the review of literature is to identify the characteristics that have defined patronage historically and establish how these may differ from other promoters or sponsors of development of the built environment. To establish an initial understanding of the role played by those described as patrons the review of literature will first consider the importance of human action in the making of urban form. Bentley (1999) suggests that it is necessary to explore a range of 'problematics of action' which arise from the interaction of many actors involved in the process of creating places, each with access to different sources and levels of power. His proposition is that outcomes are determined by power-plays between those actors engaged in the form-production process. The review then considers the observation of that "*patronage is inevitably tied to power*" (Kieran et al. 1987 p6) by examining the exercise of power and the resources commanded and deployed by those described as patrons.

A characteristic of those described as patrons identified is the aspiration to realise and embody particular qualities through architecture. The review considered the exercise of discernment in establishing such objectives and the qualities that have been associated with the product of patronage historically. Observations are then made on the possible motives of patrons in committing the necessary resources to realise such aspirations. Whilst not referring to patronage specifically Carmona (2012) suggested several prerequisites for good, creative design. These are effective leadership, an acceptance of the value of design, command of the necessary resources to properly implement such proposals and time. These elements will be seen to be pertinent but the review identifies other factors and issues that arise which are relevant to the study of patronage. The characteristics that might better define the terms 'patron' and

'patronage' in the context of urban development are then summarised and form the basis for research questions.

2.1.1 The Architect and Urban Designer

The simplest of Bentley's problematics of action is that of the architect as the 'heroic form-giver' whose creative talent presents forms of development which others merely implement. In his view;

"...the idea that built form flows directly from the architect's individual inspiration has to be understood as a powerful myth, rather than as a statement of fact" (Bentley 1999 p30)

This study is concerned with circumstances whereby architects are empowered to realise such inspiration through actions and relationships described as patronage. The built form then flows more directly from individual inspiration through the greater authority and creative autonomy conferred upon them by those described as patrons. Whilst principally concerned with the resources commanded and powers deployed by the patron, it must be recognised that those of the architect are a factor in such relationships.

Bentley acknowledges that the architect can exercise greater authority and be more central to the development process if they command resources of 'knowledge power' and 'cultural capital' (Bentley 1999 p38). As regards the latter he makes reference to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. That form of capital comprises the recognised knowledge, talent or other attributes which confer power and status on the architect and acts as a social relation within a system of exchange with the patron and others. Bentley distinguishes between those architects who have a distinctive and original style, a unique talent, and are 'leaders' in the field not 'followers' (Bentley 1999 p29).

The circumstances must then be examined wherein architects of established international reputation, the 'leaders', may be commissioned by those described as patrons. The investigation will demonstrate that such relationships may be interpreted as the acquisition of the cultural capital of the architect to advance the social, economic or other objectives of the promoters of development. These can then be contrasted with other relationships wherein talent is recognised, nurtured and legitimised by the patron through the commission of work.

A further question concerns the extent to which patronage is a preoccupation of a section of the architectural community that seeks to set standards and perhaps define what constitutes a 'knowledge' of architecture. Bourdieu suggests that artistic competence is neither a natural or universally distributed capacity. Like other forms of capital, cultural capital follows unequal patterns of accumulation and it is in the interests of those who possess it to define what constitutes competence. His further proposition is that, by maintaining the scarcity of artistic competence, those who possess it could guarantee its cultural value (Webster 2011 pps37-38). In the further examination of relationships it is then necessary to address underlying questions concerning the coincidence of interest between a 'design elite' and those who form social, economic and political elites and may be identified as sources of patronage.

That there may be a 'design elite' within the practice of building design is not a novel proposition. It can be argued that one has always existed. There were, for example, those who opposed the establishment of a professional body for architecture which would have technical examination as its criteria for admission. Gutman (1987 p151) cites a 1891 letter of opposition from Reginald Bloomfield, Richard Norman Shaw and others who state;

"We maintain that no-one is entitled to be declared an architect merely because he has answered the questions of an examiner in such subjects

as admit of examination, inasmuch as without imagination, power of design and refinement of taste and judgement, he can have no true claim of the title; and these are qualities that cannot be brought to the test of examination. Consequently we deprecate any attempt to make examination and diploma conditions of admission to the pursuit of architecture, because a legislative sanction would thereby be given to a false and delusive idea of a true qualification for the art."

Bentley also recognises that it is in the interests of architects and others to perpetuate the perception of the 'heroic form giver' and makes reference to monographs on architects and other publications which reinforce and disseminate that notion (Bentley 1999 p29). One can also concur with his observation that the view of the 'heroic form-giver' is not just confined to professional design culture but;

"...is reinforced and disseminated to a wider public through all those coffee-table books with titles like The Buildings of Joe Bloggs" (Bentley 1999 p29)

Such publications may not be about an architect specifically. As a generality the architecture that is written about will usually be remarkable, unique or extra-ordinary. Such attributes then attach to the architect by association. Examples of literature which present the 'best' architecture include those by Binney (2007), Jenkins (2003); (Jenkins 2008) Weston (2010) and Glancey (1998). In that respect guide books and other publications can be added to 'coffee table books' as media through which a hierarchy of the 'best' architecture and architects may be established in the public mind.

Also, it is perhaps self-evident that much of the literature which refers to architectural patronage will be primarily about architects and architecture and the patron presented as a secondary figure. Thurley (2013 p11) makes mention of the disproportionate attention given to famous architects and attributes this, in part, to architectural histories being first written by architects. There is then a tendency of such literature to focus on the

architect and their 'individual inspiration'. References to the support of patrons must therefore be examined as regards their individual *aspiration* and how that was realised through their relationship with the designer.

The *Harvard Architectural Review: Patronage* (Kieran et al 1987) is one of the few works identified which deals with issues relating to architectural patronage specifically. The overall perspective is one of architects and their relationship with those that commission them. The Review does however recognise that architecture cannot exist in isolation and a stated objective was to expose patronage as a social reality which shapes the built environment (Kieran et al. 1987 p4). There is then consideration of the pragmatic and public aspect of architecture that imposes upon the discipline patronage relationships of greater complexity than found in other arts. That Review therefore offers a helpful initial perspective on such issues.

In reviewing literature relating to the development of British architecture it is noticeable that attributions of patronage by respected historians may be consolidated through subsequent citation and reference. For example, in *Architect and Patron* Jenkins (1961) cites Summerson (1953) as his principle source. The latter is an authoritative account of architectural and urban development from 1530 to 1830. Other works by the same author expand upon specific periods between those dates (Summerson 1962, 1986) 1962, 1986) or architects of the time (Summerson 1965, 1966; Summerson 1980). Summerson is then a useful and consistent source for identification of those relationships between architects and those described as patrons in an important era in the development of architecture in Britain.

2.1.2 The architect/patron relationship

Bentley offers for consideration a 'masters and servants' model as a further problematic. In that scenario those with the most power simply command

the actions of those with the least (Bentley 1999 p28). Some emphasis is placed on economic resources as the dominant source of such power and the commercial developer offered as a contender for the 'master role'. That this may be contested by other actors in the process, such as planning regulators, is noted by Bentley who concludes the 'master and servant' model to be unconvincing. This, he suggests, is because control of all the specialized experts engaged in the modern development process is problematic for even the most powerful actors (Bentley 1999 p32).

There are other reasons as to why the patron/ architect relationships may not be adequately or properly described by the terms 'master and servant'. In the preceding section it is noted that an architect of established international reputation might exercise equal or greater authority than their principal in the relationship and system of exchange. The review of literature also established that architects may be the beneficiary of patronage but not necessarily be subservient to, or 'commanded' by, the patron. A characteristic of some patronage relationships historically has been a working collaboration between the designer and patron. Instances include the 'architect earls' of the 18th Century in Britain, notably the relationship between Lord Burlington and William Kent which established a lasting friendship. A similar creative collaboration between Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke, and the architect Roger Morris may also be noted (Summerson 1953 pps 334-337).

2.1.3 The 'market signals' perspective

The limitations of the 'master/ servant' model can be further illustrated by reference to what Bentley describes as a 'market signals' perspective. He suggests that designers, as resource-poor actors, respond to market signals which indicate what forms of development those with the requisite resources are willing to fund. In so doing Bentley places emphasis on financial resources and commercial property development imperatives.

“Buildings are extremely expensive to produce and it seems likely that those who are able to put resources into developing them would do so for their own purposes. In the context of capitalism, these purposes are usually concerned with making profits: there is no reason, after all, to think that most property developers are particularly interested in art for its own sake.” (Bentley 1999 p31)

Bentley’s observation is supported by, for example, Marriott (1989) in his account of commercial property development in the post- World War II period. There it is suggested that the skill of the architect most required by the property developer was the ability to maximise the building size and thereby the profit to that client. Aesthetics were an insignificant consideration to the majority of commercial developers at that time. Reference is made to patronage only in the context of perceived hubris on the part of those who attempted to offer better design, innovation or other qualities outside the norm (Marriott 1989).

It should be noted that Bentley then makes reference to ‘patrons’ but does not differentiate between those and other promoters of development (Bentley 1999 pps 32-33). What will be argued in this thesis is that a distinction can, and should, be made between those who operate in the market as commercial property developers and other actors who commit resources to bring into being buildings for reasons other than, or additional to, direct financial gain. The actions of those described as patrons has often brought into being that which had not, and would not, have been created as a response to ‘market signals’. Observations are made by Bourdieu on the dialectic between the work of artists, their intentions for it and their perceptions of the aesthetic preferences of the audience. He suggested that, in practice, this ranged between;

- a) the production of work to satisfy established tastes, preferences and a market for such work and, at the other extreme,

- b) an avant- garde intended to create a new audience and market.(Webster 2011, pp. pps 64-65)

In this case the former relates to that produced by market demand and the latter more readily associated with the process of patronage traditionally. Also to be considered are a range of public places and amenities which are not produced by commercial or market forces. Historically many such places may be ascribed to patronage but, increasingly, provided by the State and its agencies.

A further issue that must be addressed is the ascription of values to that which is created. The commercial property developer will usually be primarily interested in the economic capital of the development. In considering buildings and places said to have been the product of patronage other ascriptions of value must also be considered. These would include, for example, the polarities of *cultic* value and *display* value offered by Benjamin (1936 p12). Of more direct relevance to contemporary patronage are Bourdieu's theories on the values that might be attributed to symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984b; Bourdieu 1984a; Bourdieu 1998). In the context of this study a building which may be generally regarded as of exceptional quality may represent symbolic capital because it is considered prestigious and that, in turn, distinguishes the patron who commissioned it. The symbolic value of that building represents a form of capital which cannot be quantified by reference to its commercial value in the open market.

Webster (2011 pps 30- 56) outlines how Bourdieu came to suggest that his notion of symbolic capital was a fundamental dimension of a general 'theory of practice'. That put symbolic practices on the same level as economic practices, that is, strategies in the competition for prestige or standing in the social hierarchy. Bourdieu's work on class-based construction of aesthetics and its role in sustaining the interests of the elite classes in society is relevant in examining the motivation for forms of such

patronage. For example, his proposition that artistic competence and the ability to decode a broad spectrum of cultural works in accordance with the aesthetic codes of the day were gained by a combination of breeding, a cultivated family upbringing, education and repeated exposure to culture may be evidenced by many described as 'patrons of architecture'. This was a characteristic of architectural development in the 17th and 18th centuries and must be examined to determine whether it remains a feature of those who aspire to patronage in the modern day.

Bourdieu also suggested that the aim of all artists was to produce work that, by means of its recognised value, would increase their cultural capital and thereby improve their position in the field. The role of 'cultural intermediaries' in that field such as critics, publishers and gallery owners with power as 'taste makers' could support the upward trajectory of an artist (Webster 2011 p65). Since the Renaissance the support of influential patrons can be seen to have endorsed and validated the work of designers in the built environment. Patrons can then be included in the field, or social space, in which inter-dependent producers and intermediaries compete for the authority to define what has aesthetic value, legitimacy or orthodoxy.

The 'market signals' perspective therefore has limitations. This is not to disregard that perspective but suggest that it must be developed and extended. In the examination of publicly funded development, a form of patronage to be considered is that which may arise through intervention to address market failure. It will be explained that in such circumstances it may be necessary to establish demand for the development proposed. There will therefore be a relationship with 'markets' other than those primarily concerned with the property development industry. Furthermore such actions occur in a wider economic context and the command of adequate financial resources is a critical factor in the development process. However, whilst recognising that economic means and context are pervasive issues, it must be appreciated that other resources may need to be mobilised in support of, or opposition to, development. In so doing brief

note may be made of the observation by Giddens (1990) that the amount of power an individual has is related to resources which he defines as;

- i) Allocative resources, deriving from control of physical assets and,
- ii) Authoritative resources, deriving from control over the activities of people.

The mobilisation of resources/ powers in support or opposition of development can be better considered in a further scenario proffered by Bentley which is the 'battlefield problematic'. In this he suggests that the various actors are not simply commanded or responding to markets but are *'...plotting and scheming to use their power in the best way that they can devise, in attempts to achieve the built forms they want.'* (Bentley 1999 p28)

2.1.4 The 'Battlefield Problematic'

Countervailing forces to the provision of development which exhibits qualities outside the norm determined by 'market signals' are outlined in Tiesdell and Adams (2011). The contributing authors to their edited volume also identify those processes and practices of property development markets which do not ensure successful place-making. Pervasive factors are the complexity of the development process and attendant risks which may work against desires for quality and innovation. The tensions that arise are summarised and illustrated by Carmona (2011).

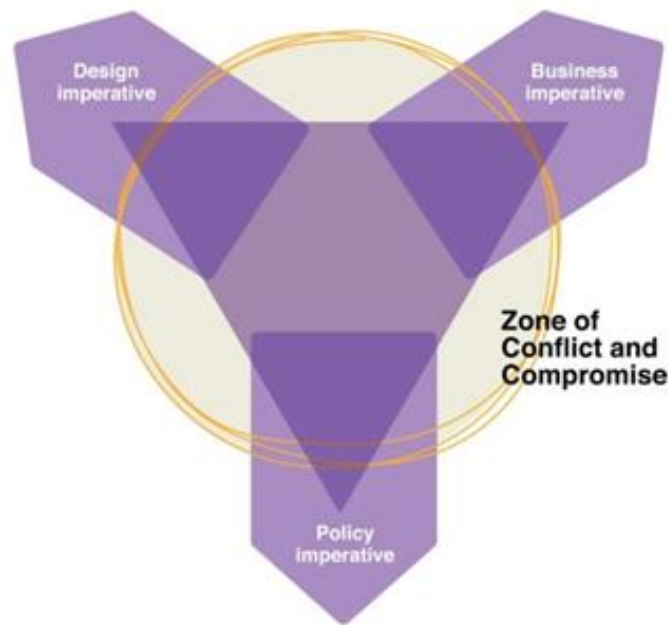


Figure 1. Carmona diagram of competing imperatives. These are also described by Carmona as the 'three tyrannies' of design, market and regulation

Carmona (2011) echoes Bentley's representation of the architect as 'heroic form giver', personifying the 'creative imperative' and the developer that of the market. The policy imperative is then represented by those who administer the regulatory regime. This is a useful generalisation of the opposing forces which may broadly affect design aspiration in the development process. Carmona's model does not, however, reflect the multiplicity of actors and the forms or levels of power commanded by them. It can also be observed that within each of those broad groupings the various actors may have competing priorities and conflicting interests. Conversely, alliances and networks may be formed across such groupings in pursuit of common interests.

There are then many different actors drawing on different resources to form and frame their relationships with other engaged in the development process. Those described as patrons can be aligned with the architect in that grouping concerned with design quality or other aspiration. Regulation is presented as an opposing force to such aspiration and Carmona

mentions planning, construction, highways, health and safety and other regulatory measures. A further important consideration is legislation and regulation concerning governance and the exercise of probity in the procurement of publicly funded works. The extent to which regulation presents a constraint on aspiration and might inhibit or restrict innovatory design will be a contribution of this thesis.

It must also be observed that much regulation was introduced to ensure that buildings and places had particular qualities. A primary objective is that buildings be properly constructed and fit for purpose and such measures were introduced in the interest of wider society. Furthermore such interests may be reflected in regulation or statutory guidance which addresses aesthetic or other less utilitarian aspects of urban design. In Carmona's model, regulations are coupled with negative aspects of their enforcement by bureaucracies. Initiatives to ensure 'good' design which are implemented by agencies of the state must be taken into account as these may be interpreted as a form of publicly funded patronage. Such initiatives may also be viewed as prescriptive and opposed by both the patron/designer and those who advocate a less regulated 'free market'. The latter part of the Tiesdell and Adams (2011) volume explores the role of governance and state/ market relations in determining how places are produced and considers the interactions between public policy and private initiative.

2.1.5 The 'user'

An additional factor can be introduced by reference to the earlier point that acts referred to as patronage may bring into being that which has not been produced as a response to 'market signals'. In the case of publicly funded projects the promoters may have to establish that there is demand for the proposed development to justify the commitment of finance and other resources. That is to satisfy the required standards of prudence and probity expected of those in public office. Reference might then be made

to other 'markets' to establish needs or demand which is not met by supply. This then introduces the *users* of the proposed development into the analysis. Occupational demand is a material factor in commercial property markets and standards may be dictated by the perceived qualities required of buildings principal occupiers and users (Ball et al. 1998 pps 41-75).

A further point to note is that buildings attributed to patronage have not been produced speculatively in response to such 'market signals'. More usually they are bespoke structures commissioned to meet the specific requirements of individuals, institutions or organisations who will often be their principal occupier or user. That is not, however, exclusively the case. Direct users may also be purposeful visitors to the building or place, particularly those who may be paying for admission or customers of the business or attraction there housed. The required design may then reflect the perceived demand for particular qualities from potential users.

More problematic are the indirect 'users' who simply pass by and view the place created. These might also be termed the 'audience'. If that place adds to public amenity and/or the cultural landscape the wider public might then be defined as constituting a 'market' for the proposed development and be beneficiaries of it. However, what must be considered is the extent to which, in an open democracy, the outcome of a publicly funded development proposal might be determined by those who will *not* use it. Circumstances can arise where many in wider society may see no direct benefit arising from the aspirational project proposed and, collectively, are not power/less in opposing it. What must be investigated in such instances are the diverse interests and relative powers mobilised in support and opposition of such projects. These forces may not correspond with the design, market or regulatory imperatives outlined by Carmona.

It is therefore necessary to consider further observations on the definition of power given its centrality to the development process.

2.2 Conceptualising Power

Metzger et al. (2016) propose an approach to analysing power dynamics in relationships between the different actors in the development process. This, they suggest, will assist in better understanding and conceptualising what power is and how it is performed. That is to explain how the effects referred to as 'power' are produced rather than using the term 'power' as "*... an in-itself all-covering explanation of societal events.*" (Metzger et al 2016 p2) This, they suggest, requires the conceptualisation of power as the outcome of social processes rather than a causal variable behind them. They identify as a limitation definitions of 'power' by those who approach the term from the Marxist perspective and focus primarily on *economic* power and claiming that this determines societal influence in the last instance.

As already noted, that limitation is relevant in the context of this study. Tropes that must be addressed are references to the 'rich and powerful' or 'powerful and wealthy' (Thurley 2013 pps 140-144, Sudjic 2005 p434). The term 'patron' can often be prefixed by such phrases. Yet, whilst the command of economic resources is an important element, effective patronage may necessitate the command and deployment of other resources in support of the proposed development. Wealth can then be regarded as an influential component of power and not presented as a separate factor.

'Power dynamics'.

Some consideration can be given to Foucauldian approaches to power dynamics in planning studies proposed by Metzger et al. They refer to the work of Flyvbjerg (1998) who conceptualises power as a 'dense and dynamic net of omnipresent relations and not something that is held in centres or 'possessed'. Power is not then viewed only as something taken

and held by force and law but exercised in more subtle ways. Flyvbjerg's approach was less concerned with who had power and why they had it but placed greater emphasis on how power was exercised.

"Whereas the focus of Modernity is on 'what should be done' I suggest a reorientation toward 'what is actually done. In this way we obtain a better grasp – less idealistic, more grounded-of what modernity and modern democracy are and what kind of strategies and tactics may help change them for the better. " Flyvbjerg (1998 p3).

Flyvbjerg's approach to the study of power adopts "... a point of departure in small questions, 'flat and empirical', in Foucault's words, instead of based on 'big questions'" (Flyvbjerg 1998 Pp5-6) Also, the perspective adopted by Flyvbjerg from that Nietzschean/ Foucauldian tradition is that power can be represented as productive and positive, not only as restrictive and negative. As noted, the retrospective view of architectural historians tends to the view that the exercise of power by those described as patrons has been 'productive and positive'. As to whether that view is more widely shared in contemporary society is a question to be addressed in this research.

There is then an argument against a static conceptualisation of power which presents it as an elusive *object* or an oppressive resource which actors can 'possess'. By enacting power as an insidious and oppressive, but also anonymous and a-personal , resource of domination: *"....., vested interests are simply continuously re-invested, nothing ever changes and existing power relationships are only reproduced, or even reinforced."* (Metzger et al 2016 p4) The suggestion is that by explaining power with power there is the risk of rationalising and reifying existing power relationships in society, making any potential change or reversal of power relationships appear as unreasonable.

Metzger et al refer to Latour (1988) and how shifts in power relations may occur through the creation of new sources of power and legitimacy. In the

context of this research issues arise as to the effective response to such change in a modern democracy. The review of literature evidences that the 'sources' of patronage have changed over time. They have included the monarchy, the aristocracy, oligarchs and others who have commanded the necessary resources. They have managed and benefited from specific sets of relations which include social, political and cultural patronage. By examining the exercise of power by those described as patrons it will be shown how the sources of power may be augmented or diminished. Also, the instruments by which such power is enforced may be supplemented or supplanted by new and superior methods. Such changes may benefit prospective patrons or, alternatively, constrain the autonomous action once enjoyed by those so described.

The political, economic and social context of actions referred to as patronage is then relevant as that which is held as an exemplar from the past might be difficult or impossible to replicate in the modern era. Central to this study is the extent to which the exercise of power in the implementation of publicly funded projects might be constrained by wider accountability in a modern democracy. To more fully understand that it is necessary to examine how agendas are formed and who or what is involved in doing so.

'Effective Power'.

In suggesting that power be investigated not as an explanatory variable but a socially productive *rational effect* which needs to be explained Metzger et al. make reference to Lukes (1986). Lukes' proposition was that the effectiveness and level of power for a given group or individual can be measured by considering certain criteria. Lukes' 'Three Dimensional View of Power' is a critique of methodology which focuses only on behaviour in decision making, specifically on key issues and essentially only in observable situations. In his view the 'one dimensional view' often takes the form of subjective interests, for example, policy preferences

demonstrated through political action. A wider 'two dimensional' view looks at current and potential issues but also consider those types that might be observed overtly or covertly. This then shifts the attention to decision-making and non-decision-making but still focuses on subjective interests such as policy preferences or even grievances.

One can concur with Metzger et al that this second dimension is useful in highlighting the ability of certain actors to exercise power by framing the agenda through various methods. These may include keeping specific issues off the political agenda, by controlling how issues are brought up and presented, determining who is allowed to participate in the debate and in setting the parameters for resolution of disagreement. This second dimension can then be noted for further examination of actions and behaviours within organisations and bureaucracies.

The third dimension proposed by Lukes also concerns control of the political agenda but includes both overt and covert observable conflicts and also those that might be latent. He thus wishes to include the consideration of ways that people or groups may come to view their interests in ways that actually favour other groups or individuals. In this way he suggests that a full critique of power should include both subjective interests and those "real" interests that might be held by those excluded or disadvantaged by the political process. (Lukes 1986)

In considering Lukes' third dimension of power and the ability to shape desires and convictions Metzger et al suggest that this defends a Marxist – realist ontological framework in which actors are held to have 'objective interests' even if they are not aware of them. This they consider unhelpful in the analysis of power dynamics and their preferred approach is to view interests as generated contextually and relationally. In this way the 'third level of power' might be understood through the later Foucauldian perspective of *truth/power regimes* that constitute 'formations' in society which operate beyond the level of conscious individuality. It is a point that

requires careful consideration in advancing further research as it concerns the level of active and effective engagement of those affected by development.

In this respect reference can be made to an earlier issue concerning the *user* of development and the beneficiaries, or opponents, of aspirational development which is publicly funded. Metzger et al suggest a perspective from which social formations and individual actors can be identified as sites of conflict between different regimes of truth/ power. Some, they concede, will be more articulated and manifest than others but the third dimension of power can be comprehended as basic assumptions as to “...*what is desirable, valuable, good and so on.*” (Metzger et al 2016 p7) Conflicts can then be seen as fundamental disagreements over ‘how to compose the good common world’ (Latour 2004 quoted by Metzger et al p7). The approach then allows the analysis of power to seek “...*fairly coherent and large scale ordering patterns in the network of the social (which) generate, define, and interrelate elements in relatively coherent ways*” (Law 1994 p107 quoted by Metzger et al 2016 p8).

In summary Metzger et al apprehend that the mainstream of critical planning studies has adhered to an ostensive definition of power and has lacked a conceptualisation of the ‘micro-physics of power’. It is not then sufficient to analyse the outcomes of a specific planning and development process by accepting power as an explanatory variable in itself. It is therefore necessary to examine how power is harnessed, generated and enacted in processes described as patronage.

The stated objective of the Metzger et al paper was to demystify the concept of ‘power’ and what it purports to be describing. Galbraith (1983) had a similar purpose in his examination of power as a combination of constituent elements. He makes early reference to Max Weber’s definition of power as: “*the possibility of imposing one’s will upon the behaviour of other persons*” (Weber 1954 quoted by Galbraith 1983 p3). Galbraith also

footnoted a further quote from Weber on the ability of one or more persons to realize their own will in a communal act against the will of others who are participating in the same act. Galbraith implies that Weber and others fail to consider how such will is imposed and the acquiescence of others is achieved (Galbraith 1983 p3).

The approach adopted by Galbraith was to examine the enduring components of power which he classified as *sources* and *instruments*. Galbraith's 'sources' can be represented as *resources* commanded by those described as patrons at a given time. These were *personality, property* and *organization*. The three instruments by which power might be exercised were classified as *condign, compensatory* and *conditioned* powers. Galbraith emphasises that;

"..... there may be a primary but not exclusive association between each of the three instruments by which power is exercised and one of the sources, so there are also numerous combinations of the sources of power and the related instruments. Personality, property and organization are combined in various strengths. From this comes a varying combination of instruments for the enforcement of power. The isolation or disentangling of the sources and instruments in any particular exercise of power, the assessment of their relative importance, and the consideration of the changes in relative importance over time are the task of this book." (Galbraith 1983 p7.)

His approach is then consistent with the objectives of this research. The numerous permutations of resources and instruments affording the opportunity to explore the 'micro-physics' of power and patronage is not then accepted or explained by simply prefixing the term patron with 'rich and powerful' or 'powerful and wealthy'. The command of economic resources (property/ capital) may be perceived as a visible source of an actor's autonomy but may be supplemented by a suite of other powers in pursuit of their objectives. Conversely the range and combination of

powers deployed in opposition, and which constrain autonomous action, can be more thoroughly analysed.

The foregoing quotation also serves to emphasise the earlier points made on shifts in power relations over time (q.v. p47). The approach is then useful in establishing how the command of resources, or 'sources' of power and the instruments of its enforcement have altered in importance, character and combination over time. This then assists in identifying recurrent actions, relationships and characteristics which have defined patronage to later determine whether these can be replicated in a modern democratic polity.

Galbraith's Post- Keynesian economic perspective has relevance to other aspects of patronage, not least political support for intervention to address market failure. Here his approach to the exercise of power is adopted as a framework wherein other theories and analyses of power can be considered. The instruments by which power is exercised will be outlined first and then the command of resources examined.

2.3 The exercise of powers

In this section the three instruments through which Galbraith suggested that power(s) may be exercised will be outlined as they are applicable to actions described as patronage.

2.3.1 Condign power

"Condign power wins submission by the ability to impose an alternative to the preferences of the individual or group that is sufficiently unpleasant or painful so that those preferences are abandoned". (Galbraith 1983 p4)

Galbraith uses the term 'condign' in preference to 'coercive' as the latter might primarily suggest the threat of physical harm or retribution. His intention was to convey a range of negative consequences or perceived disadvantages that may follow from failure to acquiesce to the wishes of

the individual or organisation deploying such power. Essentially this instrument suggests the power to punish. This may be extended or applied mildly to circumstances where an individual refrains from expressing an opinion for fear of an expected rebuke or disfavour.

In the examination of patronage the deployment of this instrument can range from the exercise of coercive power in a totalitarian regime to more subtle or implied threat deployed to achieve objectives under more democratic forms of government. The research is primarily concerned with the latter but, for the purposes of this review, some observations can be made on the relationship of coercion with other instruments. The first serves to briefly illustrate the earlier point that power may be accumulated and subsequently lost.

Historically coercive power has been manifested in the taking and holding of land (property) and other resources by main force. Additional resources are then added to those commanded by the taker, thereby supplementing and consolidating authority. Briefly, coercive power can be seen to be the instrument which initially established a status quo which prevailed in the UK for several hundred years from the Middle Ages. That was a patriarchal society founded on the aristocratic control of land and perpetuated through the custom of primogeniture. Within that generality those resources taken by force could be lost to those who could exercise greater coercive power. This serves to illustrate that only those who made the correct alliances were able to retain the power associated with the control of land over generations. However, over a longer term, the declining influence of the landed aristocracy can be attributed to the diminution of other powers as discussed later.

A further observation can be made on the relationship between coercive and conditioned power historically. Military structures have a functional purpose in imposing coercive power through the taking and holding of territory. There is, additionally, a symbolism embodied in the physical

display of strength represented by the citadel in reinforcing belief among those occupying and defending or discouraging those minded to resist subjugation (Hirst 2005). The term patronage is seldom used by historians in connection with fortification whereas those responsible for such development are referred to as patrons of religious or other institutions. This apparent anomaly is noted as military structures have persistently reflected the priorities of the State and accounted for a proportion of public expenditure. This is seldom offered by the State as a matter of discretionary choice but, through history, has been more consistently presented as a necessity. What may be debated in an open democracy is the proportion allocated to 'defence' not the allotment. The threat of attack or civil insurrection has influenced both architectural development and urban form over the course of time. It can be noted that it remains a factor in the commissioning and design of public buildings to this day.

The deployment of condign power may be more subtle and discerned in the advancement of, or opposition to, contemporary development in the UK or any other democratic polity. It may be used by and against those described as patrons. For example the threat of the promoter that a prestigious development may be relocated elsewhere if the necessary consents and support for the project are not forthcoming. Conversely the promoter of development may be influenced by the possibility of political or public censure for proceeding with an unpopular development or failure to deliver the quality or amenity demanded.

A further point to be noted for later examination are then the constraints on the State to use *force* in the implementation of urban projects in the UK. Statutory powers of land acquisition may be referred to as *compulsory* purchase but cannot be arbitrarily deployed by the State. In practice these powers provide that the owners of land and buildings are *compensated* if their property is taken for public works. The more pervasive manifestation of condign power exercise by the State is the statutory planning and development regime which may constrain or prevent development. Under

certain circumstances higher design standards or other qualities of development can also be enforced. In that respect the exercise of the condign power of statute and regulation must be examined in the further research.

Finally, an observation must be made concerning the exercise of condign power in patron/ designer relationships. Under an authoritarian regime it might, for example, be prejudicial to the well-being of an architect or designer to refuse a commission from a tyrannical ruler. There would then be a 'master/ servant' relationship. In a free democracy, the designer is less likely to be subjugated by those who might aspire to forms of architectural patronage. The relationship is more likely to be based on the mutual benefit that will flow from realisation of the project and/ or a shared belief and conviction in the merits of the development. However, the review of literature establishes that over the course of history architects have persistently been attracted to, and actively sought the patronage of, despots (Hughes 1991; Sudjic 2005; Meades 2012; Moore 2012). There has then been an association of such patronage with the leaders of more repressive forms of government that has persisted to the modern day.

2.3.2 Compensatory power

"Compensatory power, in contrast, (to condign power) wins submission by the offer of affirmative reward by the giving of something of value to the individual so submitting." (Galbraith 1983 p5)

This form of power is in many respects the converse of that outlined above but the command of economic resources and development in the context of the wider economy are a more pervasive feature. Broadly it can be said that condign power might be deployed but compensatory power will almost certainly be evidenced. The provision of adequate finance can be an important factor in the effective support given to a project by a patron.

However, in defining the characteristics of patronage, the forms of 'reward' offered may be other than monetary and 'value' assessed by criteria other than financial cost or market worth.

Whilst including financial remuneration and economic benefit the term 'compensatory' is used by Galbraith to cover a range of potential rewards. As rebuke or censure may be a form of condign power so may praise or favour be a form of compensatory power. Acquiescence or support for a project may be achieved through the perceived benefits in kind that may flow from the development. Higher social status and prestige may be the anticipated rewards of, and for, patronage and can be regarded as forms of compensatory power.

A proposition that will be tested by the research is that the quantifiable financial or utilitarian benefit of development is the primary concern of the client. Those described as patrons can have regard to such measures but, additionally or predominantly, may anticipate benefit or advantage that follow from the creation of places which embody other qualities and produce other than purely financial rewards. In testing that hypothesis regard must be had to the values ascribed to places other than those assessed by reference to purely economic criteria. Such evaluation might then relate to the qualities of that produced by actions described as patronage and will be examined further. Here the assessment of benefit can be illustrated by reference to publicly funded development. This may, for example, be expressed in terms of the amenity afforded to wider society by the provision of buildings and places. As noted earlier, those who see no direct benefit might oppose such expenditure.

An important aspect of that assessment of benefit by the wider public concerns the prioritisation for public expenditure. A recurring theme to be explored relates to claims made in opposition to some types of development that the attendant cost be better invested in schools, hospitals or other essential public services. This, albeit coarse, form of

cost/ benefit analysis is a factor which has a bearing on the weight that might attach to populist appeals to desires and prejudices in wider democratic debate. In that respect reference can be made to the observation of Flyvbjerg (1998) that reasoning turns into rationalization and dialogue becomes persuasive rhetoric under the pressures of reality.

This leads to the exercise of compensatory power in the democratic process through the benefits promised to the electorate. Public spending priorities are reflected in the mandate granted to the successful political party through the electoral process. This is relevant to later examination of political commitment to aspirational urban design. That may be considered discretionary spending whereas other financial commitments regarded as mandatory. These will include Health, Education, Employment and other priorities. Urban design quality is rarely, if ever, a prominent feature in the electoral manifesto of a political party. Debate on urban design matters is more likely to emerge in respect of specific projects and the implementation of other governmental policy.

What will also be explored in the research are initiatives relating to economic and urban regeneration. Some patterns of behaviour may be common to both commercial developers and those implementing publicly funded redevelopment. That is the amplification, or exaggeration, of the more tangible and quantifiable benefits promised by the promoters of development. These may commonly be expressed in economic terms such as job creation or the attraction of other investment. What is suggested, and will be examined further, is that a process of rationalisation places emphasis on compensatory rather than conditioned power in such debate.

Some observations can be made relating to compensatory power in the patron/ architect relationship, the first concerning the 'master/ servant' model. The review of patron/ architect relationships historically evidences that these can be founded on mutual trust and respect in pursuit of a shared objective. The designer may not be subservient or engaged through

a purely commercial and contractual arrangement for pecuniary reward. In such relationships there may be the perception of reciprocal benefit in enhanced social and professional status through the realisation of the project. Compensatory power is then an element in the dynamic of the patron/ designer relationship. In some instances the work of architects may be validated by its realisation through the resources commanded by 'powerful' patrons. The status of both parties is enhanced if the building produced is acclaimed. In other cases the cultural or social credibility of the patron may be enhanced by association through acquisition of the widely recognised talent and established reputation of a designer.

As regards social status a brief observation can be made to historical references to patronage and the compensatory power to distribute ranks, dignities and offices. In the UK such practices were evidenced through the mediaeval period (Bothwell 2004). Edward I deployed patronage as reward for good service through a policy of land grants in England, Wales and Scotland (Spencer 2008). The consolidation of monarchic power by such means continued through the late Tudor period. Social advancement through honours and titles conferred by the monarch has proved to be an enduring feature of the social hierarchy in Britain (Walker 1987). In the modern day the Honours List is the subject of periodic controversy and raises questions relating to probity.

The relevance to this thesis can be explained briefly as follows. An apparent paradox is that statutory regulation to prevent patronage, in its most negative sense of favouritism in appointment to public office, may impact upon the engagement of an architect or designer in a publicly funded project. Those conducting the selection process can often be the beneficiaries of institutional patronage as recipients of such titles and honours. This therefore concerns the delegated authority conferred upon those appointed to the Boards of Quasi- Autonomous Non- Governmental Organisations (QUANGO's) and other bodies that commission publicly funded development. Recurring issues concerning such organisations relate

to their democratic accountability and the transparency of such appointment procedures (Morgan and Roberts 1993; Nolan 1995; Morgan and Upton 2005; McCourt 2014).

What must also be considered are more ad-hoc bodies- committees, advisory panels and the like- which influence the form of urban development. Questions relating to these concern the competencies of those appointed to serve on them. The perception of their critics and opponents is that selection may owe more to social and political networks than a rigorous assessment of their individual expertise. In the context of this study a dichotomy to be considered is that a demographically and/or democratically representative Board may not command the necessary authority on design matters. Conversely the 'expert panel' can also present issues relating to governance by elites. Under this heading it serves only to emphasise that social and political patronage may be perceived to be a reward for political or other loyalties in such appointments.

As will be demonstrated, class and social status remain a pervasive issue and contribute to negative perceptions of patronage in its broader use. These observations on the exercise of compensatory power can be concluded by reference to the association of patronage and privilege attributed to the wealth of individuals. The theory of conspicuous consumption was introduced by Thorstein Veblen whose proposition that the nouveau riche utilized lavish displays of wealth to symbolize their entrance into a higher social class appears to be applicable to many examples of such patronage (Veblen 2006). Veblen's proposition was expanded upon by Marcel Mauss who suggested that social competitions for prestige favoured those who spent recklessly and thereby eclipsed others (Mauss 2006). The theories forwarded by Veblen and Mauss can also be considered by reference to Max Weber's analysis of status and the emphasis that he placed on the difference between class, status, and power in his theory of stratification hierarchy (Hurst 2007 p202).

Through the course of history buildings have served to embody and display improved social status and aspiration. Brief mention can be made to the prodigy houses built during the reign of Elizabeth I. These private palaces were ostentatious displays of private wealth, in some cases built at near ruinous cost to court the approbation of the monarch (Jenkins 1961 pps7-8). There was then a 'chain' of patronage or system of social exchange, architectural development being encouraged by the perceived rewards that followed royal favour. Those aristocratic patrons often took a direct hand in the design process, securing the necessary architectural knowledge from Italy and elsewhere in Europe (Thurley 2013 p245).

The deployment of compensatory power in support of the arts to advance the political ambitions, social positions and prestige of wealthy people has been a recurring feature of patronage. Specific reference can be made to James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, who was claimed by Jenkins (2007) to be *"... one of the greatest patrons of the first half of the eighteenth century"*. Jenkins' study of Chandos better serves to evidence a range of behaviour ascribed to 'patronage' in the more negative sense. As the beneficiary of patronage in his appointment to high office, Chandos demonstrated ambition, vanity, avarice and lack of scruples. In that respect Jenkins' account offers a useful reference for comparison of the standards of conduct and greater public accountability now expected of those in government office. Patronage, its relationship with power and matters relating to probity are perhaps better evidenced than any meaningful contribution Chandos made to the built environment. There is little to suggest any motivation or intent on his part other than the ostentatious display of wealth that was widely attributed to him in his time.

The rise of Chandos serves to illustrate how patronage may contribute to the accumulation of wealth and his subsequent fall demonstrates how compensatory power can be lost. For continuity it is then helpful to briefly

outline Galbraith's observations on property as the source of compensatory power before turning to the exercise of conditioned power.

2.3.3 Property

"Property or wealth accords an aspect of authority, a certainty of purpose, and this can invite conditioned submission. But its principal association, quite obviously, is with compensatory power. Property – income- provides the wherewithal to purchase submission" (Galbraith 1983 p6)

For clarity we are concerned here with the command of financial resources and a distinction must be made between ownership and control of property and financial income. Historically 'property' literally meant ownership and control of land/ real estate. As noted above, this could be achieved by main force through the exercise of coercive power. Monarchic power could then be consolidated by the distribution of lands and titles. Through the mediaeval period the (military) aristocracy, in turn, granted land and property to the church and religious orders who were the beneficiaries of their patronage and protection. Through growing wealth and influence, derived in large part from their landed estates, the church emerged as a patron, bishops competing with noblemen for greater power and influence (Cownie 1999). The physical manifestation of such power was the building of cathedrals, monasteries and further accumulation of landed estates (Chibnall 1958; Williams 1990, 2001).

"The comparative wealth, esteem, military position and the sanguinary authority over the lives of the populace that went with land ownership assured its possessor of a position of eminence in his community and power in the state" (Galbraith 1967pps66-67).

The review of literature demonstrates that the landed aristocracy were a consistent source of architectural patronage historically (Summerson 1953, Jenkins 1961, Thurley 2013). Their eminence was consolidated by the

wealth and compensatory power derived from what was a dominantly agrarian economy. Through the command of financial resources additional condign or coercive power may be purchased as can the instruments of conditioned power discussed below.

In this context mention can be made to a 'presumption of perpetuity' that can inform and motivate patrons. That is the assumption that the prevailing status quo will be maintained, a view that informed the principles of stewardship and a longer term view of development. This has a bearing on later consideration of the shorter term demands that may be prioritised in contemporary development.

Here it is noted that such presumption was misplaced as property/ wealth, as a source of compensatory power, can be accumulated and lost. Such power can then be relegated or supplanted by new forms or sources of wealth. The aforementioned distinction that must be made between property and income is illustrated by the decline of those landed estates that could not generate sufficient revenues to remain economically viable. With the rise of trade and industry, merchant capitalism progressively achieved ascendancy over what had been a dominantly agrarian economy. The political power of the landed aristocracy was diminished by the Reform Acts of the 19th century and the introduction of death duties further diluted their economic power. Consequently the control of economic capital supplanted land ownership as the more pervasive source of compensatory power from the 19th Century (Galbraith 1967 pps 66-68).

Whilst greater emphasis will then be placed on the command of financial capital in the research the control of landed property, or real estate, remains a factor that must be considered in the examination of contemporary patronage. In considering publicly funded projects issues arise concerning the costs and commitment of other resources to land assembly if the development site is not already under public ownership and control. Those issues can then compound the other challenges

presented by the commitment of finite economic resources to aspirational development. An initial assumption can be made that such expenditure will be contested by those with competing calls on the public treasury. The probity of those making claim upon such resources to fund aspirational development will be questioned and tested through their wider accountability. There is then a fundamental difference between private and public economic capital which will be more fully examined in this thesis.

2.3.4 Conditioned Power

“Conditioned power is exercised by changing belief. Persuasion, education, or the social commitment to what seems natural, proper or right causes the individual to submit to the will of another, or of others” (Galbraith 1983 p5)

In Galbraith’s view conditioned power differs from condign and compensatory power in that the individuals submitting to such power may be less aware of their submission. Such power may operate beyond the level of conscious individuality, the submission taking the form of a preferred course. There is then a recurrence of the question concerning Lukes’ ‘third level of power’ and whether conditioned power might be better understood through the perspective of truth/power regimes that constitute ‘formations’ in society. Galbraith makes early distinction between preferences which may be considered normal, proper or traditionally correct and those deliberately cultivated. The former may be dictated by the prevailing culture and implicit. The latter are explicit and involve processes of persuasion and education (Galbraith 1983 p24).

Whilst there may be no distinct demarcation between the two, we are primarily concerned with the more explicit exercise of conditioned power. That is in changing and/ or instilling belief, educating and securing wider social commitment to forms of development in the built environment. In a modern democratic polity success may turn on the capacity of the

promoters to convince others as to the probity of investing finite resources in a publicly funded development. This then leads to the control of information and the means by which it is communicated.

Different types of information are required by those directly engaged in the design and implementation of development. Those who regulate development require detailed, and often complex, technical data and funders require specific financial information. The communication of different forms and quality of information among those directly involved in design and commissioning of buildings has a bearing on the later examination of organisation. Also, the network will extend to those affected by development and they may demand and react to entirely different information.

In the exercise of conditioned power control of the media and methods of communication can be seen to be a critical factor. This has been influential through history but the methods and speed by which information can be disseminated has increased exponentially through the advance of technology. Questions then arise concerning the control and quality of information and the response of a modern, consuming public to it. The first concerns the capacity to absorb the sheer flow of information.

"In a world flooded with information and seemingly endless capacity to communicate, the problem is to get us to concentrate." (Seaton 2007)

Social media might greatly accelerate the formation and mobilisation of networks in support of, or opposition to, a particular initiative. However, such channels of communication serve to illustrate the realities of simplification and amplification in the manipulation of public opinion. Put simply, many may read the headline but only those more directly affected or engaged might read the article.

Another observation by Seaton on contemporary media concerns the problem of how to overcome indifference and cynicism. The challenge for

those advocating aspirational development which is publicly funded is to engage with and persuade the wider public of its benefits. This can be explored through the reference to a 'consuming public' made above. That is then the emphasis placed on amplification, or exaggeration, of the direct benefit of such development to particular sections of society. Furthermore, the process of commodification promotes architecture as fashion and material for popular consumption (Kieran et al. 1987 p6). Related issues regarding 'media patronage' concern the way that the built environment is perceived, its qualities appreciated and its value is determined by society. In this connection the aforementioned references to both the 'soundbite' and commodification will be revisited when later considering the 'iconic' building. That is the ascendancy of the graphic image (the 'sightbite') and the production of architectural forms that lend themselves to immediate trivialisation by the media. Broadly, this is the landscape of 'Gherkins', 'Shards' or other epithets that might attach to such places.

What must also be noted in respect of conditioned power is that buildings and places are themselves a media through which faith and belief might be instilled or reinforced. Prominent among the more enduring man-made features of pre-history are the ritual landscapes and structures that evince a ceremonial concern for the dead and forms of organised religion (Mumford 1966; Jellicoe and Jellicoe 1995). The construction of places of worship may be ascribed to the patronage of the organised religion itself or to individuals but that endeavour may be supported by wider society over a lengthy period of time. This aspect of conditioned power invests in buildings and places some of the intangible qualities which will be discussed further.

Faith and belief has also influenced secular buildings and places created by those described as patrons historically. Prominent among these have been political loyalties, sometimes coupled with sectarian religious beliefs. Summerson emphasises political and religious allegiances as influential factors in the ascendancy of the Palladian movement over the Baroque in

the 18th Century and that “...*patronage forwarded the Palladian business in more ways than one*” (Summerson 1953 p335). The aristocratic patrons of the Palladian movement differ in this respect from their predecessors, the builders of the Elizabethan and Jacobean prodigy houses. Their objective was not purely the display of personal wealth but intent to establish their aesthetic preferences as a new standard on wider society. Patronage was not confined to close collaboration with architects on private projects but also influential in securing the appointment of their nominees to the Office of Works. They thereby gained effective control of an agency of the State responsible for the commissioning of public works.

Mention can be made here of those instances of patronage which merge with beneficence and altruism. These range from the model settlements or factory towns created over time, several initiated by those of the Quaker faith (Bailey and Bryson 2007). The point to be noted is that some such initiatives demonstrate probity defined as a quality of having strong moral principles and decency. Other utopian or planned settlements have emerged from more expressly political movements, most notably those antecedents of development on socialist principles during the 20th century (Esher 1981). These will be examined further when considering development initiated by the State and its agencies. Whilst well intentioned, such developments are not without their critics, not least those who denigrate the *paternalism* of those who initiate them (Knox 2011 pps74-82).

This again raises the recurring issue of context; in this case what may be considered ‘right and proper’ actions within a society at a given time. The actions of those motivated to undertake works in what they perceive to be the public interest may be questioned by others in wider society. Attitudes that informed acts of generosity historically may be viewed retrospectively as *patronising* due to subsequent changes in society and prevailing systems of belief. The motives of those who aspire to such forms of patronage in a

modern democracy will inevitably be questioned by those who hold different beliefs.

The relevance of this aspect of conditioned power concerns the polarities of opposing political philosophies accommodated within a modern democracy. The further research must consider initiatives which are expressly intended to benefit wider society and do not correspond with, or oppose, the 'market imperative'. Here it can be observed that those inclined to view state intervention as 'paternalistic' can have complete faith and belief in their commitment to unregulated free markets. Also to be considered is the exercise of conditioned power through the commissioning of buildings and places in the proclamation or assertion of some civic or national aspiration. Architecture has been one of the tools used by both totalitarian and democratic states to instil or reinforce belief.

What is also evident is that the symbolic and cultural significance of buildings will change over time. This may be made more obvious by changes in their use and occupation. Fortifications and the once private palaces of the aristocracy may now be publicly owned tourist attractions. Banks, which have traditionally presented an appearance of permanence and security to inculcate an impression of probity, may now be public houses. This research is primarily concerned with the commissioning and realisation of aspirational development and the foregoing point made merely to emphasise that conditioned power is also impermanent. That may be emphasised by reference to the earlier quotation of Seaton and issues relating to the 'iconic' building. Pallasmaa (1987) cites the prediction of Victor Hugo that architecture would lose its status as the most significant cultural message to a new media and suggests that;

"They have taken over because they are fast, momentary and disposable. Now that even ideologies, beliefs and styles have been turned into commodities in the consumer society, architecture has become a hopelessly clumsy medium for mass consumption of disposable information..... In

architecture today, a commercially orientated image with an immediate and powerful impact has gained ground in an effort to attract the attention of citizens already overloaded with information in a materially abundant society.” (Pallasmaa 1987 p 115)

The foregoing serves to underscore the challenges of exercising conditioned power in the effective implementation of publicly funded development in contemporary democratic society.

2.3.5 Summary – The exercise of power.

The examination of the types of power exercised in advancing development within the three categories suggested by Galbraith assisted the review of literature in several respects. As regards those described as patrons historically the approach prompted consideration of the combination of primary and supplementary powers deployed and how these have changed over time. In so doing issues are identified which are relevant in the modern day. Not least are the many permutations of powers that might be exercised in the more complex network of relationships that might determine the outcome of development proposals.

The exercise of power does not in itself clearly define patronage or distinguish between those described as patrons and other promoters of development. It does, however, identify certain characteristics or factors which are constant and those that might differ. For example, compensatory power and the command of adequate financial resources can be seen to be common to all. The exercise of condign power may be regarded as the least relevant instrument but the perception of threat or disadvantage must nevertheless be considered as a possible factor in the promotion of contemporary development. In that respect there may then be greater emphasis on conditioned power and the ability to suggest that there may be the threat of disadvantage if development proposals are

opposed or obstructed. Conversely, conditioned power may be deployed to accentuate the promised benefits that will flow from supporting such proposals.

Furthermore the review suggests that the perceived benefits of actions and relationships described as patronage may be other than direct financial gain or material reward. There is then the motivation and intent to create places which have other merits and embody other qualities. Therefore it is within the category of conditioned power that the characteristics that have defined patronage can be further examined and developed. In moving to consider the command of resources, or 'sources' of power, the ability to instil faith and belief in the project and thereby secure wider support and the necessary resources can be explored further.

2.4 The 'sources' of power

The command of specific resources that may be critical in realising aspirational development can be considered by reference to the 'sources' of power suggested by Galbraith. Property, one of the three identified by Galbraith, has been outlined above as regards compensatory power. As noted the command of adequate financial resources is necessary to successfully implement development whether promoted by those described as patrons or otherwise. *Personality* and *Organisation* raise particular issues relating to patronage and the exercise of power which are interrelated. This may be explained briefly as follows.

From the wider review of literature it can be observed that patronage has tended to be attributed to individuals. Furthermore the origins of the term patron suggest a personal relationship and, in architectural texts, some emphasis is placed on those between patron and architect. However, the construction of buildings has always required organisation. Organization was defined by Chester L Barnard in 1938 as simply a "system of

consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons" (cited in Galbraith 1967 p140). Historically, those described as the patrons were the motivating force and provided the capital and other resources necessary for the project to be fully realised. In the age of aristocratic patronage the organisation comprised the landowner, his estate steward, the designer and the master builder who in turn marshalled craftsmen, labour and materials. In the modern world the realisation of major construction projects involves a more complex organisation which, in turn, must engage with other organisations and networks of power to advance such projects.

Given the increasing complexity of the modern construction process and the focus of this research on publicly funded development project, organisation and finance can be considered critical factors. In that respect it must be determined to what extent patronage is defined by the leadership of the former and the degree of authority or autonomy that they can expect in the deployment of the latter. This will dictate, in turn, any limitation of the creative autonomy that can be conferred upon a designer. Consideration of Personality and the role of the individual will therefore be concerned with

- i) the exercise of authority by individuals over organisations
and
- ii) the influence that such organisations might then command
over wider society

In the first instance autonomy and autarchy will be a consideration. An initial observation is that a distinction can be made between command exercised by an individual WITH an organisation or the influence of an individual WITHIN an organisation. The former can be more readily associated with the autocrat, oligarch and contrasted with the latter which might be more applicable to personality as a source of power within organisations in a democratic polity. Whilst some attention must be paid to

the leadership of organisation as a source of patronage there is another aspect of Personality relevant to the exercise of power by organisations. That is that the implementation of projects might be influenced or affected by the personality of others engaged in or opposing the process.

2.4.1 Personality

“... is the quality of physique, mind, speech, moral certainty, or other personal trait that gives access to one or more of the instruments of power.” (Galbraith 1983 p6)

In considering leadership and the exercise of authority Weber's typology of legitimate authority can be noted. He identified these as;

- Charismatic authority which is maintained by the force of the leaders personality
- Traditional authority based on established belief, tradition and custom and;
- Rational- legal authority which rests on the belief in the legality of enacted rules.

Weber believed that a move towards rational-legal authority was inevitable. In charismatic authority, the death of a leader effectively ends the power of that authority, and only through a rationalized and bureaucratic base can this authority be passed on. Traditional authorities in rationalized societies also tend to develop a rational-legal base to better ensure a stable accession. (Weber 1978).

Broadly that progression is reflected in those individuals described as patrons historically who have exercised charismatic or traditional authority. Such authority could, for example, be largely coercive and exercised only until it is negated by superior forces. Forms of traditional authority have been more enduring and are characterised by monarchic dynasties, the church and the landed aristocracy. Such authority is thereby inherited and

exercised by the incumbent beneficiary or leader. This study is primarily concerned with the rational-legal authority of the modern democratic state and its agencies. What must be examined is the extent to which authority emanates from the post within such organisations. It must also consider how power is exercised by individuals in such positions and such action influenced by personalities.

Weber's observations on individual freedom in an increasingly rational society appear relevant as regards;

- a) its wider context and the relationship between psychological motivations, cultural values and beliefs and
- b) the structure of the society as determined by the economy.

In defining the characteristics of those relationships and behaviours described as patronage some consideration must then be given to the purpose and meaning that individuals attach to their actions, particularly in the processes of rationalisation. By rationalisation, Weber understood first, the individual cost-benefit calculation, second, the wider, bureaucratic 'organisation of the organisations' and 'disenchantment' as the opposite of understanding the reality through mystery and magic (Allan 2005 p151).

Here it is noted that cultural values and beliefs may impact upon a cost/benefit calculation in the process of patronage. As already noted a persistent feature of some described as patrons has been the desire to realise qualities of architecture other than the utilitarian or economic. They may be motivated by some personal faith and belief. The question then concerns the role of the patron in making a conscious intervention in the built environment which is not 'rational' in the sense of being driven primarily by an economic cost/ benefit analysis to meet some utilitarian need. An aspect of Weber's theories on rationalisation can then be considered as regards the actions of individuals leading organisations. That is to achieve personal or corporate objectives through architectural patronage there may be a form of 'rationalisation'. This was alluded to

earlier concerning the translation of symbolic or cultural objectives into promised benefits. In short, an initiative which may be motivated by the (conditioned) faith and belief of an individual may be more successfully realised through the exercise of compensatory power. That is by placing greater emphasis on the tangible and more quantifiable benefits to others than persuading them to share the same level of belief in, say, the architectural merit of the proposed development.

The converse must be addressed in that appeals may be made to faith and belief or assertions made as to other qualities in projects which are primarily concerned with the realisation of maximum financial benefit to the promoter. That is then another form of 'rationalisation' which can produce instances of 'faux patronage'.

In either case a successful outcome may turn on the ability of an individual to take personal responsibility and exercise effective leadership. The emphasis is then on Personality as an ability to instil wider belief in aspirational development and to maintain trust and confidence in the course of its implementation.

McCulloch (2014) sought to clarify Weber's analysis of charisma arguing that charismatic leaders are not born but are made. Charismatic leadership emerges when both the person and the situation are meshed in an exceptional combination. He suggests that charismatic leadership, which can lead to charismatic rule, is something that is made by two key parts. That is "*the misplaced use of ruling class patronage in times of deep and desperate social schism*" and "*small groups in which 'charismatic transformation' can take place*" (McCulloch 2014 pps2-3). McCulloch places greater emphasis on the latter and charismatic leadership as the product of an intense communal experience within a group with a handful of members.

In the course of his study Mc Culloch distinguishes between 'glamour' and charisma and a further caveat can also be made on the qualities of

leadership required for effective patronage. This concerns the demagogue who might rise to power by appealing to popular desires and prejudices rather than by using rational argument. Conditioned power is thereby exercised by articulating and mobilising popular sentiment. Such power can be consolidated (often temporarily) by forms of patronage which may appeal to low common denominators. In examining such circumstances reference can again be made to Flyvbjerg's observation that dialogue can become persuasive rhetoric.

In illustrating some of the foregoing issues reference can be made to the interventions of Charles, Prince of Wales whose intercession in matters relating to architecture and the built environment is well documented (Jencks 1988; Pawley 1990; Jamieson 2009; Moore 2009). Ten years before his 1984 'monstrous carbuncle' speech to the Royal Institution of British Architects the Prince of Wales suggested that '*...he must do what he can by influence, not by power*' (Harris 1974 no pagination). It can be argued that influence IS the exercise of power and this short statement by the Prince may be tested against theories on authority. Of Weber's three types of legitimate rule any deference to the Prince's views might be attributed to traditional authority and the symbolic capital vested in a constitutional monarchy. Sennett (1980) associated authority with characteristics which critics of the Prince may find difficult to identify, such as superior judgement, the ability to impose discipline and an image of strength. Over the course of several decades he has, however, demonstrated what Sennett describes as "*....the will of one person prevailing over the will of the other*" (Sennett 1980 p18).

A final more general observation concerns personality defined as characteristic differences in patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving. It is then necessary to take account of individual behaviour as regards personal commitment, attitude and ability in the process of commissioning buildings. Numerous individuals within organisations may exercise power at different levels which will affect the final outcome. In practice there will

be dialogue between many organisations and that will be conducted by such individuals. Their conduct may be adversarial or collaborative, intransigent or flexible. This might also be informed by the level or instrument of power that one party *thinks* they have, their inclination to wield it and the personal advantage they might gain from doing so.

This 'human element' will also be a factor within organisations and behaviour influenced by personal ambition, sense of responsibility and commitment to the objective at hand. Also, the sponsor of an aspirational development may not be the head or overall leader of the organisation that will implement it. Relationships between that individual and superior or inferior colleagues necessary to secure support may be coloured by purely personal issues. In this respect Galbraith's use of the term Personality to categorize a source of power presents a range of possible scenarios which must be taken into account in any close examination of the human action that produces urban form. In an organisational context that action, as the interplay of individuals, influences the decisions which in turn shape the outcome.

2.4.2 Organization

“Organization, the most important source of power in modern societies, has its foremost relationship with conditioned power. It is taken for granted that when an exercise of power is sought or needed, organization is required. From the organization, then come the requisite persuasion and the resulting submission to the purposes of the organization” (Galbraith 1983 pps 6-7)

This then prompts the reminder that the primary associations made by Galbraith between the three instruments by which power is exercised and the corresponding sources are not exclusive. There are numerous combinations of the sources and the instruments of power. Personality, property and organization are combined in various strengths with varying

combinations of instruments for the enforcement of power. Whilst its foremost relationship is with conditioned power, organization, in the form of the State, has access to condign power and diverse forms of punishment. Other organized groups may be dependent on varying access to compensatory power of which they are possessed and may thus acquire purchase conditioned power through the promise that reward will be forthcoming (Galbraith 1983 p7).

Giddens (1990) offers four characteristics or 'institutional dimensions' of power, authority and the State which are;

1. Surveillance and the control of information and social supervision
2. Capitalism and the accumulation of profit and capital
3. Military Power, its industrialisation and control of the means of violence
4. Industrialism, including development of the 'created environment'.

These can be seen to correspond with the sources and instruments of power outlined by Galbraith. Giddens places emphasis on the meaning of power as 'transformative capacity' and the ability to make a difference in the world. Also consistent with earlier points is his view that any social action has consequences which may go against the vested interests of others. As regards the State and its agencies the organisations relevant to this study are those that;

- a) Exercise a 'transformative capacity' in directly commissioning works which improve the built environment or;
- b) Regulate development which might degrade the environment.

The former may be governed by regulations concerned with the exercise of probity. The latter may place constraints on the autonomous action of individuals and other organisations.

Here it is suggested that the powers of the State in matters relating to aspirational development must be examined by reference to its priorities in allocating such resources. This again relates to the mandate given to a democratic government through the electoral process and the commitment of that government to realising such aspiration. In practical terms these will be realised through organisations in the form of the departments and agencies of government.

We return then to Galbraith who offers an interesting proposition on the bi-modal symmetry of conditioned power which is relevant to architectural patronage by organizations. Galbraith suggests that a characteristic of organization as a source of power is that the strength and reliability of such power depends upon the depth and certainty of the internal submission. His proposition that an organization might only win external submission to its purposes by securing submission within its ranks can be tested by the examination of publicly funded projects which are perceived to have failed in some respects. Such failure may be attributed to a lack of determination or loss of will and resolution of those within an organization with a consequent lowering of design and construction standards or in aspirational projects being aborted.

A contributory factor to be considered is the wider loss of public confidence due to a perceived lack of certainty or commitment on the part of those promoting aspirational development. What may be defined as a characteristic of effective patronage- determination and commitment to produce buildings and places of evident quality- may be seen to be lacking.

A further observation on organisational power made by Galbraith is that there is an association between the power of an organization and the number and diversity of the purposes for which submission is sought. Therefore the more diverse the purposes on which an organization seeks to enforce its power; the weaker it will be in gaining submission to any one of them. Galbraith (1983 p57) states that this is “..with the notable

exception of the State". That qualification can be examined as regards the allocation of adequate resources by the state and its agencies to aspirational urban design. This is relevant to the implementation of objectives by various departments or agencies of the state. In that respect reference can be made to the study of decision making by Graham Allison which, as outlined by Hall (1980 pps192-194), offers three models;

1. The **rational actor paradigm**. This assumes that action results from a unitary object, called a nation or government which has a single set of goals, options, consequences and alternatives.
2. The **organizational process paradigm**. In this, decision-making results from established routines and procedures within organizations in which the actors do not form a unity but a constellation of individuals in organizations with (government) leaders at the top. Problems are factored into sub-problems and are then acted upon by individuals whose powers are limited.
3. The **governmental (bureaucratic) politics paradigm**. This assumes that decision making (by government) is resultant from conflict, compromise and confusion among individuals whose behaviour must be understood in terms of game-playing.

The first of these paradigms or principles can be seen to correspond with the traditional or historical action of the autocratic patron as the 'rational actor' who has a focussed goal, calculates the benefit and cost, makes the necessary decision and directs an organisation to implement it. Elements of the second and third can be discerned in the commissioning of works by the state and will be considered as contributory factors in the perceived failure of publicly funded projects. The third paradigm echoes the earlier observations on the 'battlefield problematic' offered by Bentley (1999) and the 'strategies and tactics' view of power by Flyvbjerg (1998). In the

examination of further views on bureaucracy the earlier points made on the role of individual personalities within organisations can also be developed further.

2.4.3 Bureaucracy

The complexity of major development projects necessitates engagement with many organisations. As has already been noted, those concerned with the control and regulation can be presented as a countervailing force to 'good' or innovatory urban design. 'Bureaucracy' has become synonymous with overly complex administrative systems and restrictive procedures. This apprehension of constraint on the innovator or entrepreneur is a recurring theme of the enterprise discourse in a neoliberal economic climate. It is therefore of relevance to the further research in that those who hold that view may also be inclined to regard much regulation and most guidance emanating from the State as 'paternalistic'. They may also oppose as a matter of principle any State intervention in (property) markets.

What must also be considered are other measures and initiatives taken by the State intended to improve the quality of the built environment for the benefit and well-being of wider society. These may also be perceived to be 'bureaucratic' by designers who might view guidance as prescriptive or commercial/ market interests who anticipate additional costs and/or delay. In short, those who desire greater autonomy in matters relating to development may be inclined to attribute any perceived impediment to the exercise of their free will by other agencies as 'bureaucracy'.

Weber argued that the coordination of activity is essential in the modern age. That is through bureaucracies organized according to rational principles with offices ranked in a hierarchical order according to specialized qualifications. These are governed by methodical allocation of areas of jurisdiction, delimited spheres of duty and their operations

characterized by impersonal rules. The Weberian perspective is that bureaucratic types of organization are superior to other forms of administration and instrumental in shaping the modern polity, economy and technology (Cosser 1977 pps 228-230).

The positive representation of (the ideal) bureaucracy is then;

".. the equal treatment of citizens, disassociation from value-laden aspects of human life and impartial conduct free from status, social background or party political considerations." (Armbruster 2002 p89)

du Gay (2005) offers an interpretation of Weber's work that presents bureaucracy as an essential feature of liberal democracy. His argument is that a politicised managerialism has changed the nature of state administration and that its inefficiencies are attributed to 'bureaucracy'. He suggests that the role of the civil servant and the contribution of bureaucracy must be reconsidered. There is then an attempt to reclaim the 'ethical dignity' of the bureaucrat. For example, Albro (1977) supported Weber's analysis of bureaucracies in his definition of them as;

"Social units in which individuals are conscious of their membership and legitimise their co-operative activities primarily by reference to attainment of impersonal goals rather than moral standards" (Albro 1977 p1).

du Gay counters a criticism that bureaucrats may follow instructions slavishly regardless of moral implications by suggesting that a substantive rational pursuit of moral ends is not always itself ethically desirable. There must then be consideration as to how the principles of the 'ideal' bureaucracy might inevitably conflict with the way that patronage has traditionally been exercised. The exercise of power by many of those described as patrons historically has seldom evidenced a commitment to equality, impartiality or any disassociation from social status and party-political interest. In that respect patronage has been the antithesis of the Weberian concept of bureaucracy.

As regards the effective implementation of development it can be argued that du Gay is defending and advancing what may be regarded an 'ideal' bureaucracy. In reality bureaucracies seldom realise the positive conception that du Gay assigns to them. In short, the ethos is good but the practice is frequently bad. It has, for example, been noted that there is a lot of patronage within bureaucracies (Fournier and Grey 1999 p119). Earlier reference was made to McCourt (2014) and the negative aspects of patronage in public appointments.

It is therefore necessary to examine the ways in which bureaucracies can oppose, inhibit or prevent the realisation of aspirational objectives. The further research will also consider the limitations of bureaucratic organisations to fully realise such objectives. An aspect of publicly funded projects is, for example, that those responsible for implementation will not necessarily be those that initiated them. Factors to be investigated concern the commitment, competence and competing or conflicting objectives and accountability of those within organisations.

"As soon as good ideas assume organisational form the 'crooked timber of humanity'...accounts for a practice that inevitably leads to a distortion or deformation of the idea, and this cannot be disregarded in the assessment of the idea." (Armbruster 2002 p91)

A practical issue to be addressed is the disparity of skills, or knowledge, between those who set the design aspiration and the numerous other actors that might influence its implementation.

2.4.4 Knowledge

It is noted that *knowledge* was not separately classified or addressed by Galbraith as an instrument or source of power. As regards the exercise of power it can be considered as a property, tool or commodity. It may be termed a resource commanded by an individual or an organisation and/or

an instrument of power which can be deployed to punish, reward or change belief.

As outlined earlier (qv p29) the 'knowledge power' of the architect is a factor that may determine the degree of creative autonomy commanded. Knowledge, as an aesthetic appreciation or a technical understanding of architecture and urban space is often a characteristic of those described as patrons. This can be expressed as the exercise of the powers of *discernment* by those commissioning buildings. Knowledge, as a resource, and its application in the commissioning of architecture then leads to further consideration of recurring issues relating to the determination to realise particular qualities or standards.

An aspect of the research concerns questions as to what constitutes knowledge, how it is produced and defined. Actions and relationships described as patronage may be seen to be part of that process in that architects, their patrons and those that write about architecture have attempted to define what constitutes 'quality' development. Some have sought to advance architectural development and establish new technical standards. Others have demonstrated their aesthetic tastes or preferences as to other qualities through the medium of architecture.

As to the exercise of discernment the assessment of what may be 'good or bad' buildings and places is subjective but can be said to be a given at the extremes. That is to say that the majority of the population would be able to recognise and distinguish between monumental urban spaces with outstanding architecture and a squalid dystopian built environment. There is, in that sense, an instinctive appreciation or evaluation of the qualities of architecture and urban form by those in wider society who use or visit such buildings and urban spaces. This may not correspond with the appraisal of an architectural historian or academic.

Bourdieu and Johnson (1993) refuted the quasi-scientific notion of three levels of (art) appreciation proffered by Panofsky (1939) which were;

1. 'Naïve beholders' – a literal recognition of the subject and its expressive qualities
2. 'Educated beholders' – a recognition of conventional symbols and iconography as understood at the time of viewing and
3. 'Art historians' – recognition that (the painting) was the result of the artist working strategically within a social context.

As noted earlier, Bourdieu argued that the competence of an 'educated beholder' was a product of a cultivated upbringing, repeated exposure to culture and education (Webster 2011 pps 36-37). What must be recognised is that the appreciation of the qualities of buildings and places will differ across society. The original intentions of the patron and designer may not be widely understood at the time and perceptions and appreciation of the place created will also change over time. There may also be an associative reading of the built environment by both 'naïve' and 'educated' beholders influenced by its iconography, symbolism, historical events or current use.

It is, however, the intent and motivation to realise particular qualities in architecture that might distinguish those described as patrons from other promoters or sponsors of development. Some distinctions have been made between these in the foregoing review of the instruments by which power might be exercised and the resources which must necessarily be commanded to realise such qualities. In the context of this research the key point is that the exercise of discernment by the promoter of development can be challenged and opposed by others in a democratic society.

It is therefore necessary to consider the qualities that may be desired by the patron and also attract the attribution of patronage by the aforementioned 'beholders'.

2.5 The qualities of that produced

Issues relating to the qualities of architecture and places attributed to patronage are considered further in this section for several reasons. The first relates specifically to references to patronage in the literature reviewed. Buildings and places which are included in architectural histories have implied or explicit qualities. They can be said to be 'extra-ordinary' in representing that which is beyond what is usual, or exceptional in character and thereby noteworthy or remarkable. As has been noted there is then a body of literature which lists buildings and places what are, in the opinion of the author, worthy of note. Such literature may be concerned with buildings and places which are considered 'good' or suggested as being 'the best' of their type (q.v. p30). Where they are ascribed to a patron such buildings will often be cited as exhibiting particular qualities.

A challenge presented by the review of literature is the inconsistency in application of the terms patron and patronage by authors. Also, it is perhaps self-evident that architectural texts will be primarily concerned with architectural qualities. There are then conflicting views among respected authors as to the merits of particular buildings and those that produce them. Furthermore, acts of patronage, or beneficence, may produce places which are valued by others in society but have little architectural distinction. Conversely buildings may be brought into being which are praised by architectural critics, and their sponsors described as patrons, which fail as regards other qualities.

Given that the role of the patron in determining the required qualities to be achieved is a factor identified in the review of literature it is therefore necessary to consider issues arising which may inform the research. For example, the term patron might be attributed to those who have supported and enabled the advance of the arts of design through some aesthetic or technical innovation. Issues relevant to this research then concern the perceived risk of departure from established design and

construction methods and the ability of the patron to bear such risk. There are examples of buildings and places which are said to have been the product of patronage that have been influential in terms of design innovation but;

- a) have fallen short as regards structural or other qualities or,
- b) created urban environments which may be considered to have 'bad' qualities.

Also, design innovation is not a defining characteristic of patronage in itself. The term may be used in reference to the replication of that which has been implemented elsewhere. In such cases those described as patrons have enabled the transfer of design skills, knowledge and technology and/or provided the resources for the realisation of such development in the UK. The term patronage might then refer to a process which supports the creation of places which display particular qualities.

The foregoing issues are considered first by reference to the physical qualities of buildings before moving to other less tangible qualities that might better define the characteristics of patronage.

2.5.1 Tangible/ Physical Qualities

The Vitruvian qualities of durability, utility and beauty in architectural design (Pollio et al. 2009) do not define the product of patronage. These qualities can be said to be 'universal' in the sense that they inform contemporary building and planning regulations which govern all development. Such qualities do, however, serve to introduce issues relevant to the study of patronage as follows.

Durability.

Durability may be attributed to the physical qualities of materials and finishes. There can then be an element of patronage in the commitment of necessary financial and other resources in procuring the required

materials. Historically the incorporation of expensive, and often imported, materials has been a feature of structures intended to signal the influence of the individual or organisation that commissioned the works.

Permanence and solidity has also been a feature of many structures attributed to patronage. That is to say that they embody and publicly display the intention of the individual or organisation associated with them to remain in occupation over an extended period. In some instances the appearance of such qualities is achieved by design and artifice.

Conversely, many influential structures referred to as the product of patronage have been intentionally temporary, notably prototype buildings constructed for exhibitions and fairs. Examples include;

- The structures created for royal tournaments, masques, processions and events in the C16th and C17th from which designs were developed and evolved for subsequent buildings. (Summerson 1966; Harris et al. 1973; Hart 2011)
- The Crystal Palace built for the Great Exhibition of 1851 and its influence in demonstrating the potential of glazed metal framed system building ((Auerbach 1999).
- The Soviet and Nazi pavilions at the 1937 International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life in Paris which embodied the opposing totalitarian regimes and the architecture associated with them (Hayward Gallery 1995).

Durability alone is not then a defining feature of patronage but the permanence of buildings raises some relevant issues. The first is that appreciation of their aesthetic or other qualities can change and positive attributes attach to them retrospectively. They may need to be sufficiently robust for such places to be better appreciated over time. Buildings widely regarded as outré when constructed may be assimilated through familiarity or become more widely accepted through changing tastes and cycles of

fashion. There may then be a retrospective attribution of patronage to those that brought them into being.

A related issue concerns buildings which become more widely recognised as having significance in terms of cultural heritage and the relationship between patronage and patrimony. Some buildings are conserved and protected simply because they are of great age. An ambiguity that can arise is that the structures may not have been produced by patronage but those who later acquire them and ensure their conservation might be described as patrons.

Utility.

The longevity of buildings and places may also depend on their continued utility, functionality, adaptability or other factors. Again this is not a defining feature of patronage whereas the requirement that buildings and places remain useful can be seen to be of some importance to those termed clients. Occupational demand underpins the commercial or economic value of property and such measures of worth might be considered a tangible quality. This is then relevant to the examination of constraints on patronage which arise through the demand for quantifiable measures of assessment required by those accountable for public expenditure.

Some other points concerning utility can be made by reference to the emergence of modernist architecture which, in its inception, prioritised that quality as an objective in itself. However, advancement of the modernist cause was largely achieved by the support of those described as patrons. At one extreme these were industrial or commercial concerns that benefitted from the functionality afforded by such buildings. At the other were wealthy individuals who commissioned residential property which, in some notable instances, failed to meet their quotidian needs. In several cases such houses did not satisfy the utilitarian requirements of those who

commissioned them but they achieved immortality as patrons of architecture (Esher 1981pp37-39; Wolfe 1981) .

It can also be noted that structures which invariably require patronage as a means of bringing them into being are follies or buildings that have no 'purpose' other than the intention to ornament and enhance the landscape (Headley and Meulenkamp 1986; Headley and Meulenkamp 1990).

Beauty.

Those described as patrons are most often (but not exclusively) associated with the commission and creation of visually interesting or attractive buildings rather than those of purely utilitarian purpose. The assessment of aesthetic qualities is, however, bound to those of utility and durability as the popularity of a given style may change over a lengthy period.

Historically those described as patrons commanded the private means and autonomy to realise their opinion as to what constituted beauty. That has often meant the imposition of personal taste but there are also numerous instances of patronage following fashion.

The suggestion has been made that a distinction can be made between quality and taste in that;

"It is possible to be objective about quality; taste on the other hand remains largely subjective – a matter of personal feelings or opinions. Quality is also enduring, while taste and fashion change. Though undefinable, quality is immediately recognisable." (Carmona and Tiesdell 2007)

However, taste and fashion raise important issues as regards later observations on intangible qualities. For example, the adoption of a fashion might represent a form of symbolic or cultural capital by association and/or demonstrate the exercise of some discernment or discretionary choice.

In the examination of contemporary patronage, consideration must be given to the question as to whether particular trends in urban design or regeneration might be considered a 'fashion'. Also, those engaged in the commissioning of publicly funded development in the modern era invariably find themselves accountable to wider society for the appearance of that which they have chosen to build. Matters relating to aesthetics are then unavoidable in this research but this does not seek to define what may be 'good' or 'bad' architecture and urbanism. It is more analogous with the sociology of art and its primary focus is on patronage as the process of production, not what is produced.

Such production must also be considered in its social, political and economic context. Much legislation relates to the requirement that buildings are structurally sound and fit for purpose but aesthetic considerations also inform the regulatory regime. In the regulation of development aesthetic goals are then contested by social, economic or political priorities. It is also necessary to examine instances where aesthetic improvements to the built environment are a stated objective of 'urban regeneration' and other initiatives. Such aims may be rationalised in terms of desired economic benefit rather than advanced on any cultural or social rationale.

Issues relating to aesthetic quality have been problematic in regulatory systems. In the context of this study they relate to the free will of the individual and its constraint in the interests of wider society. Unlike the aristocrats of yore, prospective patrons cannot now build what they want, where they want. Suggesting what may be desirable to build is no less problematic than what may be regarded by some as prescriptive regulation. Design guidance may be perceived to restrict innovation and creative design by those who aspire to architectural patronage.

Aesthetics as an appreciation of an arrangement of physical elements and their qualities and beauty can therefore be considered a tangible quality.

Such appreciation may attract wider admiration and serve to articulate and elevate wider aspiration (Pallasmaa 2012). By redefining the aesthetic qualities that are attributed to buildings and places patronage has influenced architectural and urban development historically.

As with changes in aesthetic appreciation and taste, other cultural values and associations evolve and change. Places gain, and lose, political, cultural or social significance over time. As regards these less tangible qualities we can consider first a quality attributed to patronage historically and then one claimed by more modern promoters of development who may purport to be patrons of architecture. The first of these provides a transition from the tangible to the intangible and that relates to monumental qualities.

The 'monumental'.

This may imply the tangible quality of size and scale that will be instinctively recognised by anyone. The term 'monument' is also applied to structures that are generally recognised as important architectural and/or cultural heritage sites. These may not be the product of patronage but are respected and valued by social groups as a remembrance of historic times, events, people, cultural activity or beliefs. Such associations are less tangible and may be entirely subjective, viewed differently by opposing groups or subject to revision over time.

Patronage can, however, be motivated by the specific intention of such commemoration or glorification. In that respect this quality again relates to the earlier consideration of the related word 'patrimony' as meaning both inheritance and heritage. There is then an underlying question as to how patronage has added, and might add to, that. Also to be considered are conspicuous failures to achieve that objective and prominent among these were some commemorations of the 2000 Millennium which will be examined later.

The 'iconic' building.

The second issue concerns references to 'iconic' qualities or 'landmark' buildings (Bachmann and Thiel-Siling 1998; Jencks 2005). The use of such terms has increased in the modern era and is of relevance to later case studies. Here they are introduced to signal that such descriptions are problematic in several respects. For example, the claims regularly made as to the 'iconic' qualities of proposed buildings by the supporters of development. These might be interpreted as a desire to present themselves as patrons of architecture and thereby secure consent for that which might otherwise be refused.

There are also connotations of superficiality which can be associated with the word 'icon' through its use in information technology. In that instance it suggests the reduction of the built form to a small simple and readily recognised logo that might fit on a ticket, badge or piece of merchandising. In that respect the term 'iconic' has relevance to consumerism, marketing and branding which might influence forms of development. The question to be noted is then the 'icon' as a symbol and such distinctions as may be made between such superficiality and more resonant symbolism.

2.6 Intangible Qualities

From the preceding points made on the less tangible qualities that may be attributed to monuments we can briefly consider the concept of 'charismatic space'. People may be attracted to a public space due to a particular activity or it may have some cultural heritage association as the scene of a historic event. The sense of place that may attach purely through circumstance cannot then be attributed to patronage. Conversely the intention and motivation to create places to accommodate or foster such activity or association can be termed patronage.

Terlouw (2010) suggested that types of 'spatial charisma' could be constructed to consider symbolic places based on Weber's distinction between traditional and bureaucratic regimes. Although Weber did not include the role of space in his analysis of charisma, Terlouw's proposition was that, briefly;

- a) Heritage sites and monuments are used by traditional regimes to legitimise their rule by looking back to their charismatic origins, while;
- b) futuristic places are used to convince the population that bureaucratic regimes will provide a brighter future .

It was recognised that, in reality, these are almost always mixed and both types of charismatic places will be found in Nation-states (Terlouw 2010 p8).

The recurrent point is that 'charisma', whether that of an individual or a place, is not an innate characteristic but may be created by circumstances which will inevitably change over time. In that respect it can be noted that buildings originally created for exclusive private use may have subsequently passed into public ownership. Such places may be recognised as being of superior quality or importance to wider society. This again relates to the relationship between patronage and patrimony where those described as patrons may be said to have added to the cultural landscape. As defined by the World Heritage Committee's Operational Guidelines that is the landscape most deliberately 'shaped' by people and highly valued for its religious, artistic or cultural associations (Mitchell et al. 2009). The natural landscape may also be endowed with such associations but in this study we are concerned with the planned creation of buildings and places which intentionally embody other aspirations.

2.6.1 Symbolic and Cultural capital

The concepts of Symbolic and Cultural Capital developed by Bourdieu have been introduced as they may be applied to the analysis of the relevant

powers deployed by patrons and their motivation. As noted by Harvey (2012 p103), Bourdieu restricts such terms to individuals but the collective forms, and the relation of individuals to those collective forms, are also of interest.

For example, it is suggested that Symbolic and Cultural capital can also be physically embodied in the built environment, as may be evidenced by the hierarchy of property types presented in some literature. Also, as noted earlier, this hierarchy can be explicit in either academic literature or general guidebooks. The latter almost invariably list the 'top sights' of a city or town which will include buildings and places that have symbolic or cultural significance. The places described reflect the powers prevailing at the time they were created. In that respect major financial centres will contain notable buildings and places created with primarily commercial expectations and display characteristics that evince them to be the product of commercial patronage. They may nevertheless be invested with symbolic or cultural capital. It is then necessary to consider the relationships and processes which intentionally create such places.

Bourdieu argued that through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Classical periods, artists were controlled by the external legitimising authority of the church, aristocracy and the State who dictated art production including its subject matter, form and style. During the 19th century artists were able to achieve a greater degree of autonomy due to the capital of the growing bourgeoisie and its associated critics, dealers, salons and commercial galleries. Bourdieu described this 'field' as consisting of agents who shared the same world view but were themselves engaged in competition for control over what could be said and done within that field. This 'competition for control' is apparent in several periods of architectural development historically and has persisted through the 20th century to the present day. The role of the architectural patron in the attempted definition, or imposition, of taste is then noted.

Also of relevance is Bourdieu's elaboration of the concept of an autonomous field of cultural production by suggesting it was split into two parts: the field of restricted production (FRP) and the field of large scale production (FLP) which served two distinctly separate markets, each ascribing a different relative value, or capital, to the commercial or symbolic content of cultural goods (Bourdieu 1984b). This theme can be explored further in the definition of patronage which does, in many instances, accord with the field of restricted production where;

- a) the economic value of the product was secondary to its symbolic value and
- b) there is longer term accumulation and gestation of symbolic capital by producers and consumers alike.

The producers will be, in this instance, the patron/designer/builder and the 'consumer' the occupier/user or wider public. In the field of restricted production the patron is not dependent on an external market and has the range of powers, including wealth, which permits such autonomy. In the field of large-scale production economic profit has primacy over symbolic value and that field is, in consequence, orientated toward short-term profit. The production of buildings and places to serve an immediate and large-scale market external to the field must then respond to and defer to its values.

These can then be important factors in establishing the differentiation between the patron of architecture and the client of architects or a commercial developer of property. The patron, historically, has usually been able to operate independently from property markets. Therefore any increased costs incurred in the commissioning of a building are measured not against the open market value of that property but another set of values. This again distinguishes patronage from development undertaken in response to 'market signals'. The key point to note here is that a feature of that described as the product of patronage will usually be its singularity. A building or place so described will, in some ways, usually be (relatively)

unique. It may then have the 'one-of-a kind' value alluded to by Benjamin (1936 p11).

In the examination of patronage attention must then be given to development which aspires to represent Symbolic and Cultural Capital.

2.6.2 Social Capital

The concept of Social Capital must be mentioned here for clarification.

Public places and features of the built environment such as parks and public space, community amenities and facilities associated with the patronage of individuals and institutions could be termed 'social capital'. This could, however, conflict with other uses of the term. For example Jacobs (1961) used it to explain the inherent value formed in neighbourhood relationships which allowed members to cooperate and establish a communal sense of trust.

Bourdieu defined social capital as follows:

“Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. (*Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p119*)

It is then the degree to which actors are capable of subsisting together in social structures that are often heterogeneous in nature. Where symbolic capital is earned on an individual basis, and may fluctuate widely between members in a community, social capital is then used to describe the overarching sense of trust and cooperation that actors in an environment possess in between one another. An actor may possess symbolic capital while isolating themselves from the community, resulting in a low level of social capital, or vice versa.

This would now appear to be the more widely accepted meaning of the term social capital and for clarity those physical urban features or facilities produced by acts of patronage may be better described as public amenity. The point must be noted in that such features may not in themselves advance the arts of urban design or embody other qualities. In such cases it is the action of the benefactor in providing the amenity that may be symbolic or adds to the cultural landscape in the provision of such amenity.

2.6.3 Summary

A finding of the review of literature is that the term patron may be ascribed to those who have enabled forms of development which display notable qualities. Historically those so described have commanded the necessary knowledge and exercised powers of discernment in the commissioning of development. In so doing they have placed greater emphasis on achieving qualities that may differ from those stipulated by other promoters of development.

That said, there is no consensus among architectural authors and critics as to what the desirable qualities are or consistency in their use of the terms patron and patronage. The buildings or places produced will nonetheless display or embody particular qualities which distinguish them from others which are not attributed to the process of patronage. Broadly this may be some cultural significance or symbolic resonance or a singularity that endows them with such distinction.

This research is concerned with the specific intention to create such places and it is therefore necessary to consider the qualities that are desired and are the object of such aspiration in contemporary publicly funded development. The desire and intent to commit the necessary resources to achieving such objectives must then be examined as a characteristic that might define patronage.

2.7 Motivation and intent

The commitment of resources, financial or otherwise, to the commissioning and construction of any building will be impelled by a range of factors. As noted these may be primarily utilitarian, for direct financial gain or for other reasons. Here consideration is given to the aspiration that the proposed development will embody other qualities and have some symbolic significance and/or cultural value. The examination of that intention serves to draw together foregoing issues and summarise the characteristics that may better define patronage. These then assist the refinement of research questions for further investigation. First, some observations must be made from the review of literature.

From that review it can be concluded that the motives of those described as patrons may be entirely self-serving or intended to have benefit to wider society. The intentions and objectives attributed to specific patrons by architectural historians are, however, outlined only to illustrate a 'range' of possible motivation. An issue that will be explored is that such objectives might be misinterpreted or misrepresented in such literature and this will, in turn, inform the development of an appropriate methodology.

It is then, as a generality, that objectives might be broadly aligned with the instruments of power outlined earlier. For example, the perception of reward can be noted as an incentive for the deliberate and systematic commitment of resources in support of a project. The compensatory benefit may be financial gain, enhanced societal status or other perceived reward. Those described as patrons may seek recognition or enhanced status through the approval of a peer group, a social, economic, cultural or political elite or public acclaim in wider society. Individuals have used surplus capital to achieve upward social mobility thereby translating realisable wealth into status. That higher social status may then permit the accumulation of greater wealth.

Conditioning can also be seen to have been a persistent factor whether through personal conviction or beliefs or in submission to the goals of an organisation or a wider group in society. Faith and belief as a motivation for patronage is most apparent in buildings and places associated with organised religion but, as noted, secular architecture has frequently been informed by some ideology. There is also a range of possible motivation among those individuals and organisations that have created public buildings and places for cultural activity. These include those impelled by a genuine belief that it is the right and decent thing to do and is in the interests of public. Others may wish to establish or consolidate cultural leadership. In this respect patronage can be the response of an individual or organisation to a perceived need in society or they may wish to influence or change society. In both cases there are issues relating to *paternalism*. The promoters may not seek public approval but wish to advance an ideology by demonstrating the potential for change through the exercise of their will and powers.

Condign power may initially appear the least relevant if interpreted as an individual or organisation being coerced into an act of patronage. Construed as a threat of censure, disfavour or unpopularity it can also be seen to have motivated several individuals referred to as patrons historically. It might then be considered as a negative consequence of not engaging in an act of patronage. Condign power is, however, more likely to be discerned in actions which might constrain or impede aspirational development.

In the following diagram various motives that can be ascribed to patrons are illustrated and arranged to suggest an order or disposition of such intentions. At one extreme may be the public benefactor, a patron who has effectively gifted surplus capital for works which benefit wider society. At the other are those who might commission exemplary architecture for entirely self-serving objectives.

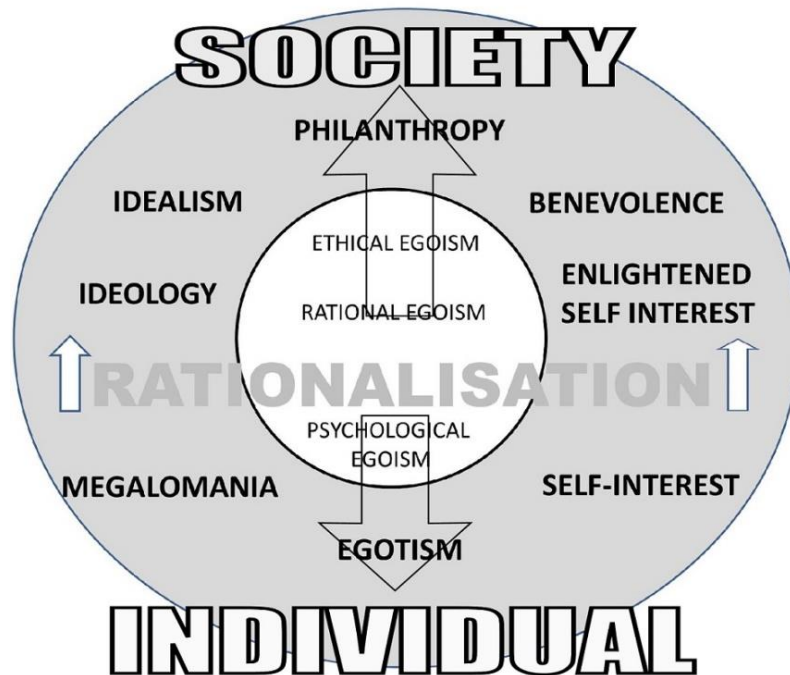


Figure 2 The cycle of possible motivation

A purpose of this diagram is to illustrate and develop the earlier point that possible motives might be broadly identified but the actual or true intention of the patron obfuscated by a variety of factors. The importance of questioning even apparently unequivocal statements of intent relate to the development of suitable research methodology. The issues can be introduced by reference to the 'zone of rationalisation' included in the diagram. That indicates where claims may be made on patronage by those who seek to secure the necessary approval to pursue development or use the language of patronage as post – rationalisation or self-justification for a course of action taken. For example, to present self-interest as having societal benefit or enshroud personal ambition in some doctrine.

In moving to consider the actions of individuals within organisations and the promotion of publicly funded projects questions arise as to who is setting the aspiration as to quality, why and to what benefit. Such questions have a bearing on the support that may be secured for the

venture and the powers that might be deployed in opposition to it. Essentially, the motives of those promoting aspirational development which is publicly funded can be questioned and examined in an open democracy. There may then be instances where the aspirations of an individual may be understated as regards aesthetics or other qualities and emphasis placed on claims relating to the material benefits of the proposed development for the wider community.

Through the review of literature many examples of egomania and megalomania can be noted and edifices erected by autocrats and dictators attributed to their patronage. Over the course of time such structures can be absorbed as part of our built heritage or public amenity. At the other extreme are those well- intentioned utopian projects motivated by altruism which are perceived to have failed. Some such paradoxes are addressed by the titular question put by Moore in 'Why We Build?' (2012) He does not address the question of motivation in any academic detail but makes frequent references to power. As to its use, and misuse, Moore is perhaps unequivocal in suggesting that the end justified the means in the case of the patronage of the Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi by Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand Bandeira de Melo (known as Chato).

“Chato was a certain type of benevolent despot, a man for whom his own elevation and that of his nation were part of the same grand theatre, and for whom exploitation and generosity were part of a single tissue of taking and giving. Other tycoons, some dictators, perhaps some criminal bosses, some Renaissance Popes, have shown similar tendencies. Sometimes beauty has been the result, sometimes bombast. What is striking about MASP is that Chato’s egotism, power and semi-legal wealth were transmuted, through Lina Bo Bardi’s architecture, into something for and of the public” (Moore 2012 p160)

Moore moves on to discuss the intimate relationship of architecture and power and the recurring fondness of dictators for commissioning buildings.

He touches on the work of Speer, Haussman and others and advances the proposition that there is no absolute correlation between the powers that shape a place and the relationships of power that the space shapes. The review of those described as patrons historically would support his observation that “...mean people can make generous places and vice versa” (Moore 2012 p199).

Sudjic (2005) also places some emphasis on megalomania and the attraction of architects to those who exercise authoritarian power. This, he concludes, is an ‘incurable condition’ and that architects are presented with more opportunities for work by totalitarians, egotists and monomaniacs than they are by liberal democracies (Sudjic 2005 p433). Post-Franco Barcelona and the Netherlands are noted as atypical exceptions which follow in the tradition of small states using architecture to demonstrate their visibility. It is also recognised that it can be used “..by reforming mayors looking to transform their cities for the better” (Sudjic 2005 p434).

There is then the motivation of enhancing national or civic status to consider and the manner, sources and instruments of power exercised in achieving particular objectives which differ between democracies and authoritarian regimes. As regards the objectives for major metropolitan projects the works of Baron Haussman have, for example, accumulated a certain mythology. The construction of the Paris boulevards can be attributed to a military objective (Moore 2012 pps184-185) but the motivation for the ‘Hausmanisation’ of Paris can be seen to be far more complex than that. There was also the pressing utilitarian necessity of greatly improving the sanitary, public health and wellbeing of the citizens of Paris. Other considerations, not least the positive and negative outcomes of such works are well documented (Jordan 1995; Benjamin 1999; Weeks 1999; Carmona 2002; Harvey 2006).

Tinniswood (1998) considers Paris, Berlin, Rome, Moscow and other locations in his historical outline of ambition and architecture. The range of objectives and sources of modern patronage is illustrated in the concluding chapter entitled 'Prestige in a Democratic Age'. That includes structures as diverse as the corporate patronage of the AT&T Building in New York, the Grands Projets of Francois Mitterand in Paris, the 'bid for posthumous fame' of J Paul Getty with The Getty Centre, California, the lavish works (and subsidized public housing projects) of The Sultan of Brunei and the Poundbury project of Prince Charles.

2.7.1 Summary

As regards motivation and intent the subjective thoughts and true objectives of the promoter of development are inherently difficult to study scientifically. It is nevertheless important to examine the stated objectives as these may determine the support that may forthcoming or be the focus of powers deployed in opposition to proposed development. The research methodology must therefore examine the inception of aspirational projects and attention be given to any original statement of intent by the promoters of such development. The motivation of the promoters as regards design or other qualities can then be questioned and the exercise of discernment in setting such objectives considered. At that stage particular relationships will be established, particularly those engaged in formulating the aspiration and committed to achieving the stated goals.

The stated aspiration will then be influential in the engagement with wider networks both in gaining support or generating opposition to the proposed development. It is then, in the implementation of proposals that other relationships and the exercise of powers can be examined and actions, behaviours and outcomes that flow from the original aspiration methodically analysed.

2.8 The characteristics that have defined patronage

An objective of the literature review and preliminary research was to identify those characteristics which may better define that described as patronage historically. A recurring issue in the review concerns the terms patron and client which may be used synonymously by architectural historians. The question is whether a distinction can, or should, be made between patrons and others who engage the services of architects or promote development. For example, in the exercise of power in the patron/architect relationship it was suggested that the client may exert power OVER the architect whilst those described as patrons EMPOWER and enable the architect. The proposition is that the patron deploys resources in support of the architect to limit or prevent any compromise of design aspiration arising from countervailing forces.

Gutman (1987) defines patronage as an act of faith and a reciprocal relationship which rewards the sponsor with honour and status rather than economic benefit. In his view clients are certain about their aims, specify their requirements in detail and demand a profitable outcome.

“A client expects the manufacturer or professional to be sympathetic to his objectives, not vice versa.” (Gutman 1987 p149).

An aspect of patronage highlighted by Gutman is its necessity in circumstances where the characteristics of the product cannot be specified before it is made nor can the processes that will be used in its manufacture. In that respect this resonates with earlier points made on the extra-ordinary or unique nature of those buildings usually attributed to patronage.

In practice there may be no clear demarcation between the utilitarian or commercial aims of the client and the aspirations of those termed patrons.

Historically many described as patrons will have also had economic or practical considerations in the commission. However the following characteristics identified through the review of literature assist in better defining patronage and are summarised as:

- **ASPIRATION** – the intent, motivation, determination and commitment to the realisation of an objective which is not purely utilitarian or economic but embodies other aspirations
- **DISCERNMENT** - as demonstrated by a full understanding of the desired qualities of the architecture and place-making on the part of the patron
- **PARTICIPATION** - and direct personal or corporate association with the project from inception to completion
- **RELATIONSHIP** -between the patron and designer/ builder founded on mutual respect and trust not contractual obligations.
- **RESOURCES** - and command of powers necessary to secure consents and permissions and the full realisation and implementation of the project as visualised and designed

These characteristics will then be carried forward for further consideration in the refinement of the research questions and formulation of methodology to determine whether the foregoing characteristics or attributes can be replicated in publicly funded development in a modern representative democracy. Matters arising from the review of literature relating the examination of contemporary patronage in the context of a democracy are summarised as follows.

2.9 Patronage and the State

The review of literature has established that much of that referred to as the product of patronage historically was created in very different social,

economic and political conditions. Historically the provision of major buildings and amenity can be seen to have been 'publicly funded', the necessary resources having been extracted from the wider populace by the oppressive powers of the State and Church. After the Reformation health and education provision previously provided by the Church became reliant on the patronage or beneficence of the aristocracy and, later, a plutocracy. As is noted in the foregoing review the influence of the landed aristocracy progressively declined and was supplanted by those who commanded financial resources through commercial enterprise.

"For centuries power in Britain had lain with the landowners, with country houses the visible expression of their power. Anyone who was anyone owned a country house. Their scale and supporting acres brought local prestige and power, and consequently national power in Parliament. But with the rise of genuine democracy, of county councils taking the place of magistrates and a truly representative Parliament, the power of the landowners was eclipsed." (Worsley 2002)

Whilst the concepts of both patronage and democracy have existed for over 2000 years the comment of Dahl (1998 p3) can be noted that;

"If we accept universal adult suffrage as a requirement of democracy, there would be some persons in practically every democratic country who would be older than their democratic system of government."

Public buildings and spaces progressively reflected the growth of civic society and national prosperity. However, Parliament was not 'truly representative' until after the relative peak of prosperity enjoyed by the UK in the years that preceded the 1914-18 war. The impact of greater social emancipation through universal suffrage from 1918 is important in establishing a modern representative form of polyarchal democracy, or 'rule by the many'. The features that distinguish this from the preceding forms of government- monarchy (rule by one) aristocracy and oligarchy (rule by few) - are;

- a) Elected officials. Policy decisions are vested in officials elected by citizens. It is then representative
- b) Free, fair and frequent elections. Compensatory or coercive powers are not exercised in such elections.
- c) Freedom of expression in criticising the government, its officials and prevailing ideology and the socio-economic order.
- d) Access to alternative forms of information which are not under the control of the government or any single political group and such sources of information are protected by law.
- e) Associational autonomy. Citizens can pursue their rights by forming associations, organizations, independent political parties and interest groups.
- f) Inclusive citizenship whereby no adult permanently residing in the country and subject to its laws can be denied the rights afforded to others and is necessary to the preceding five institutions. (Dahl `1998 pps 85-86)

‘Democracy’ may refer to an ideal or an actuality and here we are primarily concerned with the latter. The foregoing elements must therefore be examined to determine the extent to which democratic processes influence outcomes in publicly funded development. Central to the research is the impact of wider accountability on publicly funded development and the requirement that those promoting aspirational development exercise probity.

Questions concern the impact of universal adult suffrage and voting equality on such processes and the degree to which the electorate can exercise final control over the agenda. As regards their effective participation in the development process other factors must be taken into account. These concern enlightened understanding of the issues in support of, or opposition to, aspirational development.

Notionally the wider public set the priorities for public spending through the electoral process. The mandate granted to Government should then reflect the electoral manifesto commitments of the successful political

party. A notable change is that public amenities once provided through the patronage (or condescension) of a ruling elite came to be demanded as a right by the electorate in the course of the 20th Century. Healthcare, education and other infrastructure are then among those priorities and will be seen to be a recurring issue in the allocation of resources to other forms of development undertaken by the public sector.

What must also be taken into account are political challenges to the principle of such provision and the very concept of the Welfare State. It is therefore necessary to consider the range of political philosophy accommodated within a representative democracy. The focus will be the reversion to neoliberal economic policy following a period of more socialist or Keynesian strategies implemented from 1945. The issues arising concern the commitment to, and accountability for, the allocation of (finite) public resources to aspirational development. A useful account of the period is provided by Esher (1981) which chronicles the changes “...*from the paternalism of the fifties to the ‘public participation exercises’ of the sixties and the public revolts of the seventies*”. Esher’s account brings the review to the 1980’s which will be the focus for more detailed case study research.

The role of the State as a patron may be indirectly as a regulator of design quality, or more directly as a facilitator of development or client/developer. Whilst primarily concerned with the latter the research must have regard to urban development policies and the resources and priorities allocated by the state to achieving particular qualities in the built environment. The negative aspects of urban development perceived by Nairn (1955), Jacobs (1961) and Mumford (1966) are then noted. Also to be taken into account is the relationship of the State with property development markets and the commercial practices established in the property boom of the late 1950’s and 1960’s chronicled by Marriott (1989).

The development promoted and undertaken by the State and its agencies will reflect a range of differing aspirations and powers. Allen (1999)

outlines how cities form wider networks of power through which they may sustain, enhance or lose their power over time. He thus seeks to explain how power concentrates in particular urban centres. Some key points which reinforce earlier observations are that;

- i) Power does not 'belong' to a city or country but is something that can be accumulated and lost.
- ii) The sources of such power may differ but the wider the influence and control exerted by the city is felt, the more powerful it is perceived to be.

The most powerful cities then form the intersections in the global, or national, network of such centres. Broadly the sources of their power can be aligned with those described above as the compensatory power of financial and business centres and the conditioned power exerted by political, religious and cultural centres. In practical terms most cities will command various sources of power and these will be reflected in their major buildings. An important aspect highlighted by Allen is that powerful cities have a mix of resources, most importantly human, but also offer a particular environment, types of institutions, flows of information, symbolic assets and so forth. Moreover he emphasises that it is the way in which those resources are marshalled and deployed, or the practices of power, that has significant effect (Allen 1999 pps 188-189) .

Architectural patronage and innovation is not confined to cities. They are, however, where major development is more likely to take place and present a concentration of financial and other resources which, historically, has exerted a magnetic attraction to artists or others who seek patronage. Urban centres have been, and remain, the focus for the commissioning of buildings which have symbolic and cultural significance. There is then the motivation to promote or encourage development which will enhance, or reinforce, external perceptions of the nation or municipality. Such development may also seek to reinforce national or regional identity.

These may project some national, regional or local aspiration but also reflect the prevailing interests of individuals and organisations.

Also to be considered are more utilitarian and pragmatic interventions to reverse progressive decline or address some more sudden change of economic or other circumstances. There are then forms of State patronage deemed necessary or desirable to address the failure of the market to provide particular buildings and places. In the context of this study these will include various initiatives to enhance and improve the built environment. As noted from earlier observations on the 'market signals' perspective these can conflict with the neoliberal doctrine that the market will provide what is needed. The prevailing philosophy of a neoliberal government may then be generally averse to direct intervention but encourage development through a more laissez faire regulatory regime. Whether impelled by that or a Post – Keynesian perspective there are reasons for supposing that patronage may be at best difficult or perhaps impossible under a representative democracy. Among the factors to be examined are the constraints presented by the requirement that probity be exercised in the process of commissioning public works.

Such constraint may be exacerbated by the degree of scrutiny and interpretation state bureaucracies and elected politicians come under through the media. Social media has, for example, greatly increased the channels of alternative forms of information which are not under the control of the government or any single political group. What can also be noted is that such media is unregulated as regards the quality of criticism or the reasonability (or truth) of opinions expressed on proposed development. Also the more traditional channels of broadcast and print media evidence a tendency to populism in ensuing debate on the merits of aspirational development. This must then be examined to determine the extent to which this informs and shapes the 'public temper'. There may, for example, be vociferous objection to development from a relatively well-informed section of society. However the form of patronage in dispute may

still be possible, tolerated or even supported if presented as beneficial to a majority.

Furthermore a practical consideration is that in a democracy the majority may not engage in debate even on matters which directly affect them. This may be attributed to general apathy or a tolerance arising from a 'demoralization' of Western culture (Fevre 2000). That is then manifested in an acceptance of, or indifference to the failure of politicians, public figures and agencies of the state to demonstrate probity. As noted in the review, patronage is to some extent institutionalised through the honours system. Inevitably many appointments to public office are from the ranks of those so deemed 'great and good'. The measures that exist to prevent patronage, expressed as 'cronyism' or outright corruption, in such appointment may then be viewed with cynicism by some. More widely the patronage of the 'powerful' exercised in support of an aspirational development may be criticised but accepted as a privilege, rather than an abuse, of power.

Additionally any perceptions of failure in the exercise of probity may be diminished more rapidly, not least by the volume of new information available through contemporary media. What must then be considered is the extent to which controversy and debate relating to development proposals is reactive and ephemeral.

Among the causes of perceived failure of publicly funded projects to be examined are disparities in power and influence within state/government. These concern the initiation and implementation of development proposals and differing, or conflicting, lines of accountability. For example, those responsible for implementation may be more directly accountable than those who initiated it. These may be the civil servants or officers of a publicly funded organisation rather than an elected politician who initially promoted the project.

The methodology adopted for that further research therefore centres on case studies which offer examples of major projects funded and /or promoted by government. Some present evidence of attempted patronage and the apparent causes of failure to achieve stated objectives can be investigated. Conversely others which made no claim on patronage but may be considered successful are examined to identify the factors which contributed to that.

2.10 SUMMARY

The research seeks to determine whether the characteristics that have defined patronage historically can be replicated in a modern democratic polity and be an effective means of realising aspirational forms of development which are to be publicly funded.

The research will then consider questions that concern;

- a) The origins and the motives which may set the stated aspiration for publicly funded projects, how discernment is exercised in setting quality objectives and by whom.
- b) The leadership of such projects, its correspondence to and relationship with the network of individuals and organisations engaged in the development process.
- c) The command of resources and exercise of powers necessary for the stated objectives to be fully realised.
- d) The countervailing forces that might inhibit or prevent the realisation of such ambitions which include the requirement that probity be demonstrated by those in public office.

In examining patronage in contemporary development a factor which must also be taken into account concerns time and timing.

How these questions may be best addressed will be considered in the following chapter on methodology.

3 Chapter 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical perspective and methodological framework adopted for the further empirical research is explained. That research seeks to determine whether the characteristics that have defined patronage historically can be replicated in a modern democratic polity and be an effective means of realising aspirational forms of development which are to be publicly funded.

In considering that question the prevailing requirements for the exercise of probity, expressed as accountability, are to be examined as a particular factor in the commissioning and implementation of such works. Coupled with that is the significance of the universal franchise and wider democratic accountability of those committing public resources to aspirational forms of development.

To do so it is necessary to examine processes, relationships and actions described as patronage to determine whether they occurred as described and achieved the intended outcomes.

The first section explains why a critical realist perspective offers an appropriate underpinning for the design of a research methodology which will fully and properly address and answer those questions. Matters relating to ontology and epistemology are addressed as they relate to research methods together with *retroduction* as a methodological starting point informed by that critical realist approach.

The following section develops the research design through application of that approach to qualitative methodology and case study approach. This explains why a case study method was considered appropriate for answering the research questions and the relative strengths and weaknesses of that method outlined. The merits of that method are

examined further as regards the choice of case studies and the suitability of those cases tested against the research questions.

The chapter goes on to describe the research instruments and methods of data capture which included:

- Documentary analysis of plans, policy documents, reports and other material
- Semi-structured interviews
- Observation of processes and outcomes

This explains the purpose and nature of the information and material gathered and its relevance and value as evidence in relation to the research questions. Again both the advantages and limitations of these research instruments will be discussed and considered.

That is followed by an explanation of the approach adopted in the analysis of that data. The chapter then concludes by summarising how those research methods follow from the methodology of critical realism adopted and the relative advantage that this offered over the potential limitations identified.

3.2 Ontology and epistemology

Certain characteristics which may define the actions and behaviours referred to as patronage have been identified in the course of the literature review. The ontological questions concerning the relationships and actions described as patronage relate to:

- what exists,
- what it looks like,
- what components make it up and

- how the components interact with each other (Hitchcock and Hughes 1989).

These issues impact on the methodology and research methods as the further investigation of patronage must consider questions concerning the characteristics of patronage, in the physical and perceptual world (Delanty and Strydom 2003), and patrons ,as beings that populate the world (Maykut and Morehouse 1994; Delanty and Strydom 2003),

A proposition of this thesis is that the relationships between these beings and wider society are not fully understood and warrant further inquiry. The ontological position of the researcher is therefore stated as the belief that the terms patron and patronage should be more clearly defined and the process more clearly understood as regards guiding principles and belief systems which may inform and motivate such action. Furthermore, regulation or other societal constraints may inhibit patronage and, in consequence, limit or prevent this form of support and sponsorship which has, historically, contributed to architectural development.

The analysis of patronage as a sociological phenomenon therefore presupposes its definition as a social activity which may be motivated or constrained by a set of beliefs. The literature review has gathered and considered preliminary evidence as to what might define patronage which assumes, in the definition of that phenomenon, a set of beliefs and associated form of conduct. In so doing it presupposes the nature of such social action and the most appropriate processes whereby knowledge about it may be gained.

An epistemological issue which may be noted from the literature review is that the limits and validity of existing knowledge must be recognized in a field where the terms patron and patronage are used freely and loosely as a matter of subjective opinion. An additional problem is that such terms may make claims upon, or misrepresent, the true motivation and intent of those engaged in urban development.

In the first instance belief or acceptance of truth may be dependent upon the status or academic standing of the author expressing that opinion. In the second, a key factor is that the exploratory study of patronage to date supports the view that 'reality' is socially constructed. The research must also consider matters relating to the rationalisation of power, self-justification or other (mis) representation of their behaviour by actors. Actions described as patronage may be considered as objectively as possible but the conclusions of the literature review and related exploratory research cannot be presented as facts which have an objective reality.

The task of epistemology in this study is therefore to provide justifications for the broad categories of knowledge claimed and properly describe what kinds of things are known and how that knowledge has been acquired. The representation of information as truthful and factual must be a stated objective and a research design formulated which will demonstrate rigour in establishing true facts and a critical analysis of evidence gathered. A clear distinction must be made between such facts as may be relied upon as evidence and other information such as hearsay and the subjective opinions of commentators on events and actions described as patronage.

Therefore information gathered from what others have written must be weighed as to its accuracy and reliability and tested, wherever possible, against other opinion and facts presented by other sources. This process of 'triangulation' will then inform both data collection and methodology in the research process and address the following questions;

- What is the source of knowledge?
- Can knowledge of reality be established by some empirical evidence?
- What are the presuppositions of knowledge?
- What are the methodological problems of knowledge?

- What are the problems of validating truth? (Delanty and Strydom 2003)

These questions then inform both the methodology and appropriate research methods and are underpinned by a critical perspective.

The approach suggested by Johnson et al (1984) is that social theory be addressed as a structure which determines the ways in which knowledge of the social is constructed. This recognises that “... *sociologists have to pose certain fundamental questions, the answers to which are a precondition for any sociological investigation.*” (Johnson et al. 1984),

These are;

- What is the nature of social reality and
- How can we best obtain knowledge of it?

They summarise the first of these questions as two aspects of social life;

- Materialism - Its existence as a set of material phenomena and
- Idealism - Its existence as a set of ideas that human beings have about the world (Johnson, et al. 1984 p13)

Social phenomena may be considered material but it might be generally accepted that the actions and behaviours ascribed to patrons are, in their nature, purposive and follow a process of reasoning and deliberation. Idealism is then an important aspect in the consideration of patronage. The definition of architectural patronage formulated from the literature review reflects aspirations beyond the utilitarian need for shelter and embraces concepts of symbolic and cultural capital. They are then consequential acts, often with symbolic meaning, peculiar to human activity.

Those actions described as patronage might also be understood in the context of social rules and systems of belief which may be examined by human observers using their interpretive skills (Johnson et al. 1984 p14). Such interpretation will then involve terms which may – or may not- be

appropriate in explaining such actions and behaviours. As has already been outlined in the exploratory study of its definition, patronage has a wide range of meanings in common usage. These may be both 'positive' and 'negative' as can the many derivatives from the etymological root – e.g. patriarchal, paternal, patrician, patronising and patrimony. These, and the wider meanings of patronage in common usage, are all directly concerned with social relationships. In advancing the research the meaning implied in the use of the term in writing on architecture and the built environment must be examined further for the following reason.

The two alternative solutions to finding social reality are nominalism and realism. The first takes the view that the concepts used to describe and explain the world are merely convenient *names* which summarize *particular* things that make up the social world. The reality of the social world – material or ideal- is that it is made up of unique, particular events and things. The characteristics of architectural patronage under discussion must then be considered as the specific relationships of the actors and the particular activities that make it up at a particular time. The term 'patronage' may then be used as a generalisation for the conjunction of particular actors and specific events and an acceptable approach to the problem of knowing. That term, as used in its wider sense, may however be considered far too general to define reality itself. Such use of the term presents the risk of attributing reality to more general concepts or *reification* (Johnson et al. 1984 p15). In this instance nominalism might not then present a way of knowing social reality in all its particulars.

An alternative view is that “...*the significance of scientific concepts lies in their capacity to 'reveal' a social reality that is not immediately accessible to observation.*” (Johnson et al. 1984 p15). Rather than summarising observed particulars such concepts seek to penetrate to the underlying reality and explain particular events. Johnson et al then present a framework for sociological theorising which incorporates the duality of the material/ ideal to the issue of how realities can be known (Johnson et al.

1984 p17). They suggest two sets of contrasting answers to the two questions which they argue must be addressed as a logical precondition of sociological analysis of the social world (Johnson et al. 1984 p18).

An issue to be examined is the persistence of personality as a resource or 'source' of power and command of the necessary resources for the effective implementation of a specific form of development. The relatively autonomous action enjoyed by aristocratic and other patrons historically may be seen to have been increasingly constrained by society. For the purposes of this thesis the focus is on probity, expressed as wider accountability, as a countervailing force to the individual will of the patron and, as such, a societal constraint on such action. The debate as to whether primacy is given to the actor/ individual or to the system/society/ structure may then be addressed by formulating a strategy whereby proper consideration may be given to the connection between the patron, as actor, systems and society as regards;

- a) The systemic or structural constraints that operate on the individual actor
- b) The interaction of the actor with other actors in a society construed as a series or 'system' of actions.

Johnson et al (1984) caution against reification of structural constraints on the actor and stress that these must be identified as particular events and actions with concrete effects - in this case the process of patronage. They go on to develop their argument by suggesting that the various combinations of solutions to the questions generate four broad strategies for sociological theorising. Their analysis presupposes a commitment to the realist position that underlying structures are the objects of social enquiry (Johnson et al. 1984 p18).

In this case the structures are the regulatory and other measures introduced to protect the wider public interest which may impact upon inhibit or otherwise constrain the actions of prospective patrons. The

perceived advantages of this approach to research design may be briefly summarised as follows.

3.2.1 Critical Realism

Olsen (2009) suggests that two key features of realist methodology are the focus on ontic depth and retrodution as a logical method of enquiry. Ontic depth refers to *"... having a conceptual map of the worlds's nature that allows for multiple layers, complexity, interweaving and dynamic interaction of the parts of that world."* (Olsen 2009 p3). The realist approach then recognises concepts which have a place and meaning in the world but also other real agents as sources of action. In this study we must necessarily consider the multiplicity of agents engaged in the process of commissioning, permitting, constructing and evaluating buildings. The role that structural locations play in creating standpoints, situations and circumstances from which people and other agents begin to act and react to that process may also be better appreciated through a realist approach.

Ontic depth then brings the world of the researcher and the subject matter into the political and social context, an integration of the subjective world of the researcher with the social world of those people being researched. Olsen makes reference to the 'Aristotelian' approach of Flyvbjerg (2001) and the origins of ontology in classical antiquity *"..... where moral value and 'the good' were traced to real existing societies and their valued practices"* (Olsen 2009 p4). This has relevance to questions concerning probity as a motivating factor for patronage as a demonstration of moral principle. As noted in the review of literature, Flyvbjerg's approach follows a Nietzschean tradition. Full consideration must be given to the alternative view that patronage is not 'good' and is no longer a 'valued practice' in modern society. Social and political patronage, in the most negative definition of the term, is then discouraged and constrained by society to ensure honesty and decency. This may be through requirements for open accountability to demonstrate probity in public life. It is then necessary to

address what may be firmly held but opposing views on the merits of patronage or otherwise held by various actors in the development process.

Retroduction, or asking 'why things appear as they do', is a process of critical realism in moving from what is experienced towards knowledge of what is really there. It may be contrasted with induction and deduction as a logical method of inquiry as;

- Induction derives general statements from many observations or data and
- Deduction takes a general claim or given law and develops a statement about a particular situation

In contrast, Retroduction asks why things are being observed as they seem to be, a complex question which may address;

- does the evidence suggest a pattern and, if so, why does it appear to do so?
- Why are theories or clearly asserted opinions on patronage sometimes wrong and what bodies of evidence were or are used to substantiate such theories or opinions?
- How do we explain the phenomena referred to as patronage?

These questions allow for evidence of different kinds to be admitted, assessed as to reliability and provenance and compared. This will inform the later approach to analysis and the weighting of evidence as to origin, standpoint, proximity to the events described, bias and other factors. The third question seeks to offer a causal explanation without adopting a deterministic approach to cause. This again addresses the possibility of epistemic confusion arising from misleading evidence in society. Of particular relevance to the study of patronage is the observation by Olsen that *".. the future need not be like the past, even if trends are strong up to the present."* (Olsen 2009 p7). It will also be evident that real cases of patronage will, by their nature, be unique, one-off situations which may

have, or had, a series of concrete, real causes but unpredictable outcomes due to unforeseen causal mechanisms.

Additional factors which supported a Critical Realist approach were suggested by the work of Roy Bhaskar (Collier 1994; Sayer 2000; Danermark 2002). These primarily concern Bhaskar's development of Dialectical Critical Realism and his consideration of the 'power of absences' as real and determinate causes. In this approach *being* is understood as being open, differentiated and stratified but also permeated by negativity (notably absences), and temporality including change. To Hegel's dialectics of identity, negativity and totality, Bhaskar then offers four categorical moments of dialectic as non-identity, negativity, totality, and transformative agency (*praxis*). These, he suggests, show how absence and other negating concepts such as contradiction have a legitimate and necessary ontological employment.

In the context of this study it was considered that some weight might necessarily be attached to what is *not* said or done or clearly did *not* happen. If similar patterns of behaviour are identified they can be interpreted in terms of such social theory and/or the context in which they occurred. Attention can then progress from the description of the project as a specific historical event or social setting to a more general interpretation of its meaning. Again, "*...the ultimate goal of the case study is to uncover patterns, determine meanings, construct conclusions and build theory*" (Patton and Appelbaum 2003 p67).

In summary the critical realist approach addresses the following issues;

- In clarifying what may be known it may be necessary to recognise that the viewpoints of actors in the patronage process may differ and, in consequence there may be multiple interpretations of that process and the outcomes. Each view may be valid but of different social import (Olsen 2009 p2).

- The existence of socially constructed phenomena, such as agreements about what may constitute exceptional architectural quality or good urban design for example, can then be admitted. Such phenomena are not, however, accepted as an explanation in themselves but the subject of further examination which will question;
 - why such criteria are accepted and by who?
 - what and whose interests are represented or served by such acceptance?
- The realist perspective can thereby acknowledge the importance of motivation and beliefs as a characteristic factor in an explanation of patronage but ask how such motives and beliefs are generated and sustained.

3.3 Research Design

In developing a suitable methodology for the further investigation of action and behaviour described as patronage regard must be had to the phenomenon as one of;

- manipulated events and complex, dynamic environments in which
- contextual questions have a direct bearing on behaviour and decision making and
- boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context

A qualitative paradigm offers the more appropriate framework for such research and its merits over the quantitative paradigm may be rehearsed briefly as follows.

Whereas the quantitative methodology will ordinarily begin with a clearly stated hypothesis and often well- established theories this study was, at the outset, loosely constructed on questions relating to the absence of detailed academic study of patronage in the built environment. The initial

research was therefore exploratory and investigative, moving to develop a hypothesis and grounded theory. Questions concerning the portrayal of relationships and outcomes ascribed to acts of patronage then emerged from the review of literature and preliminary research. To some extent a qualitative approach was then adopted by necessity and such methodology is usually inductive rather than deductive. It seeks to provide a reasoned conclusion based upon the best evidence rather than irrefutable proof of the truth of such conclusion.

As noted in the foregoing section, the critical realist approach introduces retroduction as a method of inquiry. Given the diversity of those described as patrons and those places attributed to acts of patronage it has been necessary to search for patterns in the absence of any consensus as to what may properly define such terms. A quantitative approach may, by its nature, demand such consensus and some established norm as a basis for analysis. As regards such patterns the application of retroductive methods to their further examination will question why such patterns appear as they do. The qualitative methodology then seeks the pluralism and complexity presented by patronage and the range of relationships and circumstances under which it may occur.

As there are few precedents for the investigation of patronage in the built environment methods have been considered from the investigation of similar areas of activity, such as the field of artistic production. The literature review has, for example, considered the relevance of the work of Bourdieu to this area of study (Webster 2011). Some guidance may also be drawn from studies of actions and behaviours in the socio-political field and associated meanings of the term patronage in that connection.

Finally, the qualitative paradigm will better admit a point of view informed by the personal experience and practice of the researcher. There is then a greater degree of subjectivity than that expected in quantitative methodology. The qualitative paradigm permitted personal involvement

and empathetic understanding of the motivation, action and behaviour of actors in the process of patronage. This was considered advantageous in the process of retrodution and the questioning of potentially conflicting accounts of such events. It was recognised that some generalization might then be inevitable. The outcome was not then expected to be precise but less distinct and the interpretation consensual.

3.4 Qualitative Case Studies

Case studies are useful in areas where there are few theories or a deficient body of knowledge. Such studies can also assist in describing, illustrating and explaining that process referred to as patronage by detailed examination of the actions and behaviours of specific actors and the circumstances of particular events (Collis and Hussey 1997 p68). Specific cases can be examined as regards the relationships of the actors and the particular activities described as patronage at a given time. As noted the term 'patronage' may be used as a generalisation for the conjunction of particular actors and specific events and an approach to the problem of knowing. However, questions to be addressed by the research concern how such relationships, processes and their outcomes are perceived in wider society. Such phenomena are not then accepted as an explanation but are examined as to why particular relationships and actions are accepted by a section of society. That, in turn, presents questions as to whose interests are represented or served by such acceptance.

Yin (2003) summarises the characteristics of case study research as follows;

- The research aims not only to explore such phenomena, but to understand them within a particular context
- The research does not commence with a set of questions and notions about the limits within which the study will take place

- The research uses multiple methods for collecting data which may be both qualitative and quantitative.

The initial research undertaken sought to identify the characteristics that have defined patronage historically. The purpose of the case studies is to examine whether those characteristics are applicable in a modern, democratic polity and remain relevant to, or appropriate in, the successful implementation of publicly funded urban development. The further investigation through case studies accords with established definitions of such research strategy as consisting of; *".... a detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of phenomena, within their context,"* which will *"...provide an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied"* (Hartley 2004 p323).

The research design was therefore based upon the five steps suggested by Yin (2003a p.21-28) for case studies:

- i) Questions to be addressed,
- ii) Initial propositions,
- iii) the unit(s) of analysis
- iv) the logic linking that data to those propositions and,
- v) the criteria for interpreting the findings. (Yin 2003a)

The question to be addressed is whether actions described as patronage can be an effective means of realising aspirational forms of publicly funded development. The proposition is that such action may be constrained by factors which include the requirement that those in public office demonstrate probity and are more widely accountable in a modern democratic polity.

It then followed that suitable case studies must necessarily be publicly funded developments in the UK which had, or might have had, clearly stated aspirations. The perception that such projects might have failed to realise the objectives originally stated was also a consideration. The

characteristics that have defined patronage historically could then be contrasted with the features of the events under examination to determine those that were factors in the failure, or relative success of the ventures.

Such characteristics, as units or factors to be analysed in the selected cases, would then present the opportunity to examine and contrast;

- a) What the origins and the motives were that established the stated aspiration for such projects and how discernment was exercised in setting quality objectives and by whom.
- b) The role of individual personalities in the leadership of projects and opposition to the development proposals and their relationship with the network of individuals and organisations engaged in the development process.
- c) What resources were commanded and deployed, the degree of autonomy exercised in pursuit of the objectives and the limitations on the exercise of powers which might be attributed to wider accountability for the exercise of probity.

That the projects be undertaken in the same period and share the same economic, social and political context was also considered desirable to ensure greater consistency in the analysis of the data. Access to such data was then an important factor and some weight attached to the range and quality of available data in the selection of suitable case studies.

Finally, Yin addresses concerns regarding the validity of case studies as a basis for scientific generalization by suggesting that the goal is to generalize theories (analytical generalization) rather than some universal application (statistical generalization) (Yin 2003a p.10). In considering specific projects as suitable case studies it appeared that the theoretical framework could alter as issues were explored in depth. The data collection phase of the case studies might then present the opportunity to explore and develop new constructions of the initial theory and that (analytic) generalization of the case study findings might occur.

3.5 The Case Studies

The events selected as case studies are;

- 1. The Bute Avenue/ Square project implemented by the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation**
- 2. The 'contest' for funding between the Cardiff Bay Opera House and the Wales Millennium Stadium and,**
- 3. The Housing of the National Assembly for Wales**

These publicly funded projects met the criteria outlined above and presented the opportunity to examine contemporaneous events in a real-life context. The events examined took place between 1986 and 2006 within an area of less than one square mile of the city of Cardiff. They therefore occurred within the same economic, social and political context. Moreover, some key individuals and organisations were directly involved in several of the projects presenting the opportunity to compare and contrast their respective actions in each case. The research question could then progressively examine those characteristics that have defined patronage historically and evidenced in these ventures as follows.

- a) The origins and motivation for setting the stated aspiration for each of the projects differed. The factors which influenced the formulation of objectives could then be identified, compared and contrasted. The claims made by the promoters of these projects as to their respective merits are then tested and perceptions of failure to achieve the stated goals examined.
- b) A feature of several of the projects was that the exercise of discernment in setting the required design quality standards or selection of architects was delegated to expert panels. The notable exception was in the commissioning of the Millennium Stadium. That is then directly contrasted with the processes

undertaken in the case of the Cardiff Bay Opera House. Overall the projects selected presented a range of issues relating to the determination of quality standards.

- c) The role of individual personalities appeared to be a factor in several cases as did continuity of leadership, or the lack of it. Each study presented opportunities to consider different aspects of the relationships in the network of individuals and organisations engaged in the development process.
- d) On preliminary examination the command of resources and the degree of autonomy in the exercise of powers differed in each case. A factor common to all cases was the constraint on financial resources. The extent to which wider accountability was influential in the allocation of such resources could then be examined. The exercise of conditioned power by the promoters of the projects in securing the necessary support might be a determinant in their success or failure.
- e) Coupled with the foregoing point are other countervailing forces that inhibited or prevented the realisation of the stated aspirations. The powers exercised in opposition and extent to which these influenced eventual outcomes appeared to differ in each case. These could then be compared and contrasted in the analysis.
- f) As all projects were publicly funded it could be assumed that the requirement that probity be demonstrated by those in public office would be common to all cases. However, prima facie evidence indicated that levels and lines of accountability differed in each case. Matters relating to probity might therefore be investigated as they affected different aspects of each project.

Some further aspects relating to the context of the case studies were also influential in their selection. The first concerns central government policy

which, as noted in the introduction, included aspirational policy statements on urban design during the 1980's. At that time strategic intervention through publicly funded development projects and urban regeneration initiatives was supported. On the other hand neoliberal economic policies favoured the deregulation of markets and the privatisation of publicly owned utilities and industry. The projects span a period before and after the change of national government in 1997 and the subsequent devolution of some political power to the region. Local circumstances also gave rise to conflicting ideologies and shifting alliances across party political lines. The case studies then afforded the opportunity to consider national, regional and local factors which had a bearing on the outcome of each project.

In summary the cases selected will be shown to have been associated with the sponsorship of individual personalities and/ or organisations that may, or may not, have been specifically referred to as 'patrons'. As to whether they demonstrated the characteristics that have traditionally defined patronage will be determined through such examination. That will, in turn, inform conclusions which concern the efficacy of patronage in achieving aspirational goals in contemporary urban development.

3.5.1 Access to data

The personal knowledge and experience of the researcher also informed the selection. Having worked as a Chartered Surveyor and Planner in Cardiff since 1973 the economic, political and social context of the projects was generally understood. A practical advantage of such familiarity was in knowing where the required data might be sourced. The projects selected had been the subject of some literature and additional documentary material could be located. It was also known who the key participants were in each project and how they might be contacted to determine whether they were available for interview.

Similarly ready access to the places under investigation was advantageous as the physical outcomes of the development projects chosen as case studies could be determined by physical inspection

Both local and professional knowledge were useful in understanding, evaluating and challenging differing views as to the events under examination.

3.5.2 Summary

The cases selected offered a range of aspirations as to the desired qualities and differing outcomes for critical examination. Common to such outcomes was the perceived failure of the projects to achieve the stated ambitions noted by some observers (Esys 2004; Morgan 2006; Punter 2006, 2007). Perceptions of their success or failure could then be examined during the period of study and subjected to detailed scrutiny. The problematic definition of quality could then be addressed in several of these cases where aspirations were clearly stated by the promoters of such development and the desired outcomes were clearly not achieved.

In some respects the circumstances may appear somewhat unique in that several major and diverse publicly funded projects were undertaken in a provincial city during a relatively short period. Some of the factors examined will inevitably be peculiar to the locality and identified as such. However, in all three cases similar developments were taking place elsewhere in the UK and, as noted, reference can be made to those. The projects selected thereby presented the opportunity to consider the broader issues of state patronage in Britain through the latter part of the 20th century and the perceived failure to commission and realise consistently high standards.

3.6 Research Instruments

As suggested by Yin (2003a, pp.83, 97-105) the research sought to;

- Use multiple sources of evidence,
- Establish a case study database and
- maintain a chain of evidence.

3.6.1 Documentation

Some aspects of the projects selected as case studies had been addressed in various publications. These range from objective academic accounts of particular facets of the developments under examination to less impartial presentations of the events studied. The Cardiff Bay development area, the location of all but one of the projects, had, for example, been the subject of several academic studies and papers (Thomas et al. 1989; Thomas 1992; Imrie and Thomas 1999; Thomas 1999; Thomas 2000; Punter 2007; Smith 2009). These were useful in establishing basic facts and the political, economic and social context of the case studies. More 'journalistic' literature or publications were useful in presenting differing perspectives and opinions of the subject projects for examination and in prompting particular lines of enquiry.

Such publications were supplemented by the examination of private papers, records and correspondence provided by some participants/ interviewees. These included, for example, files and plans retained by several of the institutions, their architects and other advisers. These greatly assisted the process of 'triangulation' in elaborating matters of detail, verifying facts or establishing a basis to challenge particular accounts of events.

More general media coverage of case study projects was also sourced including local and regional press, professional and trade magazines. Where appropriate and relevant, transcriptions were abstracted from

broadcast media. Further sources of material were brochures, reports and marketing material produced in support of the subject projects.

The foregoing are referenced as sources where drawn upon in the remainder of the thesis.

3.6.2 Initial evaluation of documents

As noted the objectivity and accuracy of the literature referenced was a consideration. There was then an initial assessment of the documentation sourced and its classification established, to some extent, a 'hierarchy of evidence'. This informed the relative 'weight' given to documentary evidence and was based upon the reliability and certainty of the information obtained. Priority was given to clearly documented matters of fact and accurate and objective records of actions taken.

It must be explained, however, that other documentation proved to be important in this research. Documented records of opinions, advocacy and other less impartial material assisted in understanding corporate or individual objectives and intent. These evidenced the aspiration and ambition of the promoters of development or, conversely why and how opposition to those initiatives arose.

General media reporting of events may be considered to have less value in establishing accurate facts retrospectively but served to illustrate and demonstrate the climate surrounding a given project. For example, how the opinion of a respected trade or professional magazine might influence the perceptions of investors and developers or letters to a local evening paper reflect the 'public temper' at the time.

The attention given to the content and claims of marketing and promotional material serves to explain further why a rigidly 'hierarchical' approach to documentation was considered inappropriate. Rather than being categorized as an inferior source of evidence such material served to 'close the circle' in some instances. The objectives, claims and aspirations

of the promoters of urban development as displayed and advertised in marketing brochures could be tested against observable outcomes. In that respect some formal 'research' and other professional reports relating to specific projects could be categorised as 'promotional material' when subjected to critical and realistic analysis.

In summary the range of documentary material provided rich data which assisted in generating theories on the subject projects. In this case the developments investigated were located in close proximity and the study area fixed and relatively small. Nonetheless there remained the likelihood of some generalisation from one setting to another (Collis and Hussey 1997 p55). The data was evaluated as evidence by considering;

- The date that the source material was created and where it was produced, proximity to the event lending material more weight as evidence.
- Authorship of the material in terms of authority and objectivity
- Whether it was original source material or based on a pre-existing record or account
- The integrity of that original form of production and
- Its credibility and value as evidence

3.6.3 Interviews

Further data collection was undertaken through interviews with participants in, and informed observers of, the events in question. The objective was to confirm or clarify, wherever possible, facts but the interviews also elicited the opinions of individual participants on outcomes and the factors that influenced the events.

The selection of interviewees was an iterative process which followed the preliminary research and initial review of documentation relating to the case studies suggested. Personalities and organisations engaged in the

selected projects were first identified and those who were available and might agree to participate in the research noted.

Informal exploratory meetings and discussions were first then held with individuals identified as participants in, or informed observers of, the events selected as case studies who were known to the researcher personally. These were primarily known through previous contact in a professional capacity as a practitioner in the area. Those meetings served to;

- Determine which of those interviewees would participate in formal, documented interviews,
- establish the 'core evidence' that the interviewee was able to provide and assess the likely value of any additional information given on the case studies and other participants.
- Identify and clarify key personalities and relationships in the development projects to be used as case studies,
- assist in prioritising later interviews and identifying additional possible interviewees.
- Form an outline of the prevailing and countervailing forces (powers) that came to bear on those projects.
- Identify possible sources of private archive material and supporting documentation for the evidence base.

Notes were made in the course of these informal preliminary meetings and key findings transcribed to form the basis for later interviews.

3.6.4 Formal Interviews

The initial meetings and discussions informed the priorities for interviews with precedence given to those who were able and willing to provide substantive evidence rather than anecdote. They also suggested that 'semi-structured' interviews would permit flexibility and allowed new questions

to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee said.

Following those informal discussions procedures were tested and developed through an initial series of semi-structured interviews with academics that had participated in, or had studied, the subject cases. Those interviewed were;

Prof Wayne Forster, Deputy Head, Welsh School of Architecture. Architectural Academic.

Prof Malcolm Parry (ex) Cardiff University, Former Head of Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, Architectural Academic.

Both had participated in the organisation and management of design charrettes on Bute (Callaghan) Square as an alternative location proposal for the National Assembly Buildings.

Prof. John Punter (ex) Cardiff University, Planning Academic / author

Dr. Huw Thomas Cardiff University, Planning Academic / author

Both had published papers and articles on the Cardiff Bay development

Prof. Richard Silverman (ex) Cardiff University, Former Head of Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University. Architectural Academic.

Prof Silverman Chaired the Design Advisory Panel of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation and was a member of the selection panel for the Cardiff Bay Opera House design.

Following that trial the interview process and techniques were discussed and considered.

Of these initial interviews those with Professor John Punter and Dr Huw Thomas were recorded and fully transcribed by the researcher. These were then submitted to the interviewees for approval and comment. Following discussion the methodology for interviewing other subjects was then refined or adapted as necessary.

Other interviewees were then approached formally with an outline of the research, an explanation of the purpose of the interview and its intended use. They were advised that;

- the interview would adhere to the ethical research procedures of the University and,
- subject to their consent, the interviews would be recorded and a copy of the transcript forwarded for their approval and,
- they could at any point withdraw their participation in the research.

The interviews commenced with specific questions and a pre-defined framework of themes to be explored with each interviewee. Whilst some consistency was sought, specific questions were necessarily addressed in different ways depending on;

- a) the role and relationship of the interviewee with the events and
- b) the relevant matters to be recounted or clarified and issues discussed.

Most interviewees were asked to address one or more focussed points of detail initially and in many cases the discussion then extended across a range of related issues. In contrast to those more 'conversational' interviews a more interrogative approach was adopted in some cases. This approach was necessary where, for example, clarification was sought if apparently contradictory statements or actions of that participant in the events had been identified from documented sources. In such instances the interviewees were given prior notice of the question and assisted by

reference to that documentation and a prepared outline of the narrative of the event under examination. The latter set out the known facts (dates, events, parties, costs, etc.) based on published literature, archive material or other sources.

As noted above, an initial assessment of the quality of evidence likely to be obtained through interview was made in the course of preliminary discussion. Some priority was given to those closest to the decision making process in the events in question. Whilst seeking an objective account of facts it was anticipated that some bias might be demonstrated by some interviewees, perhaps coupled with self-justification, post-hoc rationalization and retrospective advocacy. In the event there was a remarkable degree of consensus among interviewees as to the facts but, in several cases, some divergence of opinion as to their interpretation. This will be addressed further in the analysis of the case studies. Here it is noted that the weight initially attached to the opinion of an interviewee took into account the ability, experience and objectivity of the individual expressing it. This was then evaluated in the light of other evidence and opinions and if their account of events verified by other sources greater significance attached to it.

The less structured parts of such interviews presented the opportunity to put supplementary questions to those respondents who had direct knowledge of events and proximity to the decision making process. The potential benefit of that additional information outweighed the perceived disadvantages of possible digression by the interviewee.

The interviewees are listed at Appendix I together with brief notes as to topics covered.

All of the interviews conducted in the full round after the preliminary trial interviews were recorded and transcribed by the interviewer. Transcripts were then sent to the interviewees for approval, correction or amendment. Minor corrections were made by one interviewee (Downs 2014) which

related primarily to the correct spelling of materials or proprietary construction systems referred to in the interview.

Clarification of specific points.

Some specific matters arising from interviews or other research were clarified by brief interview, informal meeting, e-mail exchange, telephone or direct conversation with others. These are listed, together with subject matter discussed, at Appendix I.

3.6.5 Observation

The proposed case studies presented practical advantages of both proximity and familiarity as regards their physical context and visible qualities. An aspect of the research concerned the consideration, appraisal and verification of the outcomes of the subject developments. As regards such qualities or the perceived failure of the projects to achieve their stated objectives there was the opportunity to view the subject places over the period of study. There could then be direct observation of their function, utility and some assessment of their aesthetic or other merits. Such observation was prompted by specific issues or points that were raised in the course of the research.

For example, original plans and perspective drawings produced for the subject developments, other graphic material and promotional literature produced before the projects were implemented could be compared and contrasted with that actually realised. Similarly the (documented) claims made by the promoters of such development could be considered against the visible evidence presented by the places as they were now being used.

It was not systematic or undertaken as a planned programme to monitor use or establish some other measure or evidence. The purpose was to form

a view as whether the aspirations originally stated by the promoters of the developments under examination had been achieved.

Matters at issue could therefore be addressed and considered and the analysis supplemented by views formed through personal inspection of those developments by the researcher.

3.6.6 Ethical Issues

The researcher was given access to documents, plans and other material by a number of interviewees. Full consideration was given to ethical research issues as regards material which may be considered sensitive or confidential. The use of such material was discussed with research supervisors and it was agreed that unless it was clearly in the public domain and available through other sources it would not be cited or reproduced in this thesis. That body of material was then used to;

- a) Formulate specific interview questions,
- b) Triangulate and establish the veracity of replies and
- c) Weigh the quality of evidence provided by interviewees.

The plans or other documents which are included in the thesis are then from published sources and such sources acknowledged.

3.7 Analysis

The volume of data to be processed and the range and diversity of sources presented challenges for systematic analysis. These may be broadly summarised as;

- Reducing the data. The literature, archival material, transcripts and general notes were extensive. This necessitated sorting and organisation in a way that facilitated systematic analysis.

Condensation and summarisation was required through a form of coding whereby conclusions could be drawn and verified.

- Structuring data. This was done within the theoretical framework which specified categories into which data could be fitted. This was developed in the course of the further research.

The recommendation that the conversion of extensive text to diagrams and tables might be an appropriate method of analysis and presentation was noted. It was suggested that anticipatory data reduction was unlikely to prove an acceptable course in a phenomenological study as it might limit deeper understanding and the collection of rich data (Collis and Hussey 1997 p253).

There was, however, some assessment of the weight which might be attached to evidence in the course of data collection. The approach adopted for that initial analysis was *quasi-judicial* and may be summarised as the application of rational argument to interpret empirical evidence as that which is based on observation and experience (Collis and Hussey 1997 p276). The concern with the nature, source and quality of evidence and the argument it supports then informed the initial analysis of data as regards the key questions which were;

- What is at issue?
- What other relevant evidence might there be?
- How else might one make sense of the data ?
- How was the data obtained?

Collis and Hussey (1997) cite six rules identified by Bromley (1986) which were applied when adopting that method of analysis. A procedural method developed by Robson (1993) from the forgoing rules is reproduced by Collis and Hussey (1987 p277).

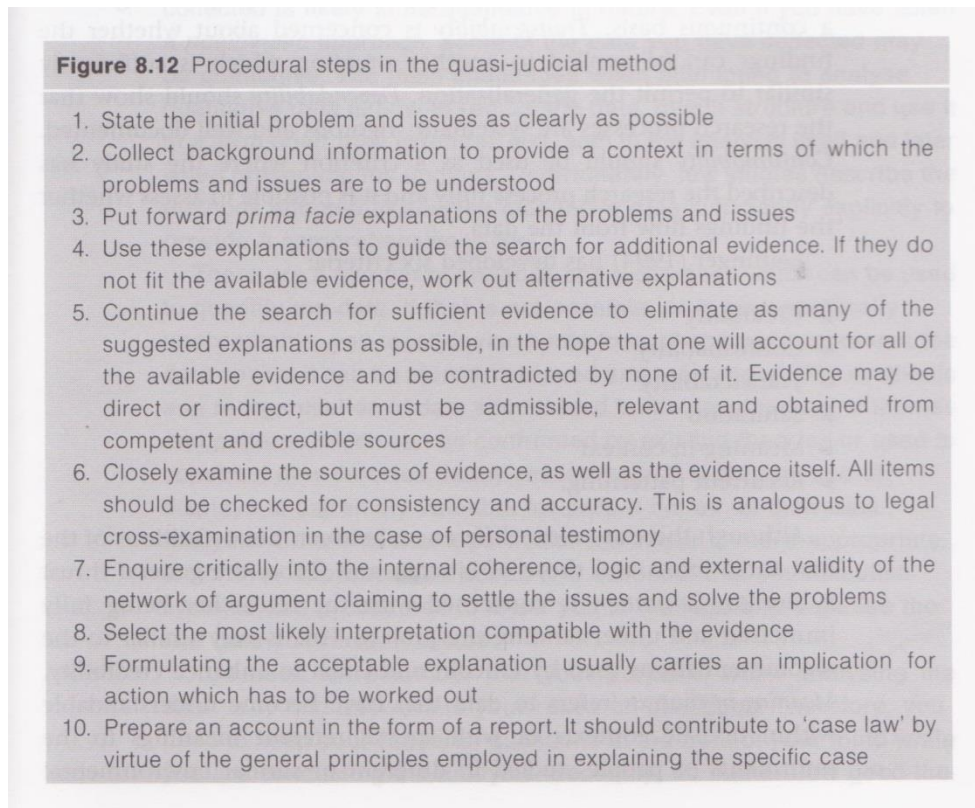


Figure 3 procedural steps in quasi- judicial method reproduced from Collis and Hussey (1987)

The value of this method was the importance of examining and re-examining the evidence and seeking explanations which fit the data. Establishing such procedures was challenging given the extensive data captured and the complex nature of patronage. That process did, however, assist in reflecting on the quality and relevance of data at various stages of the research. The questions posed by Bromley were also useful when confronting data which did not appear to 'fit', such as an apparently anomalous view of an interviewee or documentary account of an event.

The research methods adopted, and outlined above, also assisted in allowing supplementary evidence and a degree of subjectivity on the part of the researcher to be admitted and considered in the analysis. For example, the conflicting views of interviewees or authors on the outcomes as regards the stated aspirations for the respective projects could be examined and weighed following personal inspection and observation of

the developments by the researcher. Again such inspection and observation was to address a specific claims or opinions relating to the subject projects made by authors, or expressed by interviewees, in the course of the research. Reference will be made, for example, to divergences of opinion on the relative success of particular projects. It was then necessary to admit a degree of subjectivity on the part of the researcher to determine the weight that might be attached to conflicting claims and opinions.

Reverting again to Yin there are three general strategies which can be adopted for analysing case study evidence;

- Reliance on theoretical propositions,
- Consideration of rival explanations and
- Development of case description. Yin (2003a, pp.111-115)

Yin suggested that any of these strategies can be deployed through five specific techniques for analysing case studies: pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models, and cross-case synthesis (Yin, 2003a, pp.109, 116-137).

As suggested by Hartley (1994,2004) the data collection and analysis was developed in an iterative process to allow for theory development grounded in empirical evidence (Hartley 1994, p.220; 2004,p.329).

In this case the further analysis was approached as a two stage process;

1. The first, that of the three specific case studies, which will be more 'intrinsic',
2. A further analysis of those conclusions intended to be more 'instrumental' and collective.

In the first stage the analysis was conducted having regard to the research questions and, in particular, the characteristics which have defined patronage in the built environment historically as identified in the initial research. The questions then applied to the data and information

concerned the extent to which the following characteristics were evidenced in the actions and behaviours of those promoting and implementing the subject development;

- **intent** - motivation, determination and commitment to the realisation of an objective which is not purely utilitarian or economic but embodies other aspirations
- **discernment** - as demonstrated by a full understanding of the desired qualities of the architecture and place-making on the part of the patron
- **participation** - and direct personal or corporate association with the project from inception to completion
- **relationship** -between the patron and designer/ builder founded on mutual respect and trust not contractual obligations
- **resources** - and command of powers necessary to secure consents and permissions and the full realisation and implementation of the project as visualised and designed

That analysis also considered the evidence as regards the constraints and countervailing forces which impeded, compromised or prevented the proposed development from being fully realised. This assessment of the conflicting forces present in such projects may be illustrated graphically as follows whereby the opposing factors may be given 'weight' or significance as to how they may have influenced the eventual outcome as regards the quality of the project. It may be noted that the forgoing characteristics of patronage will be a constant on the left of the diagram but, in some instances be slightly differently expressed. Other factors may be added in as positive or negative elements.

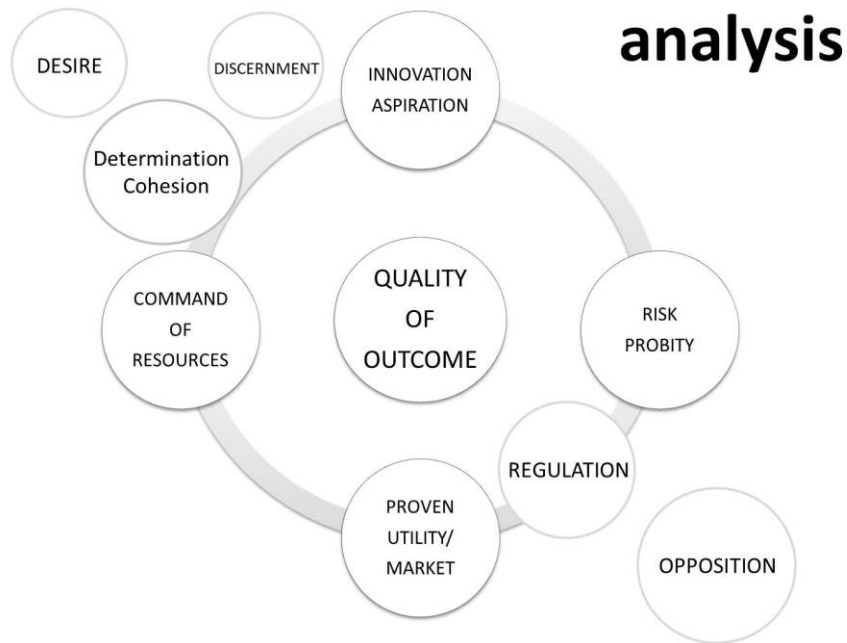


Figure 4. Analysis of the characteristics of patronage and opposing factors

This assisted the initial analysis in identifying the factors and forces present in the subject projects and determination as to whether they may, or may not, be described as a successful outcome of what has, historically, been described as patronage of architecture and the built environment.

3.7.1 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that a case study design is appropriate for addressing the research questions identified in chapter 2. It has discussed the choice of case studies and set out the rationale for using particular data sources and modes of analysis in pursuing those case studies. It has also sought to demonstrate the researcher's sensitivity to relevant ethical issues.

THE CASE STUDIES

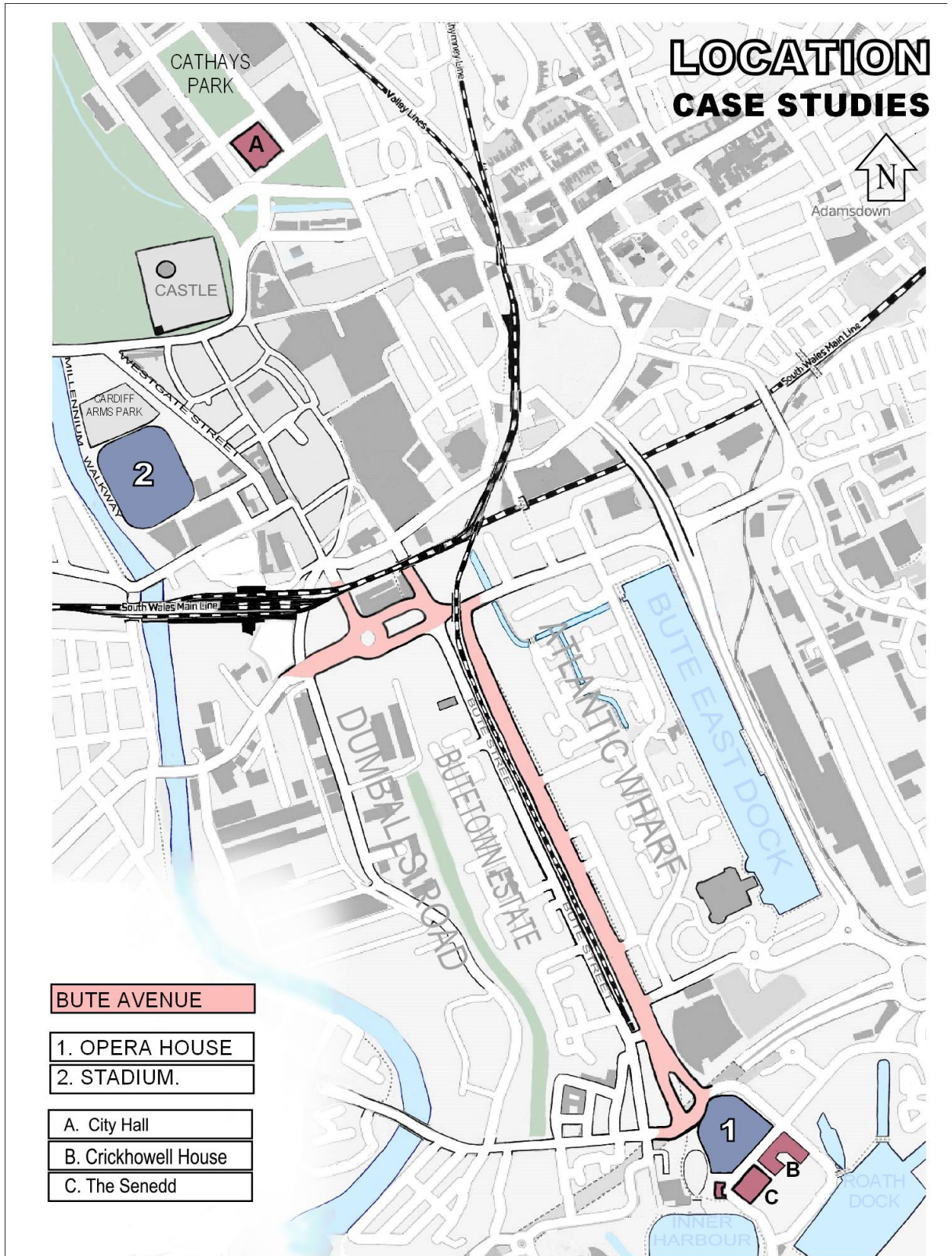


Figure 5. Case Study Locations

4 Chapter 4 CASE STUDY 1.

The Bute Avenue/ Bute Square Project, Cardiff Bay

4.1 Introduction

The first case study examines a publicly funded project which had clearly stated aspirations. It considers how and why such objectives were set, and by whom, and the factors which contributed to the failure to realise such aspirations. Among those are matters relating to the exercise of probity which permeate the study as they affected different aspects of the project. These are investigated by reference to the characteristics that have defined patronage historically and are outlined as follows.

- Aspirational objectives were set and an organisation was then established to implement them. The requirement that the organisation be more democratically accountable is examined as it affected the ability to realise particular objectives. Probity, in that context, is expressed as wider accountability.
- The exercise of discernment in the implementation of the project presented another aspect of probity. That concerns the judgement demonstrated in the selection of designers and adoption of development strategies. Directly related to that are the processes and procedures for appointment and commissioning of services.
- The deployment of resources, particularly the commitment of public funds, presents questions more readily associated with the exercise of probity. In this case the costs eventually incurred were significantly higher than originally projected.
- Overall, however, the compensatory powers endowed to the organisation were an influential factor in mitigating opposition to, and securing qualified support for, its objectives.
- The case study thereby presents the opportunity to examine the relationships of individuals and organisations both in support and in opposition to the development. In so doing the exercise of other powers is investigated, not least the use of aspirational development proposals in the deployment of conditioned power. In that respect the true motivation and intent of the

promoters is questioned and a further aspect of probity explored.

Motivation and commitment are also examined as regards the initiation and leadership of such projects. In this case the continuity of political sponsorship, or patronage, is considered and has a bearing on matters relating to time and timing. These concern changes of personnel or policy due to, or within, the electoral cycle of a democracy and consequent variation in the commitment to realisation of the objectives set for such projects. The study then considers how the priorities of the agency of delivery might be redirected and the relatively short term demands placed on such organisations. In this instance the organisation charged with delivering aspirational objectives had a fixed term and issues which relate to timing and economic cycles can also be compared and contrasted to activity described as patronage historically.

In summary the case study examines the conception, commissioning and implementation of an aspirational development project by a publicly funded agency. Issues concerning design quality and other aspiration in the shaping of place are addressed and the factors that contributed to perceptions of failure to achieve such objectives investigated. The study also serves as an introduction to the physical, social, economic and political context of the following case studies.

4.2 Background

In the course of the 19th century Cardiff grew from a small settlement of fewer than 2,000 inhabitants in 1801 to 164,333 in 1901. That growth was largely propelled by the construction of docks to the south of the original settlement. The principal business of the port was the export of coal which peaked in 1913 at 107 million tons. Cardiff was granted the status of a City in 1905 and designated the regional capital of Wales in 1955 (Daunton

1977; Davies 1981; Davies 1982; Davies 1990). Progressive decline in coal exports through the 20th century rendered older dock facilities redundant and the Bute West Dock was closed in 1964 and the East Dock in 1970. Surrounding housing and other buildings, many dating from the previous century, had deteriorated and were subjected to extensive clearance and partial renewal during the 1970's. The closure of the former East Moors Steelworks adjacent to the port in 1978 exacerbated unemployment in the immediate area. The population of Cardiff had grown to 285,740 in 1981.

Redevelopment of the former Bute West Dock site was initiated by South Glamorgan County Council in partnership with private sector developers during the 1980's. That was supported by the Welsh Office, a department of Central Government. A more comprehensive redevelopment of a much larger area of Southern Cardiff was then proposed by Welsh Office and the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC) inaugurated in April 1987.

4.2.1 The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation

CBDC was one of the second generation of Urban Development Corporations (UDC's) established by the Conservative Government of the time as a publicly-funded taskforce that would initiate projects to act as a catalyst for private investment (CBDC 2000 pps26-29). The core objectives of CBDC were to address social, economic and physical decline in South Cardiff and to;

- i) Promote development and provide a superb environment in which people will want to live, work and play.
- ii) Re-unite the City of Cardiff with its waterfront.
- iii) Bring forward a mix of development which would create a wide range of job opportunities and would reflect the hopes and aspirations of the communities of the area.
- iv) Achieve the highest standard of design and quality in all types of development and investment.

- v) Establish the area as a recognized centre of excellence and innovation in the field of urban regeneration

Aspects of the Cardiff Bay redevelopment have been the subject of previous studies (Thomas et al. 1989; Thomas 1992, 1999; Thomas 2000; Punter 2006, 2007). This case study is primarily concerned with the Bute Avenue/ Square project and the aspirations associated with that.

4.3 Brief description of the project

The Bute Avenue and Bute Square project sought to create a physical link between the city centre and the waterfront. The avenue constructed, now known as Lloyd George Avenue, is approximately one mile long and links the Cardiff City Centre with the Inner Harbour of Cardiff Bay to Cardiff city centre via Bute Square at its northern/ city end and the Oval Basin (now Plas Roald Dahl) at the southern/ waterfront end. The infrastructure works and landscaping were largely completed by 2000. In 2002 Bute Square was renamed Callaghan Square.

For clarity, and brevity, further references in this study will be made to the Avenue and Square respectively.

The Avenue runs parallel to Bute Street and the Butetown Branch Line railway line. It occupies what had previously been Collingdon Road, a mixed-use industrial area parallel with and adjacent to the former Bute West Dock. The West Dock has been progressively redeveloped as a mixed use residential, leisure and commercial development known as Atlantic Wharf. That includes the County Hall constructed by South Glamorgan County Council in 1986/7.

The Avenue design originally envisaged the removal of the existing heavy railway link and its walled embankment on the east side of Bute Street to create a continental-style boulevard with a Light Rapid Transit system, a park and recreational facilities. That was not fully implemented for reasons

which will be examined in this case study. The infrastructure which currently exists was funded and implemented through a Private Finance Initiative which, it is estimated, will cost £189 million over 25 years (Western Mail 2011).

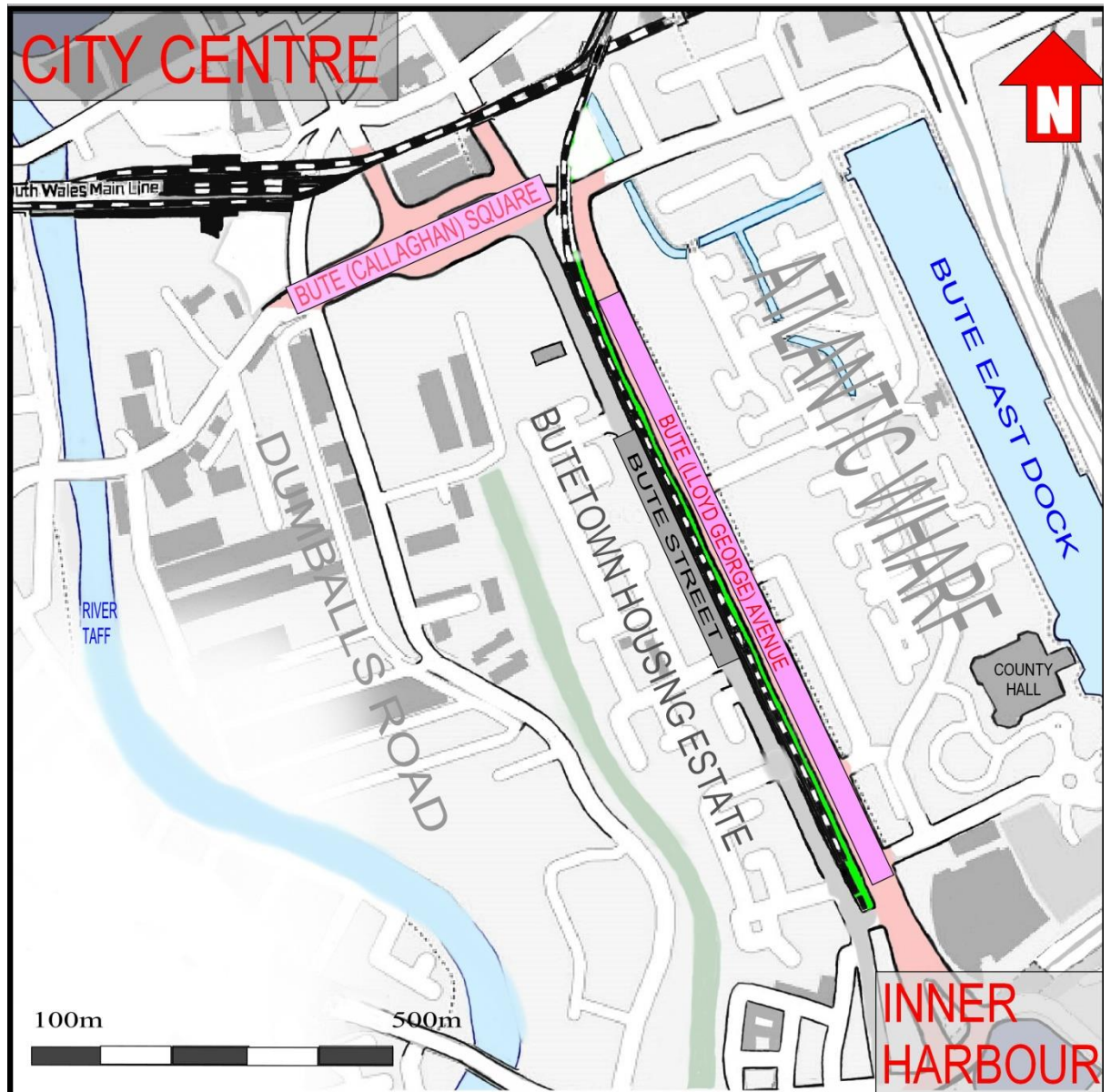
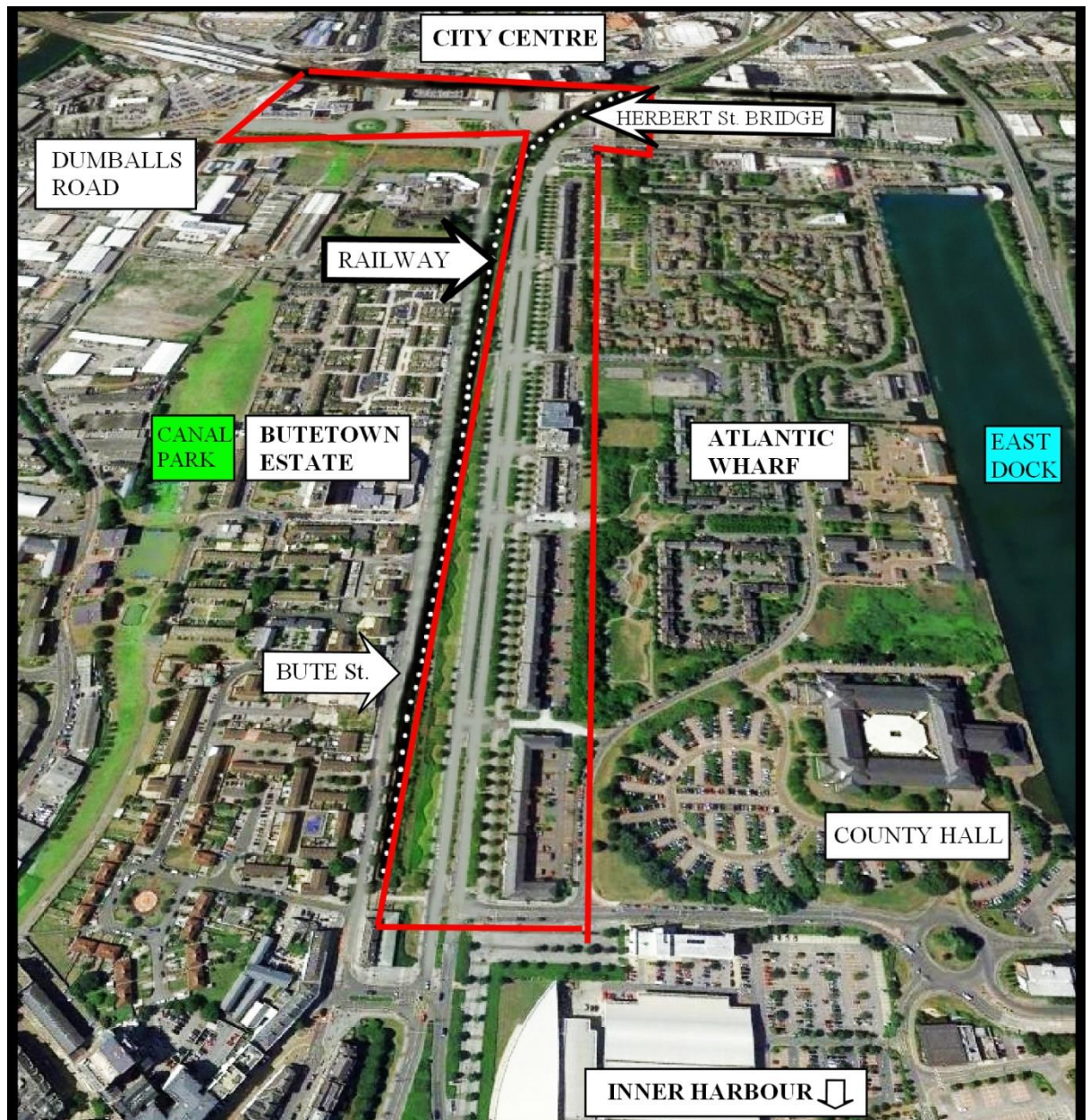


Figure 6 Bute Avenue – location



AERIAL VIEW - looking north from waterfront.

Bute (Callaghan) Square at top, Bute (Lloyd George) Avenue at centre outlined in red.

Butetown branch railway line shown dotted black

Figure 7 Aerial view of Bute Avenue

4.4 The Aspiration

An early appointment of CBDC was that of Llewelyn- Davies Planning who were commissioned to draw up recommendations for the regeneration strategy. Those proposals were the subject of consultation with local authorities, business interests and local communities and were adopted in 1988 (CBDC and Llewelyn-Davies 1988). They included the creation of a 'processional route' that would symbolically re-unite the city centre with its waterfront. This was described as "*A formal Mall of symbolic proportions and length*"(CBDC and Llewelyn-Davies 1988 p14). This would be of;

"...similar width to King Edward VII Avenue in the (Cardiff) civic centre but analogies were drawn with the Champs Elysees and the Washington Mall."(Punter 2006 p153)

Such aspirations were maintained through the operational life of CBDC and reiterated in its valedictory publication, '*Renaissance- The Story of Cardiff Bay 1987-2000*'.

"It was envisaged that Bute Avenue would be of a ceremonial status, bearing comparison with celebrated boulevards in other European cities".(CBDC 2000 p42)

The Core (Chapter 6)

This is designed as the central focus of the regeneration effort. A full spectrum and a high level of urban development is planned to bring cohesion between the City Centre and the Bay and to achieve a dramatic and attractive setting for buildings of all kinds. The extensive range of projects will involve offices, housing, retail, industrial, tourism and leisure uses. Several road links through and across the area are planned to produce a ladder of development between the Bay and the City Centre.

The Inner Harbour is designed as the heart of the scheme, linking Bay, New Town, The Mall, into an urban complex stretching back seamlessly to Mount Stuart Square and a great "New Town" planned to encompass Atlantic Wharf, Pierhead, the Graving Docks and Roath Basin. A formal Mall of symbolic proportions and length runs from the Inner Harbour, Roath Basin past Pierhead, to the City Centre. "The Bridge" project sits astride the railway to enable development and movement to flow between the City Centre and the south. This includes a new southern entrance to Central Station and major car parks.

The revitalization of Butetown is planned in concert: the retention and improvement of the housing, industrial, leisure and landscape along the Taff, Dumballs Road, Canal Park and Bute Street. The new and the old, the large scale and the low key, economic and social development are designed to go hand in hand with extensive linkages across the area.

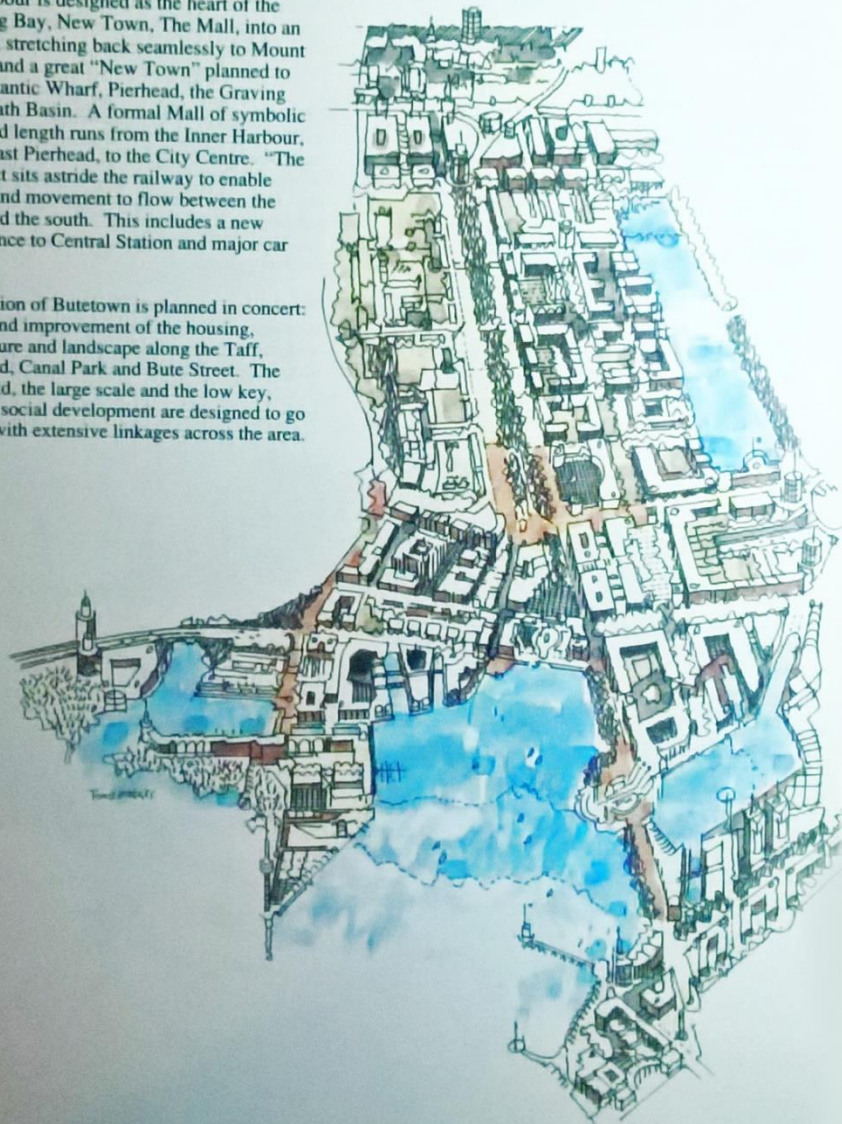


Figure 8 Llewelyn Davies 1988 proposal plan showing the avenue as a 'formal mall' and with reference to 'great New Town'

The Avenue was also stated to be one of their projects that were “... *determined to have international- quality concepts.*”(CBDC 2000 p42).

Some characteristics of patronage were therefore suggested in the commissioning of the master plan and design which expressed aspirations beyond the utilitarian needs of providing suitable highway infrastructure.

However, coupled with the foregoing objectives was the stated aim that the project would enable and encourage urban redevelopment. It was described by CBDC as one of its five “*Principal schemes to act as the catalyst for investment.*”(CBDC 2000 p34). Design aspiration was thereby linked to economic outcomes and the construction of a ‘ceremonial avenue’ not an end in itself. It formed part of an urban renewal strategy predicated on the public sector provision of high quality infrastructure to attract private investment. Such objectives may not necessarily conflict in principle. The question addressed is whether there were pressures to prioritise investment and development outputs and emphasis was placed on those as quantifiable measures of success.

4.5 The Development Corporation as Patron- aspiration and intent

CBDC had clearly stated aspirations on design quality which accord with that characteristic demonstrated by many described as patrons historically. They sought to demonstrate commitment to that objective through the appointment of architects and urban designers of established international reputation. Urban design quality had not been a stated priority of other urban development corporations and, as CBDC later acknowledged; “*This approach was at odds with the atmosphere of the time, in which market forces were rampant*” (CBDC 2000 p42).

The initial question then concerns why high design standards were specified as a core objective for CBDC. This may be partly attributed to the promoters of such initiatives within the Conservative Government of the time, notably Michael Heseltine, who had made aspirational statements on urban design quality while Secretary of State for the Environment between 1979-1983. During that period he was the progenitor of Britain's first Enterprise Zone in 1981, developed the policies that led to the five National Garden Festivals starting in 1984 and established Development Corporations (Hunt 2004). Heseltine's successors as Secretary of State for the Environment, Nicholas Ridley (1986-89) Chris Patten (1989-90) and John Selwyn Gummer (1993-97) also made positive statements on design quality and state patronage (Hillman 1990 pps18-19). That Government's environmental policy of 1990 *This Common Inheritance* asserted the responsibility of those commissioning buildings to ensure good design (DoE 1990).

The Secretary of State for Wales, Nicholas Edwards, does not use the term 'patron' but autobiographically casts himself in that role retrospectively;

- a) as regards Cardiff Bay generally (Crickhowell 1997; Crickhowell 1999) and, as will be discussed later,
- b) the Cardiff Bay Opera House specifically (q.v. Case Study 2, Ch.5).

Edwards had expressed dissatisfaction concerning the quality of the development then being undertaken at Atlantic Wharf and referred to this as a factor in his initiating the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (Crickhowell 1999 p90). Whether the requirement that CBDC achieve higher urban design quality reflected the view of those in Central Government or was a personal aim of Edwards is unclear. It is likely that the view of the former coincided with the latter and is relevant to later discussion of the political beliefs that may inform public patronage.

The case study is concerned with analysing the factors which contributed to failure of the project to realise such aspiration and criticism of it is therefore outlined as a preface to that investigation.

4.6 Perceptions of failure

The perception that the project failed to realise many of the stated objectives and aspirations is considered here as issues arising can then be addressed as they relate to the exercise of discernment, the exercise of powers and other characteristics that have defined patronage.

Several interviewed in the course of this study expressed the view that the project has not been a success; opinions only differed on the extent to which it failed to deliver the stated objectives of CBDC. Those directly concerned with urban design agreed that the development is not what was conceived and presented (Punter 2006; Sterk 2015). As to wider opinion a general view was expressed by Talfan Davies (2008 p289) who referred to;

“.. the sad, misplaced suburbanism of Cardiff’s Lloyd George Avenue; the linked Callaghan square that could have been a treasured public space but is, in fact, a rectangular, furnished roundabout. All these have occasioned deep and obvious disappointments amongst citizens.”

Such criticism is not contained locally and is echoed in the view of Owen Hathersley who described it as “..a ‘boulevard’ of shocking banality” (Nairn 2013 p206).

Perceptions may differ between those highly informed in urban design matters and the wider public. Professor Punter assesses the achievements of CBDC against their original aspirations from the perspective of an academic of distinction in the field of urban design (Punter 1984, 1985; Punter 2007). The general public may be unaware of those original design

aspirations and their evaluation of its aesthetic or utilitarian qualities subjectively informed in their use of the space created. The Square and Avenue could be said to offer a much improved urban environment than that which preceded it. However the project can, by observation, be seen to have failed as;

- a) an urban space that has symbolic or cultural resonance in wider society and,
- b) as one generally regarded and used as the principal thoroughfare connecting the city centre with the waterfront.

These measures of failure are relevant to the distinction that can be made between patron and client. The stated objective of the 'patron' (CBDC) was to create a thoroughfare that would be symbolic. However, such space is only recognised as such through the attribution or recognition of such qualities by wider society. The 'client' or 'users' - in this case, the general public- have not conferred such significance on either the Avenue or Square. Put simply, these places fail to be 'ceremonial' or 'processional' if there are no ceremonies and processions.

Furthermore the Avenue may be regarded as symbolic by some sections of society in the way it divides communities rather than connects destinations. Hathersley refers to another perceived shortcoming which is the continued lack of integration of the Butetown estate with subsequent residential development (Hathersley 2013). The 1970's local authority housing estate remains separated by the embankment wall of the Butetown branch railway line but it must be noted that the original design proposals would have perpetuated such division.



Figure 9 Bute Street looking north. Railway embankment wall on right, Butetown housing estate on left.

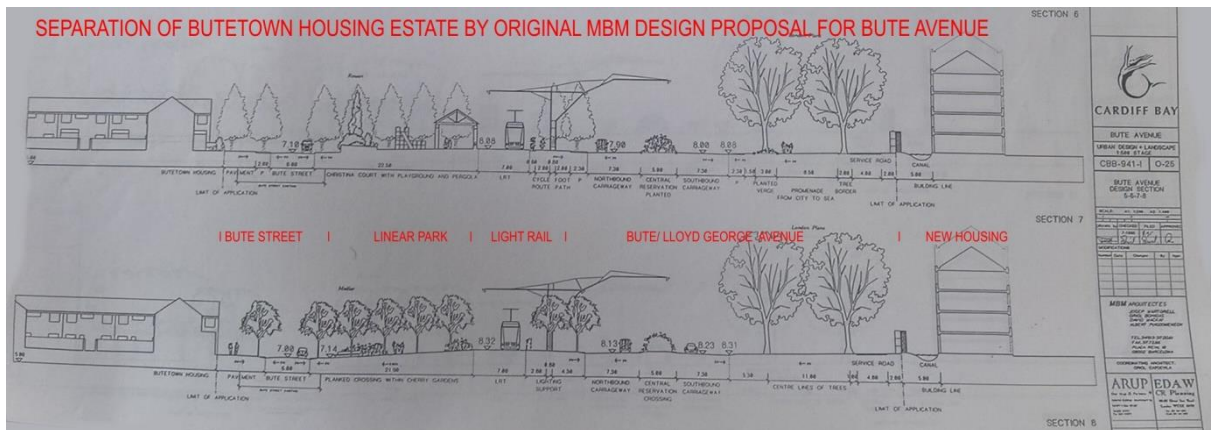


Figure 10 Through section from MBM design proposal showing proposed light railway and separation of existing local authority housing estate and proposed residential development

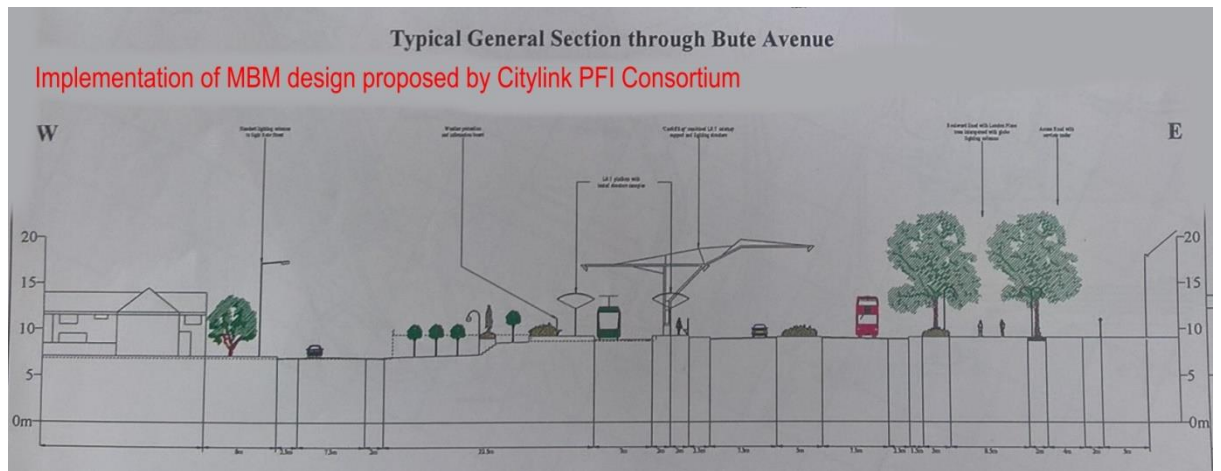


Figure 11 PFI submission by Citylink Consortium showing separation of existing and proposed residential areas by roads, light rail, linear park and pedestrian walkways

This leads to questions which permeate the examination of the urban renewal strategies adopted by CBDC and their appointment of designers. Talfan Davies (2008 p289) added to his comments on the Avenue and Square that “*Such developments are the antithesis of urban design.*” They can in fact be seen to be the antithesis of the urban renewal strategies upon which the reputations of the master planners, Llewelyn Davies, and the designers associated with the Avenue, Martorell-Bohigas-Mackay (MBM), were originally founded. The issue addressed first is the interpretation of the objectives set for CBDC by its Board and officers and how that might have informed the appointment of urban designers.

4.7 THE EXERCISE OF DISCERNMENT

4.7.1 Precedent and Probity

From its inception CBDC had regard to successful urban renewal models implemented elsewhere, particularly The Harbourplace at Baltimore which had been visited by the promoters of the Development Corporation. Such

was the enthusiasm of CBDC and its Chief Executive, Michael Boyce, for Baltimore it was remarked upon there.

“Mr. Boyce has been a frequent visitor to Baltimore and the sort of devoted fan that gladdens the heart of that nonpareil booster, Gov. William Donald Schaefer.”(Schoettler 1994)

John Punter suggested that neither the South Glamorgan County Council nor CBDC recognized the dangers of ‘...*serial repetition of the regeneration model or the differences in city size, catchment and necessary scale of public and private investment in Baltimore*’(Punter 2006 p150).

The proposition introduced here is that such strategies may be perceived by the promoters of such projects as presenting LESS risk having been tested and deemed to have succeeded elsewhere. The rationalisation of such strategy is that it is based on ‘best practice’. CBDC might have embarked on an entirely novel policy programme in pursuit of its objectives but, in the event that such policies failed to realise those objectives, then be more widely criticised. This relates directly to the underlying and recurring issue that innovation, by its nature, will inevitably involve risk.

The adoption of established regeneration models can evidence behaviour whereby the promoters of publicly funded development seek to demonstrate their probity through an assumption of precedent.

The question then arises as to how realistic the aspirations for Bute Avenue were. As will be noted from the earlier review of literature, the historical precedents for ‘processional routes’ in the United Kingdom were not encouraging . As observed by Sir Hugh Casson in 1951, there are surprisingly few ceremonial avenues in our cities (Brunius and Harvey 1952). Of these CBDC might have noted that The Mall in London was largely funded by private subscription and “...*national pride in the project*

did not lead to generous backing either from government or the LCC”
(Thurley 2013 p468)

Thurley (2013) makes the distinction that The Mall was ‘unlike anything achieved in England’ as during the same period the civic centre at Cathays Park, Cardiff was being laid out in the Beaux Arts manner with broad avenues. Both The Mall and another ‘boulevard’, Kingsway, were constructed in London during the Edwardian period of national prosperity and confidence. The construction of Cardiff’s civic centre at was at a time when the exportation of coal through the port of Cardiff was reaching the peak of its growth and prosperity. (Daunton 1977; Davies 1981; Thomas 1983).

The intended dimensions of Bute Avenue were those of King Edward VII Avenue, Cathays Park, and frequent references were made by its promoters to the Champs Elysees, Paris. Similar allusions to Paris have, over time, been made concerning Cathays Park (Thomas 1983 p54; Betjeman 2007 p310). When deployed in marketing such references become common currency through repetitive quotation in wider media. In the promotion of Bute Avenue references were also made to Barcelona and its Las Ramblas (Powell 1992 p4; Punter 2006 p164). In considering the feasibility of populating the proposed thoroughfare in Cardiff it is perhaps worth considering the relative population catchment and density of Paris and Barcelona.

CITY	Size		Population		Density (City)
	City	Urban	City	Greater area	
Cardiff	75.72 km ²	140.3 km ²	346,100	1.25m	5,900/km ²
Paris	105.4 km ²	2,844.8 km ²	2.27m	12.2m	21,196/km ²
Barcelona	101.9 km ²	803 km ²	1.6m	4.5 m	15,991/km ²

Figure 12. Relative population of Cardiff, Paris and Barcelona

The allusions made to the Champs Elysees and Las Ramblas might then be considered highly aspirational. On the one hand this signals an intent and ambition which might encourage enthusiasm for the project among investors, developers and the wider public. On the other, the promoters could be charged with making unrealistic claims as to what might be achieved. In contrast with the earlier observation on the adoption of existing exemplars as demonstrating probity the prudence of implementing models which have succeeded in entirely different social, economic and environmental contexts is questionable.

4.8 The exercise of discernment in urban design matters by CBDC

In the implementation of its mission statement to ‘achieve the highest standard of design and quality in all types of development and investment’ CBDC established a Design and Architecture Review Panel (DARP) in 1988. The establishment of that panel addressed some of the issues later addressed in the 1993 paper, *Architecture and Executive Agencies* (ACoGB 1993). Central to these was the question as to how those responsible for executive decision making, the Board of such agencies, might be better informed on the technical and aesthetic issues essential to deliver that aspiration. The panel was later given a ‘wider remit’ as the Development Advisory Panel (DAP) (CBDC 2000 p42; Punter 2006 p156) .

The original chair of DARP was Sir Alex Gordon, a former President of the Royal Institute of British Architects and perhaps the most eminent architect in Wales at that time (Touchstone 1999 pps 24-25). His presence on the Board of CBDC may have signalled their commitment and intent and

helped validate the role of the Panel which was said to comprise ‘well-qualified national figures’¹ (Hillman 1990).

Gordon was succeeded as Chair of the panel by Professor Richard Silverman, then Head of the Welsh School of Architecture (Silverman 2014). Within CBDC the Panel had a small secretariat; essentially one officer and administrative support (Layzell 2014). The Corporation did, however, also have a Director and several officers dealing with planning matters. The Royal Fine Art Commission held out the Design Advisory Panel of CBDC as an exemplar as regards its intentions to achieve urban design standards through such measures (Hillman 1990 p25,p31)².

The acronym DAP will be used for subsequent general reference unless its predecessor Design and Architecture Review panel is being referred to specifically.

DAP was then the advisor to the Development Corporation on matters of discernment. In so doing the relevant sources and instruments commanded and deployed in the exercise of discernment by and through the Panel are outlined briefly as;

- a. The exercise of conditioned power through influence and changing belief internally and externally. Within CBDC it was a standing advocate and adviser on good urban design and architecture. The Chair of the Panel was a full member of the Corporation’s Board and could thereby seek to influence quality outcomes.
- b. As regards compensatory powers the Panel had no direct budget for the commissioning and implementation of projects. Examples are discussed below of projects initiated and influenced by the Panel which were funded and undertaken

¹ A full list of panel members at CBDC 2000 p142

² It should be noted, however, that the author of that publication, Judith Hillman, was connected with the Corporation as one of the consultants it employed on the Cardiff Bay Barrage and a member of its Development Advisory Panel (CBDC 2000 pps27,142).

directly by the Corporation or design advice was subsidised by the latter. The Panel was, however, able to exercise compensatory power by the appointment of its external advisers who were rewarded directly through commission and, in some instances, through their engagement by developers by recommendation (or imposition) of the Panel. There was, in this way, direct patronage of designers.

- c. The Panel could not compel developers to improve their design directly through the exercise of forms of condign power. However, whilst the Corporation did not have planning and development control powers, the Panel was a consultee of the statutory planning authority on matters within the Corporations area. It could then impede the grant of consent through expression of disapproval for what it considered sub-standard design.

The positive view of the Panel's contribution was expressed as follows:

“What CBDC and the panel were able to deliver, however, was an exceptional level of architectural patronage on projects they funded, nurturing local talent where they could and bringing in distinguished practitioners from elsewhere in the UK” (Punter and Hooper 2006 p163)

There are three points that may be examined in this statement. The first clarifies the distinction that must be made between CBDC and DAP as regards the funding and facilitation of projects. The second concerns the 'nurturing of local talent', that is to say, the commissioning and development of indigenous design skills. The third concerns the procurement of such skills from those of established reputation elsewhere.

4.8.1 Direct commissioning of works

On the first point DAP had no direct control of funds to commission, undertake or subsidise projects. Its role was to advise CBDC on such action.

That said, there are instances where the panel were more closely involved with the commissioning of works directly funded by CBDC and evidence how CBDC and DAP were capable of architectural patronage. Two examples are;

- a) The Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre, known colloquially as 'The Tube', by Alsop & Stormer which *"single-handedly put Cardiff on the architectural map, and 'set a standard rarely followed', according to Paul Finch"* (Sturges 1998 no pagination).
- b) The commissioning of the Oval Basin (now Plas Roald Dahl)

The latter is relevant to this case study as Bute Avenue was intended to connect the city centre with the waterfront but stopped short to the north of the former Bute West Dock Basin. The basin had formed part of the Maritime and Industrial Museum of the National Museum of Wales which was acquired by CBDC and the adjacent site used for the Mermaid Quay retail development. There had been debate as to how the former basin was to be used and the Chair of DAP, Richard Silverman, intervened directly. This resulted in the design that was commissioned from a favoured designer of DAP, Nicholas Hare, and its implementation directly funded from CBDC.

In the course of interview Richard Silverman made the suggestion that the Oval Basin was the 'last truly public space created in Britain'. That is to say, one which was directly conceived and implemented through public funding and not an afterthought or provision by a commercial developer implemented as a planning condition (Silverman 2014).

Opinions differ as to how successful Plas Roald Dahl is as a public space. A point to be noted is again the disparity between the critical view of those educated and informed in matters relating to urban design and the actual use and appreciation of the space by the wider public. An informed or 'academic' view expressed in interview was that a more novel and appropriate use might have been found for the former dock basin (Punter

2014 pps 7-8). On the other hand Plas Roald Dahl provides a public space which is freely used as such and accommodates specific events. As an ancillary space at the Inner Harbour it achieves in part what was aspired for the Avenue and Square. That area has become established as a destination in itself which is popular and well populated. The landscaping and other works to the public realm undertaken by CBDC at the Inner Harbour area are also of high quality. Overall this evidences what could be achieved through the direct implementation of design aspiration by CBDC. The public realm around the Inner harbour, which includes Plas Roald Dahl, can said to be the product of their patronage.



Figure 13 Oval basin/ Plas Roald Dahl



Figure 14 Oval Basin/ Plas Roald Dahl. View south. In use for public concert



Figure 15 Oval basin/ Plas Roald Dahl. View north - recreational use in summer

4.8.2 Patronage of architects

As to the suggestion that DAP nurtured and developed local talent there is little evidence of direct commissioning of local architects by CBDC. In several cases the more entrepreneurial and 'commercial' architects based locally put development propositions in the Cardiff Bay area to prospective clients. Holder Mathias Alcock (HMA), for example, had been actively engaged in the area prior to the establishment of CBDC (Davies STD 2014; Downs 2014). There were also varying forms of competition for commissions from both public and private clients as development sites became available. The public sector usually implemented formal selection processes and the private/ commercial sector appointments less so.

In many instances DAP funded their chosen architects to work with those local practices to enhance initial submissions or try to mitigate the impact of the least acceptable. In this respect some indigenous architects may be said to be the indirect beneficiaries of patronage if they felt that their skills and design output had been enhanced by such intervention. Some of those interviewed worked effectively and collaboratively with those appointed by DAP to produce a more satisfactory outcome (Davies STD 2014; Downs 2014). Others regarded such 'supervision' as comparable to negotiation with planning and development control officers which suggested a more adversarial relationship with the DAP appointee (Adams 2015). This can be noted for later discussion on the provision of design guidance as a form of patronage.

There was not then a clear consensus among those architects interviewed as to whether CBDC encouraged and nurtured local architectural talent. Nonetheless its intervention as an enabling body generated or accelerated development activity and opportunities for architects. It also sought to achieve higher standards of design than those dictated by 'market signals' in the area at that time. There was then indirect patronage through, for example, negotiable terms of land sale to enable certain standards of

development. In that respect the activities of the Corporation could be said to have afforded some benefit to local architects. However the research suggests that few, if any, direct commissions were awarded to local architectural practices by CBDC. From the outset the Corporation favoured the appointment of designers of established reputation from outside Wales.

The appointment of those with proven skills and recognised ability again raises the recurrent question as whether such action may be termed patronage of architecture but not patronage of architects. As noted above, the engagement of such designers may be rationalised as the implementation of best practice. Their appointment may be perceived to present lower risk than using those offering untested or innovative design proposals. The decision is then informed less by the subjective discernment of the designer's ability but an objective assessment of risk and attempted demonstration of probity. The perils of adopting an innovative and untested design proposal is more fully illustrated in the following case study (q.v. Ch6) In that case it will be seen that the discernment of the Board of CBDC was publicly tested and suggested no resolve to pursue the innovative.

There is also the question as to whether there was an underlying intent to acquire the cultural capital represented by designers with an established international reputation, thereby endorsing and validating the objectives of CBDC by association. Were that the case CBDC could be charged with cynical use of the cultural capital so acquired in failing to fully implement the design. From the research undertaken the conclusion is that CBDC intended to realise the original design commissioned for the Avenue and Square. The factors which impeded that initial aspiration are to be explained and an assessment made as to whether they failed to recognise that some of the obstacles would be insurmountable.

In the context of this study the advantages of engaging those with established reputation can be expressed as the exercise of conditioned power. The objective was to instil wider belief in the venture and the appointment of those associated with success in the field would assist that objective. That strategy was adopted by CBDC and some observations can be made on such appointments, first by reference to the appointment of Llewelyn Davies Planning to formulate the regeneration strategy.

The founder of that practice, Richard Llewelyn- Davies, was an architect and academic who established his reputation in a period when architects;

“.. were also learning the limits of power. From the paternalism of the fifties we moved to the ‘public participation exercises’ of the sixties and the public revolts of the seventies, from which humiliations planning emerged ‘indicative’, ‘flexible’, ‘broad brush’. Perceptive architects saw this coming.” (Esher 1981 p294-5)

(Richard) Llewelyn Davies and (John) Weeks are one of the two practices named by Esher as having such perspicacity. It is, however, more likely that their successors at Llewelyn Davies Planning were appointed on the strength of the subsequent international reputation that followed their master planning of Milton Keynes. The Chair of CBDC, Sir Geoffrey Inkin had been the Chair of Cwmbran New Town and perhaps mindful of Michael Heseltine’s objective that Urban Development Corporations would ‘create new towns in old cities’ (Hunt 2004). The proposals for ‘The Core’, as delineated by ‘The Mall’ proposed in the Cardiff Bay Regeneration Strategy are emphatically stated to be a New Town (CBDC 1988 p14).³

³ References to ‘a great new Town’ may also be seen to be reminiscent of the intention of the 2nd Marquess of Bute to create a new town on the Georgian model in the 1840’s. That was also planned along a new ‘processional route’, Bute Street, which would directly link Cardiff Castle with the Pierhead and was not fully realised in the form originally intended (Daunton 1977, Davies 1981)

The established status of the designer was also stressed in the appointment of Ben Thompson & Associates of Boston, "*a leading international urban designer for waterfront developments prepared the brief for the heartbeat of the regeneration, the Bay's Inner Harbour....*"(CBDC 2000 p37).

The former Chair of DAP expressed the view that the appointment of Thompson was not 'informed patronage' by the Board who were 'starry eyed' (Silverman 2014). From the outset the Thompson master plan did not accord with the prevailing commercial property development model in the UK, itself dictated by institutional funding requirements (Punter 2006; Evans 2015).

The initial proposals for physically linking the city centre with the waterfront were formulated by Chris Glaister who had been a consultant on the Canary Wharf development at London Docklands. Those proposals were presented by Glaister in 1992 (Glaister et al. 1992). Given that this was one of the key objectives of CBDC it should be noted that some five years had elapsed since the Corporation was established. This might evidence that the task of connecting the city centre with the waterfront had not been given the same priority as the Inner Harbour, the Cardiff Bay Barrage or other projects.

CBDC then commissioned David Mackay of MBM to develop a detailed design for that proposal which would be used in the application for planning and other statutory consents. Mackay and his practice were respected for their emphasis on the social role of architecture, its integration and relevance to the urban environment and public space. He had opposed on social and ethical grounds, the uncontrolled speculative building boom of the 1960s that had damaged Barcelona. MBM had sought to achieve mixed-use activity that ensured that people could work, live and

play and districts and bring life to its streets and squares through the whole day (Hughes 1992 p41; Eade 2014 no pagination).

It was, however, their design of the Olympic Village in that city that was given prominence in statements and publicity issued by CBDC which presented Mackay as “..the Barcelona-based designer of boulevards for the Spanish city’s Olympic village.” (CBDC 2000 p42 also mentioned at p 63).

As regards Bute Avenue MDM were cited as an example of an appointment intended to;

“...give name and 'legitimacy' to the regeneration project, is that 'Martorell-Bohigas-Mackay', who established their position after participating in the projects of La Defence in Paris and the Olympic Village in Barcelona, were contracted in the autumn of 1993 to design the area that will link the Inner Harbour to the city centre.” (Jauhainen 1995 p11)

Although the 1992 Olympic Games were generally recognised as having a transformative effect on Barcelona, Eade (2014) noted that social integration had not been achieved in the Olympic Village. The original intention there was that affordable housing would be offered after the Games. A combination of market forces and lack of resolve on the part of the city government resulted in the sale of the residential property which became an up-market residential enclave. With the exception of the marina area, few businesses occupy space at street level and away from the coastal frontage it appears lifeless and dreary. In the event this proved to be a general perception of Bute Avenue.

The appointment of established urban designers with widely acknowledged status and reputation by CBDC can, in this context, be considered the acquisition of cultural capital. In that respect discernment exercised by the Board of CBDC can be seen to be in the selection of those who might,

through association and proven success elsewhere, instil belief and confidence in the project. This is evidenced by the prominent references to them in the marketing and promotion of the projects by CBDC. Such action can be rationalised as a form of patronage but of the project, not the designer. CBDC deployed its commercial or compensatory powers to acquire the services of designers of such standing to enhance the prospects of succeeding in the delivery of quality urban design objectives.

The Design Advisory Panel of CBDC, as might be expected, demonstrated a more enlightened and sophisticated appraisal of the design capabilities of their appointees. Their appointment of architectural and urban design advisors constituted a form of direct patronage. Through their advisers the Panel sought to improve design standards. An overall sense of cohesion was not implemented through the development master plans (Punter 2006 p156). Other failings of the design-led regeneration strategy of CBDC are summarised by Punter (2006 pps 162-163).

4.9 The relevant powers exercised by CBDC

4.9.1 Political Support

Urban Development Corporations were an initiative of the Conservative Government and CBDC was established by the Secretary of State for Wales. Such corporations were Quasi Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations (Quango's). In the context of this study the key words for examination are 'quasi-autonomous'. Quango's were the subject of debate in Wales at that time when such organisations were seen to have proliferated under the sponsorship of Conservative Secretaries of State. An aspect of such organisations which drew particular criticism was the 'democratic deficit' arising from the appointment of their Boards and perceived lack of open and direct accountability (Holland and Fallon 1978;

Holland and Institute 1979; Morgan and Roberts 1993; Braid 1994; Morgan and Mungham 2000; Morgan and Upton 2005).

The term 'patronage' is used repeatedly by Morgan and Mungham (2000) in connection with appointments to such bodies. Such practices, described as social and political patronage, were identified as an issue in the review of literature (q.v p58-59) and have a bearing on this research. This concerns the requirement that probity be demonstrated in the appointment of architects or other consultants who are commissioned to undertake public works. Such commissions may be awarded by boards or panels comprised of individuals who were appointed in recognition or reward for public or political services in spheres other than architecture. This issue will be explored further in the following case studies. Here it can be noted that individuals appointed to the Board of CBDC were influential in determining the outcome of the Cardiff Bay Opera house examined in the following case study.

In establishing CBDC concessions were made by the Secretary of State which included the provision that there be representation on its Board of democratically elected members of the local authorities. In practice these were then appointees of those authorities or, more specifically, the dominant political group in those authorities. A further concession that was to be an influential factor in the outcome of the Bute Avenue project was that statutory planning and development control powers be retained by the local authorities. The Corporation then required the support of the local authorities through those representatives and issues arising from that arrangement will be examined in the course of this case study. The role of the Secretary of State will be examined first as;

- i) The powers that were vested in CBDC derived from him and, in the event of a dispute with other statutory bodies, for example, would look to him for support. In that sense the Secretary of State might be considered its patron.

- ii) As a statutory body CBDC were primarily accountable to Government and its Treasury through the Secretary of State
- iii) The priorities for delivery of its mission were set by the Secretary of State

In the course of the operational lifetime of CBDC there were seven different Secretaries of State for Wales. The first, Nicholas Edwards, who instigated the project retired from politics in 1987. He was succeeded by Peter Walker (1987-90) and David Hunt (1990-93) who were supportive of CBDC's objectives. Their successor, John Redwood (1993-95), was seen to be ideologically opposed to market intervention. He effectively cut the budget of CBDC in real terms and during his tenure as Secretary of State CBDC it was directed that the Avenue project be implemented and funded through a Private Finance Initiative (PFI). Coupled with that was the requirement that CBDC increase tangible development outputs. Housing and business space construction was then directly linked to the Avenue and Square as a condition of the PFI. These were factors which were to have an adverse impact on the eventual outcome of the project.

Redwood was succeeded by William Hague (1995- 97) who had no discernible effect on the operation of CBDC in the context of this study. His replacement by Ron Davies as Secretary of State for Wales following the Labour Party victory in the general election of 1997 was expected to have a marked impact on CBDC. He had been a vocal opponent of the Cardiff Bay Barrage, a critic of CBDC and had made reference to a 'Bonfire of the Quango's' (Best 2004; Masters 2004)

The termination of CBDC and the future of its assets, including the Bute Avenue PFI were closely considered by Ron Davies when Bute Square emerged as a candidate site as a home for the National Assembly for Wales. That will be examined briefly in the third case study (q.v. CH6). Here it may be noted that the pressing political imperative to secure a credible alternative to Cardiff City Hall gave the Bute Avenue/ Square project

additional impetus. The possibility that a suitable home for the National Assembly might be provided through the PFI funding mechanism was actively investigated by CBDC with the support of politicians who had hitherto been antipathetic to the Corporation. In addition the proposal to house the Assembly at Bute Square drew greater media, and therefore public, attention to the project.

Had the Bute Square option been selected for the National Assembly, the area might have benefitted in terms of design and quality through the direct interest of the Welsh Government following the demise of CBDC. As will be more fully described later in the third case study the decision was made to locate the National Assembly at the Pierhead, Cardiff.

Following the resignation of Ron Davies in October 1998 Alun Michael became Secretary of State and First Secretary of the National Assembly for Wales from May 1999 until February 2000. Michael had been a consistent supporter of CBDC, its operational area covering a large part of his constituency. He authorised the PFI agreement and it also fell to him to confirm the winding up of CBDC (Hansard HC Deb 31 March 1999 vol 328 cc730-2W). Finally, Rhodri Morgan, possibly the highest profile opponent of the Barrage and critic of CBDC, became First Minister of the National Assembly in February 2000, a month before the Corporation was officially wound up.

Several points arise concerning the varying support and priorities of successive Secretaries of State. The first is that, in this case, they differ within their respective political parties. This relates to the question of where support for aspirational development may be aligned in the spectrum of political philosophy accommodated within a modern democracy. In this case Nicholas Edwards and Peter Walker can be associated with the 'One Nation Conservatism' that promoted various initiatives to address urban decline. Redwood, in contrast, favoured the neoliberal view and less market intervention. Alun Michael was supportive

of CBDC whereas Ron Davies and Rhodri Morgan had been active opponents of the Corporation. As will be evidenced in the following case studies they differed widely on other issues.

In this particular case it can be noted that the support of the *individual* incumbent is critical. The necessary powers and command of resources attach to the position of Secretary of State and any personal antipathy to particular development proposals will then be influential. From that point it can be noted that, in this instance, there was no continuity of political leadership. That change may follow regular elections is a feature of a democracy. Furthermore the rotation of Ministers of State is a feature of modern government.

The proposition then noted for further exploration in this thesis is that changes of personnel may be a fundamental failing of projects initiated by political figures.

4.9.2 Planning and development control

As noted earlier, CBDC were not granted the over-riding powers given to earlier UDC's in England. South Glamorgan County Council, through its leader, supported the establishment of a UDC in South Cardiff but demanded this be a collaborative venture with democratically elected representation on the UDC Board. At a meeting between the Secretary of State, Nicholas Edwards and the leader of the Council, Jack (Later Lord) Brooks in 1986;

“ Brooks made clear to Edwards that the local authority would oppose a corporation unless the council were closely involved and retained planning powers.” (CBDC 2000 p 27)

The local authorities were represented on the Board of CBDC and Cardiff City Council retained its powers of planning and development control.

The absence of planning and development control powers did not, in itself, markedly impede development overall in Cardiff Bay. The Officers of both the planning authority and CBDC interviewed in the course of this research confirmed that there was a good working relationship between them. Protocols were agreed for the resolution of dispute but there were only five instances of referral in over 3,000 development control decisions which was considered “... a testament to good working relationships and shared objectives.” (Punter and Hooper 2006 p151)

The local planning authority did not obstruct the proposed development of the Square and Avenue as formulated and proposed by Glaister and designed by Mackay. The latter plans formed the basis for the planning consent that was granted.

However, matters relating to planning, highways, housing and other statutory functions had an impact on the Avenue project from the outset. In determining the route of a physical link between the city centre and the waterfront the powers of CBDC were constrained by agreements relating to the pre-existing Butetown housing estate and the Dumballs Road industrial area

The exclusion of local authority housing estates from the operational mandate of Urban Development Corporations were a matter of national policy and not then a matter of any local agreement. It was, however, made clear that the local authority would not countenance any major incursion or redevelopment of that estate. Also the use of Canal Park as a potential route was considered by CBDC and its retention as a green amenity recreation space for the local community was a decisive factor in the rejection of that option (Crompton 2014; Essex 2014; Hanson 2015).

Realistically any development of Canal Park as a ‘ceremonial route’ would have meant some redevelopment of industrial premises along the eastern side of Dumballs Road. Although that was within the operational area of CBDC it was conceded that they would not advance any development

proposals for it as the County Council regarded it a strategic employment area (Hanson 2015). Effectively the area between the Butetown rail link and the River Taff to the west could not accommodate the proposed thoroughfare. In consequence the available corridor for the Avenue presented to the designers was along Collingdon Road, then largely occupied by lower value mixed industrial occupiers (Thomas et al. 1989; Thomas 2014).

The effective exclusion of the Dumballs Road area from CBDC's development/ design regime had consequences relevant to this research. The opportunistic sale of former industrial property resulted in piecemeal development which drew developer and occupational demand away from other areas. This then impacted on Bute (Callaghan) Square and affected outcomes following the wind-up of the Corporation in 2000. It is also relevant to later consideration of the displacement of development to areas with less rigorous planning requirements. The local authority was unable to exercise the levels of control over speculative development at Dumballs Road that CBDC might have encouraged through the use of statutory instruments such as Supplementary Planning Guidance (Hanson 2015).

4.9.3 Compulsory acquisition

CBDC were able to deploy powers of Compulsory Acquisition working with the Land Authority for Wales (LAW). As noted above, these were exercised in the assembly of land required for the project (Thomas et al. 1989; Thomas 2014). Some emphasis was placed on the use of such powers as a measure of last resort. The then secretary of State, Nicholas Edwards stated that;

"I made it clear that although CBDC would be prepared when necessary to use powers of compulsory purchase to assemble land, it was not intended to do so when this was not necessary and when the landowners

were active in bringing forward plans for development.”(Crickhowell 1999 p94)

In that account Edwards/ Crickhowell the foregoing statement is prefaced by the need to ensure the cooperation and support of local government and the *major* landowner in the area, ABP. That consideration is reflected in the statement of CBDC that;

“The Corporation is in most cases acquiring public sector land voluntarily rather than by Vesting Order (Compulsory Purchase) which is only used when absolutely necessary”(CBDC 1990 p14)

The effective exemption of ABP land from compulsory purchase proved contentious politically and has no direct bearing on this case study. It will, however, be seen to give rise to questions relating to probity in following case studies where ABP land was required for the Cardiff Bay Opera House and the Housing of the National Assembly for Wales.

Ownership and control of land presented the opportunity for comprehensive planned redevelopment. Coupled with a long term view this has been central to exemplary estate development historically. Design aspiration can be implemented more rigorously through contract than through planning statute and guidance. To some extent this was seen in the PFI agreement and achieved in the case of the first office block, 1 Callaghan Square. The housing development along the Avenue was less successful, the PFI consortium having novated their contractual obligation to volume house builders.

As to whether the powers to compulsorily assemble land were used effectively one can only speculate as to what might have been achieved had the adjacent development land not been included in the PFI agreement and;

- i) CBDC retained the land for disposal on completion of the works,

- ii) been able to wait until there was ready occupational demand for buildings of the quality originally envisaged and then;
- iii) Exerted quality control directly through contract with developers.

This has relevance to the demands placed on CBDC for quantifiable development outputs and time and timing issues discussed later.

4.9.4 The Railway

A visible failure of the project was the inability to move the heavy rail link as originally intended. The initial proposals for the Avenue provided for its replacement with a Light Rail/ Tram (LRT) system which proved to be too costly both in terms of its initial capital cost and ongoing subsidy. Once that provision was eliminated a negotiated agreement with the owners of the heavy rail link and the operators of services upon it proved fruitless.

What can be concluded as a matter of fact is that CBDC commissioned, accepted and widely promoted a design proposal which assumed removal of that railway when they did not have;

- a) A formal agreement to acquire that land in place or
- b) The resources to compulsorily acquire it.

As to such negotiations CBDC were tactically naïve in so publicly declaring their intent without a formal agreement in place with the railway operators and owners of the permanent way. Another important point is that these were statutory rail owners and operators. At that late stage CBDC would not have had the time to pursue the compulsory removal of an operational railway even if there had been the political will to support such action.

This then raises an issue concerning the decision of the Secretary of State, Nicholas Edwards, to exclude Associated British Ports (ABP) from any compulsory land acquisition by CBDC. That also has a bearing on questions

concerning the relationship between CBDC and ABP which recur in following case studies and relate to matters of probity.

The point noted here is that;

- a) If there was a tenable argument for not exercising compulsory acquisition on what was *non-operational* land owned by ABP, a statutory undertaking then,
- b) It should have been clear that any expectation that an *operational* statutory railway undertaking might be compulsorily acquired might be considered unrealistic.

4.9.5 Highways

Statutory highway provisions appear to have prevailed over design aspirations in the implementation of the project. In November 1999, four months after the PFI had been approved, David Mackay attacked the PFI funding process claiming it had taken the project out of the hands of the designers and that highway engineers were “... *ruining the integrity of one of Cardiff's showpiece urban design projects*”(Long 1999)

We may note this as an instance of the further alienation of the designer by CBDC in failing to ensure that the design they had adopted was not compromised. The standard street furniture and other features required by the highway engineers have a detrimental visual impact and contribute to the sense that;

“..potentially excellent projects like Callaghan Square and Lloyd George Avenue are undermined by insensitive highway engineering or simply a lack of connection to the adjacent urban fabric.” (Punter 2006 p162; 2007)

As noted earlier the Avenue did not establish itself as the principal thoroughfare connecting the waterfront with the city. To a far greater

extent highway access to the Cardiff Bay area was facilitated by works initiated by the County Council as highway authority through;

- a) The Peripheral Distributor Road (PDR) from the M4 motorway and
- b) The Butetown link along the former East Dock.

A notable achievement of CBDC, working with that highway authority, was that the PDR was placed in a tunnel and the waterfront was not then separated from the city by a dual carriageway at grade. However, traffic displaced by works elsewhere in the city has been diverted through the Square. The failure to complete planned works there will be examined below.

4.10 Finance

The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation was well financed overall and the financial issues which impacted upon the outcome of the Bute Avenue/Square project may be summarised as;

- The implementation and funding of the project through the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) and
- The diversion of funds for completion of works following the demise of CBDC in 2000

4.10.1 Implementation through the Private Finance Initiative

The intention of CBDC was to construct the Avenue and square as designed by MBM from its budget for infrastructure works. Adjoining land would then be sold at an enhanced value following the provision of high quality infrastructure and public realm. A budget for such works had been carried forward but did not include removal of the heavy rail link and its

embankment nor installation of an LRT transport system as originally envisaged (Crompton 2014).

The Private Finance Initiative (PFI) was imposed on CBDC due to the prevailing political ideology at that time which was to take capital infrastructure projects off balance sheet. As noted by Wilkinson (2014 p295) this policy proved to be more expensive over the long term and as proved to be the case with the Avenue/ Square project, the total cost of which was estimated by The Treasury at £189m (Wales Online 2011).

The project was subject to direct scrutiny by The Treasury as the terms and conditions of the PFI had to be sanctioned and approved centrally. In consequence there was;

- a) loss of autonomy and greater budgetary constraint on matters relating to design quality and
- b) emphasis placed on value for money as measured against tangible criteria.

The specification of design and materials ceased to be at the discretion of CBDC in the disbursement of their budget and Treasury advisers had influence over what they may have perceived as any architectural or urban design 'extravagance'. This affected the quality of the infrastructure, public space and the housing constructed along the Avenue.

The issues arising may be discussed by reference to the following observation.

"The dishonest obsession with cutting up-front costs, which has spread through British bureaucracy, has also had a devastating effect on the architectural profession. Good design is considered an unnecessary expense, so patrons opt instead for 'design and build' contracts which cut out architects in favour of developers and their in-house design teams. The results are banal, cripplingly expensive buildings and a profession in crisis "(Wilkinson 2014 p295).

In the context of this thesis the use of the term 'patron' in the foregoing statement may be said to be incorrect as the procurement process described does not display the characteristics which have defined patronage historically. In the first instance the designer, Mackay, was alienated from the process of implementation and was not party to any of the discussions or negotiations. Stride Treglown Davies had been appointed by the successful bidders for the PFI contract as their architecture and design advisors. Although they were working to the MBM master plan they, in turn, were subordinate to the consortium led by Norwest Holst who were primarily interested in securing a civil engineering contract (Crompton 2014; Davies STD 2014).

During the course of negotiations the adjoining development land was then included within the PFI. The terms and conditions of the PFI provided for completion of speculative commercial buildings at the Square and residential development along the Avenue. The French parent company of Norwest Holst, VINCI, were averse to speculative property development and a commercial property development company, MEPC, joined the consortium as a partners. They, in turn, were not interested in residential development and the land along the Avenue was then sold to housebuilders.

The imposition of PFI as a funding mechanism was an external factor that could not have been foreseen by CBDC when its regeneration strategy was being formulated. Nor could it resist the will of the Secretary of State or requirements of The Treasury. In consequence CBDC, whilst directly negotiating the terms and conditions including the required quality standards, were not responsible for their final implementation.

4.11 The failure of successor bodies to implement works

The failure to deliver the original objectives cannot be wholly attributed to any dilution of the specification of the works and its implementation through the PFI. Several negative aspects of the project can be ascribed to the failure of successor bodies to implement works following the winding up of CBDC in 2000. The issues arising are relevant to the responsibility and determination to achieve the strategic objectives. The research indicated that funds were allocated to successor bodies for the completion of some specific works which were not implemented.

For example, such an allocation was made for works to an area which can be seen to be problematical. In conceding that the heavy rail link would need to remain in place CBDC had recognised that there was one point where the Mackay plan would not work properly. That was the critical connection between the Square and the Avenue where the Herbert Street railway bridge would remain (Crompton 2014 p3). At that point the avenue turns to the east away from square and the course originally intended. The head of the Avenue is therefore detached from the Square and not immediately visible from it.



Figure 16 Herbert Street Bridge (on left) viewed from junction of Callaghan Square and the northbound carriageway of Bute Street. The head of Bute Avenue can be seen beyond the bridge only from this part of the square.

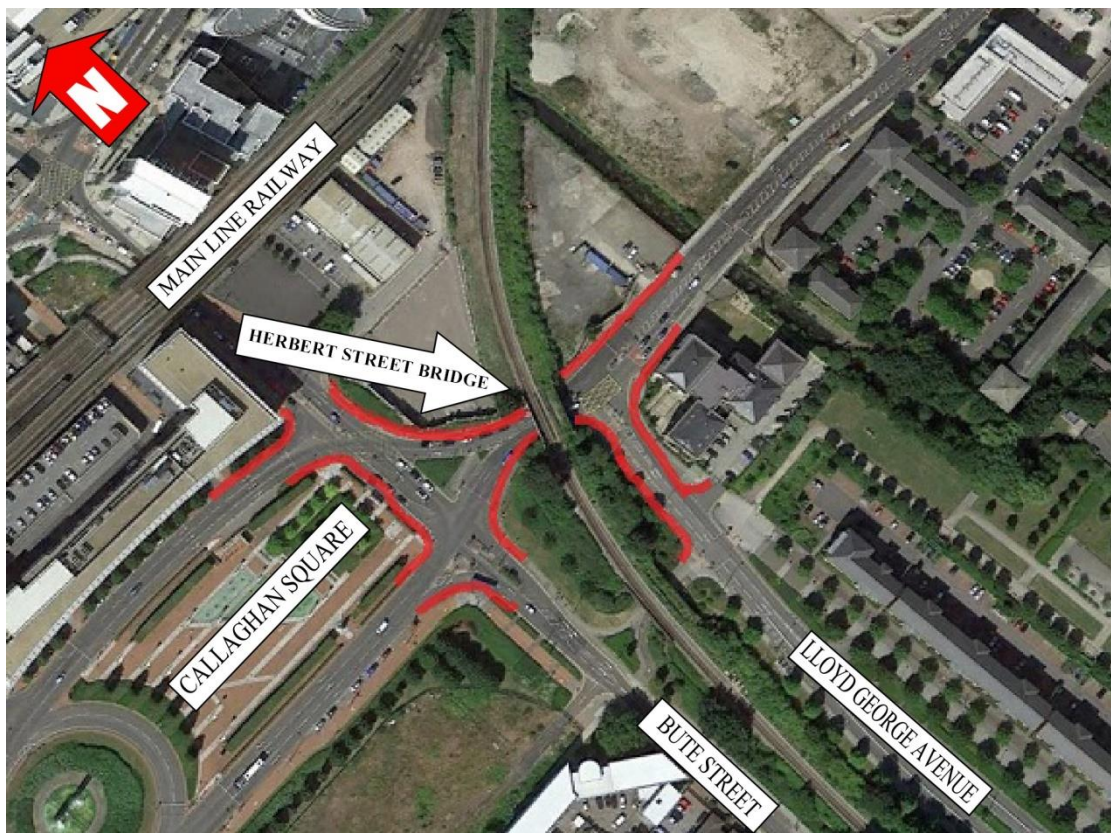


Figure 17 Aerial view of the Herbert Street Junction and Bridge. The northern junction of Lloyd George Avenue can be seen to turn away from Callaghan Square.

CBDC entered into an arrangement with the County Council, as part of the project agreement, that they would address this by replacing Herbert Street bridge with a new single span bridge of about 80metres. This would allow completion of the eastern end of Callaghan Square and allow the avenue to join it on a direct line. David Crompton indicated that work should have been completed under the project agreement by 2003 but the Welsh Government made a capital payment of £17m to Cardiff County Council to buy out their obligation to replace the rail bridge. The matter then rested with the City Council as to whether that impediment to an effective physical linkage could and would be resolved. To date (2016) nothing has been done.

4.12 Analysis

Conclusions arising from the case study are summarised by reference to the key characteristics that have defined patronage historically as follows.

4.12.1 Aspiration

In this case aspirations to achieve design quality in a publicly funded project were initially set by the Secretary of State. An organisation, CBDC, was established to realise that and other objectives including the goal of 'reuniting' the city centre with its waterfront. In developing the strategy to deliver that specific goal proposals were formulated for a 'ceremonial' or 'processional' avenue that would symbolically link the city centre with the waterfront. The statement of such aspirations then suggested a characteristic that has defined patronage historically.

The research examined perceptions of failure to achieve such objectives and conclusions as to the factors which contributed to that are summarised

below. Key questions carried forward for further examination and analysis concern how realistic the aspirations were and whose interests were served in setting such objectives.

4.12.2 The exercise of discernment

The intention to pursue design quality objectives was evinced by CBDC, most notably through the establishment of its Design and Architectural Review Panel, later the Development Advisory Panel. The Chair of the Panel sat on the Board and advised directly on matters relating to architecture and urban design. The Board and officers of the Corporation thereby had professional advice on matters relating to design standards.

The precedence given by CBDC to the appointment of designers with established reputation and their adoption of development strategies successfully implemented elsewhere was considered and it was concluded that discernment was exercised in making such choices. As regards patronage, those described as patrons historically have facilitated the importation of architectural and urban design established elsewhere and, in that respect characteristics attributed to patronage were evidenced.

However, it was concluded that such choices were influenced by considerations relating to probity. The appointment of architects of proven ability and preference given to established models of redevelopment was considered a prudent strategy by the Corporation. The Corporation was, as a publicly funded organisation, risk averse and this inhibited more innovative approaches in realising its stated objectives.

As regards those objectives the research examined the aspirations for design quality in the context of other goals set for the Corporation. A conclusion was that the 'symbolic' significance of creating a physical link between the city centre and waterfront was to instil belief in the wider regeneration project. The need to engage with and secure the active

interest of the property investment and development industry was then prioritised. There was then a pragmatic commercial rationale in the conception of the project rather than it being a response to perceived demand from a majority in society.

That rationale then informed further conclusions on the exercise of discernment in the appointment of architects of established reputation. In the context of this thesis this relates to the procurement of the cultural capital of those appointed, thereby endorsing and validating the project. The emphasis placed on the links between those appointed and successful projects elsewhere was then a statement of the intent and ambition of the promoters. In that respect the promoters sought to exercise conditioned power by instilling belief in the project. This nonetheless conforms to some actions and relationships described as patronage historically.

The processes and procedures for appointment of architects lead to the following conclusions on relationships. In this case there was evidence of forms of patronage in that the Corporation demonstrated a preference in the selection and appointment of particular advisors and in commissions awarded to architects. A conclusion of the research was that such processes were 'managed' to satisfy the prevailing requirements relating to public procurement. The question carried forward from this case study then concerns the practices and procedures for the appointment of those who will exercise discernment in the commissioning of architecture.

4.12.3 Relationships

Whereas certain characteristics that have defined patronage were present in the commissioning of architects they were not evidenced in the implementation of the project. In this case the architect, David Mackay, was not retained and his proposed designs were much diluted. The appointed architect, much celebrated and publicised by CBDC for his

successes elsewhere, was then alienated. The possibility that there had been a cynical use of the architects reputation and cultural capital by CBDC was examined in the study. The conclusion was that CBDC had originally intended to execute the Mackay designs but did not do so due to factors summarised below. Not least was the direction that they progress the project through the Private Finance Initiative.

Probity and democratic accountability were influential as they affected and shaped relationships of individuals and organisations in this case. A significant factor was the perception of CBDC as a QUANGO created by a Conservative Secretary of State. There was then antipathy to it on the part of Labour politicians in the region. More locally that was mitigated by the concession that;

- a) there be local government representation on the Board of CBDC and
- b) that planning and development control powers be retained by those authorities.

In the first instance local democratic representation then created differing lines and levels of accountability. The aspirational objectives set by the Secretary of State, as the 'patron' in this case, could be challenged by members of the Board of the agency he established to deliver such objectives. There was, in consequence, some limitation of the Corporation's autonomy.

Procedures were put in place to resolve potential conflict arising from the second concession. In the event there was no effective challenge to the project in the formal planning process. However, deference to local authority priorities had presented constraints on the available route for a physical link between the city centre and waterfront.

A point noted from this case study concerns the relationship between the Secretary of State who initiated the project, Nicholas Edwards, and other

individuals and organisations. His direct relationship with ABP, the major landowner in the development area, presented political opponents with opportunities to ask questions relating to probity. These do not relate directly to this case study but will be seen to have affected outcomes in the following case studies. There it will also be seen that his relationship with some of the beneficiaries of his political patronage deteriorated.

A more general conclusion from the first case study concerns the relationship with property markets. The aspirational objectives were linked with other goals, not least the attraction of private development and investment capital. As noted earlier such aspirations were then intended to attract the attention of such markets and instil confidence in developers and investors. In that respect the project differed from many actions described as patronage historically in that the creation of a 'symbolic' or 'ceremonial' avenue was not the sole or even primary purpose of the promoters. In consequence tangible measures of success would be sought and, in this case, were demanded and priority given to property development objectives.

Issues arising from the tension between such objectives and design aspirations will be revisited below as a concluding point.

4.12.4 Leadership

Leadership and direction were a critical factor in this case, most specifically that given by the Secretary of State as the sponsor, or patron, of the project. In this instance the successive Secretaries of State demonstrated variable commitment to the aspirational objectives originally set. The differing political ideologies within and between political parties were then reflected in the direction given to the government agency responsible for implementation of the project. Potentially these

may have been more marked following the change of government that took place when this project was being implemented.

An important conclusion from this case study then applies more generally to the research question as to whether the characteristics that have defined patronage historically can be replicated in publicly funded projects. The fixed electoral cycle of a modern democratic polity greatly reduces the continuity in political leadership. There may also be changes of personnel during that term. Any personal commitment of an individual to aspirational development objectives may then be lost and differing policy objectives directed by successors.

The case study then illustrates a difference between those described as patrons historically, the monarchic, autocratic or oligarchic regimes that then prevailed and the sponsors of contemporary publicly funded development in an open democracy. There is significantly less certainty that the powers exercised in support of an aspirational project will be commanded by a particular individual from the inception to completion of such a project.

4.12.5 The command and deployment of resources

The foregoing point then leads to the command and allocation of the resources necessary to fully realise the aspiration. In this case the Secretary of State established an organisation and endowed it with financial and other resources. Certain powers granted to earlier Urban Development Corporations were retained by local government in this instance and, as noted, had some impact on outcomes. However, a conclusion of the research was that the additional financial resources provide through the Corporation were a factor which reduced local political opposition to it. In that respect there was then an exercise of compensatory power.

The commitment of such resources also facilitated a form of patronage if loosely defined as bringing into being that which would not otherwise have

existed without such intervention. In this case such intervention accelerated a process of urban renewal and, coupled with the stated aspirations to achieve particular standards of design and construction, can again be so defined.

The deployment of resources, particularly the commitment of public funds, presents questions more readily associated with the exercise of probity. In this case the costs eventually incurred were significantly higher than originally projected. That the Corporation were directed to implement the project through the PFI initiative as a policy of a Conservative government was noted. The final approval that it should proceed by way of such funding was granted by a Labour Party Secretary of State and the elected members of both parties were advised by civil servants.

The earlier points on continuity of policy are then further illustrated in this instance. On the one hand there was discontinuity during the term of Conservative government in the direction that the project be implemented through PFI rather than implemented and funded directly by CBDC. There was then, perhaps paradoxically, continuity of that policy under the Labour government leading to the costs incurred in the longer term through the PFI agreement.

As regards the practical exercise of specific powers matters relating to the planned removal of heavy rail link and embankment presented serious questions. Detailed plans for the Avenue were formulated, formally adopted and widely promoted which indicated that the rail link and embankment would be removed. The conclusion of the study was that CBDC were tactically naïve, if not irresponsible, in making a public commitment to doing so when they did not have the (statutory) powers necessary to do so.

An important point here concerns the presentation of a particular aspiration and the consequences of failing to meet the expectations that are raised. This then relates to the deployment of conditioned power and

the exercise of probity in illustrating what *might* be achieved or suggesting that such aspirations *will* be realised. In this instance, as noted earlier, it was concluded that CBDC original *intended* to realise the plans as designed by David Mackay. In the event the light rail/ tram system was not economically viable and they did not have the powers to remove the heavy rail link. Therefore the Corporation lacked the compensatory and condign powers to realise that intention but, nevertheless continued to promote the scheme as originally conceived in their deployment of conditioned power. That then presents their critics with the opportunity to question their true motives in the presentation of that aspiration.

4.12.6 Time and timing

Time and timing emerged as an appreciable factor which affected the project and serves to summarise and link some of the foregoing points in moving to some general conclusions on this case study.

In this case study the aspiration to achieve high standards of urban design were linked with a property development led regeneration strategy. A fundamental problem with a fixed term 'task and finish' organisation implementing such a strategy is that success, or failure, will be affected by economic cycles and property markets prevailing during that term. Coupled with that, the allotted term may span electoral cycles and changes of political ideology or policy within Governments. In this case the operational priorities of CBDC were redirected by the political demand for tangible and measurable outputs. The ability of the Corporation to respond to such direction was, in part, constrained by a recession in the property market shortly after it was established. This then impacted on aspirations for better design quality. In the absence of proven market demand pressures arise for quality standards to be relaxed to encourage development or (higher) subsidies are required to enable developers to achieve the desired level of quality.

A point noted in this case then concerns an indirect form of patronage in the role of CBDC in offering design guidance. This has a bearing on the relationships between those accountable for the delivery of the differing objectives set for the organisation. Tensions then arise between individuals within the organisation as to the priorities given to the allocation of resources. Those accountable for delivering development or managing financial resources may be inclined to oppose those advocating the enforcement of guidance on quality if it inhibits development or increases costs.

The operative point is that political pressure can demand that priority be given to tangible and quantifiable results in the short term. Placing short term demands on what is, by its nature, a much longer term market impacts on the built environment over a more extensive period. Inevitably the buildings and places created outlast electoral and market cycles. There is then a direct contrast with much of that described as patronage historically which evidenced long term development strategies informed by the principles of stewardship (q.v. p54). In the review of literature it was noted that, historically, such policies were implemented largely through the self-interest of landed aristocrats. Other issues relating to time and timing will be addressed in following case studies but in this case the short term demands placed on government agencies is highlighted. The question then carried forward for further examination is whether this is in the public interest in the longer term.

5 Chapter 5 CASE STUDY 2

The Cardiff Bay Opera House/ Wales Millennium Stadium 'contest'

5.1 Introduction

The second case study considers two projects, The Cardiff Bay Opera House (the Opera House) and the Wales Millennium Stadium (The Stadium). Both projects sought funding from the Millennium Commission in 1995 and a 'contest', largely constructed by the media, arose between them. This was presented to the public as a choice between two competing visions or aspirations, one portrayed as elitist and the other determinedly populist. The events were selected as a case study initially to examine the exercise of conditioned power through the manipulation and polarisation of public opinion and the extent to which outcomes were influenced by that wider debate.

The study thus addresses matters arising from the literature review concerning wider public engagement and accountability. Consideration is also given to the weight or value that may be attributed to symbolic and cultural capital and the emphasis placed on tangible economic benefits in securing support for such projects. That is, from those directly requested to fund it and from the general public. The simplification and amplification of issues by the media is examined together with the shift from reasoning to rhetoric in such debate.

The study will demonstrate that the Stadium did not 'win a contest' between it and the Opera House for funding from the Millennium

Commission. The debate stimulated by the media was influential but other determinants contributed to the failure to realise the Opera House project.

In the course of the research the projects presented a number of findings on other aspects of publicly funded projects. These then assist in addressing other aspects of the research question relating to the effective deployment of resources and the exercise of probity. These include factors that preceded that wider public engagement and serve to inform the study of aspirational development which is publicly funded. The issues raised relate to the exercise of power through personality and leadership, organisational structures, relationships and networks.

The Stadium project then presents a direct contrast to the promotion of the Opera House, not as a 'competitor' for public funding but in the more effective application of powers and mobilisation of resources. The study will examine how priorities for the allocation of resources may be determined, in this case to counter the perceived threat that the Stadium might be relocated. Time and timing will again be shown to have been a critical factor in achieving desired objectives.

In comparing the two projects additional issues relevant to contemporary public patronage including perceptions of risk are addressed. This bears on public accountability and the demonstration of probity.

In the presentation of the study several of the characteristics that have defined patronage historically will be identified and discussed in the case of the Cardiff Bay Opera House will be introduced in an account of that project up to 1995. Issues concerning the setting of the aspiration, the exercise of discernment, leadership, relationships and allocation of resources will be seen to be factors which weakened that project before the Millennium Stadium emerged as a 'competitor'. The background to the Stadium redevelopment will then be outlined and those characteristics or elements compared and contrasted between the two projects.

5.2 The background to the Cardiff Bay Opera House project to 1995

The following background to the Cardiff Bay Opera House project (the Opera House) is abstracted from the accounts of Crickhowell (1997, 1999) and summary of events by Burrows (2004)⁴. Through interview of other participants, archival research and other sources it was concluded that Crickhowell's account of events is accurate as to the facts but subjective and selective in their interpretation and presentation. In his review of Crickhowell's 1997 account Hannay suggested that, by simply reading between its lines, the '*...seeds of the Opera's downfall were laid*' under Mathew Pritchard's chairmanship of the Opera House Trust (Hannay 1997 p28). The research undertaken in the course of the case study determined that earlier decisions which led to the establishment of that Trust contributed to its failure.

5.2.1 The aspiration

The Welsh National Opera (WNO) was established as a company in 1948. Whilst based in and around Cardiff it utilised venues for performances which lacked the requisite backstage and support facilities. The need for a home for the WNO was identified in a 1984 report for the Arts Council of Great Britain. In 1985 Nicholas Edwards, as Secretary of State for Wales, and Matthew Prichard, Chairman of the Welsh Arts Council, commissioned a report on Housing the Performing Arts in Wales. At that time Wales offered a variety of venues but none that could accommodate major touring opera or musical theatre productions

⁴ Crickhowell was one of only two individuals approached in the course of the research who declined a request for interview stating that "*You will find the whole story in my books Opera House Lottery, Zaha Hadid and the Cardiff Bay a Opera House, and Westminster, Wales and Water (there is a chapter which is précis of the longer book). Nothing I can add. Crickhowell*" (e-mail Crickhowell- Croydon 5/12/2014)

The report published in September 1986 concluded that it should be a popular entertainment centre suitable for musicals, pantomime and other events with a mass appeal and that 16 weeks should be the period allotted to performances by WNO. Further feasibility and planning studies commissioned by the Welsh Arts Council, supported by the Welsh Office, Cardiff City Council and South Glamorgan County Council, were undertaken during 1987.

At its inception the aspiration was to provide a 'popular entertainment centre for the performing arts' and that objective had the support of the Secretary of State for Wales and the local government authorities.

In 1988 the new Secretary of State for Wales, Peter Walker, announced that a site would be set aside in the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC) area. Walker also made the suggestion that the building be called the Cardiff Bay Opera House (Crickhowell 1997 p7 & p144; Best 2004 p208). Although that title was not formally adopted until 1991 the suggestion that the building be called an 'opera house' would be an important factor. This, in effect, was perceived to be the aspiration.

CBDC set up a Steering Group in Dec 1990 involving representatives of WNO, the Welsh Arts Council, Cardiff City Council and South Glamorgan County Council. The site owners were represented by Nicholas Edwards, the former Secretary of State for Wales, by then Lord Crickhowell and a non-executive director of ABP. The steering group commissioned feasibility studies from various consultants which were submitted to the Welsh Office in Oct 1991. That was followed in Dec 1991 by a request for a pledge of Welsh Office funding for £5m for preparatory work and a further £20m on a contingency basis for the construction of the building, to be called on only in the event of successful fund-raising effort from other matching sources (Burrows 2004).

During 1992 the prospect emerged of National Lottery Funding for large capital projects of a cultural and civic nature. In November of that year the

recommendation was made that a separate trust be established to carry out the project. Paul Koralek, architectural adviser to the Steering Group, suggested selecting an architect for the project by means of a competition. The Cardiff Bay Opera House Trust (The Trust) was established in November 1992 as a company limited by guarantee. The competition to select an architect was initiated and Welsh Office approval was secured for CBDC to fund the Trust's work on a short-term rolling basis (Crickhowell 1997 p11) .

This was an important factor in that CBDC was funding the Trust which was then effectively a subsidiary body as regards command of financial resources. Facilitating the building of an opera house was not in the core mission statement of CBDC but was considered complementary to its overall objectives.

The project displayed some of the characteristics attributed to those described as patrons historically. That is in being conceived and promoted to fulfil a perceived cultural need, there being no permanent home for the WNO or major lyric theatre in Wales. There was also a commitment to commission a building of architectural quality.

The Trust did not, however, have the autonomy associated with those described as patrons historically. Its aspirations were governed and influenced by the wider priorities of CBDC and the other direct stakeholders who included the Welsh Office, and ABP. In advancing the proposal The Trust had authority delegated from bodies with differing degrees and lines of financial and public accountability.

It had also been pre-determined that the Trust would proceed with the selection of a designer and design for the building by way of a competition.

In 1993 a further brief was prepared for a building with a main auditorium to have 1,750 to 1,900 seats suitable for opera at an estimated cost of £43.25m

5.2.2 The exercise of discernment

The appointment of an Assessment Panel to select an architect was also to have '*...profound consequences*' (Crickhowell 1997 p18). The Chairman of the Trust, Mathew Pritchard, exercised his prerogative and, advised by Paul Koralek, personally chose the Assessors for the competition '*...in order to avoid argument among the Trustees*' (Crickhowell 1997 p18).

The panel appointed were;

- Lord Peter Palumbo, then Chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain
- Professor Richard Silverman, Head of the Welsh School of Architecture and Chair of CBDC's Design and Architecture Review Panel
- Michael Wilford, Architect
- Professor Francesco Dal Co, chair of architectural history, University of Venice
- Paul Koralek, architectural adviser to the Trust
- Lord (Jack) Brooks Deputy Chair of CBDC
- Lord David Davies, Chair of WNO and;
- Mathew Pritchard, Chair of the Trust

Freddie Watson of Grosvenor Waterside, the property development subsidiary of ABP, was a non-voting observer representing the owner of the proposed site of the Opera House.

Crickhowell states that chairmanship of both the Trust and the Assessment Panel placed on Mathew Pritchard '*...an unfair burden of responsibility... particularly in the light of later controversy*' (Crickhowell 1997 p18).

The suggestion that such a burden was 'placed' on Pritchard is inconsistent with Crickhowell's earlier statement that he exercised his prerogative as Chairman. It can also be argued that key responsibilities of the Chairman were to manage debate among Trustees and ensure that no conflict arose between the Trust and the Panel arising from the recommendation of the

latter. In appointing a panel dominated by architectural academics and wealthy private patrons Pritchard might have anticipated that their decision would need to be carefully presented and explained to those less well educated and informed in such matters.

Discernment, one of the characteristics of architectural patrons historically, was thereby delegated to a panel appointed by the Trust's chairman personally. The decision to select a designer and design through competition reflects contemporary requirements as regards open transparency in public appointments. That is, to avoid any accusations of patronage or subjective preference in such selection.

There is then a recurrence of issues raised in the review of literature and the preceding case study. The exercise of probity demands that there be transparency in the selection of designers but the question is, again, one of 'who selects the selectors?' In this case the Chair exercised discretionary choice, a characteristic of those described as patrons, in his selection of panellists.

Crickhowell makes the comment that one of the shortcomings of the competition system was that the choice was made by the selection panel after "*...an inevitably short technical and cost assessment...in which the client is hardly involved*" (Crickhowell 1997 p23). Several members of the Panel had sufficient experience to determine whether the design proposals submitted might be feasible within the indicative budget set for the project. Their principal role was to select what was, in their view, the best design. A more telling point is that ensuing problems can be attributed to the failure of the Trust to clearly recognise and establish who the 'client' was in this instance.

The Trust as the promoter – or patron- appear to have regarded itself and the WNO, as primary user- and 'clients'- rather than the other stakeholders and the wider public- who would be using (and paying) for the building.

In June 1993 the architectural competition for the building design was launched and the assessment of submissions took place through the rest of that year. Four finalists were chosen together with four pre-selected firms of architects who had been invited to submit proposals. Crickhowell expressed particular disappointment at the latter and implied that the overall quality of submissions might have been higher if there had been better engagement and more dialogue with competitors (Crickhowell 1997 pps 21-22).

This serves to emphasise another important difference in that architectural patronage has often been characterized by a close working relationship and dialogue between patron and designer from the outset. The requirement that the latter be selected by competition and competitors be at 'arm's length' during that process is then a factor. Some view may be formed by selectors as to how compatible personalities may be and constructive relationships formed. In this instance many of those responsible for eventual implementation of the design were not involved in the initial assessment of candidates.

This then leads to some observations on relationships in this case

5.2.3 Relationships

In September 1994 a colloquium was held where the short-listed designs were displayed and public comment invited. However, at that event a representative of the *Western Mail*, a regional newspaper, requested photographs of the exhibits and was denied. That led the newspaper to complain that the colloquium was an inadequate form of public consultation. The Trust were warned by their then manager, Adrian Ellis, and Freddie Watson of Grosvenor Waterside that it was a potentially serious mistake to alienate the local media at that stage (Crickhowell 1997 p22).

This then relates to issues concerning engagement with the public and the media. The first concerns the purpose of public consultation and what methods might be considered 'adequate'. Questions then arise relating to the timing of such engagement.

The refusal to allow the media the use of photographs concerns an issue raised in the literature review regarding the quality and amount of information to release. By permitting the media to use photographs of the design submissions public comment is invited on very superficial visual information.

A conclusion of the research is that a different approach could have been adopted and better managed in this instance. Wider public engagement might have followed a clear decision by the Trust and its principal stakeholders as to the preferred design. The choice made by those promoting the development might then have been properly explained to the public.

In the event the media and press were engaged ahead of a decision which was;

- a) not unanimous among those assessing the design submissions and;
- b) immediately contested by some Trustees and stakeholders.

Crickhowell comments that the final decision to select Zaha Hadid as their preferred architect was taken by the Assessment Panel "*..in secret conclave*" (Crickhowell 1997 p23). He suggests that if they had discussed their recommendation with those Trustees who were not Assessors, it might have been possible to come to a choice about which there was a broad measure of agreement (Crickhowell 1997 p23).

Those Assessors interviewed in the course of this research were, however, clear in their decision to select the design proposal submitted by Hadid and still maintain that this was;

"... head and shoulders above anything else, anybody else. I think if we had to pick a second or third we would have been hard pressed to do it. She was that much ahead" (Palumbo 2015 p2).

That view was endorsed by the chair of CBDC's Design Advisory Panel, Professor Richard Silverman in interview. Neither would have changed their decision and recommendation that Hadid be selected. That the assessors were not themselves unanimous in their decision was evidenced by one, Lord Brooks, who stated that they '*..had been unduly influenced by the architect members, who had appeared to favour a particular school of architecture*' (Crickhowell 1997 p30).

Having taken the decision to appoint the assessment panel personally the Chair should have ensured agreement that its members publicly support the majority decision rather than voice their dissent publicly. Trustees and stakeholders could have then expressed their views on the recommendation made by the assessors prior to taking a decision. The Trust may not have been able to proscribe any public show of dissent but better discipline among Trustees would, in the event, have been less damaging to their cause.

Dispute also developed within the Trust's sponsor body and a paper attacking the decision to select Hadid was circulated by "*... a senior Board member of CBDC*" (Crickhowell 1997 p28). The Board member is identified as Hugh Hudson Davies by McNeil and Tewdr (2003 p741). Doubts were expressed as to the likely cost of the preferred design and Crickhowell makes reference to the Sydney Opera House and the parallel between its architect and Hadid as regards their lack of experience in managing large scale projects (Crickhowell 1997, pps25-27).

The suggestion that the Trust were effectively re-considering the recommendation of their assessment panel triggered adverse comment in the architectural press, both in support of Hadid and in opposition to her design. CBDC declared their reservations on the winning design and

requested that the expenditure earmarked for advancing and testing it be redirected to assessing the relative feasibility of the four final designs. It is in reference to this action of CBDC that Crickhowell refers to failure in '*..establishing the proper patron-client structure*' (Crickhowell 1997 p27).

The terminology used by Crickhowell is unclear as to who are described as 'patrons' and 'clients'. As read it suggests that the Trust is the 'patron' and CBDC the 'client'. This serves to illustrate the confusion as to relationships between the promoters of the project and with the wider public. The latter might be considered the 'client' in a publicly funded project and the Trust, enabled and resources by CBDC, as the 'patron'. In this instance however CBDC had established the Trust and some members of the CBDC Board might have reasonably regarded the Trust as a subsidiary of the Corporation. That is because the Trust was accountable to CBDC as its sponsor. An additional factor relates to the earlier suggestion that some of the Trustees may have regarded the Welsh National Opera company as their 'client'. There were then differing views as to the nature of the relationships.

An open exhibition was mounted at the National Museum of Wales in October 1994 whereby wider public comment was invited on all of the shortlisted proposals. The public favoured an alternative design and the exercise generated wider criticism of the Hadid proposal. Grosvenor Waterside, the landowner, voiced their concerns about the scale of the Hadid building and requested amendments to the car parking provision specifically (Evans 2015). The situation was further exacerbated by the Cardiff Bay Business Forum who invited the other shortlisted architects to make presentations (Crickhowell 1997 pps35-36). The Forum was an organisation representing the interests of mostly small businesses in the Bay area, not the wider community in the city or region (Imrie and Thomas 1999 p124; Raco 2000). Nevertheless their intervention effectively extended a form of public consultation exercise and moved it further away from the management and control of the Trust or CBDC.

Crickhowell became Chairman of the Trust's Building Committee in October 1994 and that month the Millennium Commission agreed to consider funding the Opera House project.

In November 1994 Rhodri Morgan MP questioned the then Secretary of State for Wales, John Redwood, asking if he had consulted with the chairman of CBDC and the Millennium Fund Commission regarding the choice of architect for the proposed Opera House. Redwood, responded that the choice of architect was not a matter for him but he had spoken to the Chairman of CBDC urging him to *"...allow the public to have a full opportunity to see the different designs and give their views, and for these to be taken in account by the trustees in coming to their decision on which design to build"* (HANSARD. HC Deb 28 November 1994 vol 250 c533W 533W). Redwood had been critical of the chosen design at the Welsh Conservative Conference the previous month and had suggested a public referendum to decide the issue.

Rather than publicly confirming the same level of support as his predecessors as Secretary of State Redwood effectively distanced himself from the project and its promotion.

In early December 1994 Pritchard resigned as Chair of the Trust for reasons of ill-health. He was succeeded by Crickhowell who admitted to *"... one serious error in my handling of the whole business"*. That was his recognition, in hindsight, that the relationship with CBDC had been problematic from the outset. The admission includes his supposition that, having created the organization and appointed its Chairman *"..any potential difficulties could be overcome by the use of well-established relationships."* (Crickhowell 1997 pps153-154).

In that respect his patronage, meaning the appointment of his nominees to public office, was not beneficial.

In accepting the chairmanship Crickhowell became a foreground figure who accentuated the ambiguity of the relationship between The Trust, CBDC as principal sponsor and ABP as landowner. As a non-executive director of ABP, Crickhowell recognised a potential conflict of interest and initially had no formal position with the Trust. He became directly involved in the Trust only after the terms of land acquisition for the Opera House had been agreed with ABP. There were, nevertheless a range of issues that arose from that commercial relationship, not least those relating to probity.

Dispute had already arisen with the ABP subsidiary, Grosvenor Waterside, through Freddie Watson. He had been the senior civil servant at the Welsh Office credited by Crickhowell as a key figure in the establishment of CBDC (Crickhowell 1999 p91). Watson had joined Grosvenor Waterside as their local director and his duty then lay with their commercial interests. As one of the principal critics of the Hadid proposals his view conflicted with that of Crickhowell, now a Non-Executive Director of Grosvenor Waterside's parent company, ABP. Watson was 'invited to take early retirement' from Grosvenor Waterside and was replaced with another Crickhowell nominee (Evans 2015 p5).

Crickhowell's commercial relationship with ABP as a Non-Executive director had been called to question by opponents of the Cardiff Bay Barrage and presented to critics of the Opera House fresh opportunity to insinuate such conflicts. Prominent among these was Rhodri Morgan MP. Morgan's opinions on the Opera House also led to further disagreement between him and Alun Michael MP, who was Deputy Chairman of the Trust. Lord Brooks, Deputy Chair of CBDC subsequently fell out with Alun Michael over the Opera House to the extent that the latter was not allowed to campaign in his own constituency for the new Shadow Authority that preceded the 1996 local government reorganisation. The priority of the Leader of the County Council, Russell Goodway, was to win that forthcoming election and, if the proposed Opera House were the source of further internal

division within the local Labour Party, he was politically inclined to oppose it (Goodway 2014 p6).

Goodway's position, which was to prove influential, was thereby prejudiced against the Opera House as being divisive within his political party. The growing controversy concerning the Opera House design was also seen as dividing public opinion whereas the 'rival' Stadium project was to emerge as one with more ready appeal to the electorate.

Zaha Hadid was confirmed as the preferred architect for the building in Jan/ Feb 1995. In Feb 1995 a bid was submitted to the Millennium Commission for Lottery Funding for £50m.

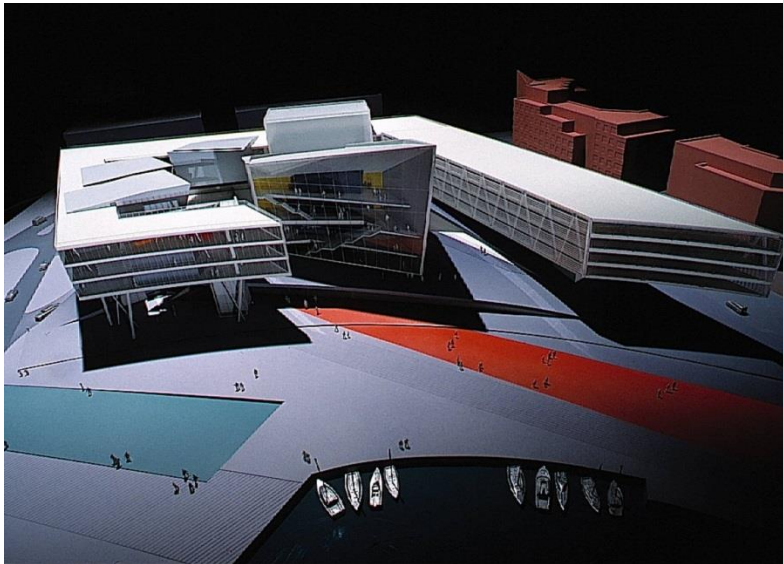


Figure 18 The Zaha Hadid design proposal for the Cardiff Bay Opera House

Some initial conclusions on the factors which were influential in the promotion of the Opera House project to 1995 are summarised as follows as they relate to those characteristics which have defined patronage historically.

The aspiration

- Between 1984 and 1992 there was a convergence of the objectives of a) providing a major lyric theatre or centre for the performing arts and b) securing a suitable home for the Welsh National Opera, the latter appearing to be the primary intent of the Trustees.
- Whilst a long standing aspiration of opera supporters in South Wales the promoters of the project did not clearly establish the desire, need or support of the wider public.
- The presentation of the project as an Opera House in Cardiff Bay alienated those opposed to a disproportionate investment in the city.

The exercise of discernment

- Discernment, a characteristic of patronage, was delegated to a highly qualified Assessment Panel. The recommendation of an architect by the Panel was not unanimous. Among those voicing dissent were representatives of the Trust's sponsors.
- Subsequent division and disagreement on design matters within the Trust and, perhaps more importantly, between it and the sponsoring bodies, undermined wider confidence in the project.

Relationships

- Resourcing the Trust through CBDC presented to critics the opportunity to revive and extend political opposition to governance by appointees.
- The initiation of the project by Nicholas Edwards and his leading role (as Lord Crickhowell) in the Trust further polarised opposition from some quarters, not least due to his relationship with the landowner, ABP.

- Within the city and county councils the proposal did not enjoy cohesive political support.
- The project, which was initiated by a Secretary of State and promoted by his immediate successors, did not have the support of the incumbent at the critical time.

The command of resources

- From the outset the Trust lacked the autonomy enjoyed by patrons of architecture historically. It had no independent resources and control of those necessary lay with its sponsors and other stakeholders. Those bodies had differing levels and lines of financial and public accountability. The Trust underestimated the influence that its sponsors and stakeholders might exert upon its decisions.

The proposals for the Cardiff Bay Opera House designed by Zaha Hadid were therefore the subject of controversy and, by 1995, could be said to have been compromised or weakened.

5.3 The Background to the Cardiff Arms Park/ Millennium Stadium project to 1995

Rugby football and other sports were played from around 1850 on the area of land in Cardiff that became known as Cardiff Arms Park. A union of Welsh rugby clubs had existed from 1875, a more formal body emerging around 1881 and the title Welsh Rugby Union (WRU) adopted in 1934. (Smith and Williams 1980). Until June 1953 international rugby games had also been played elsewhere in Wales and the evolution of Cardiff Arms Park as the preferred location is detailed by Harris (1984).

The status of Cardiff Arms Park as the national rugby stadium was consolidated through further development ahead of the 1958 British Empire and Commonwealth Games which brought its overall capacity to

60,000. The success of the national rugby team from the late 1960's and the rebuilding of the Arms Park as a National Stadium in the 1970s gave the city a focus for Wales and Welsh pride. The observation was made by Johnes (2012) that the decision to hold all international matches in Cardiff may have been taken as the facilities and profits were better there. However, it also gave Cardiff some wider relevance as *"...in the absence of the traditional apparatus of a nation state, sport played an integral role in developing and sustaining a popular sense of Welsh national identity."* (Johnes 2012 p516). A similar point was made by Rhodri Morgan in that much of Wales' self-image as a nation rested on it being a separate country for sporting purposes. (Morgan 1994 p17).

The centrality of the National Stadium to Welsh identity and its symbolic and cultural importance to the wider community would therefore have been considered a given by many in 1995.

In 1994 a WRU committee was set up to look at redeveloping the National Stadium. The catalyst for this was the intention to bid for the 1999 Rugby World Cup (RWC99). The National Stadium, designed in 1962, had a capacity of only 53,000 which included 11,000 standing in the East Terrace. New safety regulations would mean that would be further reduced by 'all-seated' arrangements. Various development options were considered for the existing Stadium and an alternative presented was to construct a completely new facility elsewhere. One location offered and considered was the Island Farm Site south of Bridgend, 20 miles west of Cardiff (Goodway 2014; Morgan 2015).

Russell Goodway, Leader of (the then) South Glamorgan County Council confirmed in interview that the immediate concern of that Local Authority was the threat that the national stadium be relocated elsewhere. The initial motivation and rationale for their engagement in the project was retention of the economic benefits that flowed from events at the stadium. That offered an economic case to justify allocation of Council resources to

supporting the WRU in the bid for the RWC99 and redevelopment of the Stadium. Furthermore the decision to do so was taken quickly as the RWC99 bid had to be submitted within six weeks of his initial engagement with the WRU on the issue (Goodway 2014). In February 1995 Council officers prepared the presentation material for that bid (Talfan Davies 2008 p153)

More direct engagement of the local authority then followed in, jointly with the WRU:

- i) lobbying other international Rugby Unions for their support of the bid for RWC99 and
- ii) Presenting the proposals for the redevelopment of the National Stadium to WRU regions and clubs to secure their support (Goodway 2014 p7).

The recently established National Lottery had been identified as a potential source of funding and the WRU had submitted a new National Stadium for consideration as one of the major UK projects of the Millennium Commission. Their initial proposal had been rejected by the Millennium Commission and Goodway asked the WRU to suppress that information while he sought a way to reverse the decision. He then took the matter in hand by enlisting the help of one of the owners of the Cardiff RFC and its Chief Executive. They arranged a meeting with Sir John Hall, the Millennium Commissioner who had been influential in the rejection of the initial bid. Hall was persuaded to support a revised bid but did so with certain conditions. Among these were;

- a) A direct presentation to the Commission itself when the WRU would confirm
 - a. unanimity in favour of the redevelopment and,
 - b. That other sports and activities would be permitted in the Stadium.

- b) That the Council were to be the lead applicant for the re-submission to the Millennium Commission with that WRU support. (Goodway 2014; Davies WRU 2015).

That presentation to the Commissioners was made by Russell Goodway, supported by Vernon Pugh QC, representing the WRU and Ossie Wheatley, the Chair of the Sports Council for Wales.

The crucial shift in emphasis in the revised bid arising from the direct discussion with Hall was that the application be presented by a partnership for what would be a *National* Stadium and not exclusively or primarily a *Welsh Rugby Union* Stadium

The City Council effectively prepared and submitted the revised funding application, not the WRU (Goodway 2014).

Goodway confirmed in interview that he had concerns that two concurrent bids from the same city might not be viewed favourably by the Millennium Commission. The perception at that time was that the Commission would favour one or the other and that they would therefore be in competition. Goodway approached Crickhowell with the proposition that funding for both the Stadium and the Opera House could be secured with full support of the Council but the Stadium had to take priority to accommodate the Rugby World Cup in 1999. Crickhowell asserted that Virginia Bottomley, a former Cabinet colleague and chair of the Millennium Commission, had indicated that Cardiff could not have two Commission funded major projects. Goodway then went, with a representative of the WRU, to the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool to see Bottomley. She confirmed that Millennium projects were considered on merit and that there was no technical reason why two could not be awarded to the same city or region.

Crickhowell was again approached and still refused to give the stadium priority. He was advised that it would therefore be put to the (controlling)

Labour group on the Council that they openly support the Stadium bid (Goodway 2014). That was affirmed and announced by Goodway in October 1995 at the Cardiff Business Club where Crickhowell was presenting the Opera House proposal (Crickhowell 1997 pps86-87).

The initial conclusions arising from the research on the evolution of the Stadium project to 1995 are again summarised as regards the elements or characteristics that have defined patronage historically.

Aspiration

- The project was initiated by the Welsh Rugby Union and motivated by their desire to host the Rugby World Cup in 1999.
- The explicit threat that the national stadium might be relocated elsewhere ensured the direct support of the local authority who allocated resources to ensure that both the bid for the Rugby World Cup 1999 and funding were advanced
- The centrality of the stadium and its principal function – International Rugby Football- to Cardiff's status as a capital had been established from the mid- 1950's. It was widely valued as a public amenity and a physical representation of symbolic and cultural capital in the region. The aspiration of the WRU and Local Authority was therefore shared and enjoyed public support, a requirement for funding from the Millennium Commission.

Discernment

- Such discernment as was exercised by the WRU primarily concerned the utilitarian requirement that the stadium be fit for purpose and satisfied the requirements for hosting major sporting tournaments. The judgement of the local authority leadership was that their support for the project would directly benefit the municipality and region through increased

tourism and leisure spending, retaining a major public amenity and in the enhancing the wider profile of the city.

Relationships

- A focussed and cohesive partnership was formed between the WRU and local authority.
- Direct relationships were established with Millennium Fund Commissioners to clarify and resolve matters relating to funding from that source
- Effective relationships were established to secure wider support for the project utilising the established network of rugby clubs in communities throughout the region.

Leadership and resources

- Decisive leadership was demonstrated by the Council leader in committing local authority resources to supporting the WRU bid for the Rugby World Cup and the funding of the stadium redevelopment.



Figure 19 The Wales Millennium Stadium

5.4 The media inspired 'contest'

"It is precisely the purpose of the public opinion generated by the press to make the public incapable of judging, to insinuate into it the attitude of someone irresponsible, uninformed."

(Walter Benjamin quoted in Demetz 1978 p239),

The proposition that there be a new national stadium that would facilitate a credible bid to host the Rugby World Cup of 1999 emerged publicly in early 1995 as the Trust were submitting their bid to the Millennium Commission. The erroneous suggestion that the two projects might necessarily have to compete for such funding developed into a public debate in which the media, both newspapers and broadcasters, *"..played a depressingly predictable part"* (Talfan Davies 2008 p153). It is unclear as to whether this was initiated by the media or opponents of the Opera House. Crickhowell infers that there was a pro-active campaign on the part of rugby supporters (Crickhowell 1997 p86). The promoters of the opera house had, however, already alienated the local media to some extent as noted above.

The general tone of media coverage was concisely outlined by Talfan Davies as follows.

- i) The Stadium was presented with the positive assertion that 'Rugby is our great national game'
- ii) The Opera House was presented with two negatives;
 - 'We all hate modern architecture, don't we?' and
 - 'Opera is for toffs'.

(Talfan Davies 2008 p153)

This serves to illustrate points made in the review of literature on rhetorical appeals to public sentiment and prejudices.

That rugby union football was the pre-eminent sport in Wales can be taken as a given. Elsewhere in his account Talfan Davies emphasises the importance of rugby when, as Controller of BBC Wales, he took a call in 1997 to say that they had lost the rights to Welsh Rugby.

“It was a massive blow, far and away the lowest point in my ten years at the BBC. Rugby was at the heart of our television service, both in its content and its economics, and a key to our identification with the Welsh audience.” (Talfan Davies 2008 p109)

As to the general antipathy to modern architecture Talfan Davies makes reference to the Prince of Wales whose views had increasingly informed the public temper and to some extent articulated public opinion at that time (Jencks 1988; Glancey 2004; Moore 2009). Crickhowell quotes Colin Amery, (who he describes as ‘...predictably the Prince of Wales’ adviser’) accusing Hadid of representing ‘*the kind of absurd architectural arrogance that the public has long learned to distrust*’ (Crickhowell 1997 p28). The support for Zaha Hadid from sections of the architectural community can be seen to have further polarised views. What were perceived to be patronising or derogatory comments were made about Wales and the Welsh by supporters of Hadid (Glancey 1995; Sudjic 2004).

The often explicit claims to superiority in matters relating to architectural taste made by supporters of Hadid did little to dispel an impression of arrogance among those less well informed. The polarisation of views is relevant to the recurring issue of the ‘design elite’. The Stadium/ Opera House debate amplified the issues which had already emerged concerning the design of the latter. The presentation by the regional media of those who championed the Hadid design as a privileged minority was given greater emphasis. That was the implication that The Stadium, preferred option of the many, was being threatened by the arrogance of the few. What can be noted is the wider perception that can be formed that claims made upon patronage might inevitably invite associations with elites. This

is potentially problematic when the would-be patron is dispensing public money.

The failure of novel architectural innovation to win widespread acclaim is neither new nor confined to a particular region. In the course of the research two supporters of Hadid interviewed suggested that some opposition to her selection was xenophobic and misogynistic (Talfan Davies 2014; Palumbo 2015). Crickhowell was asked by a journalist whether this was a factor and responded;

"If she had been male, white and Welsh would it have been different? I do not know. I hope not. There are those who tell me I am naive. I really don't know ... but I suspect that if it had been a young Welsh-speaking architect who had suddenly produced the design, the Western Mail might have taken a different line." (Patel 1997)

Many years after the event it was still being reported in the national press that Rhodri Morgan, who had since become First Secretary of the Welsh Assembly, had likened her design to a heretical version of the Ka'bah in Mecca, believing that a fatwa would descend upon Cardiff (Ward 2007; Jacobs 2013).

An objective of the Opera House project was to enhance the cultural standing and status of the city and region. Wider media coverage of the ensuing debate can be seen to have been prejudicial to external perceptions of architectural ambition in the region. The element of risk that attaches itself to such aspiration will also be a factor in the following case study.

Any cohesive or vigorous defence of the chosen architect locally had already been compromised by the disagreement as to that choice between members of the selection panel, the Trustees and CBDC. The wider public, making no great distinction between the Trust and its sponsors, would infer a lack of confidence in the selected design within the organisation

promoting it. Crickhowell recognised that this was a critical factor in damaging public relations (Crickhowell 1997 p145).

As regards the ‘opera is for toffs’ issue referred to by Talfan Davies, Crickhowell makes extensive reference to the perceptions of elitism in his account. Particular mention is made of the campaign by *The Sun* newspaper and also to hostile and misleading stories in the *Daily Mail* (Crickhowell 1997p140,p143). One can have some sympathy with Crickhowell’s complaint that opera was held by the media to be more elitist than rugby (Crickhowell 1997 p143). Wales had a strong tradition of local amateur opera and musical societies in working class communities and the perception of opera being enjoyed largely by a privileged class were overstated.

The research indicated that the WNO did not enjoy unqualified support in some quarters of the wider arts community in Wales. A former Chair of the regional Arts Council and a Board member interviewed confirmed that there were perceptions that it received a disproportionate allocation of funding from Council (Crouch 2015; Davies 2015). This has relevance to the issue of conflicting priorities in specific fields of activity and the question as to whether to make;

- i) Further investment in those individuals or fields of demonstrable excellence or
- ii) More investment in improving areas of perceived weakness

Within the arts there were then factional interests opposed to a proposal which might absorb a relatively large proportion of the regional budget. These were antipathetic to the case for an Opera House being a ‘flagship’ of the arts in Wales.

Two further aspects relating to wider perceptions of elitism must be noted.

- a) As already mentioned, some opponents viewed the Trust as another of the self-selected elites that manned the ‘Quango

State' and could claim that those supporting the Hadid design were, in the main, unelected and unrepresentative of wider society.

- b) Whilst rugby, as a sport, enjoyed great popularity in the region it is questionable whether access to international games at the stadium is any less elitist than attendance at an opera. The stadium is essentially a private sports facility and admission to it for an international rugby match no less exclusive than opera.

Straw polls conducted by the local media indicated that numerically the stadium would have a three to one advantage were a decision between the two projects to be the matter of public referendum (Talfan Davies 2008 pps 154-155). As Controller of BBC Wales at that time Geraint Talfan Davies stated that:

“One of the very few occasions when I was loudly critical of my own BBC Wales newsroom was when it ran a telephone poll within the evening news programme, Wales Today, asking people to choose. Telephone polls are notoriously unscientific and usually designed to confirm rather than confound prejudices. This was no exception. I thought that they had no place in BBC news programmes, and instructed that they should not be repeated.”(Talfan Davies 2008 pps 154-155)

The observation must be made that Talfan Davies' intercession on the manner of news coverage could be seen to be a form of media patronage in tempering the negative tone of news reportage. He was, in that respect, a critical friend of the Opera House project as a prominent public and private patron of the arts and architecture in Wales who became Chair of the WNO (twice) and Chair of the Arts Council of Wales.

However, one can concur with his view that such journalistic methods posed entirely false choices and inevitably produce a predictable and familiar pattern in arguments about arts funding. This is also touched upon by Crickhowell who stated that;

“The press were constantly publishing letters from irate readers demanding that instead of lottery millions going to opera houses and other causes which they did not favour, it should be spent on new hospitals and improving education” (Crickhowell 1997 p144)

The public were thereby presented with another false choice; that between an opera house or other public services and amenities. This then relates to the priorities which may be set for public spending by wider society. This is a recurrent issue whereby architectural aspiration is weighed against wider social need. In this case such comparisons were not invoked as regards the proposed investment in the Stadium.

Two related issues arising from the case study are presented in the observation that;

“The greater the decrease in the social significance of an art form, the sharper the distinction between criticism and enjoyment by the public. The conventional is uncritically enjoyed, and the truly new is criticized with aversion.” (Benjamin 1936 p26)

The first can be explored in the context of this case study as it relates to the apparent preferences of the public when presented with a choice. The second relates to an issue raised in the first case study and concerns the relationship between actions defined as patronage and innovation. Both issues will then inform later analysis and conclusions concerning the role of patronage in a democratic polity.

In considering the first part of the foregoing quotation it is suggested that rugby union football had greater social significance than opera in this case. The proposed Stadium enjoyed greater public support than the Opera House and was subjected to less criticism. There is no small truth in Crickhowell’s comment that,

“.. those who had been so passionately concerned about the design of an arts centre amid the new buildings arising in Cardiff Bay appeared to be

entirely uninterested in the appearance of this enormous structure in the very heart of the city. There was no anonymous international competition to design the stadium, no public consultation and no furore about the fanciful drawings of hideous structures that were unveiled at the launch.” (Crickhowell 1997 pps 145-146)

There was also little public examination of the economic case for the enlargement of the stadium to facilitate the hosting of the Rugby World Cup. In a paper which examined the true worth of hosting that event Calvin Jones concluded that there were considerable benefits for the region, although many areas of potential benefit were not maximised (Jones 2001).

A further point to be carried forward for later examination then arises from Benjamin’s observation quoted above. That concerns the social significance of *architecture* itself. In this case public sentiment favoured the Stadium as an amenity which facilitated a particular activity. The symbolic and cultural capital was vested in its ability to host such activity. To secure that objective its promoters prioritised utilitarian requirements and commercial considerations prevailed over aesthetic and other qualities.

In the case of the Opera House the antipathy to the more ‘elitist’ nature of its proposed use was exacerbated by opposition to the building design selected. This then connects the earlier quotation by Benjamin to that question of the role of patronage. As concluded from the literature and the first case study buildings attributed to patronage do not necessarily have to be innovative. However, many described as patrons historically had the resources and authority to bear the risks attendant on the promotion and execution of novel building design. In this case the media drew attention to the potential risks of both projects and these will be examined further in the following section.

In summary, the media debate favoured the Stadium through a presumption in its favour which was not extended to the Opera House. It is

concluded, however, that the attention given by the media to the 'contest' was more damaging to the Opera House in accentuating the inherent weaknesses of that bid. From that conclusion the point carried forward for further analysis concerns the exercise of conditioned power in a democratic polity. In the promotion of a publicly funded project it is essential to ensure that belief is instilled and support secured if, as in this case, the probity of committing public resources will be tested by such levels of exposure.

5.5 Outcomes

In 1995, the WRU won the right to host the 1999 Rugby World Cup whilst some Millennium Commissioners were expressing doubts concerning the business plan submitted by the Opera House Trust. There were four visits to Cardiff by Millennium Commission representatives between June and August 1995 during which time;

- i) controversy over the design of the opera house continued and
- ii) media coverage of the 'competition' with the Millennium Stadium project was pervasive

On the 20th December 1995 the Millennium Commission met and rejected the Trust's application for £50m to £60m funding. The Trust was invited to submit a revised bid, which they considered but controversy over the design continued. In March 1996, Crickhowell was advised by Sir Geoffrey Inkin, Chair of CBDC, that the Corporation had reached the conclusion that the Hadid design should be set aside in view of;

- a) the high total cost,
- b) apparent lack of support from the public and from the new Unitary Local Authority for Cardiff, and

- c) the absence of backing from the Millennium Commission for the Business Plan and the scheme as it stood.

CBDC therefore withdrew their support as the chances of those proposals succeeding were extremely limited and they felt a totally different approach was required.

The Institute of Welsh Affairs convened a meeting of the Chairs and Chief Executives of a number of key organisations at the National Museum of Wales on 8 March 1996 but those present were unable to agree on a way forward with the chosen design. The Cardiff Bay Opera House Trust Board was subsequently disbanded leaving a skeleton Board to wind up the Trust.

Although the Stadium bid was submitted later than that of the Opera House Trust the Millennium Commission expedited its decision to take account of time pressure created by RWC99. It announced approval of a £46m grant only two months after it turned down the opera house bid. The WRU decided to proceed and raise the remainder of the £114m budget from commercial sources (Talfan Davies 2008 p155). Although the stadium was completed in time to host RWC99 the study raised a number of issues relevant to the overall research. An important point concerns exposure to risk and the exercise of probity.

The research found that;

- a) financial risk was substantially transferred to the main contractor, Laing, through an agreement negotiated by a senior official of the Local Authority but,
- b) timely completion of the project was, however, repeatedly prejudiced and put at risk due to the obduracy of the WRU who rejected out of hand:
 - i) Conditions offered by the Secretary of State for funding which included more transparency and inclusivity in their governance structure (Roberts 2015)

- ii) Offers from Cardiff Rugby Club to settle matters relating to their ground (Goodway 2014; Davies WRU 2015)

Building started before agreements had been secured with British Telecom who owned land and buildings to the south or Cardiff Athletic Club and Cardiff RFC who owned the land to the north (Talfan Davies 2008 p155). An ongoing dispute between the WRU and Cardiff RFC could effectively have prevented completion of the new stadium in time to host RWC99. The City Council incorrectly assumed that dispute would be resolved in the national interest and did not deploy any of their resources until it was too late (Goodway 2014). In the event it necessitated;

- a) Alteration of the design resulting in the north stand of the new stadium remaining incomplete and;
- b) additional publicly funded works to provide alternative access (Davies WRU 2015).

The costs of alterations were borne by the contractor Laing who had entered into a design and build contract with penalty clauses on the completion date. In consequence they made provision for a £26m loss on the contract in their Annual Report of 1998 (John Laing plc 1998, p. p2). A further £5m loss was incurred the following year leading to redundancies (BBC Bannister 1999; News 1999c).

The critical matter of access and egress to and from the new stadium was also aggravated by the dispute between the WRU and Cardiff RFC. Without improved access Health and Safety certification would not be granted thereby limiting the permitted capacity of the Stadium to around 45,000. The organisers of RWC99 made it known that they were making contingency for the events scheduled for Cardiff to be hosted at Twickenham or Stade de France. The issue could only be satisfactorily resolved by construction of a pedestrian deck cantilevered out over the River Taff. The promoters of the Stadium did not have the funds to undertake that work.

There was, at that point, critical exposure to risk and the case study illustrates how that can be incurred and shared. The earlier point on reputational risk arising from the media representation of the public 'choosing a sports stadium over an opera house' would have been greatly magnified had the former not been delivered on time.

Failure to complete the stadium for RWC99 would have been an embarrassment for Cardiff and Wales. The Secretary of State, who had previously rejected funding requests from the WRU, eventually relented and made a contribution of some £12m to the cost of the riverside 'Millennium Walkway'. The payment was routed to the local authority through the Welsh Development Agency and accounted as an 'investment in urban development' as direct payment was a) not in any other agreed budget and b) could not be seen as a capitulation to the WRU (Roberts 2015). It was thus rationalised as a separate 'urban improvement' indirectly linked to redevelopment around the Stadium rather than admitted to be a direct public subsidy of the Stadium itself.



Figure 20F The 'Millennium Walkway' to the west/ riverbank of the Stadium

In addition to the failure to complete the Stadium as originally designed the proposed works of improvement to the public areas around it were compromised. On the south side of the stadium the removal of the Empire Pool and Territorial Army buildings was intended to create a large 'Millennium Plaza' linking the stadium, the riverside, Wood Street and Central Square. To fund that Cardiff City Council granted a 150 year lease to Delancey Estates Plc for the development of a mixed commercial leisure complex on part of the site (BBC News 1999b). Some partial justification for compromising the public area originally promised was offered. This was that during the extensive periods when the stadium was not being used for

events the areas around it were otherwise inanimate and leisure development of this type was a complementary use (Hanson 2015).



Figure 21 Millennium Plaza, southern access to Stadium with commercial development to right

The conclusion is that this may be post-hoc rationalisation of what was essentially a commercial necessity rather than planned as a desirable element in the overall redevelopment of the stadium. The Leader of the City Council at that time said;

".....we had to find the money for the Millennium Plaza and whatever and the only way you could do that was to develop that horrible bloody cinema complex on it but it could have been much, much better and, again, politics did not serve the city well that time". (Goodway 2014)

5.6 Analysis

The 'contest' between the Opera House and Stadium was selected as a case study primarily to explore issues concerning wider accountability and public engagement arising from the media. That analysis must then be prefaced with the general conclusion that there was *not* a contest as regards the Millennium Commission funding one or the other project. That perception of the events is perpetuated by statements such as that on the Millennium Stadium's website which claims that "*After competition from the proposed Cardiff Bay Opera House*" *the Millennium Commission agreed to support the redevelopment of the Cardiff Arms Park in March 1996* ⁵.

There was, however, a form of contest in the public debate promoted and amplified by the media which had a real impact on outcomes. A conclusion of the research is that this was not in influencing the decision of the Millennium Commission to favour the Stadium rather than the Opera House. Rather the debate served to;

- a) highlight the deficiencies of the Opera House bid when compared to the emergent bid by the promoters of the Stadium redevelopment and, conversely
- b) reinforce the Stadium bid by evincing levels of popular support.

In addressing those issues the case study research therefore raised additional matters which will inform later conclusions on the research question. Broadly these concern;

5

http://web.archive.org/web/20071009115105/http://www.millenniumstadium.com/3473_3557.php

- a) Patronage. The nature of patronage which arise from the comparable aspirations and exercise of discernment in each projects.
- b) Power. Leadership, command of resources and the importance of networks in the exercise of powers.
- c) Probity. Wider accountability for the exposure to risk and the demonstration of probity.

These are then addressed in the analysis of the characteristics that may define patronage as follows.

5.6.1 The aspirations of the promoters and supporters of the projects

Of the two projects the opera house might be more readily associated with patronage in the aspiration of its promoters to provide a public building of outstanding architectural quality which would accommodate cultural activity. The reconstruction of the Stadium, on the other hand, could be considered the replacement of a commercial sports facility of utilitarian purpose. The commissioning process was one of selecting a designer of proven ability in that field and securing a fixed price contract for its construction. However, the wider social and cultural significance of the Stadium proved an important factor in mobilising support for the project.

Although not a project which evidenced the architectural aspiration characteristic of patronage historically the Stadium displays other qualities relevant in the context of this study. As the dominant structure in the city it can be described as monumental, both in the physical sense and in its social significance as a focus for a collective and popular activity. The public debate indicated that a majority supported the aspiration that the Stadium be redeveloped and improved. That then assisted the objectives of the original promoters of the project by satisfying two important conditions set by the Millennium Commission for funding. They were that candidate projects;

- a) Had public support and,
- b) Would make a substantial contribution to the community

(Thompson 1998 p225)

Those who facilitated the Stadium redevelopment can then be said to have realised a collective aspiration. That conclusion then informs the following analysis of other characteristics.

It must be noted that the aspiration to create an opera house was also shared and supported by a section of society. It would, if implemented as originally conceived, probably have met the foregoing requirement that there be partnership with, and contribution to, the community. The objectives of the promoters of the Opera House were, however, portrayed as being 'elitist' in the debate. The exercise of discernment in the selection of an architectural design had already proved controversial and provoked that charge before the Stadium emerged as a 'competing' project.

5.6.2 The exercise of discernment

Another of the criteria for Millennium Commission funding was that the project be of high architectural design and environmental quality (Thompson 1998 p225). The selection of the design proposals for the Opera House by Zaha Hadid was widely acclaimed by many leading figures concerned with architecture. Had the Cardiff Bay project been realised as the first of her major buildings then it is probable that the Trust would have been internationally recognised as patrons of architecture.

Such discernment as was exercised by the promoters of the Stadium related to its functionality and ability to meet the standards necessary to host the Rugby World Cup in 1999. Coupled with that was the imperative that it be completed in time for that event and be built to a set budget. These factors are addressed further below. As described in the body of the case study, the Stadium was not completed as designed. The quality of the public realm around the Stadium fell short of that presented to the

Millennium Commission and required additional public sector funding to satisfy essential safety requirements.

The promoters of the respective projects then had differing aspirations for the design. The Stadium needed to be fit for purpose as a venue for international sport by a fixed date. That favoured functionality and proven construction methods. The aspiration for the Opera House was that it be internationally recognised as such through its architectural quality. In pursuit of that objective the selection of a suitable design and architect was delegated to a panel which had the required expertise. The ensuing division over their choice reflected the earlier quotation of Benjamin (1936 p26) that *“The conventional is uncritically enjoyed, and the truly new is criticized with aversion.” Those who defended the decision of the panel were portrayed by its detractors as ‘elitist’.*

The exercise of discernment by an appointed panel of experts will recur in the following case study and be considered more fully in the final analysis. In this case the conclusion is that the dispute on the chosen design made public other shortcomings of the Trust on its leadership, management and partnerships with other bodies. Conclusions must then be presented on those as factors which contributed to the failure of the Opera House project and the success of the Stadium. That centred on the promoters securing the necessary financial resources. In examining the powers that were exercised by the respective promoters in this case personality, in the form of effective leadership, and organisation were key resources.

5.6.3 Personality, Leadership and Organisation

This case study illustrates the persistence of personality as a critical factor and the necessity of effective leadership of organisation. A direct contrast may be drawn between the respective parties in this instance. The first chairman of the Trust, Mathew Prichard, might fairly be described as perhaps *the* most important private patron of the arts in Wales in modern

times having established the Colwinstone Trust to charitably distribute the royalties to 'The Mousetrap' gifted to him by his grandmother, Agatha Christie (Thomas 2012; Whetstone 2013). His commitment to the arts and exercise of discernment in financially supporting such ventures from his personal fortune is unquestionable. This case perhaps demonstrates that such virtues do not necessarily equip an individual with the skills to chair an organisation seeking to secure public funding.

Prichard exercised his 'chairman's prerogative' in selecting what he considered those best qualified to select the design for an opera house but in so doing failed to ensure;

- a) Effective engagement with key stakeholders
- b) Disciplined support for the panel's decision from dissenting panellists and his fellow Trustees.

Clearly the Chair could not exercise condign or coercive authority to prevent panellists and Trustees from publicly expressing their personal view. What can be concluded is that he failed to exercise conditioned power in persuading dissenters to be more temperate in voicing dissent. However, a further conclusion of the research is that neither Prichard nor his successor, Crickhowell, could exercise any authority over the Trust's sponsors and other stakeholders. This can be attributed in large part to the issues relating to organisational structure and confusion as to the 'patron/client relationship' described in the case study.

That can be reiterated briefly by reference to Crickhowell who, when Secretary of State, had the aspiration, command of the necessary resources and authority to initiate the project. In that capacity he might be described as a patron of the project. His successor as Secretary of State directed that CBDC act as an enabling body and they then established the Trust as a subsidiary agency of implementation. The Trust then had some delegated authority but was resourced by CBDC and could not act autonomously. Having initiated the project, and established CBDC,

Crickhowell appears to have assumed that he could exercise some measure of influence over the latter. The events described in the case study demonstrate that the powers exercised by Crickhowell as a 'patron' in initiating the project attached to the post of Secretary of State, not the person.

Conversely, personality and the deployment of organizational resources can be seen to have advantaged the Stadium project. In developing this point it is necessary to again refer to specific individuals initially and then move to more general observations.

Crickhowell, portrays Russell Goodway as a supporter of, or collaborator with, the WRU and is, at best, condescending but generally deprecatory of the council leader. The research concluded that the role played by Goodway in advancing the stadium project was more important than that suggested by Crickhowell, or indeed more widely recognised.

Those who supported the opera house were critical of the role played by Goodway in publicly opposing that project. Others have also questioned his style of leadership as being autocratic and his prioritisation of commercial development when he had taken control of Cardiff City Council following local government reorganisation of 1996 (Morgan 2006; Punter 2006). In this instance the latter may be seen to have motivated his support for the Stadium redevelopment and the former expedited matters in its favour.

His intervention was in response to the threat a new national stadium might be constructed elsewhere than Cardiff. His primary objective was to retain the economic activity generated by the Stadium and secure the potential benefits afforded to the city by hosting the RWC99. The Stadium bid was then advanced through his decisive leadership and exercise of authority, both within the Council and in ensuring that the WRU remained silent regarding the rejection of their initial approach to the Millennium Commission.

Having mobilised the organisational resources of the Council in support of the RWC99 bid Goodway personally joined with representatives of the WRU in presenting the proposal to their various regions across Wales. Those presentations directly addressed any potential antipathy or resistance to the national stadium being located in Cardiff and demonstrated the commitment of the County/ City Council to securing both that new stadium and the RWC1999

In so doing they engaged directly and effectively with the wider public constituency through the well- established organisation represented by the Union of rugby clubs in Wales.

Goodway was also instrumental in enabling the revised bid to the Millennium Commission. That is evinced by the manner in which he addressed the opposition of the Millennium Commissioner, Sir John Hall to the original WRU bid. Crickhowell is repeatedly critical of Hall as being unsupportive of the opera house bid (Crickhowell 1997 p16,p78,p152) Goodway, on the other hand, met with Hall directly to address his reservations and agree a list of conditions for his support. He then persuaded the WRU to make the necessary concessions (Goodway 2014; Davies WRU 2015).

Goodway thereby established direct relationships with those who exercised control over the necessary funding and personally address their concerns. He demonstrated an understanding of the exercise of power and *realpolitik*. Networks and alliances were formed across social and political lines to achieve the stated objective. The Local Authority could therefore present the revised bid to the Commission as a more effective organisation with a focus and unity of purpose.

The contrasting approach to the management of the respective organisations was then highlighted by the public debate, particularly the dissent and division of opinion on the chosen design within the Opera House Trust and the lack of unity between it and its sponsors. The

proposition put by Galbraith (1983 p56) that an organization might only win external submission to its purposes by securing submission within its ranks was demonstrated in this instance. Open disagreement as to the preferred design and designer between Trustees and their sponsors undermined wider confidence in the choice. Nor would it have demonstrated to the Millennium Commission the cohesion and unanimity that might be expected of an organisation proposing a £94m construction project.

In assisting and facilitating the opera house bid CBDC may be seen to have been charged with a similar role as that afforded to the WRU by the local authority. The building of an opera house was not part of its stated mission but complementary to its core objectives. CBDC did not fail to offer adequate support due to competing priorities or diverse purposes but withdrew it when their confidence in the Trust and its preferred choice of design and designer withered.

Critically the Trust also lost the support of others involved in the original proposal to establish a major centre for the performing arts in Wales. Having been initiated by a Secretary of State and advanced by his immediate successors the incumbent in early 1995, John Redwood, was less sympathetic. In the course of that year it not only lost the support of the County Council but was being openly opposed by it. The Stadium redevelopment then had the public endorsement of the Council. Wider public support for the project was not claimed but evidenced, if not exaggerated, by the media coverage of the 'contest'.

The opera house had the disadvantage of being portrayed by the media as an 'elitist' project and the engagement of its promoters with the general public was poorly managed.

5.6.4 Time and Timing

The case study research again noted time and timing as consequential factors. In this instance the consideration was the fixed period availability of funding to mark the Millennium. The Opera House project evolved over many years and the National Lottery was identified as a possible source of funding in 1992, two years before the Stadium proposals were formed. However, the latter had to be completed to accommodate the Rugby World Cup in 1999 and its promoters were then under greater pressure of time.

Under such pressure the promoters of the Stadium exposed the project to risk by embarking on its reconstruction;

- Before formal agreements were in place with adjoining landowners and
- Adequate funding was in place to complete the project as originally presented

In so doing they placed themselves in a position of commercial disadvantage in negotiations with those landowners which impacted on already limited financial resources. Cardiff Rugby Club could, for example, have prevented access onto their ground for construction works which, given the constricted nature of the stadium site, would have impeded progress and probably delayed completion of the Stadium (Davies WRU 2015).

Time was also an underlying issue faced by the Trust. The agreement with the landowner, ABP, provided that the allocation of the site be contingent on a firm commitment to begin construction by late 1995 or early 1996. Following the failure of the Opera House bid Cardiff City Council had to intervene and acquire the site from ABP/ Grosvenor Waterside for £2.5m in June 2000 on the expiry of what was, presumably, a further option.

5.6.5 Probity and democratic accountability

The exercise of probity has been a pervasive factor in this case study as both projects presented different elements of risk. In both cases the promoters became more directly accountable to the wider public through the media attention given to the 'contest'.

In the case of the Opera House the novel design and unproven architect presented the perceived risk that the project might not be completed on time and within budget. That perception was then a subject of concern within the Trust and its sponsors.

The Stadium project presented very real risks which the research concluded were exacerbated by the conduct of the WRU. The financial risks had been limited by the action of the City Council in negotiating a fixed price contract with penalties payable by the contractor should the Stadium not be completed by the agreed date. There remained, however, the possibility of reputational risk to the region should the Stadium remain incomplete and the RWC99 final be relocated.

The research concluded that the Leader of the City Council had been aware of the exposure to risk and had exercised judgement relating to that in committing resources in support of that project. Although the intervention of the City Council was reactive it had previously commissioned a report from Phil Cooke, a Cardiff University academic, which suggested that Cardiff, as a capital, should have a facility capable of hosting major international sporting events. Supporting the redevelopment of the stadium to host RWC 99 could then be justified by its controlling Labour Group as pursuing a stated policy agenda (Goodway 2014 p12). In short, the perceived benefits to the city justified the commitment of Council resources to that objective.

Had it been widely known that the WRU had been initially rebuffed by the Millennium Commission the deployment of Council staff and resources on what was a highly speculative venture might have been questioned. In the event that commitment was validated by public support evidenced in the ensuing media 'contest'. It can be assumed that public would have called to account those responsible had the project failed. The research concluded that the most likely cause of such failure would have been the obduracy of the WRU. Also, a particular individual officer of the WRU was more prominently associated with the venture in the local media. The leader of the Council, on the other hand, was portrayed as an enthusiastic supporter of the project. Had the project failed the Council were positioned to direct responsibility for that at the WRU.

Of particular relevance to the research question are matters which concern the exercise of probity by the Millennium Commissioners in this case. These illustrated a difference with actions described as patronage historically. That is that publicly funded projects in the modern day may require that demand and need for the development is proven to justify the commitment of resources. This again relates with issues relating to 'market signals' raised in the literature review and, in this instance the 'other markets' discussed there (q.v.p42)

A conclusion of the research is that the promoters of the Stadium understood that the Millennium Commission might be inclined to favour quantifiable measures. The requirement of the Commission that there be 'demonstrable public support' can be interpreted as meaning a plausible estimate of the number of people likely to pay for the privilege of visiting the building, thereby ensuring its financial sustainability.

In this respect the Stadium had the advantage in that it had been established and progressively developed in that location over a period of many years. The commercial viability of an enlarged facility could therefore be evidenced by consumer demand for the additional capacity proposed.

A major centre for the performing arts did not exist which might suggest;

- a) There had been insufficient demand to justify the commitment of resources to the construction of such an amenity or
- b) a greater need for subsidy both in its construction and ongoing running costs and the risks attendant upon that more speculative venture

A related question concerns which of these 'competing' projects was the more deserving and in need of public subsidy. This relates to issues raised in the review of literature relating to justification and rationalisation of the demands on public financial resources.

In establishing the demand and needs of the public the criteria of the Millennium Commission could be said to have prioritised commercial viability rather than cultural need. On the one hand their rejection of the application for funding by the Trust can be seen to reflect their duty to exercise probity in the interests of wider society. On the other their decision to fund the Stadium, whilst popular, does not evince the cultural leadership or aspiration attributed to patrons of architecture and the built environment historically. It fails the test of being patronage if that is defined as;

- a) bringing into being that which would not otherwise have existed without such support and;
- b) achieving general recognition as having advanced the arts of design or enhancing the cultural landscape.

A final point concerns the exercise of probity in the assessment of application for public funding. Evidence will be sought to support such applications and in many, if not most, cases this will be presented and examined by 'experts'. That is, those with the necessary training, skills, knowledge and experience to give and test such evidence.

In this this case proof of the demand for a Stadium was tested by public debate. That then supplemented other evidence which could be substantiated by the operation of the pre-existing stadium over many years. On the other hand the judgement of the expert panel that selected the Opera House design was widely questioned. Those that supported that design were held to be an 'elite' by opponents of the development. The conclusion here is that those with the required expertise may inevitably constitute an 'elite' and questions arising from that will be revisited in the later analysis.

5.6.6 Conclusion

The wider public engagement, generated by media coverage, affected outcomes in this case and present some further conclusions from this case study.

The publicity generated by the debate created a level of public expectation which demanded successful delivery of the Stadium. The crude form of media referendum validated the actions of those promoting the Stadium project. This can be seen to have mandated those in public office to direct resources to the realisation of that objective. This is then a point to note in the later analysis and the distinction that may be made between discretionary and mandatory spending. The aspirational forms of development under examination invariably fall into the former. In this case the claims made on essential services, (schools, hospitals etc.) made by opponents of the Opera House are referenced. Questions relating to the mandate granted to those responsible for public spending will recur in the following case study.

A final point relates directly to the research question and will recur in the later analysis and conclusions. It concerns the perception of autocratic leadership touched upon earlier (q.v.p237) and requires elaboration as, in

this case, it attached to the democratically elected Leader of a local authority. In this instance the Leader was able to exercise authority and a degree of autonomy in directing resources to support the RWC99 bid and Stadium project as a matter of urgency. As noted his 'mandate' emerged through public support. The Chair of the Trust, on the other hand, 'exercised his prerogative as Chairman' in appointing a panel to select an architect. There was ensuing dispute and debate arising from their decision.

In that connection an observation, made in interview, was that the publicity given to Hadid's treatment in Cardiff might have been to her advantage in the longer term. (Adams 2015). She was lauded and supported by the architectural press and subsequently commissioned to work in regimes less sensitive to public opinion in their architectural patronage (Riach 2014; Wainwright 2014). Those commissioning such projects were better equipped with the resources and powers to confer upon the designer the degree of autonomy attributed to patronage historically. In the case of the Cardiff Bay Opera House those who aspired to such patronage lacked autonomy, particularly in respect of financial resources for which they were accountable to third parties and, ultimately, wider society.

6 Chapter 6 CASE STUDY 3

Housing the National Assembly for Wales

6.1 Introduction

The third case study examines the process of housing the National Assembly for Wales which followed a referendum in favour of regional devolution on 18 September 1997. The study addresses the research question directly as, from the outset, democratic accountability will be shown to have inhibited the aspiration to commission a new building. The need for a new building, The Senedd, arose through a particular chain of events in which financial considerations were a pervasive factor.

A proposition tested is that the building, which accommodated a democratically established regional Government, might have aspired to embody symbolic and cultural capital and a sense of national identity. It is argued that, in this case, emphasis was placed on the utilitarian need for suitable accommodation to justify the commitment of financial resources to the project. The process then reflected the priorities and occupational demands of a *client* rather than the aspiration to achieve particular qualities associated with those described as *patrons*.

The dominant preoccupation from the outset was cost and the housing of the Assembly significantly exceeded the indicative budget presented to the electorate before the referendum on regional devolution. The case study then presents another aspect of public accountability, expressed as probity, for consideration.

The characteristics that have defined patronage are then examined and several of the themes explored in the previous case studies revisited and developed. Matters relating to the exercise of discernment differ, for example, in that the building originally preferred as the location of the

Assembly presented issues relating to its suitability in symbolic terms. Similarly, the rationale behind the alternative location chosen is questioned. The selection of an architect and design for a new extension to that building was delegated to an expert panel, as was the case with the Cardiff Bay Opera House. In this case the choice of architect was less contentious but the ensuing debate centred on the need for, and (rising) cost of a new building which had particular qualities.

The distinction between discretionary and mandatory spending is then developed and the relationship between the latter and the mandate granted through the electoral process explored further. In this instance the electorate did not signal overwhelming support for devolution nor the desire for a new building which would be an expression of their collective will.

Personality and leadership will again be seen to be significant factors in this case. The media placed some emphasis on personalities in the course of events and the study will demonstrate that changes in leadership were influential. However, the role of bureaucracies and the impact that the actions of the Welsh Civil Service had on outcomes in this case will be examined. That will be shown to be a significant factor as the process of housing the National Assembly will be shown to be a series of sub-optimal choices. The eventual commissioning and construction of the debating chamber, The Senedd, was then a consequential creation of a symbolic building.

The structure of this chapter then differs from preceding case studies as matters relating to democratic accountability and the demonstration of probity in publicly funded development are a factor for the outset. These factors then influenced events which illustrate how power was exercised, or constrained, the role of bureaucracy and other matters. Those events then gave rise to the *need* for a new building and only then did specific aspirations as to the qualities of that building emerge. Issues which inform

later conclusions on the research question therefore arise in the course of the events described. These are then analysed and summarised at the end of the chapter as they relate to the characteristics that have defined patronage.

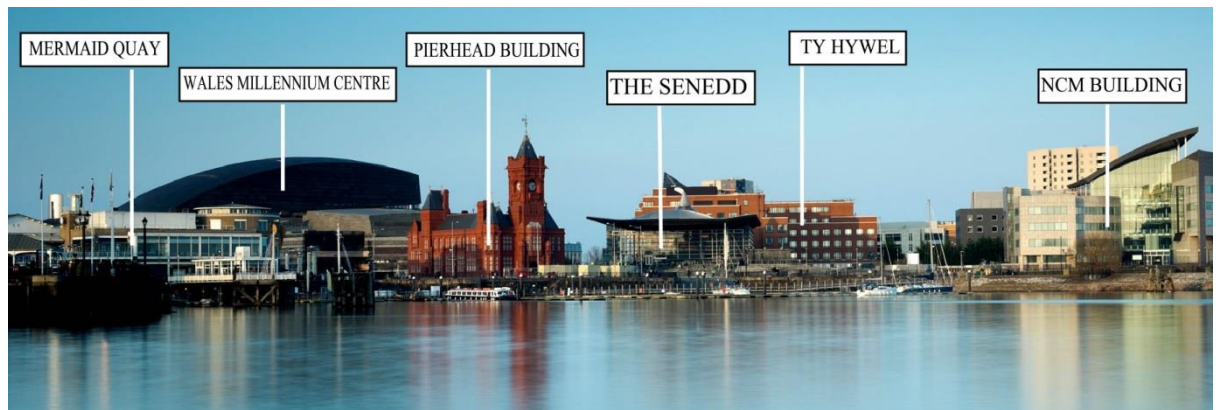


Figure 22 General view of Pierhead/ Inner Harbour with principal buildings annotated.



Figure 23 Aerial view of Pierhead/ Inner harbour, Cardiff looking north showing the relative location of buildings referred to.

6.2 Aspiration and accountability

Accountability to the electorate is a dominant theme in this case study where outcomes may be seen to be influenced by the perceptions of public opinion held by decision makers. From the outset the costs associated with

the establishment of a new democratic regional government were a pervasive factor. Following the general election of 1997, the Labour Government published a White Paper in July 1997 which indicated that;

"(the Welsh Assembly) headquarters will be in Cardiff ... (the) setting up (of) the Assembly is likely to cost between £12M and £17M." (A Voice for Wales Deposited Paper 5217, 23.7.97)

In interview the then Secretary of State, Ron Davies, was questioned as to whether the costs of housing the Assembly were understated to defuse opposition to devolution. His response was that the estimated costs were not deliberately understated but he was conscious that perceived costs may be an issue in both the 1997 election, when devolution was a manifesto commitment, and during the subsequent referendum campaign.

"I was clearly aware that cost was going to be a factor so I wasn't going to be extravagant in any conclusion I came to." (Davies 2014 p1)

The figures used were, by his concession, at best an 'educated guess'.

Decisions taken in the absence of accurate costing and valuation information were then influential in triggering the series of events that follow and informing consequent action.

The referendum held on 18 September 1997 resulted in a vote narrowly in favour of devolution. Only 50.1% of the electorate cast votes, 559,419 (50.3%) of those in favour and 552,698 (49.7%) in opposition. Whilst succeeding, the promoters of devolution had not secured a ringing endorsement for it, or elicited a demonstration of national sentiment that might suggest a mandate for major expenditure on new premises. The Secretary of State was content to proceed with caution on the matter of accommodation for the new Assembly.

Possible sites for a new Assembly had been investigated before that referendum had taken place. The criteria considered by Welsh Office

advisors were for a building of 80,000 square feet (7,400 m²) that would be ready to use by May 1999. The building was to be of appropriate stature, location and quality, good access for the disabled and good staff accommodation that would avoid disruption to existing personnel. (Wales 2000 para 2.3 - no pagination)

These requirements may be noted given the subsequent decision on location.

Cardiff City Hall was the recommended option, but with the caveat that the costs of acquisition and necessary works did not exceed the maximum figure of £17m estimated in the White Paper for 'setting up' the Assembly. (Audit Office Wales 2000 p10).

A disagreement arose on the valuation of City Hall which was personalised by the regional media and presented as a dispute between the Leader of Cardiff Council, Russell Goodway, and the Secretary of State for Wales, Ron Davies. The research confirmed through interview and archival research that both individuals were reliant on intermediaries and advisers and that the advice given to them influenced the outcome.

In addition to assuming the role of Secretary of State Davies had to;

- a) formulate the Devolution White Paper,
- b) lead the campaign for devolution and, subsequently,
- c) fight a challenge to his leadership of the Labour Party in Wales.

In interview he stated that City Hall was his preferred option and the dispute and issue of accommodating the Assembly elsewhere was an additional and unwelcome distraction (Davies 2014). Therefore, whilst taking all key decisions and maintaining personal contact with the Leader of the City Council the Secretary of State was perhaps more reliant on his advisers than Goodway.

Both Goodway and associates of the Secretary of State said in interview that Welsh Office civil servants engaged in those negotiations were unhelpful and cited instances where they were deliberately provocative in their dealings with the City Council. It was also stated that Crickhowell House, the eventual home of the National Assembly, was clearly in the minds of some civil servants during those early negotiations (Goodway 2014; Roberts 2015).

That evidence suggests that civil servants sought to influence outcomes through their conduct of such negotiations and the information supplied to their principals.

6.3 The valuation dispute and public accountability

The essence of the dispute on the value of Cardiff City Hall was outlined in a House of Commons Research Paper (Weintrobe 1997) and a report by the Auditor General for Wales, (*Wales 2000*). In summary, both parties were concerned with being properly accountable but, in so doing, the respective parties were referencing two entirely separate bases of valuation.

- The Welsh Office wished to pay no more than 'market value'.
- Cardiff City Council sought the cost relocating staff to alternative accommodation.

The valuation principles involved were considered in the course of the research and it was concluded that other bases of valuation might have been adopted. There is some credibility in the case put by the City Council that these would have been more appropriate in demonstrating probity in the disposal of their assets. That view was supported by the legal opinion given to Cardiff City Council which addressed the financial accountability of Cardiff City Council under Section 123 of the Local Government Act 1972 (Goodway 2014). The Act requires that local authorities achieve best value

in the context of land and property disposals and must demonstrate that they have acted properly, rationally and with due regard to their fiduciary duty in discharging their statutory functions.

The 1972 Act made provision for local authorities to dispose of land and buildings for 'less than the best that can reasonably be obtained' if the Secretary of State consents to the disposal. Goodway, was asked whether this was considered and he confirmed that it had but that Queens Counsel specifically advised against it in this case (Goodway 2014 p15). The operative point concerned the disparity between the figure offered for City Hall and the cost to the City of Cardiff of alternative accommodation which would be borne by Cardiff City Council and its ratepayers.

Closer examination of that issue, and the alternative solutions that might have been offered to resolve the dispute, are outside the scope of this research. The key point is that they were not identified and raised for discussion by those advising the Secretary of State at the time. It questions the competence of the civil service and their professional advisers and whether 'probity' was demonstrated by them given the costs incurred as a resultant of these abortive negotiations. As noted earlier the retrospective view of some interviewed in the course of research was that civil servants were 'managing' the information and advice given to the Secretary of State to pursue their own agenda.

It should also be noted that the question of value centred on the pragmatic and utilitarian assessment of the cost of replacement office accommodation by the City Council. Little weight was attached to the symbolic capital that City Hall represented to the people of Cardiff. There was neither sentimental attachment to the building on the part of the Leader of the Council nor any general public outcry at the suggestion that it might be occupied by the National Assembly for Wales (Goodway 2014). Such dissent as was voiced was by those who saw the building as a relic of

Cardiff's Edwardian heyday and not representative of new democratic institution (Parnaby 1998).

A final offer of £3.5M was made by the Welsh Office on 24 November and when that was rejected by Cardiff County Council the Secretary of State announced his decision not to proceed with Cardiff City Hall. The City of Swansea then offered their Guildhall building as a home for the new institution. This represented an explicit threat to Cardiff's status as the political capital of the region.

6.4 The debate on location

The Secretary of State felt that he could not accept that offer from the City of Swansea without first inviting proposals from elsewhere in Wales. He was asked if the subsequent exercise was unnecessarily divisive and stated that;

“Swansea suddenly emerged as a possible alternative. I wouldn't say it was a favourite but a possible alternative. And therefore I was faced, in a sense, with a quandary – I couldn't pull another rabbit out of the hat, it would have been quite unreasonable to say ‘We've got to go for Swansea now’ because – by what process had we come to that decision? And so, in a sense, you were ushered down the road of saying ‘ Well, okay – we've got to open up the process’. So – it proved to be divisive but that's just the nature of decision making you know”. (Davies 2014 p3)

In December 1997 the Welsh Office invited proposals to house the Assembly and 24 were received, 9 from local authorities and 14 from the private sector or corporations. The proposals were reviewed by the Welsh Office, who rejected sites due to poor location, accommodation or cost. A shortlist of ten sites was then considered, nine of which were in Cardiff. Of those, six were essentially commercial office developments or business

park locations at the edge of the City. In a submission to the Secretary of State the Royal Society of Architects in Wales commented that a seat of government must be seen to be physically independent of commercial interests.

“It would be highly inappropriate for an important public building, perhaps the premier public building in Wales, to be provided as a part of a commercial development.....It is hard to conceive of the House of Commons, the Capital in Washington, DC, the French National assembly or the Dutch Parliament in The Hague as an adjunct to an insurance office.” (Parnaby 1998)

Davies announced on 13 March 1998 that the new National Assembly building would be in Cardiff, either in Bute Square or Capital Waterside. Both were part of commercial mixed use development projects within the Cardiff Bay development area. Davies said that the Cardiff proposals were *“too compelling to resist (because) in making this decision, I am mindful that Wales has invested 40 years in promoting Cardiff as our capital city.”* (BBC News 1999a- no pagination) The Western Mail described the Welsh Secretary as dithering and the decision as farcical. (BBC News 1999a- no pagination)

The Bute Square Option.

The Bute Square project was examined separately in Chapter 5. Here it may be briefly noted that, of the two finally shortlisted, it was preferred by several senior Labour politicians. It was referred to colloquially as the ‘Vatican City’ option, the premise being that, following the intended dissolution of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC), the residuary land and other assets would transfer to the new Assembly. In short, the Welsh Government would have ownership and control of the former CBDC estate within Cardiff. Any enhanced value due to the

presence of Assembly would be captured within the PFI contract (Crompton 2014; Davies 2014; Davies STD 2014; Roberts 2015).

In addition to its criticism of a possible location of the Assembly building within a commercial development the RSAW submission suggested that there would inevitably be a loss of control of the nature and quality of the building if it were provided through, or as part of, a PFI contract. As was noted in the earlier chapter, some dilution of quality in the Bute Avenue/Square project can be attributed to its implementation through the PFI process.

The attraction to the politicians was that it was presented as a 'free' site within the PFI with various options for a new Assembly building. CBDC produced illustrative figures which indicated a 'payback' on the cost of constructing the Assembly Building at Bute Square as part of the PFI project. (Crompton 2014). This assumed uplift in adjacent land values due to the presence of an Assembly building and the best case scenario was a 'free' building, assuming a construction cost of circa £9m. That figure was based on the original estimated cost of housing the Assembly and, as will be seen, the eventual costs were considerably more.

6.5 The Decision

The final decision was taken at, literally, the last minute when the Secretary of State was summing up in favour of Bute Square as the preferred option when a representative from the Treasury entered the room and vetoed the PFI proposal (Davies 2014; Roberts 2015). In the recollection of those interviewed the Treasury objection concerned the provision of a building as an addition to the PFI agreement under negotiation. This, the Treasury representative suggested, would be a breach of procurement regulations and procedures.

The recollection of several present at that meeting then contradicts the several reasons given for the rejection of the Bute Square proposal by the Auditor General Wales (2000 pps 20-21).

Ron Davies was clear that City Hall remained his personal choice up to the final decision and said that he was mindful of;

- a) the issue of the financing either option which would 'play heavily' with public opinion and
- b) the wider question of the development of Cardiff as a Capital City and what that meant for the physical development of Cardiff (Davies 2014 p5).

His political adviser was firmly of the view that the last minute intercession was stage managed by the civil service who favoured the alternative presented by Crickhowell House (Roberts 2015).

The following morning on 28 April 1998, Davies announced that the site of the National Assembly building would be Capital Waterside. The official announcement was that the Welsh Office had decided that option carried less risk and would cost less than the Bute Square proposal. In response to a written question the Finance Minister, Edwina Hart stated that the Pierhead/ Grosvenor Waterside option would cost £43.9M, while Bute Square would cost £52.5M⁶.

The site was acquired by the National Assembly from Grosvenor Waterside Investments Ltd, which was owned by Associated British Ports (ABP). The agreement provided for extension of the lease of Crickhowell House until 2023, renting the Pierhead Building for 15 years and purchasing Site 1E for £1, which would be where the Senedd was to be built (Office of Public Information 2007).

⁶ Written Questions answered from 30 September to 7 October 1999 National Assembly(WAQ1099JS)

The decision may be seen to have been taken under pressure of time with costs and public opinion, as represented by the regional media, in the mind of the Secretary of State.

On further examination the justification, or explanation, of the decision is questionable. This can be emphasised by reference to the original brief which led to the selection of Cardiff City Hall as the option initially preferred. The stated criteria that the building was to be of appropriate stature, quality, and provide good staff accommodation were questionable in the case of Crickhowell House.

6.5.1 Crickhowell House.



Figure 24 Crickhowell House, now known as Ty Hywel.

The building then known as Crickhowell House was completed in 1993 and was built to accommodate the Welsh Health Common Services Authority (WHCSA). That body had merged and consolidated support functions for

the Health Services in Wales. The intention was to improve efficiency and make savings as there were disparate functions housed in different locations and renting or occupying separate buildings. Critics of the Cardiff Bay regeneration project implied that WHCSA were directed to Cardiff Bay to initiate commercial development in the Inner Harbour area (Best 2004 p180; Morgan 2015).

It has been established by enquiry that alternative locations were considered by WHCSA (Campbell 2014; Evans 2015 p3). The Grosvenor Waterside option was chosen and Crickhowell House constructed by them as the first major 'commercial' office development in Cardiff Bay, the only other new building in the vicinity then being County Hall. Rhodri Morgan remains of the view that WHCSA were directed to Cardiff Bay by Nick Bennett, the (Conservative) Junior Minister who sought a public sector occupier to initiate office development there (Morgan 2015).

The specification and construction cost of Crickhowell House were constrained by sensitivity regarding public perceptions. An architect who worked on the project confirmed that;

".....it couldn't be too ostentatious otherwise the reaction from the press, we thought, was going to be totally, you know 'this is a Government building and they're spending a fortune on this façade or this complicated curtain walling system' or whatever it was. And therefore our hands were tied right from the start ." (Downs 2014 p2)

This was verified by an employee of Grosvenor Waterside at that time who confirmed that they, in turn, were directed by their parent company, Associated British Ports, on the capital cost of providing the building.

" It was cost driven and the phrase we were constantly given was that an organisation providing common services to the Welsh health service, ... couldn't be seen to be taking a 'gin palace in The Bay' when hospitals were being closed in The Valleys. There were inconsistencies with driving

down that specification however and there were other reasons for driving it down. One reason for driving it down was ABP were very, very cost conscious and wanted a building to a price not necessarily a specification.” (Evans 2015 p3)

Interviewees also confirmed that the Development Advisory Panel of CBDC were critical of the proposed design and construction quality, even with tolerance for what they would term a ‘background’ building. Cardiff City Planning department objected to the standard of the building proposed and planning consent was delayed due to protracted negotiations on quality. (Layzell 2014; Silverman 2014; Hanson 2015). The chair of the Planning Committee at that time stated that the Chairman of CBDC intervened directly concerning the delay. Her response was that she was happy to invite the opinion of the Royal Fine Art Commission on the quality of the proposed building in the context of CBDC’s stated urban design objectives (Essex 2014). A compromise of sorts was reached with the addition of a glazed ‘atrium’ on what would be a prominent corner (Downs 2014; Evans 2015).

The design and build standard of the building was considered unsatisfactory by occupiers (Campbell 2014). This was also verified by the employee of the developer/ landlord who noted that;

“.....Crickhowell House probably ---couldn’t be shown to be such a fantastic deal for the rent they were paying....as soon as the staff moved in the vast tracts of south and south west facing windows made the buildings unusable –it wasn’t air conditioned –the staff response was to Sellotape paper over the windows—to provide shading” (Evans 2015 p4).

He also stated that, as far as he was aware, a formal completion statement was never agreed due to ongoing disputes on construction matters between various parties (Evans 2015 p 4).

An important point to be noted here is that

- a) the quality of the building was compromised but,
- b) the rental that was agreed on the building was, nonetheless, higher than that which might have been paid for comparable or better accommodation elsewhere in the region served by WHCSA.

Questions were raised by Kim Howells MP concerning WHCSA's choice of Cardiff Bay rather than Merthyr Tydfil, which had been the expected location of WHCSA, where rents were 30% lower (Best 2004 p180). Rhodri Morgan MP also questioned the then Secretary of State, John Redwood as to whether an independent evaluation of alternative sites available had been made. The response was that it had been independently assessed by property consultants who had confirmed that it offered the best value for money in terms of the options considered. The National Audit Office had also examined the papers (HANSARD HC Deb 07 February 1995 vol 254 cc150-1W 150W).

At £14.50 per square foot, with agreed increases over a period, this was among the highest office rental levels in Wales at that time. It was in line with rentals on new offices in Cardiff city centre but considered high for the specification of the building in the then untested and relatively isolated location in Cardiff Bay. The apparent anomaly is best illustrated by reference to the adjacent NCM building where the same initial rental level of £14.50 per square foot, also with agreed increase, was agreed. The NCM Building has a visibly higher specification in terms of design, materials and finishes and a superior position to Crickhowell House (Ty Hywel). A brief examination of that building is then relevant to this study as;

- 1) The commissioning process can be seen to be a form of patronage and, by direct comparison,
- 2) The terms of the lease on Crickhowell House call to question the competence or prudence of the civil servants that agreed them. The

same individuals were later to advise the Secretary of State on its suitability as a home for the National Assembly for Wales

The NCM Building



Figure 25 NCM Building (now known as Atradius)

The building was commissioned and built to accommodate the NCM Insurance Company who had acquired the Government's Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD) when it was privatised in 1990. The privatisation was controversial and Rhodri Morgan MP raised several questions concerning this in the House of Commons (HANSARD HC Deb 14 February 1991 vol 185 cc590-1W 590W, HANSARD HC Deb 12 March 1991 vol 187 c428W 428W).

Whilst opposed in principle to such privatisation both he and Alun Michael, the other local MP, were keen that it remain in Cardiff for the financial services expertise and skilled employment provided. Morgan and others were nonetheless sceptical concerning the decision to relocate to Cardiff Bay.

“The ECDG had been based in the Crown Buildings, owned by the Welsh Office, at Cathays Park. But, under the covenant of the Bute Estate, the

Buildings could only house government departments. As a private company NCM had to look elsewhere; how convenient it was that office space should be so readily available from a source, CBDC, to which the Welsh Office had always been so helpful and supportive.” (Best 2004 p196)

There are two errors in foregoing quote;

- The constraint on use at Cathays Park stems from the Cardiff Corporation Act 1898. The means of removing restrictive covenants existed, not least CPO powers within the Welsh Office and its agencies. However, legislation would have been necessary to vary the restrictions imposed by the Act of 1898
- The NCM Building was provided by ABP/ Grosvenor Waterside not CBDC.

NCM were in fact free to look at alternative sites and did so (Downs 2014). It is correct however, that CBDC fully supported Grosvenor Waterside financially in securing NCM as a tenant and, through its Development Advisory Panel, were influential in the design and specification of the building. (Evans 2015). It then serves as a contrast to the commissioning process of Crickhowell House and, in the context of this study, an example of a form of architectural patronage where a collaborative approach produced a building of quality.

Initially HMA, architects, were commissioned by NCM to look at alternative sites in the Cardiff area and Grosvenor Waterside effectively marketed their waterfront site. HMA took their original brief from NCM and the CEO, Harry Groen, stated that he wanted; *“a piece of timeless architecture”* and *“...something to put NCM on the map”* (Downs 2014 p7). HMA were the architects for both Crickhowell House and the NCM Building. The project architect confirmed that *“... we had a decent budget on this one compared with WHCSA”* (Downs 2014 p4)

The cost of the NCM was roughly £120 psf, approximately 20% more than Crickhowell House. The project architect added that the construction industry had entered a recessionary cycle between the commissioning of Crickhowell House and the later procurement of the NCM building which would, in effect, have increased that to something of the order of 40% in real terms. This funded a very different approach and a much higher specification in terms of materials and finishes. The NCM building also had a more sophisticated ventilation system, a persistent occupational shortcoming of Crickhowell House. Grant assistance of £2.5m was received through CBDC; the grant for Crickhowell House was £0.48m (Wales 2001)

In summary then the circumstances were that a private company, NCM, were commissioning a building from a private commercial developer, Grosvenor Waterside, and would occupy that building on lease from them. The process was supported by CBDC, both in terms of design input and financially. The design and commissioning was a collaborative process which produced a building with qualities that were formally recognised through architectural awards and, less formally, by featuring prominently in marketing material issued by CBDC following its completion.

Crickhowell House, on the other hand, was commissioned from the same developer by a public body who directed that the qualities of that building be understated and yet the rental level agreed on the building were the same. This may be explained in part by the recessionary cycle and the relative strength of the tenant's position but a further factor may be noted here. The lease on Crickhowell House was a Government covenant for a term of 25 years. It is understood that NCM had a tenants 'break clause' with an option to terminate their lease at 10 years. These would be material factors taken into consideration by the developer in the funding and the valuation of the asset. They would also ensure that the NCM building be of 'institutional standard' and capable of being re-let in the open market should NCM vacate.

There was then greater incentive for building quality in the NCM Building through the commercial self-interest of the developer. Conversely, in presenting the developer with longer term security of a government covenant and in taking a full repairing lease on Crickhowell House the civil service offer no such incentive. The commissioning of that building therefore reflected the practices subsequently criticised by the Arts Council of Great Britain in 'Architecture and Executive Agencies' (ACoGB 1993).

In the event the provision of a higher building specification was not tested in the open market as regards the NCM building which remained occupied. Crickhowell House was, however, largely vacated when, in 1994, WHCSA was abolished by John Redwood (Hansard HC Deb 21 February 1995 vol 255 c124W 124W).

"By 1996, nearly all had moved out, and most of the offices in Crickhowell House were empty, although under the WHCSA's 25 year lease, the Welsh Office was still paying the landlords, Grosvenor Waterside, £1.5m a year in rent." (Best 2004 p217)

The building remained largely vacant, the Welsh Office being unable to find a tenant for the building at the passing rental level.

In the opinion of the political adviser to the Secretary of State, and that of the Cardiff City Council Leader, Crickhowell House was the preferred location of civil servants for the National Assembly (Goodway 2014; Roberts 2015). The suggestion was made by interviewees that the civil servants responsible for negotiating the original lease of Crickhowell House to WHCSA provided the initial advice on the location of the National Assembly (Goodway 2014; Evans 2015; Roberts 2015).

The research supports the intimation that civil servants sought to influence the selection process in favour of the Pierhead location as a financial solution to the ongoing rental commitment on the vacant Crickhowell House. This might suggest that probity was being exercised by the civil

service. A conclusion of the research is that would be a generous assessment given the cumulative costs arising from the decision.

6.6 The exercise of discernment

6.6.1 The design selection process

Before deciding on Capital Waterside as the site of the National Assembly the Secretary of State, Ron Davies, announced on 13 March 1998 that an international competition would be held to select the design of the building for the debating chamber. Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Competitions would oversee the competition and a design panel would recommend a design to the Secretary of State.

The Design Competition Advisory Panel was made up of seven members and was chaired by Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, the former MP for Cardiff South and Penarth and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The chair and four members were appointed by The Secretary of State and the remaining two members were appointed by the RIBA. The competition was advertised in the Official Journal of the European Communities on 13 June 1998.

The suggestion was made in interview that Ron Davies was concerned that no 'big name architects' would enter a competition for what was a relatively small building extension (Roberts 2015). Lord Callaghan reassured Davies and undertook to speak to Richard Rogers, among others, to ensure an entry was submitted (Roberts 2015). This was not confirmed by Ron Davies who merely reiterated that he was grateful to Lord Callaghan for taking responsibility for the competition and Davies made a firm commitment to fully support whatever decision the selection panel made. (Davies 2014)

The competition criteria provided that the building should have a functional specification and a price tag of no more than £12M including fees. Appealing to the public to drop the idea of using the City Hall, Lord Callaghan said, *"To those people I would say, I love the city hall. But we are building for the 21st century and we've got new materials, new ways of construction, a new openness, and this is it."* (BBC News 1999a) The Brief

The project architect of the proposal eventually chosen, Ivan Harbour of the Richard Rogers Partnership, offered the view that the competition was well organised with a clear brief and good selection and technical advisory panels (Harbour 2015). There was some criticism in the regional architectural journal which suggested a 'hidden sub-text' and questioned *'...which bits of the brief are written by Ron (Davies) and which by a separate faction of civil servants'* (Marshall 1998 p5). The proposition that there were different, if not conflicting agendas is, on examination, correct but there is some misinterpretation of motive on the part of that critic. An adviser to the Secretary of State suggested that the civil service contribution brief was entirely 'pragmatic' or utilitarian and any aspirational elements were added by Davies' political team or the chair of the selection panel, Lord Callaghan (Roberts 2015). This is reflected in the comment by Ivan Harbour that the letter from Callaghan that accompanied the brief was important;

"He was very careful not to demand an icon but he looked forward to a building that might, whenever you saw it, might remind you of Wales, be of Wales and I guess in a sense he was describing a place you could imagine - an icon space in other words." (Harbour 2015 p1)

In total, 55 architects had shown interest in the project, nine came from Wales, 38 coming from elsewhere in the UK and the remaining eight from the rest of the world. The Design Competition Advisory Panel selected 12 architects for interview in August 1998 and from those a shortlist of six architects was chosen to submit concept designs.

6.6.2 The selected designer

Each architect submitted designs by 5 October 1998. 10 days later the Design Competition Advisory Panel met and unanimously recommended that the Richard Rogers Partnership (RRP) design should be selected. Although several eminent architects were shortlisted Richard Rogers was perhaps the only 'household name' in the list. He had previously designed the Lloyd's building in London, the Pompidou Centre in Paris with Renzo Piano and had more recently completed the Bordeaux Law Courts in 1998. The Bordeaux courts are perhaps the more directly comparable example of a provincial public building in terms of scale and cost at circa 25,000 m² and a cost of £27m⁷.

The selection of Rogers was considered as regards the issues relating to the purchase of cultural capital by aspirant individuals and organisations. Several of the architects interviewed were asked whether they felt that the international profile of Rogers had been a contributory factor in this case. In the view of one of the other competitors the Rogers' Partnership had the better experience, came up with the stronger concept, were able to articulate their vision to the selection panel and convince the technical advisory panel that it was achievable (Davies STD 2014).

Ron Davies announced the Richard Rogers Partnership as the scheme architects on 16 October 1998.

Lord Callaghan declared it to be "*one of the most instantly recognisable pieces of architecture at the dawn of the 21st century*" and "*Our firm expectation is that it can become a building that Wales will be proud of and which will represent the new spirit of democracy in the next Millennium.*"

⁷ http://www.rsh-p.com/work/buildings/bordeaux_law_courts

He added that, in the panel's opinion, the RRP design had the merits of being *"simple, straightforward, elegant and economic. It allows for light and transparency, and will provide generous public spaces. In symbolic form, it represents the open, modern democracy which the National Assembly for Wales must be. (BBC News 16/10/1998.) "*

It may be noted in passing that Lord Callaghan's statement is remarkably similar to that by the promoters of the site, Grosvenor Waterside in their submission to the Welsh Office and the building not dissimilar in form to that presented in that by their architects, HLN, a Cardiff based practice (Touchstone 1998 4).

11 days after the competition winner was announced, Ron Davies resigned as Secretary of State for Wales and, subsequently, as the First Secretary designate of the National Assembly. As a Member of the National Assembly he gave continued support for the RRP design for the Senedd building.

The controversy did not end with the decision on design. The Welsh spokesman for the Conservative Party, Nick Bourne, repeated calls for the new building to be scrapped. Bourne, who had led the 'No' campaign on devolution, said the building was;

"an incredible waste of money....It will be costing at least £10m, even on the government's own estimates, and these things always go up. There was little or no public consultation on the decision and City Hall remains a much more viable alternative which would be more readily available." (BBC News 1999a)

On 1 July 1999, The National Assembly for Wales (Transfer of Functions) Order 1999 came into effect; this transferred all powers from the Secretary of State for Wales to the National Assembly for Wales. Responsibility for the construction of the debating chamber transferred at the same time. It was planned that the outline design would be completed by June 1999, and detailed design by February 2000.

6.7 The commissioning of The Senedd

The panel chaired by Lord Callaghan had selected an architectural concept which remained to be developed and evolved in partnership with the client and occupier of the proposed building. However the commissioning process was marked by issues arising on the emerging detailed design and specification with tensions arising between architects and other advisors appointed by the Welsh Office/ National Assembly. There was then an increasingly adversarial relationship between the appointed designer and the civil service advisers.

This is relevant to the process of patronage and how historical practices can conflict with the procurement procedures of those advising a (provincial) civil service in recent times. A point which can be illustrated here is the distinction made by Bourdieu between the fields of restricted production and large scale production discussed in the literature review (q.v p95). The methodology for the commissioning of a bespoke building will differ from those which have established precedent. That is to say that the likely cost of a 'standard' office block can be estimated by reference to comparable buildings recently completed. There will be no ready benchmark for a debating chamber for a newly established regional government.

In this instance differences were further exacerbated by the requirement that indigenous materials be used and locally sourced. This may be noted as being as much a political gesture as a critical design requirement. The architects advised that alternatives be considered to afford some bargaining position as suppliers may otherwise perceive themselves as being in a near- monopoly position and price accordingly. This was then further compounded by the problem of estimating the cost of construction using 'unusual' materials

Construction of the building was due to begin in November 2000 and be completed in April 2001. Cardiff City Council granted planning permission for the building on 8 November 1999 and by 26 January 2000 the National Assembly voted in favour of progressing the project onto the next stage. A further point to be noted here is that the pressure of time was coming from the National Assembly and the architects were growing increasingly concerned. This was recounted in a conversation with the Presiding Officer, Lord (Dafydd) Elis Thomas and the project architect who said;

“ ‘Dafydd – something has to give. You’ve got time, cost and quality – every business has this issue – you can’t fix them all – so tell me – what gives? And of course in the end he was honest and said ‘Time – time gives’. I knew he would say this ‘So you’re interested in making sure it doesn’t go over budget – in that case you can’t start building it tomorrow whilst we haven’t finished the design because that is massively risky’ And that’s what their adviser was saying ‘ We’ve got to get on and build it ’ and we were saying ‘ If you do that you risk going over budget’.” (Harbour 2015 p5)

The architects, who had some considerable international experience in the design and construction of bespoke buildings, were therefore drawn into conflict with the professional advisers appointed by the Welsh civil service who they observed were;

“...the centre of control and one of the reasons --the reason that we were sacked by The Assembly was we put our hand up and basically said ‘If you keep going this way you’re not going to build this on budget’ and we said ‘your adviser is not advising you properly’ – that’s why we got sacked. And this was a case in point – we said ‘You cannot go out with Welsh slate only – sorry – but you can’t do it. You control the budget but who’s going to be at grief if we go over budget – it won’t be you – it will be us’. And so we had a duty to say to our client that we thought they were being poorly advised. In which case I assume they ask the adviser

*'are you advising us poorly?' 'Oh no – just get rid of the architect'. “
(Harbour p5)*

That is what proved to be the case when Rhodri Morgan replaced Alun Michael to become the First Secretary (now known as the First Minister) of the National Assembly on 15 February 2000. On 22 March, Morgan stopped all work on the project to carry out a complete review (BBC News 2000a).

6.8 The alternative extension to Crickhowell House

As Member of Parliament for the Cardiff West constituency Rhodri Morgan had been a vocal critic of CBDC, the selection of Crickhowell House and preceding decisions relating to the commissioning of the debating chamber. He recalled that during his first week in office he was pressed to sign a contract *'...for a million pounds to carry on with the next stage of the design'*. On suggesting that there be pause for consideration was told by a civil servant that *'It will upset ABP- they'll sue us'*. Rhodri Morgan spoke directly to ABP who were sympathetic to the request but he noted that the civil service *'... were obviously terrified of being sued by ABP'* (Morgan 2015 p14).

The decision to stop the project was supported by a vote in the National Assembly on 6 April 2000. A review was undertaken which included the costs and construction risks of the new building, the timetable for the completion of the project and consideration of possible alternatives to the new building. That review was carried out by the Assembly's Management Services Division, the Property Advisors to the Civil Estate and Symonds Group Ltd. They considered the following options, cancel the project, continue with the existing design, design a building on Site 1E, improve the existing debating chamber, construct a small one in the courtyard of Crickhowell House, or relocate to Cardiff City Hall (Auditor General for Wales Wales 2000 pps 51-53).

It will be noted that, as suggested by Ivan Harbour above, the review was carried out by the same civil service advisers who were perceived to be problematic by the architects.

The future of the project was then debated by Assembly members with an extension to Crickhowell House built over its rear car park being presented as an alternative by Rhodri Morgan. That was presented as a cheaper alternative although no detailed design work had been undertaken. This suggests that professional advisers to the National Assembly had prevailed in recommending a utilitarian structure that they could understand and estimate the likely cost of construction.

Their competence may also be questioned as to the practicality of that alternative and the consequences of such action. The Assembly were contractually bound to build a debating chamber on site EO1 under the 'site for £1' agreement with Grosvenor Waterside. Had they not done so then it can be assumed they would be in breach of that agreement and the site would revert to the landowner for commercial development. That would have meant, in effect, that Crickhowell House would have presented the only public façade of the National Assembly and been enveloped by commercial development to the south and the waterfront.

The further debate(s) which followed the suspension of the RRP project and considered the alternatives present points of note which inform later analysis and conclusions on the research question.

The first is that there was continuous open and democratic debate in which public accountability and the exercise of probity was prominent. The First Minister, Rhodri Morgan, had sincere doubts about the design proposal selected by the panel chaired by Lord Callaghan and demonstrated that by his public advocacy of the alternative extension proposal. In the context of this study the RRP building did not then have the support, or patronage, of the First Minister.

Members of his Labour Party were divided with some supporting the alternative proposed by Morgan. Others favoured proceeding with the RRP design and were supported by members of the Liberal and Plaid Cymru parties but differed in their approach. Some adopted the aspirational rhetoric of the buildings symbolism and others were more focussed on the utilitarian and functional need for a purpose built debating chamber. The latter group emphasised that operational efficiency drove the need for a new debating chamber as that which had been created in Crickhowell House not fit for purpose.

In the renewed debate the 'core opposition' of Conservative Assembly Members were able to denigrate both the lack of aspiration of the alternative proposed and question the need for the RRP building (and by implication the Assembly itself). A further point to note is that they challenged the symbolic value of the debating chamber by resorting to the argument discussed in the preceding case study. That was that finite economic resources be better invested in hospitals and schools than the proposed building.

The negative aspects of such debate noted for later analysis are that it incurred further delay. Coupled with that, the lack of consensus and support for the project among Assembly members presented a poor public perception of the new institution. That was amplified by media criticism of the process. On the one hand wider interest may be served by such debate in testing the probity of committing public finances to the project. On the other public confidence in their elected representatives may be undermined if the outcome of such debate is indecisive.

In this case it was agreed on 21 June 2000 that the original proposal using the RRP design should proceed and an international competition was held to select the main contractor.

In November 2000 a report by the Auditor General Wales praised the way Assembly officials were now monitoring costs but highlighted that these were escalating and;

- criticised the fee arrangement with the architects which were linked to the cost of the building and
- suggested this gave the architects no incentive to keep costs down. (Auditor General Wales 2000).

The fee scale accepted by the selection panel had been based on a brief for what would have been considered a 'small' building by those shortlisted both in terms of size and indicative cost (Harbour 2015). At that point the fees due to RRP were circa £3.5m.

This fuelled further criticism from opponents within the Assembly, the Welsh Conservative leader Nick Bourne, speaking before the publication of that report, stated that his Party had been opposed from the beginning to spending millions of pounds on an extension to the building (BBC News 2000b). The issue of the RRP fee, raised by the Auditor General (2000 pps49-51), also undermined confidence in the architect among other members of the Assembly.

At that point the architects were not dealing with the aspirations of an aesthetically enlightened panel, or patron, but the building delivery requirements of an increasingly problematic client.

6.9 The termination of the Richard Rogers Partnership contract

Edwina Hart AM, the Minister for Finance, Local Government and Communities, approved the final project design on 18 January 2001 and by 1 March 2001, the ground breaking ceremony took place to mark the beginning of construction. Six months after construction had begun Hart

announced on 17 July 2001 that the National Assembly had terminated the contract of RRP because of the "*significant underestimates in the cost plan prepared by RRP*", and that RRP "*had hidden costs from the Assembly*" (BBC News 2001). She said that despite the termination of the contract, the debating chamber should still be built to RRP's design.

RRP strongly refuted that and a legal dispute then arose between the parties. RRP claimed £529,000 in fees, and the National Assembly £6.85M in damages. On 10 December 2001 RRP requested an appointment of an adjudicator from the Construction Industry Council (CIC) to resolve the issue. RRP were largely vindicated in February 2002 when the adjudicators ruled that they were entitled to £448,000 of their claim, while the National Assembly was not entitled to any of the damages they had claimed (Glancey 2005; Harbour 2015)

The conclusion that may be drawn from the CIC adjudication and subsequent action of the Assembly is that the original professional advisers appointed by the civil service lacked the necessary skills to implement the project and advised their client incorrectly as;

- a) the architects were adjudged to be entitled to a substantial proportion of the fees claimed
- b) the Assembly were awarded no damages and
- c) their professional advisers were replaced.

The role of those professional advisers as intermediaries between the principal and the architect is noted as another feature which differs from the direct relationships which have characterised patronage historically.

6.10 The revised procurement process

In August 2001, immediately following the termination of the RRP contract, the Assembly instructed consultants to review the project and propose

how it should progress. The recommendation was that new project managers be appointed and that was done. They reported to a Project Board, who reported in turn to the Minister for Finance, Local Government and Communities (Auditor General Wales 2008b).

The Welsh Government decided that a design and build fixed-price contract would be used for the second phase of construction. The stated aim was to *"deliver a landmark building...to time, to an appropriate quality and within budget"* (Wales 2008b). On 23 October 2002 an invitation to tender was issued through the Official Journal of the European Community.

Eight companies submitted an interest but only David McLean and the Taylor Woodrow Strategic Alliance Partnership, with RRP as a subcontractor, submitted tenders. David McLean's tender did not comply with the tender requirements, so the Assembly Government negotiated a fixed-price contract with Taylor Woodrow for £48.2M (Davies STD 2014).

It is therefore questionable whether the 'best price' was achieved as there was, effectively, one bidder.

The suggestion was made that, given the problems which had been encountered and the direct advice that they would have had from RRP on the issues, Taylor Woodrow included significant contingency sums in their bid to cover possible cost over-runs. In the course of interview Ivan Harbour remarked that Taylor Woodrow *"....did pretty well out of it themselves and that I do know."* (Harbour 2015 p6).

The Assembly pursued the objective of securing a fixed price but the implication is that the figure negotiated was then higher than it might necessarily have been. This proposition may be explained by reference to historic methods of procurement, particularly those which have been used in the commissioning of unique structures. In such cases detailed bills of quantities would be produced for the specified materials and the costs

estimated. There would then be agreed day rates for the contractor to work such materials and construct the building under supervision.

The contract was signed between Taylor Woodrow and the First Minister on 1 July 2003 and construction began for a second time on 4 August 2003.

Although working as a sub-contractor to Taylor Woodrow, RRP established an informal relationship with the civil servant who had been appointed to lead the Project Board. The project architect noted that this was an ‘unofficial’ line of communication because they had been ‘blacklisted’ by the National Assembly for Wales through the preceding dispute (Harbour 2015 p9). It was only then, when they were working *indirectly* for the Assembly did they establish the sort of relationship with an official which bore some similarity to those that have characterised patronage historically. The project architect said;

“...we always say the best buildings are built by the best clients .What we mean is a client who makes decisions, takes on a responsibility and actually is part of the design team. You can’t design a building without a client who is part of the design team.” (Harbour 2015 p9)

Placing the authority to deliver the building in the hands of a competent civil servant was then a critical factor. The project architect stated that, in his opinion, it would not have mattered if they were working for the contractor, Taylor Woodrow, or had remained instructed as architects directly by the Assembly. At that stage they felt they were finally working to a common objective under the instructions of an individual who had the necessary experience and authority and instilled confidence in the team that he had established around him.

“...they really made it work – they got the decisions and so – yes. Without him I don’t think it would have happened.” (Harbour 2015 p9)

The topping out ceremony took place on 25 November 2004 by the Presiding Officer, Dafydd Elis-Thomas, and the construction of the Senedd

was formally completed on 7 February 2006 when the National Assembly took control of the building.

6.11 Cost increases and time delays

In 2008 the Wales Audit Office reported that the cost of the Senedd increased from £12M in 1997 to £69.6M in 2006, an increase of 580% compared with the original budget forecast in April 1997 (phase 1) and was four years and 10 months late. A reason given for the difference was that the original estimate was not based on any detailed design of the final requirements of the building (Wales 2008a).

After the project was stopped in 2001, the contract for the construction of the second phase of the building used a fixed-price design and build contract, which meant that the National Assembly had a much tighter control of costs than they had in the first phase. However, the project was 5.5% over budget from the lump sum offer made by Taylor Woodrow in July 2003 (phase 2) and was six months late. This was attributed to the failure of the National Assembly to produce a detailed specification on time, particularly in respect of IT and related services.

Analysis of the total out-turn costs of the Senedd

Category	Budget set June 2003 ¹ (£ million)	Phase 1 (£ million)	Phase 2 (£ million)	Total (£ million)
Capital costs				
Construction (design and build contract)	48.2		49.7	49.7
ICT and broadcasting	4.9		8.2	8.2
Art	0.3		0.3	0.3
Loose furnishing	1.9		1.6	1.6
Phase one construction	2.5	2.5		2.5
Total capital costs	57.8	2.5	59.8	62.3
Professional and legal fees				
Richard Rogers Partnership	3.2	3.2		3.2
Schal (project manager)	1.8	0.5	1.3	1.8
Symonds (project manager – phase one)	0.4	0.4		0.4
Legal fees	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.4
Other various	0.6	0.6	0.9	1.5
Contingency	2			-2
Total professional and legal fees	8.3	5.0	2.3	7.3
TOTAL	66.1	7.5	62.1	69.6

Notes

1 At time when investment decision was made and Taylor Woodrow had submitted final offer

2 Included within various sums, mainly construction costs

Source: Wales Audit Office

Figure 26. Costs of the Senedd – Source : Wales Audit Office (2008a)

(Wales 2008a)

The Audit Office report did not report the total cost of accommodating the National Assembly at the Pierhead. There were costs in initially adapting Crickhowell House and a further £3.2m was spent on refurbishing 4th and 5th floors of the building in 2013 (Shipton 2013)

There were also costs attached to the inclusion of the Pierhead Building in the 'package' offered by ABP. That was of questionable value to the National Assembly which had no pressing need for the additional accommodation afforded by the building. From the research undertaken it is doubtful that the conversion and maintenance costs of that listed building were properly taken into account when the lease was agreed. It would therefore appear that the Welsh Government, with no clear purpose

for that building in mind, had relieved ABP of the liability for a redundant Grade 1 listed building in need of extensive repair and refurbishment.

The total costs of housing the National Assembly could then be more accurately presented as follows;

TOTAL COSTS OF ACCOMMODATING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (ILLUSTRATIVE)	
Original estimate included in White Paper was	£12m-£17m
Capitalised rental of Crickhowell House	
£1.5m pa	£25m*
Concession of 200 car parking spaces	£0.688m
Initial costs of alteration to accommodate Assembly	£14.8m (to2000)
Expenditure on Pierhead Building	£3m??
The Senedd	<u>£69.6m</u>
	Circa £112m+
936% over the original budget of £12m	
658% over the upper limit set for Cardiff City Hall at £17m	
(* Note 'market value' of capitalised rent circa £40m to investor)	

Figure 27. Illustrative costs of Housing the National Assembly

The Audit Office report is primarily concerned with functionality of the building and cost but recognised that The Senedd was nominated for or received numerous architectural awards. (Auditor General Wales 2008b, pp. pps 22-23).



Figure 28. The Senedd Building Awards – Source: Wales Audit Office 2008a

There is then recognition of the architectural qualities of The Senedd which, coupled with its use and symbolic significance as the principal building of regional government, might suggest that it was produced by a process of state patronage. However, the commissioning and implementation of the project did not evidence the characteristics which would support definition of the institution, or an individual within it, as a patron of architecture.

6.12 Analysis

The events described in this final case study inform later conclusions on the research question which concern wider democratic accountability and the exercise of probity. Those were factors which influenced those events from the outset in this instance. In addressing the research question as to whether the characteristics that have defined patronage historically can be

replicated in a modern democratic polity the study presented a particular set of circumstances for examination. Essentially, a building was brought into being which embodied many of the qualities associated with architectural patronage. That building was commissioned and the project implemented by a democratic institution and the undertaking was the subject of open debate and discussion. However, many of the characteristics that have defined patronage were absent in that process. That process was primarily driven by the utilitarian requirements of an occupational client, was not competently managed and resulted in increased costs.

The characteristics that have defined patronage are therefore used as headings in the following analysis and summary of findings, the absence of such characteristics being a recurring factor therein.

6.12.1 Aspiration

In the preceding case studies the origins and the motives which set the stated aspiration for publicly funded projects were examined. In this case The Senedd building did not originate in a clearly stated aspiration at the outset. From the outset the cost of accommodating the, then proposed, regional Assembly were a dominant factor. The exercise of probity, such as it was, can be attributed to wider democratic accountability. In this case that was the pragmatic assessment of the likely response of the electorate if significant costs were a consequence of devolution.

The conclusion is, however, that such considerations were then a restraint on aspiration

The need for additional, and more suitable, accommodation arose through circumstances described in the case study. The aspiration as to the qualities desired in that building were articulated by the Chair of an expert panel appointed to recommend the selection of an architect/ design

proposal through competition. That aspiration was then reiterated by supporters of the chosen design in the ensuing debate as to whether to proceed with its implementation. In such debate those aspirational objectives were supplementary, and often subordinate, to arguments for utilitarian requirements.

There was, in conclusion, a stated aspiration but in this case that emerged in the course of events and was not a factor in their initiation.

6.12.2 Discernment and Knowledge

The question of how discernment is exercised in setting quality objectives, and by whom, has been partially addressed under the preceding heading. In this case the selection of an architect was delegated to a panel and their decision was accepted by members of the Assembly following democratic debate. The selection of an architect/ design proposal by a competition adjudicated by an expert panel was less problematic than that of the Cardiff Bay Opera House. The process was perceived to have been better managed in this case and the architect chosen, Lord Rogers, widely recognised as a leading practitioner in the field. There was then procurement of the cultural capital vested in the architect whose reputation validated and lent status to the project. However, the research concluded that the design proposal submitted by the Richard Rogers Partnership was the more widely favoured and accepted. In the view of several interviewed, who included competitors, the RRP proposal would have been selected had submissions to the competition been anonymous.

A feature of this case study is that ensuing problems and dispute arose from the implementation of the design. A contributory factor that can be addressed under the heading of 'discernment' concerns the disparity of knowledge and experience between the architectural practice commissioned and those representing and advising the client. Broadly these may be summarised as a failure of the latter to recognise that the

design selected was unique and could not be realised through standard building procurement procedures.

Under such circumstances there may inevitably be conflict between those who aspire to create a novel building and those required or directed to ensure certainty as to its cost and demonstrate probity.

In this case the ensuing dispute delayed the project further. Also, whilst satisfying the requirement that cost was fixed, a conclusion of the research is that the decision to proceed with a single contractor and a 'design and build' contract resulted in increased costs. Adopting a procurement process suitable for a commercial client may then have been more expensive than the method suggested by the architect as being more appropriate for a unique structure.

In that respect there was a failure to exercise discernment, in the sense of that meaning sagacity, and in consequence the probity of adopting the revised procurement method was questionable.

6.12.3 The exercise of powers

In considering the command of resources and exercise of powers necessary for the stated objectives to be fully realised the case study demonstrates several important issues. These concern the sources of power and the various instruments through which it is exercised in a democracy. A key point is that regional devolution was not decreed or imposed but established by means of a referendum. In this case the outcome was a small majority in favour. The democratic process did not evidence the levels of popular support that might encourage aspiration or ambition in the housing of the new body. There was then a weak mandate and the Secretary of State for Wales was not granted additional financial or other resources by central government to implement the process. The inability to exercise compensatory power was then influential in this case and the cost of establishing and accommodating the Assembly a pervasive factor.

The exercise of condign power was also evidenced, most notably in the explicit threat that the seat of regional government might be located elsewhere than Cardiff which had been recognised as the capital of Wales from 1955. Such powers were not, however, deployed to compel the acquisition of Cardiff City Hall or an alternative location. There were then limitations and constraints on the exercise of power by the Secretary of State as the principal advocate of devolution. These then demonstrate the point made by Galbraith that the strength of organisational power is dependent on its association with other sources of power and access to its instruments of enforcement (q.v p52).

6.12.4 Personality and leadership

The research established that the role of certain individuals was again exaggerated or misrepresented by the regional media, particularly in the dispute on Cardiff City Hall. However, personalities and the actions of individuals were influential in the events examined in this case study. An important factor was that there was no continuity of leadership and widely differing levels of commitment from the most senior figures. Neither Ron Davies, as Secretary of State, nor Rhodri Morgan, as First Minister, could evince any personal enthusiasm for the location selected to house the National Assembly. Both had been vocal critics of the Cardiff Bay redevelopment, the latter one of its most prominent opponents. Alun Michael, on the other hand, had been a consistent supporter of the development which was in his Parliamentary constituency. The circumstances which led to leadership contests between these individuals in short succession were extraordinary in this case. However, as noted in the preceding case studies, changes of leadership or ministerial appointment are a feature of democratic government.

Open democratic debate also makes public the divergence of views between the individuals involved. Rhodri Morgan, on his accession to the post of First Minister, halted progress on the Senedd building and clearly

stated his personal reservations to proceeding with the project. The point to be noted is that the incumbent leader did not personally support the project. A feature of the case is that the eventual outcome was determined democratically, the commissioning of the Senedd proceeding by a vote of a majority of elected members of the Assembly.

Organisation

Issues relating to the 'bi-modal symmetry' of organisational power were also evidenced (q.v. p78). Democratic processes can be seen to have emphasised the lack of unity in the dominant political party, Labour, in the referendum campaign, the subsequent leadership contest and in the housing of the Assembly. As to the latter the ensuing debate suggested a lack of certainty and commitment on the part of the organisation that did little to assure public confidence in the project.

As to the practical exercise of power and the role of bureaucracy this case served to examine several issues identified in the review of literature. These include the manner in which the flow of information was controlled and manipulated to advance the agenda of civil servants. Such objectives could be interpreted as being in the wider public interest but, on investigation, it was concluded that was not the case in this instance. At several points civil servants fell short of the Weberian concept of an 'ideal bureaucracy' as advanced by du Gay and discussed in the review of literature (q.v. p81). As noted above particular shortcoming was in the command of the necessary skills and knowledge of those advising elected representatives of the public. The research concluded that the conduct of negotiations on the use of Cardiff City Hall was questionable and the position of the Secretary of State weakened by poor advice.

6.12.5 Relationships

A conclusion of the case study is that the relationship with the appointed architect did not, for the most part, reflect those that have characterised

patronage relationships historically. In this instance the civil service adopted an adversarial approach which informed the view of the architect by elected members of the Assembly. That resulted in dismissal of the architect and litigation between the parties.

However the case demonstrates that a constructive and effective relationship could be established when the same architect, re-engaged as a sub-contractor by the builders, was dealing directly with a civil servant who had the competencies and delegated authority to progress the development. That further supports the earlier conclusion that problems can be attributed to the civil service and their advisers rather than the architect in this case.

6.12.6 Probity and democratic accountability

In summary, costs were a factor which inhibited initial aspirations for housing the Assembly and remained a pervasive issue. The estimated costs had been understated in the White Paper and referendum campaign and the Assembly could not realistically be housed within the indicative budget set. Opponents of devolution were then presented with the opportunity to highlight escalating costs, particularly those of the proposed Senedd Building. As noted there was no allocation of additional financial resources from central government to establish a new regional Assembly. Its accommodation costs would therefore be met from the budget granted to it to discharge its devolved powers. The emotive claim that such costs were 'at the expense of schools, hospitals etc' was then part of the rhetoric used by opponents of devolution.

Overall the exercise of probity in the decision to locate the Assembly at the Pierhead site is questionable. The report of the Auditor General for Wales recommended that the Assembly consider the purchase of Crickhowell House to minimise the ongoing cost of rental payments (Wales 2000). That recommendation was not implemented. The wisdom of making a large

capital investment in a debating chamber as an extension to an office block held on commercial lease terms might have been questioned further. The later assessment by the Wales Audit Office of the procurement process of the Senedd can be considered generous. In one respect it appears favourable in its references to publicly funded projects elsewhere which incurred proportionally greater cost overruns (Wales 2008a p7). By that measure a degree of 'success' is implied in this case for being less inefficiently managed than comparable projects. Overall the research concluded that total costs of accommodation required by the National Assembly were greater than those stated by the Wales Audit Office.

The preoccupation with cost was then a significant factor throughout this case study and, in the event, the exercise of probity a conspicuous failure.

6.12.7 Time and timing

Time emerged again as a pervasive factor in this case study. In the first instance there was party political pressure to expedite the referendum on regional devolution and its implementation. Some problems arising from pressures of time were then self-inflicted by the majority Labour party. Such pressure placed the Secretary of State at a tactical disadvantage in securing suitable accommodation for the Assembly, most notably in the negotiations on Cardiff City Hall. He was then subjected to media criticism arising from that dispute and perceived prevarication on the alternatives. His successors were similarly castigated for indecision on the construction of the Senedd.

A particular feature noted in the research was the pressure of time on key individuals. That may have been relieved to some extent by more effective and efficient support from civil servants. The delegation of the selection process to an expert panel alleviated the pressure on the Secretary of State. Adequate time is required to ensure that design competitions are

properly organised and managed. In this case the competition process was satisfactory.

In this case deadlines and target dates were set and repeatedly re-set following the abortive negotiations on Cardiff City Hall. The priorities of the Secretary of State were then dictated by the pressing utilitarian requirement to accommodate the new Assembly.

6.13 Conclusion

Of the projects that were examined The Senedd building is perhaps the most likely to be retrospectively attributed to architectural patronage. As a prominent public building designed by an architectural practice of international repute and judged to have particular qualities it might be assumed that was the case. However, many of the characteristics that have defined patronage historically were absent. There was not, for example, the motivation and intent to create such a building at the outset.

Aspirations as to the desired quality of the building were an additional consideration, not the primary motivation and purpose of the project which was to provide suitable accommodation for the National Assembly. There was, nevertheless, an aspiration and an exercise of discernment in selecting a unique and distinctive design which was implemented by a democratic institution.

In moving to the overall analysis and conclusions on the research question it is then helpful to summarise how the priorities of an occupational client and preoccupation with cost conflicted with the delivery of a building that might be attributed to patronage. In this instance the aforementioned qualities included a bespoke design, novel forms of construction and the use of specific materials. These then introduce a greater element of risk as regards final cost and timely delivery of a building. Those described as patrons historically have commanded the resources and exercised the

powers to bear such risk personally. In this case those responsible for the commission were accountable to the electorate for the allocation of financial resources to a project which could not be accurately costed and might not be completed on time. That was amplified by the unrealistically low budget allocated to 'setting up' the Assembly originally presented to the public.

Problems with delivery were further exacerbated by the civil service and their appointed advisors applying inappropriate criteria in an attempt to fix costs and exercise probity in the procurement of a publicly funded building. As concluded in the case study those original advisors lacked the necessary skills to manage the procurement of a building which had such qualities. This then led to an adversarial relationship with the architect and his eventual dismissal and alienation. Many notable patronage relationships have been founded on mutual trust and benefit and so characterised. However, over the course of history, many notable buildings have also been attributed to patron/ architect relationships which ended in mutual recrimination and loathing. In this instance the conclusion that problems can be attributed to the original advisers is justified by the constructive relationships that developed between those that replaced them and the architect. As was the case with aspiration, other characteristics were absent initially but evidenced later in the project. Once a competent civil servant was given the authority to exercise clear leadership of the project a productive relationship was immediately established with the architect.

As to leadership from senior politicians the factors particular to this case are described in the case study. That will be revisited in the later analysis of the political support for aspirational development evidenced by the case studies.

7 Chapter 7 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction.

In this final chapter the analysis of the evidence gathered in the course of the research is drawn together and conclusions presented on the question as to whether the forms of patronage evidenced historically can be replicated in a democratic polity like contemporary Britain. The structure of the chapter is aligned with the thesis title and objectives as follows.

Patronage. The characteristics of aspiration, discernment and relationships are addressed first as they inform the better definition of patronage and conclusions on the research question. The aspirations that were stated for the projects are examined as to how they differ and when they were set in the course of the cases investigated. The motives of those who set aspirational goals for these publicly funded projects are considered as they may inform the understanding of that characteristic of patronage in each case. There is then some focus on the aspirations as to the desired qualities to be realised in the projects, how discernment is exercised in setting such objectives and by whom. Knowledge, and other factors, will also be seen to have a bearing on the formulation of aspiration and exercise of discernment.

The relationship, particularly that between the principal and architect, then establishes and defines a social action which might be described as patronage.

These characteristics and factors are then adopted as components and the way that they interact with other components is analysed to address the ontological questions relating to patronage. These then inform the conclusions on the attributes that might distinguish those described as patrons from clients or other promoters of development.

Power. The command of resources and exercise of powers in the implementation of such projects and realisation of those aspirational objectives are then analysed. Other characteristics examined in the case studies such as effective leadership and organisation are considered as resources deployed in the exercise of particular powers. These can, for example, shape the relationship with the network of individuals and organisations directly engaged in the development process and those in society affected by it.

A recurring factor in the case studies was time and, for the purposes of analysis, this will also be considered a resource.

Those characteristics of patronage which have advanced aspirational development historically are then examined further and the factors which constrained, or supported, the contemporary projects case study considered as to how they differ. Particular attention has been paid to the exercise of probity in the commissioning and procurement of public works as a factor that might inhibit aspiration to achieve particular qualities or restrict relationships and actions described as patronage. The degree of autonomy that may be exercised by those promoting aspirational development is examined as follows.

Probity. Matters arising from the wider public accountability in a democratic polity and the requirement that probity be demonstrated by those in public office are addressed as they a) impact on the characteristics that may define patronage and b) present constraints on the realisation of aspirational development which is publicly funded.

Conclusion. The aspects of patronage identified as problematic in a democratic society are then summarised as they inform final conclusions on the research question. Those conclusions concern how aspirations to achieve particular qualities in publicly funded development might be realised without reference to patronage.

The thesis then finally concludes with a summing-up and reflections on the suitability of the methodology adopted for this research, its contribution to knowledge and suggestions as to further research.

7.2 Defining Patronage

In the course of the research a feature of those described as patrons has been the determination to bring into being buildings and places which are not purely utilitarian but embody other qualities. The following analysis first addresses questions regarding the setting of such aspiration and then those which concern the exercise of discernment in establishing the desired qualities of such development.

7.2.1 Aspiration

The initial question is concerned with who sets the aspiration and, in so doing, examines the motivation and intent that might inform such aims. A conclusion of the review of literature was that the motivation of those described as patrons may range from entirely self-serving ends to genuine altruism which benefits wider society. In that respect the actual intentions are not factors which assist in defining patronage. In focussing on development which is publicly funded the case studies evidence that aspirations as to quality will be challenged if there is a perception that they do not benefit the wider public. In short, the probity of those who set such aspirations may be tested by those to whom they are accountable and, in a democracy, that is wider society.

The case studies served to illustrate that, in practice, those who initiate aspirational developments will have differing lines and levels of accountability. That can then be reflected in the authority they have, or assume they have, and the degree of autonomy they exercised in setting such aspirations. The conditions under which aspirations arose in a

democratic polity are then a consideration. What was also evidenced in the research was that the original objectives set by those who initiated projects were achieved in some cases. It was then the realisation of supplementary aspirations that emerged in the course of projects that were advanced or inhibited. The originators of the aspirations and their objectives evidenced in the case studies are first summarised and then conclusions presented as to how, and why, these were redefined in those cases.

In the first case, for example, the Bute Avenue/ Square project formed part of a larger urban redevelopment. The project was initiated by a Secretary of State who had powers delegated to him by central government. He exercised a degree of autonomy in establishing the objectives that there be a higher standard of development and a physical link created between the city centre and waterfront. Such objectives were therefore set by a politician conscious of the need to deliver beneficial outcomes. Those outcomes were, however, contingent upon success of a regeneration strategy that was linked to property development markets. The formulation of that strategy was managed by the agency (CBDC) established by the Secretary of State to implement the redevelopment. Aspirations as regards the qualities of design and construction also evolved during that process and were redefined by that agency, largely by reference to international exemplars. Those that related to the Avenue being a 'ceremonial' or 'processional' route were not the sole or primary objective of those implementing the project. In that respect such aspirations became a tool in the exercise of conditioned power to instil belief in the wider redevelopment. A conclusion of the research was, however, that the agency of implementation, CBDC, had the intention of realising those aspirational objectives but other factors prevented that and are analysed below. It can also be noted that the aspirations that evolved, and were publicised, were questioned in some quarters. The probity of setting such aspirations was not, however, subjected to a formal and effective challenge.

The (same) Secretary of State was instrumental in initiating the Cardiff Bay Opera House project. That was through consultation and in partnership with local government and other public institutions. In that case the powers of the Secretary of State were used to facilitate a process and advance an aspiration held by several organisations. The original intention, or common cause, was to create a centre for the performing arts. That then sought to bring into being a building for a range of cultural activity which would be of wider public benefit. A successor to the post of Secretary of State suggested that the building be called an Opera House and that a Trust established to realise that objective. In that respect the Secretary of State acted with a degree of autonomy which unilaterally redefined the aspiration. That the qualities of the proposed Opera House be internationally recognised became a stated objective of the Trust. In this case the aspiration was not subjected to an effective challenge. Dispute arose concerning the later exercise of discernment which is considered below.

The Millennium Stadium redevelopment was initiated by the Welsh Rugby Union in pursuit of their objectives as a commercial sports organisation. They acted autonomously in their initial (unsuccessful) bid for funding. The intervention of the local authority in support of the project was primarily motivated, and justified, on the economic benefit to the public of retaining an enlarged facility in the city. A degree of autonomy was exercised by the leader of the local authority in committing resources to support and advance that aspiration. The desired qualities of the new stadium were informed by the criteria for hosting the Rugby World Cup in 1999. They were that it be fit for that purpose and completed in time. Those utilitarian objectives were then supplemented and assisted by the collective aspiration evinced by a large section of the public in the region. They held the Stadium to have value as a cultural amenity which had symbolic significance in the community. The redefinition of the aspiration in that case had a material effect on outcomes and those are analysed later.

In the final case study any initial aspiration for a new building was inhibited by the perceived response of an electorate to the costs of housing the proposed National Assembly. Wider democratic accountability for the allocation of financial resources was then a factor. Issues relating to cost in that case will recur in the analysis of other characteristics below. Here it is noted that the need for a new building arose through the circumstances described in the case study. Aspiration as to the desired qualities of that new building were not set by the Secretary of State but were articulated by his nominee as Chair of the panel appointed to exercise discernment. The very need for housing the Assembly had been challenged from the outset by those who opposed the aspiration for regional devolution. In this case none of the actors could be said to have acted autonomously. The conditions under which aspirations arose were of political conflict in a newly established democratic government. As described in the case study, the desire for a new building which symbolically represented that institution was repeatedly tested in open democratic debate.

In the analysis, the aspirations as to the desired qualities of the developments studied were redefined or emerged in the course of events. Notably the aspirational element *increased* in every case. The nature of such aspirations differs, as do the origins, or 'sources' and circumstances of their redefinition. In summary:

- In the case of the Stadium the aspiration that emerged concerned the cultural amenity and symbolic value of that to a wide section of society. In that sense the general public, if not the original 'source' of that desire, voiced support for the project.
- The symbolic aspects of Bute Avenue, on the other hand, were primarily a statement of intent of those charged with wider redevelopment objectives. The research concluded that the project did not arise from any discernible or widely shared public desire that the city should have a 'ceremonial' or

‘processional’ route. That proposition emerged in the formulation of a regeneration strategy and was adopted, and promoted, by the Development Corporation.

- The symbolic qualities of the Senedd building emerged as an aspiration, were articulated by the Chair of the selection panel and championed by some elected members of the Assembly. It can be concluded that the origins of such aspirations lay there, other supporters of the proposed building placing greater emphasis on utilitarian needs.

In both the Opera House and Assembly cases architectural design aspirations were redefined in the exercise of discernment and are dealt with under the following heading.

7.2.2 Discernment

The determination of the desired qualities, and exercise of discernment in doing so, was identified in the review of literature as a characteristic of those described as patrons. Emphasis is placed by historians on the discernment of the aristocratic patrons who established architectural tastes with chapters, or book sections, given to that characteristic.

Examples include *Patronage and Taste in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Jenkins(1961 pps67-90), *Foundation Stones: Taste* (Summerson 1962 pps10-20) and *Polite Taste* (Thurley 2013 pps295-300).

The analysis of the exercise of discernment informs later conclusions as to *what* may, or may not, be termed patronage and *who* determines what is or is not patronage. As noted in the preceding analysis of aspirational goals, the projects examined differed as regards the qualities that would fulfil the desired objectives. These are briefly summarised as follows to illustrate that this characteristic is also a variable component.

In the first case discernment was exercised by the agency of implementation, advised by a panel qualified and/ or experienced in matters relating to architecture and urban design. Quality criteria were established by reference to international exemplars. CBDC acted with delegated authority and a degree of autonomy in setting the standards and qualities they desired. The manner of setting such standards was not challenged. The desired qualities were then contested by commercial developers when CBDC sought to implement them. That issue will then be revisited later as it relates to financial autonomy and the relationship with commercial property development markets in this case. As concluded in the case study, works to the public realm implemented directly by CBDC at the Inner Harbour are indicative of the design qualities and standards sought and achieved in that instance.

In the second case study a notable feature is that the qualities of both projects were also informed by international exemplars. There was, however, a marked contrast between the qualities desired of a building which aspired to be internationally recognisable as a great Opera House and a structure intended to host international sporting events. The former had to satisfy the functional and technical requirements for it to be fit for its purpose and these were determined by a panel which included several members eminent in the field of architecture. The Chair of the Trust took it upon himself to act autonomously in the appointment of those who would exercise discernment as to quality and their judgement was immediately challenged and subjected to public scrutiny.

The utilitarian requirements of the Stadium, particularly relating to its capacity, and meeting the other criteria demanded to host the Rugby World Cup in 1999 were also the subject of specialist technical advice. In short, discernment was exercised by the panel selecting a design for the Opera House primarily on its architectural qualities and likelihood that other requirements could be fulfilled. In contrast, discernment was exercised by the promoters of the Stadium in selecting a design and build

contractor who could deliver a structure which was on time and in-budget. In many respects the promoters of the Stadium acted autonomously but essential design criteria were prescribed by the requirements of the RWC99 organisers. The selection of a design and build contractor followed a process which satisfied the requirements relating to public sector procurement.

In the housing of the National Assembly pragmatic considerations informed the initial choice of Cardiff City Hall. They were that it was available at a cost which appeared to be within the budget adopted and had the advantage of close proximity to the existing Welsh Office buildings at Cathays Park, Cardiff. That City Hall had commendable qualities was not at issue but the symbolism of housing a new democratic institution in an Edwardian civic building was questioned. Such qualities were the subject of discussion but not effectively challenged. When it became apparent that agreement to use that building was not possible the requirements stated for an alternative reflected the priorities of an occupational client. These were that a building be available, or could be constructed as quickly as possible within a budget and meet specified occupational needs. A conclusion of the research was that the civil service were influential in setting the agenda as regards the accommodation required. However, by that stage the merits of alternative locations being presented were the subject of public scrutiny and wider debate. The case study examined the exercise of discernment in the final choice of Crickhowell House, a building which failed to meet the standards expected in the local property market. The symbolism of housing a new democratic institution in a commercial office development was also questioned by commentators at the time.

The location chosen for the Assembly gave rise to need for new debating chamber and an expert panel was appointed to select a suitable design by way of competition. The criteria for selection had regard to symbolic significance of the proposed building. Discernment was then exercised by that panel which made a recommendation as to the building design they

thought most suitable. The chosen design was the subject of democratic debate and further scrutiny.

The case studies demonstrate that quality, and the aspiration to achieve it, are variable factors in seeking to define what may, or may not, be termed patronage. That initial desire to achieve particular quality standards may be constrained or, alternatively, circumstances may demand that the proposed development have higher standards or different qualities. The redefinition of the aspirations as to the desired quality raises several issues which concern the relationships and actions which may be termed patronage and their engagement with those in wider society.

There is, for example, the question of assessment of such qualities, not only of those directly engaged in the project but by wider society. Architectural critics may concur or disagree with the qualities aspired to and their views will not necessarily coincide with those of the general public. This was particularly apparent in the second case study where opposition to the Hadid design for the Opera House became coupled with public support for the Stadium. On the one hand the aspiration to build an Opera House, which had architectural qualities, was a project that closely resembled acts of patronage historically. On the other was the aspiration to build a Stadium where utilitarian qualities were prioritised. For the majority the latter had greater social significance and value as the preferred addition to the cultural and symbolic capital of the region.

The research found no instances of the Stadium being referred to as a product of patronage. This then informs conclusions on the question of *who* uses the term, and *why*. In this instance the aspiration and the exercise of discernment as to the required architectural qualities of an Opera House fall into the field of cultural production of those who give great attention to such matters. Those who chose Hadid, and those that supported the decision to do so, share a field of cultural reference in which the terms patron and patronage are used. In that field those terms are

taken to mean the relationships and actions examined in this research. As noted in the introduction to the thesis, references to patrons in architectural writing are invariably positive. Those not directly concerned with architectural quality do not have that same frame of reference and may not attach the same characteristics to patronage. That point informs later conclusions on the place of patronage in a democratic society.

A question which emerges from these cases is whether the more democratic and inclusive exercise of discernment must inevitably result in pandering to lower common denominators. This would be contrary to those actions described as patronage historically where individuals have exercised personal discernment and thereby defined the required standard. The autocratic authority of those individuals has then been influential in the realisation of development which achieves the desired qualities. This can be seen to be problematic in the case of publicly funded projects where the individual, usually the leader of an organisation, will inevitably be more widely accountable for such decisions. Requirements that probity be demonstrated limit the degree of autonomy that may be exercised in setting the quality and standards desired. Such provisions limit the exercise of discernment which reflects the personal tastes of an individual in procuring publicly funded works and services. The distinction to be emphasised here is that selection be based primarily on an objective assessment of the *qualities* desired and not by the personal tastes of those commissioning such services.

In all cases bar that of the Stadium discernment of architectural qualities was exercised by, or with the advice of, expert panels. In the case of the Opera House the question is presented as to whether the selection of the panel members itself reflected the personal preferences of the Chair. That is, he appointed those known to share the same tastes and support his view. In the event their choice was immediately challenged by members of the panel representing the interests of the Trusts' sponsors and other stakeholders. These were drawn from a different demographic and cultural

field than those with architectural knowledge and experience appointed by the Chair.

Issues relating to the setting or redefinition of desired qualities by expert panels then lead to the following analysis of relationships. A key point is that those who hold the original aspiration and initiate a project would, if acting autonomously, be inclined to appoint and take advice from those they perceive to have the required skills and whose views they respect and or share. A requirement that appointment to such panels be representative of wider interests may be a necessity in a project which is to be publicly funded. Such provisions applied in the final case study where the process was better managed. In that respect it is worth noting again the conclusion of the research that the Opera House project did not fail because a bad design was selected. A contributory factor to that failure was the dissent that arose through the failure to clearly establish the nature of the relationship between the Trust, its sponsors and other stakeholders.

That then leads to the further reminder that an individual can formulate an aspiration and exercise discernment as to the desired qualities in doing so. These are then important characteristics of those described as patrons. However, until a relationship is established between that individual and one or more others such desire may be a mere caprice.

7.2.3 Relationships

That there is a social action in the form of a relationship, or relationships, between those described as patrons and other actors was established in the introduction to this thesis (q.v.p14). The three categories outlined in the etymology of the terms patron and patronage each involve an interaction between individuals. The potential conflict identified concerned the relationships and behaviours associated with patronage historically. These were often characterised by the personal championship of an architect by the patron and a collaborative relationship which was mutually

beneficial to both parties established. The principle that objectivity, impartiality and best value be demonstrated in publicly funded appointments was established to prevent patronage in the negative sense of the word. That is, to limit the opportunity for personal favouritism or corruption in such engagement. As considered in the foregoing section, the requirements that probity be exercised may demand that such appointment follow a formal, open and accountable process of selection. That can be by, or with the advice and recommendation of, a panel. The case studies illustrate that influential relationships may then be established before an architect is appointed.

Also as noted earlier, the exercise of discernment will usually require that there be an objective assessment of particular qualities. The personal tastes of individual members of a panel may be expressed but, as was the case of the Opera House selection, questioned and challenged by those representing other interests or having other priorities. There can then be an adversarial element introduced into the process. Those most concerned with public accountability may, for example, seek to ensure that 'best value' has been obtained. Difficulties can then arise if lowest cost is the criteria adopted for selection rather than an assessment of ability and quality of service. This was not a conspicuous factor in the majority of case studies which evidenced that other considerations prevailed over cost in the appointment of architects. However, in the third case study the cost of the architect later became an issue during the implementation of the project. The procurement of a design and build package through competitive tender processes reflected the priority of the Stadium promoters in fixing cost.

The exercise and demonstration of probity can then shape the relationship which is established with the architect selected. Rather than the close collaborative personal relationship which has characterised patronage there may be reliance on contractual agreements and documentation to procure a technical service. The case studies present oddly contrasting

instances in this respect. Those involved in the Stadium that were interviewed in the course of research made particular mention of the collaborative and cooperative relationship established with individuals employed by the contractors. The engagement of the contractor was founded on contractual agreements that proved, in the event, ruinous to that company. In direct contrast the selection of an architect for the Senedd building through a well-managed process resulted in litigation between the parties.

The circumstances in the Senedd case are detailed in the case study. In that instance the disparity of skills between the architects appointed, the civil service and their advisers contributed to the adversarial approach adopted by the latter. A good working relationship was later established between the civil servant eventually appointed to oversee the implementation through a design and build contract, the architect having been re-engaged as a sub-contractor.

For clarity it cannot be concluded from these two case studies that the design and build process is more conducive to such relationships. More usually such methods would be associated with the procurement of utilitarian buildings with qualities determined by the minimum requirement of an occupational client or perceived market demand. The role of the architect can then be secondary in providing such technical support as is necessary. Such procurement methods would more usually be the antithesis of patronage. In the two cases examined the constructive relationships that were established can be attributed to personality and leadership, resources which will be considered later.

Discontinuity in leadership emerged as a significant aspect of the case studies. The direct relationship between the principal, the architect and other key actors which has characterised patronage relationships is noticeably absent. This has a bearing on the analysis of other characteristics and thus informs conclusions on the research question.

These concern the leadership of, and the commitment of resources to, aspirational projects and how this may fundamentally differ in a democratic polity.

The particular circumstances of the second case study will be summarised first and then factors relating to the continuity of political leadership addressed by reference to the first and third studies.

As regards the Stadium it is noted that effective working relationships were established. Other important relationships will be referred to later in connection with support networks. The leadership of the project was consistent but, as noted in the case study, the personal attention of the Council leader was diverted by local government reorganisation in 1996.

The Opera House was the project most aligned with the characteristics of traditional patronage but there was discontinuity in that case. The first Chair, who also chaired the panel that selected the architect, resigned citing ill health. His successor, Crickhowell, did establish a close and supportive relationship with the architect but that was, as described, a bond formed in adversity and the project did not proceed to implementation. What can also be noted is that Crickhowell's successors as Secretary of State influenced outcomes in very differing ways. Peter Walker, as noted above, contributed to redefinition of the aspiration for the project. That was broadly supported by his successor, David Hunt but he was followed in turn by John Redwood who distanced himself from the project.

The changes in political leadership and the relationship of the Secretary of State with those implementing the Bute Avenue project also reflected that change. In that case it was noted that Redwood had a markedly different attitude to CBDC than his predecessors. Also, from its inception by Crickhowell (then Edwards) in 1997 to its winding up in 2000 there were seven different Secretaries of State for Wales and then a First Secretary/ Minister of the National Assembly. Some changes followed the three

general elections held during that period; others were changes arising from Cabinet appointments. One was due to the personal circumstances of the Minister and his successor was ousted as First Minister by his colleagues in the Assembly. Those last changes had a direct impact on the Senedd project.

The point carried forward from these case studies is that there can be no certainty that relationships between elected politicians and those implementing major public works will span the duration of such projects. The issues arising inform conclusions on changes, or loss, of leadership and commitment due to the regular cycle of democratic election and periodic re-allocation of senior posts in government. These will be addressed more fully later as they affect the exercise of power, commitment of resources, leadership and other factors relating to the implementation of projects. Under this heading it can be noted that the direct relationship of elected politicians with the projects also changed due to circumstances. The extent to which they were publicly associated with them then varied and, in particular cases, became personalised by the media attention. Specific relationship issues were then amplified and distorted by such reportage.

Another factor demonstrated by the case studies concerns the continuity of relationship between the principal and the architect. A specific issue relates to the delegation of the exercise of discernment and selection of an architect to expert panels discussed earlier. In such cases there may be no ongoing relationship between those making the selection and those appointed. There is then a demonstrable distance which may satisfy requirements relating to probity. However, there may also be no direct and continuous relationship between those who made the selection and those responsible for subsequent implementation. The latter may then defer to entirely different criteria for public accountability. There can then be a more adversarial relationship between architect and client not that based on mutual trust and respect which has characterised patronage historically. This was a feature of the final case study where the civil service and their

other advisers sought assurances and relative certainties on costs and time which could not be quantified and assessed with accuracy on a bespoke structure with few precedents. At risk of repetition, the failure in that case was not on the part of those who exercised discernment but those charged with realising the aspiration.

In the first case study the relationship between CBDC and the architect most associated with the Bute Avenue project, David Mackay of MBM, was finally dissolved by the direction that the project be funded through the Private Finance Initiative. That effectively brought into being an entirely new sub- agency, the consortium of civil engineering contractors and commercial property developers. There was then a contractual relationship between the landowner, CBDC, and commercial developers which imposed upon the latter conditions which reflected original aspirations as to urban design quality. There was consequently a less direct relationship with the architects engaged by the consortium. Whilst guided by the requirements of CBDC, the direct responsibility of the architects was to their commercial client. In some respects the arrangements reflected the principles that informed the development of aristocratic landed estates in previous centuries. That could be considered a form of patronage by proxy in the setting of required standards. However, due to the political pressures, property market demand and other factors outlined in the case study the 'completed' development fell short of the original aspiration as articulated by Mackay.

7.2.4 Summary

In seeking to determine what might, or might not, be termed patronage the case studies demonstrate that a precise definition is elusive. The foregoing characteristics examined are concluded to be an essential feature of patronage but are themselves variable elements. In the course

of the projects aspirations as to the desired qualities were redefined or emerged as supplementary objectives. The differing aspirations of the subject projects assist in informing conclusions on the use of the term patronage. These arise from the second case study in particular and the analysis of the respective cultural fields in which the activities and relationship take place. They concern the exercise of discernment by third parties, notably architectural critics and authors, in adjudicating what qualities, particularly architectural qualities, meet their criteria for conferring the term patron on those who are instrumental in bringing a building or place into being.

In moving to conclusions as to whether the characteristics which have defined patronage can be replicated in aspirational publicly funded development those that relate to the initiation and inception of projects are discernible in the case studies. What is also evident is that contemporary requirements that probity be demonstrated can be a constraint on the exercise of discernment in setting aspirations as to quality. The wider accountability of those responsible for public spending is then a factor in limiting relationships and actions described as patronage historically. It is possible for discernment to be exercised in setting aspirations but that might necessarily be through a process that demonstrates that there has been an objective assessment of the desired qualities. The intention of such provisions is to eliminate the exercise of personal taste in the procurement of publicly funded buildings or the preferment of an individual in those appointed. Such requirements thereby prevent relationships and actions that might be termed patronage in the sense of it meaning personal favouritism and preferment. In that respect the autonomous action of those described as patrons historically might not be replicated in a modern democratic polity.

The process of delegating the objective assessment of qualities and appointment of architects to selection panels to satisfy such requirements then impacts on the relationships that are established between the

principal who initiated the project and those appointed. A feature of the case studies, and a consequence of democratic processes, was the lack of continuity in a direct relationship between the principal (senior politician) and the selected architect. An additional ramification was that those that exercised discernment to define aspirations as to quality were not those responsible for implementation and delivery.

This then leads to the analysis of those characteristics and factors which contributed to the failure of the projects to fully realise the aspirations of the projects examined.

7.3 Implementation

The analysis of the exercise of powers in the case studies is prefaced by more general conclusions on the commitment of resources to aspirational development which is publicly funded. The patron/client must necessarily command and direct the necessary resources to actualise the development desired. In all three cases the resources commanded and deployed by promoters of development were insufficient to achieve the objectives originally stated. Limited financial resources are a common factor but the absence of other sources and instruments of power were also determinants. Central to this study are the limitation and restraint of powers exercised by individuals and organisations through wider democratic accountability for their actions. Among these is the requirement that those committing such resources exercise probity in doing so. The extent to which these impeded or prevented the full realisation of the aspirational objectives was examined in the case studies. These can be compared and contrasted with the relative autonomy enjoyed by those described as patrons historically.

The allocation of finite resources to aspirational development is salient to the issue of social and political commitment to forms of patronage and

conclusions on the likely sources of support within the spectrum of political ideology represented in a democracy. Key to this are the priorities given to the allocation of resources by government and the degree of accountability to the electorate. Allocation of resources is consistently central to the electoral process. In that respect the electorate could be considered the 'client' of government and its agencies which implement publicly funded development.

The priority for the allocation of finite resources will be the provision of public services regarded as mandatory. That is to say those determined in the mandate granted to the government by the electorate in the democratic process. The allocation of resources to the aspirational forms of development discussed may be a lesser priority of the majority in that process and, at best, regarded as discretionary not mandatory spending.

The overall quality of the built environment is seldom, if ever, central to electoral debate. The dominant manifesto commitments more usually relate to the economy, healthcare, education, transport, housing and other matters. The issue of desired quality is then addressed in the subsequent implementation of policy during an electoral term. Determination of the standard of development associated with those priority areas is thereby delegated to those elected. Wider public engagement is then often reactive and triggered by opposition to such policy implementation or specific development projects and proposals.

An issue considered here concerns the mandate granted by the electorate for direct support and sponsorship of aspirational development by the State. That proxy may be indicated in the response of the electorate to the political ideology espoused by respective parties and manifesto commitments. The research established that the commitment to forms of patronage can differ markedly within political parties and therefore within governments.

In the introduction to this thesis it was noted that policy statements were made by the Conservative Government in the 1980's which stated aspirations as to urban design quality which made specific reference to State patronage (q.v.pps11-12). These were reflected in the first case study and the objectives set by the Secretary of State for the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. Broadly these can be seen to be aligned with the 'One Nation Conservatives' of the time and a form of conservatism which recognised that;

- a) societies exist and that its members have obligations towards each other and
- b) Admitted that to be a paternalistic obligation of the upper classes to those classes below.

In the course of the project a successor to that post, John Redwood, was less supportive of Post-Keynesian measures and State intervention to address market failure. His redirection of the priorities of CBDC evidenced the assertion of neoliberal policies. In that particular case the assumption that the market would provide what was required informed the funding mechanism which was adopted, the Private Finance Initiative. Notably that policy was not reversed but implemented by a Labour Secretary of State after the general election of 1997.

In the second case study the greater need for 'schools and hospitals' was invoked by opponents of the Opera House which became presented as an 'elitist' project in the public debate. Such claims were noticeably absent as regards the Stadium. That the funding source being 'contested' in that case was not actually available for health and education also appears to have been an incidental detail to those engaged in the debate. In the final case study the costs of housing the Assembly would be drawn from the same budget as health, education and essential social services. In that case the 'schools and hospitals' argument was invoked by Conservative members of the Assembly. It was concluded that this did not reflect any sincere or deeply held belief but was merely part of the rhetoric of those opposed to

regional devolution and the attendant cost. In that case the aspiration had been articulated by a Labour Peer, Lord Callaghan, challenged by a Labour first Minister, Rhodri Morgan and both supported and opposed by Labour Members in the ongoing debate.

In that respect the case studies do not present any clear conclusions on party political support for urban design quality. They did not contradict the association with 'One Nation Conservative' formed initially by those references to patronage made by Ministers and their agencies in the 1980's. A more general observation is that support for aspirational development which requires public funding is much less likely to emerge from the opposite polarities of political ideology that can be accommodated in a democratic polity. On the one hand the neoliberal position would hold that the market will respond to demand and provide the qualities that are required. At the other extreme the socialist view might be that the needs of the many should outweigh the design aspirations of the few. As regards the advocacy of patronage as the means of achieving such aspirations the social democratic state might then demonstrate probity in its sense of having strong moral principles and decency and be inclined to oppose both;

- a) The inequitable command of resources and powers by a minority in society that has been the source of patronage historically and
- b) The abuse and misuse of that privilege associated with patronage

In addressing the greatest need through the deployment of finite resources there has been a tendency to favour the utilitarian and quantity over quality. This then relates to the issue raised earlier concerning the adoption of lower common denominators in design aspiration. Here that is supplemented by the question as to whether the equitable distribution of resources must inevitably result in a 'levelling down' of urban design quality.

The foregoing issues pervade the analysis of the resources commanded and the powers exercised in the case studies and will be the subject of final conclusions.

Relevant powers

7.3.1 Resources - finance

The command of adequate financial resources is not a defining characteristic of patronage in itself but a necessity for any major development. Many of those described as patrons historically faced financial constraints on realising their aspirations. Through the review of literature it was noted that monarchs have periodically been less influential as patrons of architecture than the landed aristocracy. They, in turn, were supplanted by a plutocracy. Here we are concerned with the allocation of resources to aspirational development in a democracy and the issues outlined above.

Each of the publicly funded projects examined in the case studies were constrained as regards financial resources. Briefly summarised these were as follows.

The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation was initially well resourced and the finance was in place for the infrastructure works proposed to link the city centre with the waterfront. More constraint was placed on their spending following a change of Secretary of State but the direction that it be funded through the Private Finance initiative had a greater impact on the project. That was a central Government policy intended to 'reduce' public borrowing by taking the cost of capital projects 'off balance sheet'.

In the second case study both projects were bidding for a substantial part of their capital cost from the same source, the Millennium

Commission. Additional public funding was also given or sought in both cases. The Opera House was initially funded by the Welsh Office through CBDC and supported by local authorities. As detailed, the Local Authority incurred direct and indirect costs as a partner in the Stadium redevelopment. In order to complete the project the Secretary of State, who had previously refused to give financial support to the WRU, capitulated and critical funding was made available through the Welsh Development Agency to the local authority.

In the final case study the costs of housing the proposed National Assembly were a material consideration. The likely costs were understated in the manifesto commitment to regional devolution and the referendum campaign that followed. Escalating costs then remained to the fore and were constantly at issue.

The case studies considered a feature of those described as patrons historically which was the ability to act independently of property markets. In the context of this study particular attention was given to acts described as patronage which enabled the provision of that which would not otherwise have been produced as a product of market signals. The research found that each of the projects examined were reliant on, or outcomes were influenced by, markets to some degree. These are summarised as follows.

In the first case study CBDC were not acting independently of property development and investment markets. As explained the Bute Avenue project was not funded in response to public demand for a symbolic physical link that would reunite the city centre with its waterfront. The project was an integral part of a wider strategy to encourage the engagement of such markets. Greater emphasis was then placed on the more immediate and quantifiable property development 'outputs' that were a condition of the PFI agreement.

In the second case study the Opera House and Stadium were not 'competing' for financial resources but each was reliant upon a successful bid to secure essential funding. A conclusion of the case study was that the assessment of those bids included some consideration of their commercial viability and financial sustainability in use. In that regard the Stadium had the advantage in that a stadium had existed in that location and use over many years and could readily prove demand of a paying public. The Opera House could demonstrate cultural need but not prove the same level of demand in leisure and recreation markets as the Stadium. As to whether buildings intended for primarily cultural use should be funded by the State are an underlying issue which reflects the polarities of political opinion referred to earlier. The conclusion from this case study is that there may necessarily be recourse to markets to demonstrate that there is real demand and support for projects which are to be publicly funded.

In the final case study the provision of a building for a democratic regional government might have been seen to be something that would be funded directly by the State and free of any market influence. By their nature such buildings would not ordinarily be produced speculatively as a response to 'market signals'. In this instance the dispute on Cardiff City Hall turned in large part on the civil service insistence that it be acquired at its 'market value'. Following that an alternative location was sought and numerous commercial buildings, which lay vacant due to market conditions at the time, were offered to house the Assembly. One such vacant office building, which was held on lease by the Welsh Office at a rental level above the market rate, was chosen. There is, in consequence, a direct ongoing relationship with property markets through the lease.

Although the projects studied were substantially funded by the public there was engagement with markets which had an impact on outcomes.

7.3.2 Leadership

From the review of literature it can be seen that references to patrons invariably attach to individuals. A particular feature of several of the case studies is that issues were personalised, particularly by the media. In that way individuals became directly associated with projects in the public mind but had differing levels of commitment to them. This was most apparent in the final case study in the dispute over Cardiff City Hall, the ensuing debate on alternative locations and then the decision as to whether to proceed with the Senedd building or not. In that instance both the Secretary of State and the leader of the City Council were subjected to public criticism. In the course of the research it was evident that the latter had more personal involvement and gave more direct leadership to his authority. The Secretary of State was more reliant on advisers and intermediaries, largely due to other priorities which demanded his personal attention and time. However, as the senior political figure, he was the focus of media attention and, in turn, wider public expectations as regards his leadership.

Interviews undertaken with the Secretary of State, Ron Davies, in the course of the research confirmed that he had no strong personal views on the housing of the National Assembly. He was content that Cardiff City Hall was a pragmatic and expedient option and the ensuing dispute he considered an unwelcome and problematic distraction. Davies expressed some personal preference for the Bute Square location over that selected at the Pierhead but the final decision was taken after open discussion in a meeting attended by a wide range of representation. The outcome was influenced by a Treasury representative as described in the case study and the final decision endorsed by the meeting.

That decision was then taken, and publicly announced, by Ron Davies. As Secretary of State he fully accepted the responsibility for it but it did not reflect any personal aspiration to commission a new building on his part. Davies confirmed in interview that he was relieved that Lord Callaghan

agreed to chair the selection panel and he undertook to fully support the decision of the panel. As First Minister of the Assembly, Rhodri Morgan had personal misgivings concerning the Senedd building. He *proposed* halting work on that whilst alternatives were (again) considered. Decisions then followed open democratic debate in which members of his party had a free vote.

A feature of that final case study is that democratic processes were evidenced throughout and were conducted with full exposure to public scrutiny through the media. That amplified the charges of indecision made by those who had opposed devolution and remained in the opposition ranks within the new regional Assembly. What can also be concluded is that the series of democratic debates inevitably added to delay thereby exacerbating media and public criticism.

There is then a direct contrast with the authority exercised by the Secretary of State in announcing that an Urban Development Corporation would be established in Cardiff and conferring on it extensive delegated powers. As explained in the case study, concessions were made to local government on specific powers that had been granted to earlier UDC's. These were not, however, at issue with the Secretary of State who stated that his preference was for a collaborative approach. In that respect leadership was exercised in securing the necessary support for the project. The research suggests that the exercise of compensatory power in the form of the additional funds made available through the UDC was influential in purchasing the acquiescence of some within local government. In short, a more expedient course was adopted by the Secretary of State than imposing all the powers he had to establish a UDC.

In the subsequent operation of CBDC matters relating to the leadership and direction that it was given by successive Secretaries of State have been raised and will recur under other headings. Broadly these relate to

conflicting objectives within the organisation which arose due to the differing priorities of a later Secretary of State.

In the case of the Opera House other issues concerning leadership arose which also relate to other headings. A conclusion of the research was that there was no effective delegation of powers to the Trust. However the Chair acted autonomously, or autocratically, in exercising discernment in making appointments to a selection panel that he would also chair. In some respects leadership was demonstrated and those he chose to assist him in his deliberations were well qualified to do so. Problems arose immediately due to organisational structure and the expectation of the Trust's sponsors and stakeholders that they would be party to the final decision. It was concluded that a shortcoming of leadership in that case was in not effectively managing the dissent that arose and became a contributory factor in the failure of the project.

In contrast the ability to exercise control, suppress a material but negative fact and prevent that becoming the subject of wider debate was demonstrated in the case of the Stadium. That was achieved in respect of the rejection of the initial application to the Millennium Commission. The Leader of the Local Authority was instrumental in that and influenced the outcome in other ways. A conclusion of the research was that he exercised more decisive and effective leadership in reviving and advancing the Stadium project than was demonstrated by the WRU. A qualification is that the local authority had certain powers which could be deployed which the WRU lacked. It is highly unlikely that the project could have been implemented had the local authority not given it full support. In this case that commitment was given by the Leader with some confidence that it would not be delayed by debate or countermanded. Other actions undertaken personally by the leader were also very influential, not least in establishing the personal relationships and networks of support that proved critical.

A further point noted concerning the media 'contest' is that the Leader of the Local Authority became established in the public mind as the principal opponent of the Opera House. From the case study research it was concluded that this was a simplification and amplification of his position. He certainly withdrew his personal support and the support of the Local Authority from the Opera House in a conspicuous manner at a particularly inconvenient time for its promoters. His preference for the Stadium was also very publicly demonstrated. The explanation that this was simply a matter of expediency and that securing RWC99 and the Stadium redevelopment had to take priority was plausible. His claim that support would be given to a building for the performing arts once the Stadium funding had been secured was manifest in his later intervention to secure the Opera house site for the successor Wales Millennium Centre project

The possibility that the public support evinced for the Stadium could, if reflected by the electorate in the forthcoming reorganisation of government, have been a factor in his diverting support to that project can be considered. It would not detract from an evaluation of his leadership but merely serve to better clarify his motivation. The facilitation of a public amenity to win the favour of the electorate has precedents which go back to the origins of political patronage. In this instance that is then the exercise of compensatory power in a democracy as the promised benefits of the Stadium were perceived to be of advantage to a majority of the electorate.

As to informing later conclusions on patronage in a democracy the case studies indicate that those who acted with a degree of autonomy exercised decisive leadership. In the case of the Opera House that was problematic as the Chair did not have command of the resources or instruments of power to assert authority. In the first case study the Secretary of State had the authority conferred upon him by Central Government to commit the necessary resources to the Cardiff Bay development. That authority and leadership was also evidenced in the initiative which evolved into the

Opera House project. In both cases that leadership involved the establishment of relationships and advancing those initiatives in partnership, thereby diluting potential opposition. In the final case study opposition to regional devolution was already mobilised. In contrast to the first case study The Secretary of State had not been granted additional resources by Central Government. The housing of the Assembly presented the opportunity to further contest the authority of the Secretary of State. That his leadership of the Labour Party in Wales and the new Assembly was challenged at the same time was also a contributory factor.

The overall conclusion is that the sponsorship and support of individuals with authority and command of the necessary resources which has characterised patronage historically remains an important element. Notwithstanding the constraints on autonomous action identified, a personal commitment to achieving aspirations as to quality may be critical in the leadership and direction given in the implementation of a project. This then leads directly to conclusions on organisation in the implementation of projects.

7.3.3 Organisation

The first conclusion is that many of the key issues relate to the leadership of organisations. Some failings can, for example, be attributed to wavering commitment to objectives that were originally set by politicians who were subsequently replaced by others. The organisation, as the agency of implementation, then lacked the clear direction arising from a certainty of purpose. This was a factor in the first and third cases.

In the third case it was concluded that individuals within the civil service were pursuing their own agenda. Several issues relating to bureaucracy and the exercise of power within organisations identified in the review of literature were therefore evidenced in that study. The first concerns the

absence of attributes that might be ascribed to the bureaucracy. In this case there was a failure to demonstrate the impartiality required of bureaucracies or the level of competency required. In interview the Secretary of State was forthright in his opinion of particular advisers and stated that he placed no great weight on the advice from those individuals. A conclusion of the research was, however, that the partial or incorrect information provided through his civil servants was not supplemented or replaced with better information and counsel from other sources.

The preoccupation with cost of the civil service in that case might be interpreted as the exercise of probity on their part. In the commissioning of The Senedd building the research concluded that preoccupation reflected the limitations of the civil service in managing the construction of a unique building. As noted in the study, that conclusion was also explicit in the decision of the adjudicator in the dispute with the architect.

The second case addressed issues arising from the respective organisations in some detail and the conclusions reached there can be very briefly summarised. That is that the organisational resources deployed by the Local Authority in support of the RWC99 and Millennium Commission bids were a critical factor in its success. In contrast the organisational structure and relationships in the Opera House case contributed significantly to its failure. A particular feature in that case, and in the debate surrounding The Senedd project, was that the lack of unanimity within the organisation had an adverse effect on public confidence. This then relates to and demonstrates the observations of Galbraith on the 'bi-modal symmetry' of organisational power discussed in the literature review (q.v. p77).

7.3.4 Time

The underlying issue which recurred from the literature review and through the case study research concerns the long and short term view

that may be taken by those engaged in development. The former has been associated with those described as patrons historically. The latter is a prevailing feature of the commercial development market which is to develop and sell as quickly as possible. A shorter term view may also affect the implementation of publicly funded projects in several ways.

In the first case study the political pressures for public bodies to prioritise quantifiable short-term outputs over less tangible longer-term assessment of environmental qualities was discussed. In that case the project examined was linked to development and prevailing economic conditions and market forces increased such pressures. It can also be noted that the Urban Development Corporation was established as a fixed life 'task and finish' body and the goals set could not anticipate recessionary cycles in such markets during its operational lifetime. Such pressures can then be attributed to (political) demands that projects be completed within an electoral cycle or some other target date.

All of the projects had particular pressures of time. Both of the projects in the second case study had the deadline imposed by the funding made available around the Millennium. The greater pressure on the Stadium was that the promoters had less time, the redevelopment having to be completed by late 1999 to host the Rugby World Cup. In contrast, the Opera House had a long gestation period in which that source of funding appeared on a horizon. The Stadium initiative was opportunistic and initiated after the Opera House bid had been formulated. That greater pressure of time was an influential factor in the Local Authority giving priority to the Stadium.

In the final case study the research concluded that the pressures of time were largely 'self-inflicted' and again arose due to political pressures. In that instance it was the direction of the Labour Party's national leadership that their manifesto commitment to regional devolution be discharged as quickly as possible. That put the Secretary of State under immediate

pressure of time, a situation then exacerbated by the housing of the National Assembly following the referendum. Additional pressures grew from the debate on location and then the contractual commitment to build a new debating chamber within a given period made with the landowners ABP. At each stage the press harried the Secretary of State and reinforced public perceptions of undue delay due to indecision and incompetence. That then brought further pressure from the national leadership of the Labour Party concerned that the bad publicity would undermine the confidence of the electorate more widely.

A particular feature of democracy which impacts upon patronage has already been raised under other headings. That is the periodic election of democratic leaders. Unlike the heads of religious orders, monarchs, the aristocratic landowner or leaders of totalitarian regimes historically there is less certainty of continuity in political leadership in a modern democracy. Those who head offices of state are subject to the fixed electoral cycle and also periodic rotation of posts within the term of government. The assured term of office will then probably be shorter than the development project from its inception to completion. As already noted the personal commitment and championship of a project, and direct command of the necessary resources, by a senior politician may be lost. Any commitment to achieving high standards in the built-environment may also be subject to changes in policy and priorities during an electoral term.

The longer term view has been a feature of those described as patrons historically can be attributed, in part, to a 'presumption of perpetuity'. That is, the assumption that the benefits will be enjoyed by the descendants of monarchic or aristocratic dynasties or successors of enduring organisations. As already noted there can be no such presumption on the part of a democratically elected politician. There should, however, be recognition that a longer term view be taken of forms of development initiated in the interests of wider society. That is that the principles of stewardship implemented through familial self-interest by aristocratic

patrons might be interpreted to address contemporary objectives which concern sustainability.

That perspective would then recognise that, over time, there is assimilation of what may initially be widely regarded as 'extra-ordinary' and retrospective assessment of the qualities of places created. This then accords with the observations of Bourdieu (1984b) on the 'field of restricted production' which favours the longer term accumulation and gestation of symbolic capital by producers and consumers alike. Clearly the task of those who take it upon themselves to persuade others that a long term view is necessary is more difficult than securing the resources to resolve pressing problems as quickly as possible. A further conclusion of the research is, however, that places which exhibit the desired qualities endure long after the controversies that may be attendant upon their creation.

It was noted in the review of literature that the attribution of patronage will often be applied retrospectively and this was considered as regards the case studies. In 2016 the website of the Welsh Government's Visit Wales team listed ten of the '...best contemporary buildings' in the region (Visit Wales 2016). That included the Senedd, Stadium and the successor to the Opera House, the Wales Millennium Centre.

7.4 Probity

Issues concerning the exercise of probity were evident in all case studies and are briefly summarised as a preface to the final conclusions that will follow on the research question.

The first observation is that the commitment of finite public resources to aspirational development projects will be open to challenge in an open democracy. The probity of those advocating such expenditure will then be

tested. Under particular circumstances that wider accountability will extend to the general public who may be partially informed by the simplification and amplification of the issues by the media. The outcome can then be influenced by the rhetorical and emotive appeal that essential services such as health and education be the priorities for public spending.

For those more directly concerned with the exercise of probity the perception of and exposure to, risk can inhibit aspirations to realise forms of development which are novel and untested. There will then be a tendency to replicate that which has been established and proven elsewhere. It was concluded that this does not disqualify the relationships and actions necessary to bring such places into being from being termed patronage. The perceived risks do, however, decrease the possibility of public bodies being the agency of architectural innovation and advance in urban design. The conditions under which such bodies could have a mandate to lead on such matters are then the subject of later conclusions.

Here it is noted that those accountable for public expenditure may have recourse to an assessment of worth which is based on quantifiable outcomes and tangible benefits. Under such circumstances greater emphasis can be placed on the role of the promoter of aspirational development as agent and/or client rather than patron. That was a factor in the redefinition of objectives and priorities in the Bute Avenue/ Square project. Quantifiable outputs were sought and achieved but as to whether the outcome was in the public interest in that case is questionable. The eventual costs of funding the project through the Private Finance Initiative have been the subject of occasional comment but no major public controversy.

In the other cases there was extensive media attention and public debate. In that respect the probity of committing financial resources to those projects was widely tested. The housing of the Assembly and construction of The Senedd was the subject of reports by the Auditor General for Wales

(2000, 2008) and the National Assembly for Wales Audit Committee (2008). A conclusion of the research was that those reports were generous in their conclusions. For example, the capitalised cost of the rental on Crickhowell House (now Ty Hywel) and other costs of housing the Assembly were demonstrably more than those reported by the Audit Office.

In the case of the Stadium the Local Authority were acutely aware of matters relating to public accountability. The research revealed an aspect of that case which was examined as regards its probity. That concerned the funding for the Millennium Walkway provided by the Welsh Office which was referred to earlier. The Secretary of State had consistently refused to provide funding to the WRU, a position that was held on essentially political issues. Those concerned the unrepresentative management structure of the WRU and their resistance to more open public accountability. The essential funds needed to create satisfactory access and egress to the west/ river side of the new Stadium were therefore routed through the Welsh Development Agency to the Local Authority in the form of an urban regeneration grant. It was concluded that this satisfied requirements of such public spending and did not compromise the terms of the Millennium Commission funding. The Secretary of State, if challenged, could also claim that he was not financing the WRU.

Finally, from the first case study it can also be noted that opposition to the implementation of policy through Quasi-Autonomous Government Agencies (Quango's) focussed on the 'democratic deficit' or perceived lack of accountability. A general conclusion, which does not arise from that case but the research overall, is that a greater failure can be one of proper supervision by those who delegate such powers and are ultimately accountable. To govern well requires incorruptibility and an inflexible dedication to the public good rather than personal benefit or the consolidation and advance of one group in society. That patronage is

associated with the latter and the persistent failure to exercise probity by those in public life will inevitably colour the view of democratic society.

7.5 Conclusions.

The conclusions on the research question are summarised in this final section. Factors which impact on the characteristics that have defined patronage historically include constraints that arise from the requirement that those responsible for public expenditure demonstrate probity. In consequence those commissioning public works in a democratic polity like contemporary Britain are more widely accountable and do not enjoy the relative autonomy exercised by those described as patrons historically.

Particular factors that were identified for examination were as follows;

- a) requirements relating to probity and accountability in management and public office
- b) the impartiality required of bureaucracies
- c) the political pressures for public bodies to prioritise quantifiable short-term outputs over less tangible longer-term assessment of environmental qualities
- d) prevailing economic conditions and market forces which are similarly short-term and
- e) the cultural climate and the 'public temper' relating to public expenditure

Conclusions on the first two questions will be presented first under the heading of patronage and probity. The third and fourth questions will then be addressed as they relate to time and timing which emerged as an important factor in the course of the research. The third and final heading will present more general conclusions on the place of patronage in a contemporary democratic polity.

7.5.1 Patronage and Probity

The conclusion rehearsed in the analysis of the case study research was that contemporary requirements that probity be demonstrated by those responsible for public spending can inhibit aspiration as to quality.

Competing demands on public resources, particularly finance, mean that those forms of development associated with patronage historically will inevitably be tested and examined through democratic processes and wider public scrutiny. That is to say those aspirations as to architectural or other qualities may be viewed as discretionary rather than mandatory or necessary expenditure.

A direct consequence of provisions relating to probity concerns the relationship between the principal, as the initiator and 'source' of the aspiration, and the architect and others engaged on publicly funded projects. Requirements that appointments be based on an objective assessment of the qualities of a design and/or suitable skills of an architect are intended to prevent the personal preferences or tastes of an individual directing that selection. In short, such provisions are made to prevent patronage, meaning preferment in public appointment. These then reduce the direct personal relationship between principal and architect which have characterised patronage historically.

That constraint on autonomy then leads to the important distinction between an individual *with* an organisation and those *within* an organisation. Those described as patrons historically will more often fall into the former category, command the necessary resources and exercise powers to assemble the organisation necessary to realise the aspiration. That is, they are able to act autocratically. In the initiation of publicly funded works most of those engaged will invariably fall into the latter category and be subject to democratic processes. There will then be differing lines and levels of accountability, commitment to the objective and possibly conflicting priorities. The complexities of modern

development necessitate the engagement of many organisations, some of which will be responsible for protecting the wider public interest. In short the regulatory framework that emerged through democratic processes in the 20th century constrains the autonomy enjoyed by those described as patrons in earlier times.

In that respect 'bureaucracy' is a factor but the research also considered that form of organisation in the delivery of aspirational development. Those in public organisations will inevitably be risk averse as their responsibility to exercise probity is explicit. In consequence they may be inclined to support forms of development that are proven and quantifiable measures of success. The requirement that probity be demonstrated in the appointment of an architect can also influence the selection criteria adopted. That can favour practitioners of established reputation with a proven track record. It might also discourage support for emerging design talent or radical departure from established and proven design solutions in publicly funded projects.

Also, a factor noted in the case studies was that those more cautious or sensitive to possible criticism can be inclined to adopt selection methodology developed for the procurement of a technical service by competitive tender to demonstrate probity in public appointment. Those processes can then emphasise the commercial or utilitarian priorities of the client not the wider aspirations or objectives associated with patronage. In the course of project implementation the relationship established between the client and the designer/ builder is less likely to be one of mutual respect and trust than one defined by contractual obligations.

Considerations relating to probity are then impediments to replicating the characteristics that have defined patronage historically in a modern democratic polity.

7.5.2 Time

The cycle of democratic election gives rise to uncertainties as to continuity and commitment of political leadership and support for aspirational development. There is not then the 'presumption of perpetuity' that might have been made by monarchic or aristocratic dynasties or assumed by the leaders of totalitarian regimes associated with architectural patronage. That those will also act autocratically serves to underline the foregoing conclusions on autonomy. However, the point here is that a long term view is taken on the gestation of symbolic capital and the benefit that will accrue to their successors. The latter informed the principles of stewardship in the development of aristocratic estates.

That is in contrast to the short term demands that arise through political pressures in publicly funded projects in the modern day. These can arise through commitments to deliver projects within the electoral cycle which may not coincide with the timescale of a major project from its inception to completion. Such pressures may be compounded where the project, whilst publicly funded, is linked to market demand and economic cycles.

The argument that the longer term view should be taken by those responsible for publicly funded development leads to the conclusions on patronage and society. That is that the principles of stewardship implemented through the familial self-interest of the landed aristocracy should inform a commitment to sustainability in the built environment of a modern democracy. There should then be an aspiration that such development achieves, at a minimum, the tangible qualities of utility, durability and beauty that have informed architectural practice for as long as patronage. In that respect it was noted in the introduction to this thesis that the negative aspects of social and political patronage have also persisted over two millennia. That conflict is then the subject of the final conclusions which follow.

7.5.3 Patronage and Society

The questions that are now addressed concern those characteristics that have defined patronage and might, or should, be in the interests of wider society. Those are the aspirations as to standards and qualities of the built environment which would be beneficial to the public at large.

A conclusion offered is that relationships and actions associated with patronage, in its wider definition and use, can be an impediment to achieving those objectives. This can be illustrated by the 'schools and hospitals' argument invoked in opposition to aspirational development. Such arguments, whilst frequently rhetorical, can indicate the priorities of the wider public and the mandate granted to those they elect. Urban design quality will not be an electoral issue in itself. The proposition here is that it is in the interests of wider society that schools and hospitals should embody the qualities that were aspired to by those described as patrons historically. Many great university and hospital buildings attributed to the generosity of private benefactors pre-date universal suffrage and the establishment of the welfare State. They originated in a time when there was much wider division in society; the distribution of resources was even more unequal than the modern day and were commanded by the landed aristocracy and a plutocracy.

In Britain it became established that healthcare, education and other services be provided by the State as a democratic right and not through the condescension of a patrician class. It is that association which also presents challenges for those who suggest that aspirations as to quality in urban development might be achieved through architectural patronage. For those concerned with architecture as a specific field of cultural production the term patronage, even when loosely used, has positive connotations and broadly mean a constructive relationship with a client capable of

exercising discernment as to architectural quality. Many in wider society might perceive a presumption of superiority on the part of those who use the term and a suggestion of elitism implicit in its use. In the course of public engagement that intimation of condescension may discourage support for aspirational development.

Coupled with those factors is the probability that failures to demonstrate probity, ranging from favouritism to the corrupt and dishonest abuse of power in making public appointments, will recur in future and be attributed to patronage.

In that respect it can be concluded that the use of the term patronage by those who aspire to achieve particular qualities in architecture and urban can be, at best, counterproductive. Under certain circumstances public reaction, partially informed and influenced by the media, will be antipathetic to initiatives which they perceive to be primarily to the benefit of elites. That then presents a challenge as regards leadership on such matters and questions where in the spectrum of political ideologies accommodated within an open democracy such leadership will emerge. The broadening of the political elite compared to the preceding centuries means that a shared set of cultural values and reference points cannot be assumed. The disparity will be even greater in the wider populace whose aspirations and desires are shaped by exposure to more media sources.

This research was prompted in part by aspirational statements on urban design quality which were attributed to 'One Nation Conservatism'. A prevailing trend towards the neoliberal view among Conservatives would not suggest that resources would readily be committed to realise such aspirations. Conversely, social(ist) ideals might favour the prioritisation of the needs of the many over the urban design aspirations of a few.

However, aspirations to achieve excellence in architecture and the built environment are not necessarily incompatible with wider social objectives. In a social democracy the majority may consider it necessary and desirable

that the strategic planning of the State make provision for that which will not be provided by the free market. That would include those buildings and places which have symbolic and cultural capital rather than market value. Historically patronage has operated independently of property markets and has brought into being that which is desired by the patron, not that produced speculatively by a developer to meet perceived demand.

From this it might be concluded that it is the duty of government to ensure that there is addition to the cultural landscape for the benefit of future generations. There is then a responsibility in offering leadership which will inspire and encourage aspiration. Abrogation of that duty will inevitably impact on civic society and the lack of ambition and vision reflected in the built environment.

As to whether effective support for aspirational development should be termed patronage is, however, questionable. Whilst some of the characteristics that have defined patronage historically may be evidenced in a contemporary development a conclusion of the research is that the use of the term patronage can be considered counterproductive. In advancing arguments in support of aspirational urban development the application of the term patrons to those promoting development could more likely hinder than advance the objective. Given that those described as patrons historically could also be termed 'enlightened clients' there is some merit in the promoter of development favouring the use of the word client and demonstrating rather than claiming enlightenment. That is to say that the positive characteristics of patronage can be evinced without laying claim to some status or distinction which might actually impede rather than assist the project.

7.5.4 Summing- up

By way of conclusion the following reflections are offered.

Methodological approach.

The methodology formulated and adopted was appropriate for addressing the research questions.

As to those questions the first, which sought a better definition of the term patronage in the context of the research, can be summarised as follows.

The extensive review of literature which made reference to patrons and patronage in the built environment determined that;

- a) the terms were, often loosely, applied to a wide range of relationships and actions;
- b) the activities referred to occurred under greatly differing social, political and economic circumstances;
- c) there was little consistency in the application of such terms among authors or, in some instances, by individual authors and,
- d) in many instances the subjective view of authors as to the qualities of that produced might inform their attribution of patronage to the process of production.

In the absence of a consensus as to what might define patronage characteristic features of relationships and actions described as patronage over the course of time were identified. A particular attribute of those referred to as patrons was the aspiration that development should achieve qualities other than the utilitarian and reflect values other than those that might be assessed by reference to a market economy.

Similarly, references to 'powerful and wealthy' or 'rich and powerful' patrons were questioned and the review extended to include literature on the exercise of power. The approach suggested by Galbraith (1983) was

useful in providing a model whereby the differing resources, or 'powers', commanded and deployed by those described as patrons could be distinguished. This then identified particular elements that might be associated with effective patronage.

The review of literature was necessarily an iterative process in which references to patronage and patrons were considered and reviewed. Through that exercise it was established that references to patronage in the latter part of the 20th century would inevitably differ from preceding centuries for several reasons. These included the more representative form of democratic government and greater regulation of building construction.

This then informed the principal research question as to whether the characteristics that have defined patronage historically might be replicated in publicly funded development in the modern era. More specifically it concerned the wider accountability of those promoting such development and how that might inhibit or limit actions that might be described as patronage.

The focus on such development facilitated the detailed examination of the features that have historically characterised relations and actions described as patronage in a modern context.

It also allowed other issues to be addressed; not least underlying structures that might be identified and better explain the phenomena referred to as patronage. Therefore, in formulating an appropriate methodology to address the foregoing question, a realist perspective and approach was adopted. That methodology afforded a critical perspective which identified and considered the related issues outlined below.

The case studies selected for the empirical research permitted a wide range of data to be captured and analysed. This facilitated the detailed examination of factors which contributed to the failure to realise the aspirations originally stated for the subject projects. Particularly useful

were the extensive interviews undertaken with key participants in the development projects investigated. The research was greatly assisted by the generosity of interviewees, both in the time they gave and in documents and other material provided by several. This data allowed the research questions to be fully addressed and related issues to be identified.

Ready access to those developments allowed the researcher to periodically inspect and observe the buildings and places in use. Conflicting views of authors and interviewees could then be considered as to the failure or success of the projects and whether the aspirations originally stated for them had been achieved.

The methodology and approach adopted for this examination of publicly funded development in a democracy can then be adapted and developed to investigate other forms of patronage in the built environment. Suggestions as to how such research might be directed are outlined below.

Contribution to knowledge.

The research sought to better define the term patronage as used in writing on architecture and development of the built environment. It was concluded that the term eludes precise definition and there is no prescription for an ideal or model patronage relationship. In that respect one might concur with the observation of Kieran et al. (1987 p7) that *“neither patronage nor architecture results from a single procedure that can be objectively proved”*. Patronage might then be viewed as an extension of the iterative process that takes place in the production of architecture and place making. To that extent it might be accepted that it is a term applied to particular unique events and relationships at a given time.

However, in identifying certain characteristics which have defined patronage historically and the application of a realist approach to the empirical research a particular perspective of relationships in the

development process is offered. Through that critical analysis attributions of patronage are questioned. Those that place emphasis on patronage as a system of support which confer upon architects and urban designers a high degree of creative/ artistic autonomy accentuate the role of the patron as a benefactor or passive sponsor of the designer. Such relationships, which favour the architect/ designer, may result in the production of that which is deemed to have commendable qualities and the term patron conferred upon the sponsor of development. The research has demonstrated that the appreciation of particular qualities will inevitably differ across wider society and that the appreciation of such qualities will change over time.

Similarly, the research questions whether relationships that favour the promoter or sponsor of development may be termed patronage of architecture. The methodology adopted in this research afforded the opportunity to examine the motivation and objectives of the client/ patron and their relationship with the designer. For example, the engagement of architects of established reputation and construction of places which utilise facadism for scenographic effect have, historically, been referred to as patronage. The objectives of those described as patrons might be informed by an enlightened social consciousness, a repressive political ideology or raw commercialism. The latter may be more readily associated as a form of marketing device or giant logo commissioned by a client. Viewed from the perspective afforded by this research a cathedral, parliament or art gallery attributed to patronage could also be so described.

The research then serves to illustrate the importance of the context in which the action described as patronage took place. In particular there must be a critical examination of the relationship established between the designer and the promoter of development. As regards the principal research question the study has demonstrated that certain features which have defined patronage historically may not be replicated in a democratic polity. The reciprocity and personal involvement that has characterised patronage relationships can be seen to be especially problematic in

development which is to be publicly funded. Especially problematic are regulatory requirements to prevent patronage in the sense of personal preference or favouritism in appointments to undertake public works.

In addition to the exercise of probity, expressed as accountability, other factors which might inhibit or prevent aspirations as to quality being realised are ascertained. The research has demonstrated that the prerequisites for good urban design suggested by Carmona (2012) are applicable to actions described as patronage as regards effective leadership and command of the necessary resources (q.v.P33). In that respect time and timing are concluded to be critical resources if aspirational forms of development are to be fully realised.

The motivation and objectives of those promoting aspirational development may also be more rigorously tested by those to whom they are more widely accountable. The examination of such factors then contributes to the better understanding of power dynamics in the planning and development process. The study then supplements the 'problematics of action' outlined by Bentley (1999) in its focus on those actors involved in the creation of place that are described as patrons

Additionally a contribution of the thesis is to challenge positive references to patronage in texts on architecture. Such references might, often subliminally, inform education on the development of the built environment. In establishing that particular characteristics might define patronage in this context the research has identified inconsistencies in the retrospective attribution of the term to those that may not have exercised discernment or other positive features. More importantly it has demonstrated why forms of patronage that have produced exemplary development historically may not be replicated. In that respect those described as patrons may be unable to confer upon architects and urban designers the degree of creative autonomy that they aspire to. The

research findings thereby serve to counter the potential influence of serial references to patronage in such texts.

Through application and further development of the methodological approach adopted several related issues raised in this thesis might be explored further.

Further research.

The research focussed on publicly funded development in the form of democracy established in the UK during the 20th century. Reference has been made to private and corporate patronage within such a system of government but further research might extend to considering issues raised concerning the conditions which might favour such activity. It was, for example, concluded that the neoliberal view was inclined to discourage public spending and, in consequence, might limit any aspirations as to achieving exemplary quality in such development. However the deregulation associated with that political ideology may be seen to encourage and facilitate forms of private and commercial patronage. Further research might then compare and contrast aspirational development in less democratic, or undemocratic, regimes.

That research can then more fully consider attitudes to patronage, in the wider definition of the term, in such societies. That is to say that the measures to discourage commercial, social and political patronage in public appointment and the commissioning of public works in the UK will not necessarily apply elsewhere. Issues relating to the qualities of that produced, the motivation for such production and the powers deployed in pursuit of those ends will also differ markedly. The association of patronage with an inequitable distribution of resources in society and those that exercise authoritarian, or totalitarian, power referred to in this thesis might then be explored further. In so doing it might be more fully demonstrated that such forms of patronage are inherently problematic in a social democracy.

There is then a more explicit challenge to those who claim that patronage is necessary to realise aspirational qualities in the development of the built environment. Within the social and political context of the UK the trend to neoliberalism and, more recently, populism might be examined further as regards attitudes to patronage within the professions concerned with urban design. Patronage may be regarded as simply a convenient term used by some to loosely describe a desirable form of relationship with a client. However, the research undertaken suggests that, for some practitioners and academics, it is an *idée fixe* that patronage must be encouraged and that there should be less regulation in urban design. In that respect the related issues in this thesis run parallel with those recently explored in *The Architecture of Neoliberalism* (Spencer 2016). Coupled with the ascendancy of neoliberalism a perceptible trend of populism must also be considered. Recent events evidence a (small) majority favouring the neoliberal position which might signal a reversion to the social conditions that favour patronage. Under such conditions architecture and urban design might inevitably reflect the aspirations of the individuals and corporations who sponsor development. However, the places created may not necessarily serve the interests of wider society.

APPENDIX I - INTERVIEWEES

The following were interviewed on matters pertaining to all three case studies.

Ron Davies MP for Caerphilly 1983-2001, Secretary of State for Wales 1997-1998, Welsh Assembly Member 1999-2003

Ron Davies was interviewed twice, the first time informally to discuss the nature and focus of the research. Matters discussed then informed questions which related to;

- a) Political opposition to the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC)
- b) Relationships with the promoters of the Wales Millennium Stadium project, particularly financial and other support sought from him as Secretary of State.
- c) The dispute on the value of Cardiff City Hall and issues which followed from that including his engagement with the civil service and other advisers, the consideration of alternative locations for the National Assembly for Wales, the selection of Crickhowell House, Cardiff as an alternative and the commissioning process for the new debating chamber.

Among other matters discussed which had a bearing on outcomes of particular cases were specific relationships within the Labour Party in Wales and with the Party leadership in Westminster, the contest for leadership of the Party in Wales and engagement with other political parties in the region.

Rhodri Morgan MP for Cardiff West 1987 – 2001, Welsh Assembly Member, Cardiff West 1999 – 2011, First Minister of National Assembly for Wales. 2000 – 2009, Leader of Welsh Labour Party 2000-2009

Many of the issues and topics addressed with Ron Davies were also discussed with Rhodri Morgan and included;

- a) His direct opposition to the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC)
- b) Matters arising from his Parliamentary questions and the other enquiries he made concerning the relationship of Nicholas Edwards/ Lord Crickhowell and Associated British Ports, particularly those relating to Crickhowell House which had a bearing on matters of probity,
- c) The contests for leadership of the Labour Party in Wales
- d) His suspension of work on The Senedd and advocacy of an alternative.

Russell Goodway Councillor, South Glamorgan County Council 1985-1996, Leader 1992-1996, Councillor, Cardiff Council 1996- present , Leader 1996 - 2004.

Councillor Goodway had a direct involvement in all of the cases study and was a key figure in all of the cases studied. Matters discussed included;

- a) The relationship between South Glamorgan County Council (later Cardiff City Council) and the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC)
- b) His instrumental role in supporting the Millennium Stadium project, his reasons for doing so, the resources directed to achieving its redevelopment and the impact on the Cardiff Bay Opera House proposal. Also discussed was his decisive intervention to later secure the Opera House site for the successor Wales Millennium Centre development.
- c) The details of the dispute on the value of Cardiff City Hall which prevented its transfer as a home for the National Assembly for Wales.

Geraint Talfan Davies Chair of Welsh National Opera. 2000–2003, 2006–present, Controller of BBC Cymru Wales 1990 – 2000, Board Member, Wales Millennium Centre 2000–2003, 2006–2009, Chair, Newydd Housing Association (now known as Cadarn Housing Association)1975–1978, Chair, Cardiff Bay Arts Trust 1997–2003, Governor, Welsh College of Music and Drama (1993–1997), Co-founder of the Institute of Welsh Affairs and chair 1992 – 2014, Chair, Arts Council of Wales 2003-2006.

Whilst primarily focussed on the second case study and his direct involvement with the Cardiff Bay Opera House matters relating to the other case studies were discussed. Very helpful observations were made on the role of the regional media in each of the cases. Clarification and elaboration was also sought on remarks made on the case study projects in his book (Talfan Davies 2008). Especially helpful was his insight into the funding of public projects gained through his direct experience in the roles summarised above.

Andrew Davies Member Welsh Assembly 1999-2011, Assembly Business Manager 1999 - 2002, Minister for Economic Development 2002- 2007, Minister for Social Justice and Public Service/ Finance and Public Service Delivery 2007-2011.

The interview primarily concerned matters relating to regional devolution and the housing of the National Assembly for Wales. That led to an extended discussion of regional politics and, in particular, attitudes to QUANGO's and other appointed bodies. Andrew Davies had been a key figure in the winding –

up of the Welsh Development Agency and other organisations and his observations on the rationale behind that were helpful.

Ian Layzell Architect. Cardiff Bay Development Corporation

Ian Layzell was the officer at the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation responsible for management of its Development Advisory Panel. The interview then covered matters relating to all of the projects studied with the exception of the Millennium Stadium which was outside CBDC's operational area.

Patrick Hannay Architectural Academic/ journalist . Formerly with Architects Journal, Editor of Touchstone, journal of the Royal Society of Architects in Wales.

As editor of Touchstone Patrick Hannay had commented extensively on architecture and urban design matters relating to the projects studied. Furthermore he had used the terms 'patron' and 'patronage' extensively in his writing in that journal and in the AJ. Clarification and elaboration of points was sought on a number of specific articles.

The following were interviewed on the matters detailed which related to two case studies

Gareth Davies (Stride Treglown Davies) Architect. Former employee of Holder Mathias Alcock, architects of Crickhowell House (Ty Hywel) the NCM building (Atradius), Cardiff Bay. Engaged by Vinci/ Citylink PFI consortium to advance the David Mackie, MBM design for Bute Avenue. In partnership with Niels Torp, shortlisted architects in design competition for The Senedd building, Cardiff Bay.

The interview concerned the translation and amendment of the original MBM design proposals for Bute Avenue and Square and related matters that arose through the implementation of the project through the PFI funding mechanism. Gareth Davies was also directly involved in the proposal that Bute square be a possible home for the Welsh Assembly and clarified matters relating to that. A detailed insight was given into the design competition for the Senedd from his perspective as architect of one of the shortlisted submissions.

Nic Downs Architect Former employee of Holder Mathias Alcock, worked on Crickhowell House (Ty Hywel) and was project architect of the NCM building (Atradius), Cardiff Bay.

The focus of the interview concerned the differing briefs given to the architects of the two buildings referred to above. This then gave a detailed insight into the requirements demanded by the developers and the intended occupiers. In the course of the interview it transpired that Nic Downs had also been directly engaged on works at the Millennium Stadium and the interview was extended to a discussion on a number of matters relating to that. These included the constraints imposed by restricted finance and timescales for completion of works.

Geraint Evans Chartered Surveyor. Former employee of Grosvenor Waterside, Cardiff – property development subsidiary of Associated British Ports

The interview concerned the commercial priorities of Grosvenor Waterside and how these often conflicted with those of its parent company, ABP, and CBDC. Particular reference was made to the direct influence of Lord Crickhowell, a Non-Executive Director of ABP, on development issues in Cardiff Bay.

The following were interviewed on issues relating to the first case study, The Bute Avenue project and the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation

David Crompton Civil Engineer. Director of Engineering, Cardiff Bay Development Corporation

The interview was directly concerned with detailed matters relating to the implementation of the Bute avenue project. Supplementary questions related to the commitment of resources, timing and the impact on the original design of the eventual funding through a PFI.

Wiard Sterk Former employee of Cardiff Bay Arts Trust

Clarification of points relating to urban design quality and the commitment of CBDC to public art as a form of patronage.

Nigel Hanson Planner. Cardiff City Council with responsibility for Cardiff central and Bay areas.

Discussion of relationship with CBDC with the statutory planning authority from the perspective of the latter.

Liz Court Former employee Cardiff Bay Development Corporation – Community Liaison

The interview was primarily concerned with the relationship with the indigenous community in Cardiff Bay and the resources allocated by CBDC to that. Also explained were specific limitations and constraints CBDC as regards such engagement.

Tim Levinson Planner. Former employee of Cardiff Bay Development Corporation

Several short and relatively informal meetings were held to discuss issues relating to the strategic planning of CBDC and their relationship with the statutory planning and development control, highways and environmental authorities.

The following were interviewed on matters relating the projects examined in the second case study as detailed

Lord (Peter) Palumbo

Member of selection panel for the Cardiff Bay Opera House, Chair, Arts Council of Great Britain 1988 – 1994, Chair of the jury of the Pritzker Prize for Architecture, Trustee of the Tate Gallery 1978- 1985, Chairman of its Foundation 1986 – 1987, Trustee, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Natural History Museum and Chair of the Serpentine Gallery's board of trustees, Member of the Board of Trustees of The Architecture Foundation.

Lord Palumbo commissioned Mies van der Rohe to design a building at Mansion House Square, London, an abortive project. Palumbo owned the Farnsworth House U.S.A. and an apartment at 860–880 Lake Shore Drive Apartments, Chicago USA , also designed by Mies van der Rohe.

Other notable buildings owned by Palumbo include Kentuck Knob, Pennsylvania, USA by Frank Lloyd Wright and the Maisons Jaoul, Paris, by Le Corbusier.

The initial focus of the interview concerned the competition to select a design and designer for the proposed Cardiff Bay Opera House. Also discussed was the report of the Arts Council of Great Britain on the commissioning of public architecture (ACoGB 1993) undertaken during his chairmanship. Lord Palumbo also kindly agreed to answer a number of questions concerning the abortive Mansion House, London project, particularly the countervailing forces which prevented its realisation. He also provided many helpful insights into factors

that differed between his private patronage and publicly funded projects in which he had been involved.

Gareth Davies (Welsh Rugby Union) Former CEO of Cardiff Rugby Club 1994-1999, Chairman of Welsh Rugby Union 2014 – present

The interview centred on the role played by Cardiff Rugby Club in facilitating meetings between Cardiff City Council and Millennium Commissioners to revive the funding bid for the Millennium Stadium. Also explained was the nature of the dispute between Cardiff Rugby Club and the Welsh Rugby Union which and might have jeopardised the Millennium Stadium project but did result in the stadium remaining incomplete.

Jonathan Adams Architect. Former employee of Will Allsop, architects of 'The Tube' visitor centre, Cardiff Bay. Designer of Wales Millennium Centre, Cardiff Bay.

Matters relating to the commissioning and implementation of the Wales Millennium Centre were detailed, particularly how the approach and leadership of the project differed from that of the Cardiff Bay Opera house. Also discussed was the relationship between architects and CBDC and more general issues relating to design aspiration in the region.

The following were interviewed on specific matters relating to the third case study, the Housing of the National Assembly for Wales.

Ivan Harbour Architect. Formerly Richard Rogers partnership, now Stirk Harbour Rogers. Project architect for the Senedd

The interview with the project architect for the Senedd building gave a thorough account of the procedures for the competition and selection criteria and the very constructive relationships that were established with some key political figures. Candid observations were made on the more confrontational approach adopted by civil servants and their appointed advisors. From his direct personal experience on major projects internationally Ivan Harbour made important comparisons and observations on public procurement procedures and relative commitment to quality objectives elsewhere.

Huw Roberts Special adviser to Ron Davies MP/AM (see above)

Huw Roberts provided an insight into relationships between politicians and the Welsh Civil Service and 'internal' factors within the Welsh Labour party which impacted on outcomes. Various factors which influenced decisions relating to the housing of the National Assembly for Wales were outlined.

Additional sources

Some specific matters arising from interviews or other research were clarified by brief interview, informal meeting, e-mail exchange, telephone with the following;

Ian Campbell, architect with Welsh Health Common Services Authority (WHCSA)

Factors which influenced the decision to relocate WHCSA to Cardiff Bay were outlined. Matters which informed the adverse opinion of occupiers as to the quality of Crickhowell House were explained.

Sybil Crouch. Former Chair, Arts Council of Wales

The attitude of the regional funding body to the Cardiff Bay Opera House and issues relating to the Welsh National Opera were clarified.

Dai Davies. Former Board member, Arts Council of Wales

Corroboration of the foregoing issues and more general issues relating to the allocation of regional arts funding were discussed.

Adrian Edwards. Chartered Surveyor. Former employee of Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, Land Authority for Wales

Clarification was sought on practices and procedures adopted and implemented in the compulsory purchase and land assembly in the Cardiff Bay area.

Richard Essex. Planner. Regeneration Skills Collective, Wales. Welsh Development Agency (WDA)

General observations on changes in urban regeneration policy during the period studied between 1986/2006, the competing demands for allocation of resources in the region and the antipathy of the Labour Party to QUANGO's which led to the dissolution of the WDA.

Sue Essex. Planner/ politician. Councillor, Cardiff City Council Former Chair of Planning, Cardiff City Council and Leader, pre 1996. Welsh Assembly Member 1999- 2007, Minister for

Environment, Transport and Planning 2000-2003. Minister for Finance, Local Government and Public Services 2003-2007

The discussion concerned the relationship between Cardiff City Council and CBDC, particularly in respect of planning and development matters. Also addressed were specific relationships between political figures and organisations in the region.

Prof. Terry Stevens. Tourism and leisure consultant.

Advice was sought on (suspect) figures projected for public attendance made in support of funding applications for the subject projects and numbers claimed for visitors attracted to the city and region.

Huw Thomas – former Chair of the Residuary Body for Wales

Clarification was sought concerning directions that were given by the then Secretary of State, William Hague, to the Residuary Body for Wales concerning the disposal of publicly owned buildings following local government re-organisation.

Jonathan Vining- Architect/author

Clarification of specific points relating to restrictions on the use of Cardiff City Hall and other buildings at Cathays Park, Cardiff

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