IJMS 2021 8(2) 92 - 116

International Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies (IJMS)
Volume 8, Issue 1I, 2021

Taste of Architectural Space in Real Estate Development: Review the concept of an emerging phenomenon

Herath H.M.K.D[1]*, Rasanjalee Perera M.A.N[2] and Chadrasekara D.P[1]

[1]Department of Architecture, University of Moratuwa, Sri Lanka

[2]Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Sri Jayewardenepura, Sri Lanka

ABSTRACT

Taste can be identified as a highly personalized part of one's life. It is perceived in various ways by different people depending on their socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. The main objective of the study is to identify the influence of socio-cultural and economic factors on formation of the architectural taste, and thereby to construct a relationship between such specific factors and architectural taste in the built environment with reference to Real Estate Development. The methodology adopted for the study is a comprehensive review of exiting literature of secondary sources. . A combination of statistical data and qualitative insights from studies already conducted on aesthetic judgement and user perception was applied. Conclusions were developed through scrutinizing and critically analysing the gathered data and information. Several factors were identified as highly influential on architectural taste: socio-cultural factors such as social class, religion, education, occupation and place of residence; demographical factors such as sex and age, and economic factors such as financial status, supply and demand related issues. The key aesthetic properties linked to the judgement of taste in architectural space were Formal Aesthetics and Symbolic Aesthetics. The specific architectural characteristics considered in built-environment are Openness-Enclosure, Complexity/Visual Richness, Order/Unity, Nature, Scale, Proportion, Colour, Light, Function and Cleanliness. Based on the main findings of this study, it can be recommended that architects and policy makers should consider above socio-cultural, economic factors to achieve residential satisfaction when constructing and managing Real Estate Development.

KEYWORDS: *Taste, socio-cultural, economic, Aesthetic, judgement, Real Estate development.*

Corresponding author: Herath H.M.K.D , Email:kavi_dh@yahoo.com

1 INTRODUCTION

Multiple perspectives are considered in aesthetic processing such as evolutionary, historical, cultural, educational, cognitive, biological, individual, personality, emotional and situational (Jacobsen, 2006, 2010). These include individual characteristics such as age, gender, and level of education. In this process, feelings are changed with the development of knowledge and capability. Aesthetic judgment is affected by the structuring of social emotions, beliefs and values as well as people in mutual culture (Tekel *et al.* 2016). Bourdieu identified three types of capital; social capital, cultural capital and economic capital. Social capital is how people are connected with power while cultural capital is about education, skills, knowledge and qualifications of a person. Correspondingly, economic capital is defined as per the financial status and purchasing power of individuals. These three capitals are interrelated and transformable to one another. Symbolic capital is where all these economic, social, and cultural capital are combined. One of the most important components of Bourdieu's theory is the concept of 'habitus' where Social space and symbolic capital are linked via Habitus (1984). Habitus establishes a set of values that support people in differentiating good from bad which are the underlying attitudes behind our choices (Rahimi & Bose 2018). The appearance of the physical environment does not merely represent an abstract aesthetic phenomenon (Gjerde 2010). The perceived quality is determined by the evaluations of those who frequently experience it (Nasar 1994).

This paper investigates the relationship between architectural taste and specific factors identified in built environment, with special reference to Real Estate Development. It critically evaluates the relationship between Judgement of Taste in Architectural space and Architectural characteristics. How factors are affected on Judgement of Taste in Architectural space is reflected in this study.

1.1 The research question

How does the relationship between Architectural Taste and specific Architectural characteristics develop in built environment? and How they affect each other with special reference to Real Estate Development?

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted for the study is a comprehensive review and content analysis of exiting literature. Only the literature based on empirical studies were indented as sources of information for data. A combination of statistical records and qualitative insights from research studies in the area relevant to aesthetic judgement and built-form characteristics of public buildings were considered as the main sources of information.

The research used findings of both quantitative and qualitative studies. The literature included academic sources such as on-line journals and databases, reports, conference papers and books on the area of investigation.

After scrutinizing the existing literature factors which influence Architectural Taste in terms of social, economic, and cultural capital are derived from Bourdieu's theories. Then such factors are critically analysed by tested case studies. Correspondingly considering Formal aesthetics and Symbolic Aesthetics, factors of Physical environment which influence the judgment of taste of architectural space are derived and critically analysed by tested case studies.

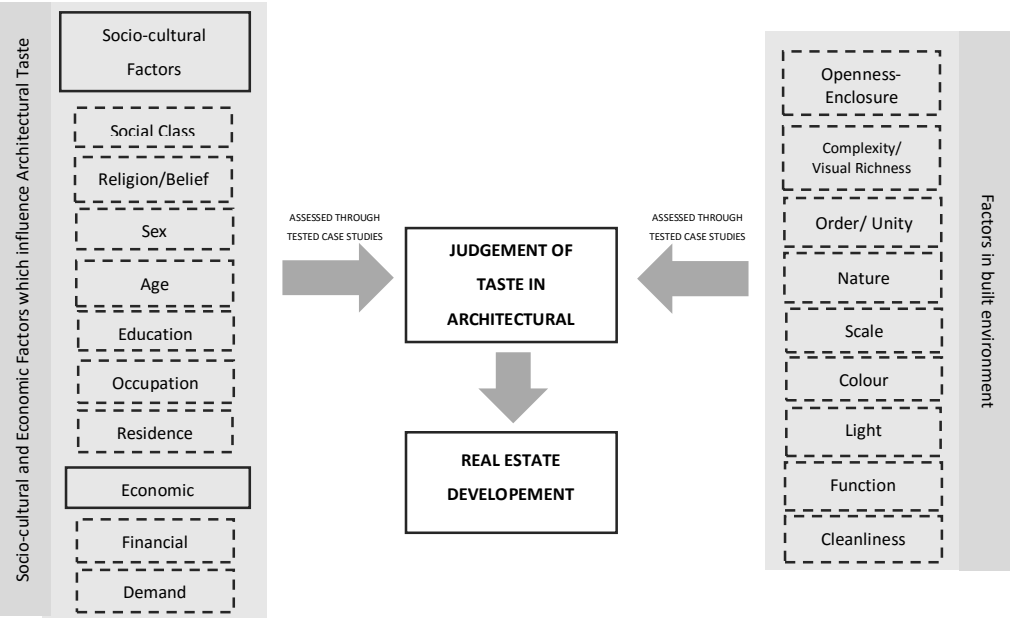


Figure 01: Research methodology (Source: By Author)

Initially 80 exiting literature sources were identified as relevant to the study. Case studies were selected from preliminary literature based on the comprehensiveness, intensity, effective conclusions and contribution to the studies on aesthetic judgement and user perception.

2.1 Literature Review

Writing about expressing tastes of styles as well as discerning taste in architecture is not simple. The idea presented by Scott (Imani & Zafarmandi 2017) where architecture exists on unrelated habits or half-truth could be accepted when analysing above notions. Based on the function or classification, Architecture can be considered as great, good, average, ordinary or bad. The observation of the building should also be considered in visual sense and qualities such as shape, size, decorations and order to make it more attractive.

Criteria for taste depend on the interest, attractiveness, pleasure (Guiton 2012) or creativity. Therefore, it can be identified that taste is something far beyond the pleasure, satisfaction or attractiveness. Some other factors such as experience of living in the building, education, architectural knowledge, morality, different religious beliefs and political views play a role in

influencing the taste in related to architecture (Scruton 2009).

Choice, judgment and evaluation surfaced two-folded in terms of architectural taste. In terms of aesthetics, the valley of art is depended on visual delighting, evaluating and criticizing.

2.2 Factors which influence architectural taste

Bourdieu's theories of the distinction of taste are identical and noticeable in almost every field and class in the society (2002). These surpass freedom, the individuality and the society into thoughts, perceptions, expression and actions (Bourdieu 1992).They were not much applied in the field of architecture since architecture was considered as a highly intellectualized discipline according to the belief of Bourdieu (Rooksby & Hillier 2005). Although Bourdieu did not study architecture, he studied space as well as habitat of the Berbers of Algeria. The same idea has been interpreted by Bernard Tschumi, Oppong and Solomon while stating that trying to experience pleasure in architecture was debauched. All the concepts of taste are inevitably important in architecture.

Although Le Corbusier attempted to create a policy of taste in Chandigarh, called the "Statutes of the Land", it was very prescriptive. Therefore, it was inevitably failed as it was overly non-consultative and imposing. Excessive powers to "the Chief Architect" was given by the Statutes of the City of Chandigarh (Chandigarh School of Architecture 2002). Le Corbusier was unsuccessful in realizing that a house is a demonstration of personal taste. Conversely, it is an architectural representation of personal status and personal obsession. Similarly, it is considered to be a significant sociological statement and therefore it cannot be disregarded easily (Bhatia 1994).

Architectural Taste of the public is not considered when designing the City Gate Project by Renzo Piano, Master plan for Dharavi, Mumbai by Norman Foster and Development of Dalieh coast, Beirut by Rem koolhass. Criticism of the society was ignored in the City Gate Project. Socio-economic awareness of the public was disregarded in the master plan for Dharavi. Important social spaces were neglected in the development of Dalieh coast. The Architectural Taste of the public evaluates the success of the design and it leads to the concept of the Architectural design (Bianco 2018).

The cultural context also plays a vital role, as the taste is affected by social construction of denotations in a particular language. However, the ways in which architecture was inspired shed light on the important dimension to the study of taste. It is clear that the architecture is affected by means of taste globally according to social, cultural and economic capital factors (Johnson, 2008).

2.3 Socio-Cultural Factors

Since architecture was emerged as a social phenomenon of culture and a reflection of thoughts along with space, aesthetics and culture of different societies, architecture is considered to be proportional to the changes in the arenas

of life and art. Social capital is considered as the combination of the actual or possible resources connected to tenure of network of innovative relationships which are durable and simply understood as connections. Several sub connections of social capital can be identified as; Social class, Religion/beliefs, Age, Sex, Education, Occupation/Profession and Place of residence.

2.4 Economic Factors

Age, gender, educational level, tenure status and household income are identified as factors that influence participation in housing management. Gary Becker further extended that human capital can be acquired by investments in education, learning training or practicing. Consumer knowledge is utilized as human capital. Economic capital is defined as material assets which can be converted to money. It can be in the form of property rights including all types of material resources.

Consumption on a daily basis has been taken into account as practice and taste which is a function of habitus. Pointing to two types of consequences of habitus which are adaptation and distinction, taste is considered to be a function of habitus. Economic and social inequality is legitimized in habitus. Practices conditioned by limited economic resources are reflected by consumption patterns such as distinguishing between where to spend more and where to spend less. Financial status and demand are identified as sub-factors of Economic factors.

2.5 Architectural characteristics of Physical environment which influence the judgment of taste of architectural space

The appearance of the physical environment does not merely represent an abstract aesthetic phenomenon(Gjerde 2010). It is important since the perceived quality is determined by the evaluations of those who frequently experience it. (Nasar 1994 & Sanoff 1991), For a legitimate judgement of taste in Architecture, the 'perception order' of factors has an intuitive impact(Ivanov 1995) and subsequently the Architectural characteristics of physical environment influence the judgment of taste of architectural space. The main objectives of this study is to recognise the Architectural characteristics which affect the judgement of taste in architectural space. The study extends to critically understand the patterns of relationship between the identified characteristics and judgement of taste.

Aesthetic beauty in Architecture is formed with scents, acoustics, tactile materials, forms, light, shadow, the weight and proportion of things and the overall spirit of the space (Pallasmma 2012). Primary elements such as point, line, plane and volume and the principles of space design such as form and space including light, view, openings, enclosures, proportion and scale created a unifying structure which reveals personal and cultural interpretation that can change with time (Ching 1979). Scruten's critical explanation on architectural factors such as Functionalism, Form, Space, Proportion and Sense of detail determine

the influence on judgment of taste of architectural space (1979).

As per Kant, aesthetic judgments could be classified into two classes as sensory and reflecting. While sensory aesthetic judgments depend on our feelings, reflecting aesthetic judgments depend on the judgments of the sublime and beauty(Wicks 2007). One of the main indicators of aesthetic factors that directs to aesthetic judgment comes as arousal potential of the built environmental attributes which could be measured by formal and symbolic components(Ahmad Nia and Atun 2016). Nasar (1994) discussed two kinds of aesthetic variables relevant to physical environment such as Formal Aesthetics and Symbolic. Openness-Enclosure, Complexity/Visual Richness, Order/Unity, Scale, Proportion, Colour and Light are recognised as sub factors of formal aesthetics. Nature, Function and Cleanliness are recognised as sub factors of symbolic aesthetics which influence the judgment of taste of architectural space.

2.6 Architecture; Real Estate and Notion of Taste

Smith and Moorhouse (1993) studied the effect of architecture on residential sector prices in Boston. Their regression analysis considered variables of lot and house size, neighbourhood characteristics, construction materials, architectural style, and individual architectural features which are affected on the overall architectural taste and found that in total, these features account for 14% of the price. Their findings support the notion that architecture and planning can have a positive impact on property values.

2.7 Tested case studies on Socio-Cultural and Economic Factors and Architectural Taste

Case study sample 1 – Sex and Architectural Taste

Research - Women's view regarding identification of an individual's architectural taste through personality and social behavior by Lelhaj & Moosavi (2015)

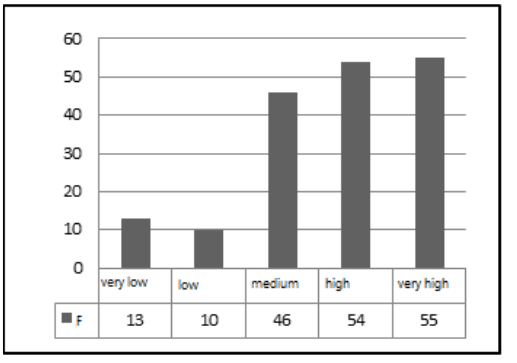


Figure 02: Women's view regarding identification of an individual's architectural taste through personality and social behavior (Source: Considering the Effect of Gender on women's Understanding of Architectural Spaces by Lelhaj and Moosavi (2014))

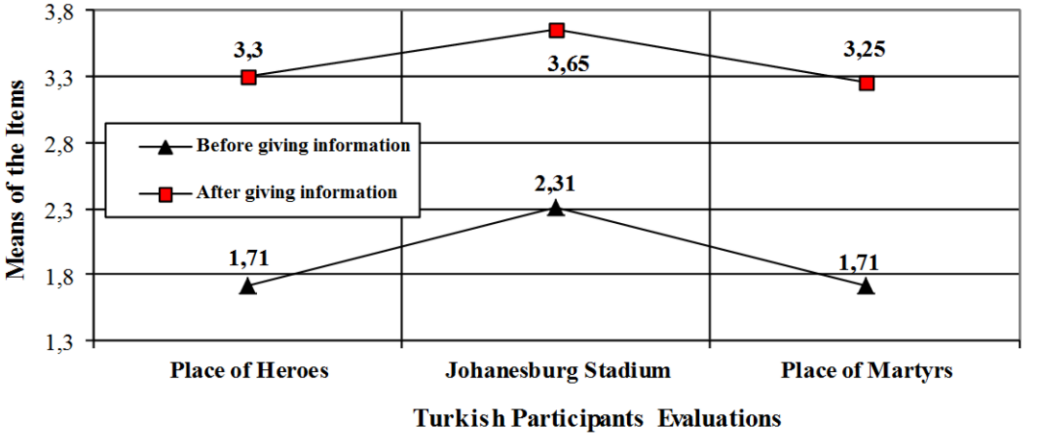
Analysis – The study was formulated as a questionnaire to evaluate a group of women in Tabriz, who were selected via simple random sampling. A significant relationship between sex and the extent of visual spatial elements has been found in this research. The study identified individual's Architectural taste through their personality and social behavior. According to the findings, the percentage

that women expressed regarding identification of individual's taste in architecture with respect to personality and social behaviour showed that 55 % to a very high level, 54 % to a high level, 46 % to a medium level, 10 % to a low level, and 13 % to a very low level. The percentage that women expressed regarding identification of individual's taste in architecture with respect to personality and social behavior is very high. It is recommended to consider women's' perspective regarding architectural taste to design spaces which allows user satisfaction. (Lelhaj and Moosavi, 2015).

Case study sample 2 - Education and Architectural Taste

Research - Examining the opinion of viewers on aesthetic judgment related to the individual feeling by Tekel *et al.* (2016).

Analysis – The study was conducted among two groups such as African professionals and laypersons who are familiar with the culture and Turkish architects and laypersons who are not capable to compare the liking rates of on various symbolic structures. According to the results of this study, differences in liking rates between African and Turkish participants were established. The group of Africans were more impressed by symbolic structures, their cultural effects than the Turkish participants. However, after the Turkish participants were informed the meaning of the structures and cultural value, they were also impressed too. Their aesthetic liking rates increased as similar to the Africans' judgement level. It showed that understanding the culture increases the aesthetic judgement. Consequently, aesthetic judgment is depended on the result of interaction of subjects-objects and the person's feelings. The findings concluded that the taste differs with the gaining of education and training



Note: Means of the variables listed between 1-5 (large numbers are positive responses).

Figure 03: Differences in aesthetic evaluation before and after giving introductive information about structure (Source: The Role of Symbolic Architecture on Aesthetic

Judgment: A Cross-cultural Investigation on the Perception of African "Calabash" by Tekel, Akbarishahabi, Yildrim, Bande, (2016))

Case study sample 3 - Profession/Occupation and Architectural Taste

Research – Architectural preferences of architects and laypersons by Fawcett, Ellingham & Platt (2008)

Analysis – There are no directly related studies on occupational relationship with architectural taste. Fawcett, Ellingham & Platt (2008) discuss Architectural preferences of Architects and the public. A study on photography comparison (office buildings) was used among architects and the public. The survey findings are consistent with the proposition that three attributes used for the definition of design types can be ranked from "basic" (roof shape) to "complex" (architectural character), with the basic attribute as the most important in the preferences of laypersons/users, and the complex attribute as most important to the connoisseurs/architects. The survey images were intuitively classified as "weak" and "strong" with respect to the attribute "architectural character" by architecturally trained researchers who did not participate in the survey. Laymen preferred pitched roof and traditional wall systems and Architects preferred Architectural character indifferent to roof shapes and walling.

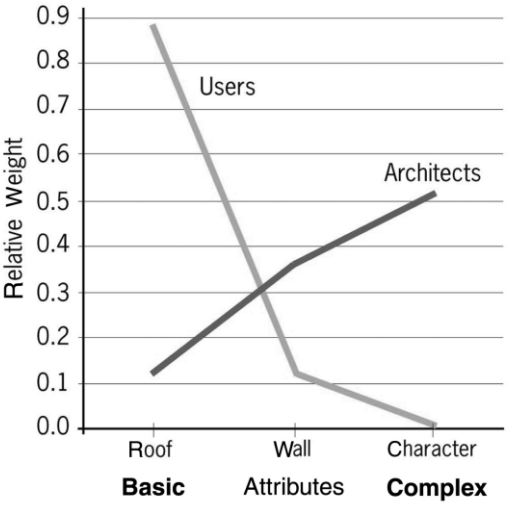


Figure 04: Relative Weight Attached to the Basic and Complex

(Source: Reconciling the Architectural Preferences of Architects and the Public by Fawcett, Ellingham, and Platt, (2008))

Case study sample 4 – Place of Residence and Architectural Taste

Research – Prevalence of the three legitimacy related tastes according to area of residence and occupational class by Gronow, Purhonen, & Heikkilä (2016)

Analysis – The study was conducted by analyzing nationally representative survey data and qualitative thematic interviews associated to Finnish taste. There are three groups of variables that describe illegitimate, neutral and legitimate taste. Illegitimate tastes are more common amongst the less educated, neutral tastes do not show significant differences and legitimate tastes are more common in the most highly educated groups. Legitimate taste is found to be the lowest amongst those who live in rural areas. In the

professional-executive group, difference between legitimate taste in the city and the rural areas is high compare to the other groups. Hence the professional executive classes living in rural areas are agricultural: and small-scale entrepreneurs while the professional-executive group in bigger cities is high ranking civil servants and business management. Illegitimate taste is more common in rural areas to some extent than in urban areas among all occupational groups.

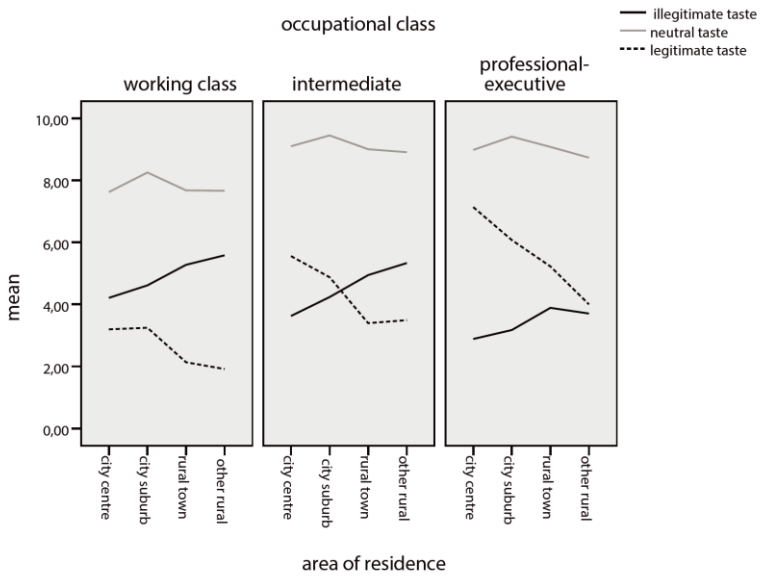


Figure 05: Prevalence of the three legitimacy related tastes according to area of residence and occupational class

(Source: Legitimacy of taste and "good" taste by Gronow, Purhonen, & Heikkilä (2016))

Case study sample 5 – Financial Status and Architectural Taste

Research - Prevalence of the three legitimacy related tastes according to monthly household income and occupational class by Gronow, Purhonen, & Heikkilä (2016)

Analysis – Differences according to the monthly household income in the degrees of the legitimacy of taste are rather stable across occupational classes. Interestingly, this shows that the income level has its own distinction for the legitimacy of taste, independent of occupational category. Most importantly, legitimate taste increases in accordance with household income in all occupational categories. Workers living in higher-income households have slightly more legitimate taste than the average respondents of intermediate occupational categories living in low-income households; likewise, respondents in intermediate categories living in higher-income households have more legitimate taste than respondents in high occupational categories with low incomes. Legitimate taste increases hand-in-hand according to income in all

occupational categories; similarly, illegitimate taste decreases hand in- hand with low income in all occupational categories, although this is more evident amongst workers than in other occupational categories.

Figure 06: Prevalence of the three legitimacy related tastes according to monthly household income and occupational class (means)
(Source: Legitimacy of taste and "good" taste by Gronow, Purhonen, and Heikkilä(2016))

2.8 Tested case studies on Architectural characteristics in built-environment and their impact on judgement

Case study sample 6

Research: Study on Perception of privacy in a university building: The transparency paradox by Bentinck S.A., van Oel C.J, & van Dorst M.J. (2020).

Analysis - Post-Occupancy Evaluation examines how well a new building of a Dutch University Institute supported interaction and perceived privacy among faculty members. It is designed as a qualitative research project with in-depth interviews among faculty members before and after relocation the new building. As per the findings of this study, too much openness in the architectural space depressed the lecturers. It recommended to consider the architectural privacy among staff when designing the institutional buildings. Openness-Enclosure of a space acts as a sub factor which affects on Judgement of Taste in Architectural space. The appropriate usage of space handling formulates a legitimate taste among space.

Case study sample 7

Research: An assessment of Aesthetics in Conceptual Properties and its Relation to Complexity among Architects and Non-Architects in Residential Façade Design in Iran by Ilbeigi M. & Ghomeishi M. (2017)

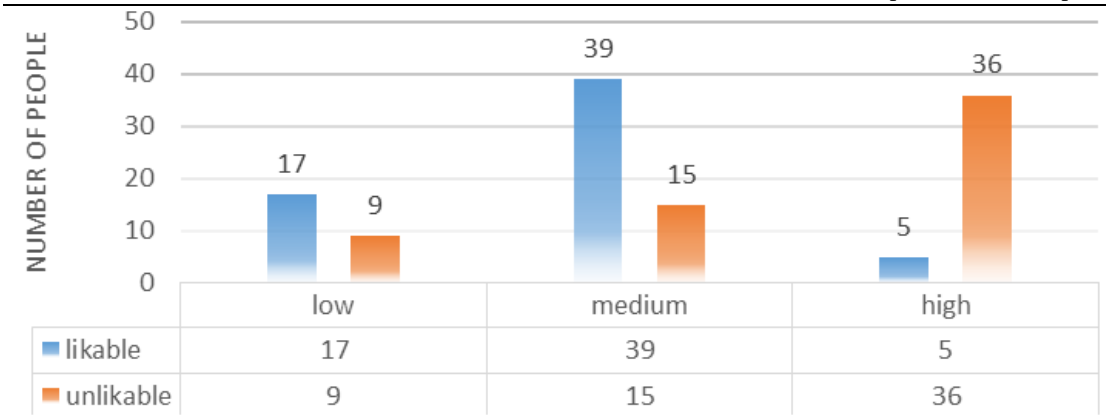


Figure 07: Complexity assessment by non-architects

(Source: An assessment of Aesthetics in Conceptual Properties and its Relation to Complexity among Architects and Non-Architects in Residential Façade Design in Iran by Ilbeigi M. & Ghomeishi M. (2017))

Analysis - This research focuses on understanding the aesthetic differences and the relation between aesthetics and complexity in residential façades using qualitative methodology. The data have been collected using interview techniques and analyzed using content analysis where the respondents were asked to select their ideal facades based on their aesthetic judgments and then the complexity level of the selected facades were examined. The results of the study discovered that architects and non-architects were aesthetically appealed by the simplicity and uniqueness. Further low and high complexity dissatisfied the both architects and non-architects. They preferred the medium complexity in facades considering the likability facades aecthetics. Judgement of Taste in Architectural space is affected by the levels of complexity.

Case study sample 8

Research: Visual Aesthetic Perception and Judgement Of Urban Streetscapes by Gjerde M. (2010)

Table 01: Summary of townscape scores for each of the scenes, as rated by the researcher.
(Source: Visual Aesthetic Perception and Judgement Of Urban Streetscapes by Gjerde M. (2010))

	Visual Interest	*Order*	*Combined order and complexity*	*Human Scale*	*Human Activity*	*Maintenance*
Scene 1	***65***	*36*	***101***	*25*	*17*	*13*
Scene 2	*35*	*44*	*79*	*21*	*19*	*15*
Scene 3	*34*	*38*	*72*	*22*	*18*	*13*
Scene 4	*23*	*42*	*65*	*13*	*10*	*24*
Scene 5	*36*	*28*	*64*	*22*	*11*	***25***
Scene 6	*29*	***56***	*85*	***33***	***23***	*20*
Max	***90***	***70***	***160***	***50***	***30***	***30***

Analysis - With the background, informed by the literature in the field of environmental Aesthetics Gjerde adopted characteristics of built form such as Complexity, Order, Scale, Human Scale and Cleanliness. Six scenes were selected to provide a range of built form characteristics that aesthetic judgement could respond to. Respondents were asked to rate their overall preference for the scene and to identify any buildings that did not fit. Scene 6 where there is a colonnade structure in the front which is light and airy, supporting an almost transparent glass canopy that protects pedestrians has the highest approval rating of any of the scenes presented. The sense of order acts as a main simulation of the judgement of taste. Human scale, which is related to the function, also plays a major impact on judgement of taste. Too much of Complexity is poorly perceived.

Case study sample 9

Research - Aesthetic judgement and visual impact of architectural forms: a study of library buildings by K. Jennath K.A. & Nidhish P. J. (2010)

Analysis – The survey was conducted among college students to evaluate the aesthetic appeal of selected public library buildings, and to rate how the building satisfies chosen qualities such as Shape, Composition, Material usage and Colour along with the expected functionality. There is a linear proportional relationship with aesthetic appeal and expected reading comfort (or the functionality). There is a strong relationship between the functionality of the space and judgement of taste in Architectural space. Colour is a significant primary stimulus in aesthetic judgement. Both Architecture students and non-architecture students were interested in façade colours: but their preferences varied. Both groups possessed a similar aesthetic preference although there were certain differences.

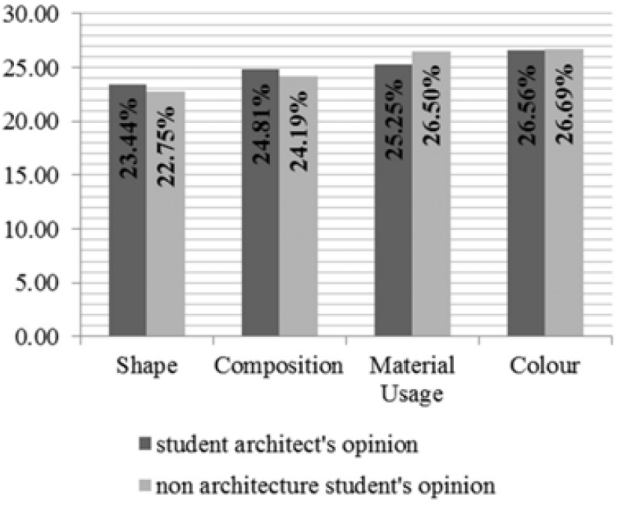


Figure 08: Average contribution of factors in the aesthetic judgement by architecture and non-architecture student respondents.
(Source: Aesthetic judgement and visual impact of architectural forms: a study of library buildings by Jennath K.A. & Nidhish P. J. (2010))

Case study sample 10

Research - Multi-level associations between students' preference ratings and various designs of a lecture hall, classroom, and a study area analysed by subgroups of connectedness to nature by van den Bogerd N, Dijkstra S. C, Seidell JC, Maas J (2018)

Analysis - This study explores students' perceptions of greenery in the university environment. Students' preference and

restoration likelihood were assessed with photographs that were integrated into the questionnaire via online. Three university indoor spaces were analysed separately through linear multi-level regression analyses. Multi-level analyses demonstrated that preference for the indoor spaces with the colorful poster, nature poster, green wall, and green wall plus interior plants was statistically significant higher than those of the given spaces with the standard design. Students' legitimate taste is higher in university environments that include natural elements than the environments without greenery.

Table 02: Multi-level associations between students' preference ratings and various designs of a lecture hall, classroom, and a study area analysed by subgroups of connectedness to nature.

(Source: Greenery in the university environment: Students' preferences and perceived restoration likelihood by van den Bogerd N, Dijkstra S. C, Seidell JC,Maas J (2018))

	Lecture hall			Classroom			Study area		
	N	β	95% CI	*N*	β	95% CI	*N*	β	95% CI
Standard design									
Weak connectedness to nature	123	ref	ref	79	ref	ref	68	ref	ref
Strong connectedness to nature	111	ref	ref	62	ref	ref	73	ref	ref
Colorful poster									
Weak connectedness to nature	86	0.10	-0.28–0.30	72	0.56	0.31–0.80*	76	0.32	0.05–0.60*
Strong connectedness to nature	78	0.36	0.04–0.67*	73	0.33	0.08–0.57*	64	0.29	0.004–0.57*
Nature poster									
Weak connectedness to nature	78	0.54	0.25–0.84*±	68	0.70	0.45–0.94*	68	0.36	0.08–0.64*±
Strong connectedness to nature	77	1.20	0.89–1.51*	75	0.80	0.56–1.05*	64	0.93	0.65–1.21*
Green wall									
Weak connectedness to nature	90	0.14	-0.15–0.43	70	0.64	0.40–0.89*±	89	0.41	0.14–0.67*
Strong connectedness to nature	71	0.86	0.54–1.18*	67	0.89	0.64–1.14*	78	0.81	0.54–1.08*
Green wall + interior plants									
Weak connectedness to nature				88	0.70	0.46–0.93*	75	0.37	0.09–0.64*±
Strong connectedness to nature				60	0.90	0.64–1.15*	58	0.73	0.43–1.02*

* p-value regression coefficient <0.05

± p-value interaction term <0.05

ref = reference category, preference was rated on a scale 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).

Case study sample 11

Research - Aesthetic preferences of laypersons and their relationship with the conceptual properties on building façade design by Ghomeishi M. (2020).

Analysis – The closed card sorting technique was used for the participants to categorize their preferred designs, and a semi-structured interview was conducted to identify the motivation behind their selection. Finally, mind sketching was conducted where participants were asked to sketch the changes they preferred. Findings showed that respondents dislike the window size and balcony size. Respondents suggested physical cues for the window size and the balcony size in oral interview and mind sketching. Scale acts as a factor of judgement of taste in Architectural space since it affects the preference of the user.

Table 03: Frequency of mention and frequency of change in windows size, form, and balcony shapes. (Interview and mind sketching)

(Source: Aesthetic preferences of laypersons and its relationship with the conceptual properties on building façade design by Ghomeishi M. (2020)**)**

		Frequency of selection (Interview)			Frequency of changes (Mind sketching)	
Categories	PHYSICAL CUES	Like	Dislike	Suggest to Change	Added or Increased	Removed or decreased
Windows size, form, and Balcony	**Window Size**	3	8	8	12	0
	Square shape Window	0	1	1	3	0
	Rectangular shape	0	2	1	5	0
	Circle shape	2	0	1	0	0
	Other shapes	0	0	0	0	0
	Vertical or horizontal window	0	0	0	9	0
	Balconies/porches	7	11	11	5	0

Case study sample 12

Research - Comparison Between Rectangular Proportions: Golden Versus Root Ratio by Jung J.Y., Zahn N. & Badke-Schaub P (2011).

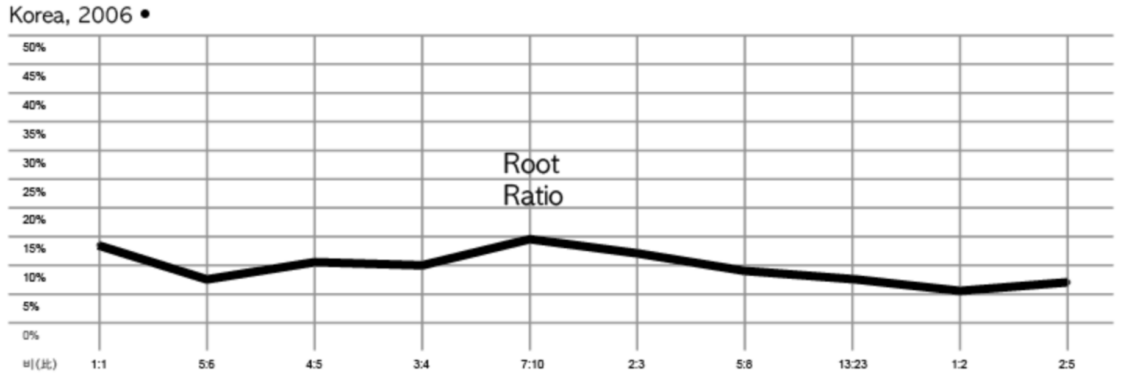


Figure 09: Results on comparisons on rectangle preferences

(Source: Comparison Between Rectangular Proportions: Golden Versus Root Ratio by Jung J.Y., Zahn N. & Badke-Schaub P (2011))

Analysis – In the first part of the study the participants were given ten different sizes of rectangle shapes at once without a particular order and they were asked individually what ratio they felt most comfortable with. In the second part, subjects were asked about "personal specifications": personal height, age, gender, and profession to consider the potential influence with the preferences of proportions. 'Golden ratio' is generally acceptable as aesthetically pleasing in western culture which is indicated in the previous studies of Fechner's and Lalo's comparisons. The study was conducted in Korea to examine the preferences of proportion. One of the main findings of the study is that 'Golden Ratio' was not the prefered proportion of the respondants since it was culturally influenced. Dependency on proportions on Judgement of Taste in Architectural space refers to ratio as well as 'preferred proportions'

arising from cultural influences and experience.

Case study sample 13

Research -Judgement of Taste in Architectural space depends on strategies adopted for daylight integration by Perera, N. & Swaris, N. (2017).

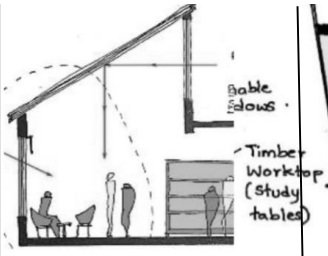
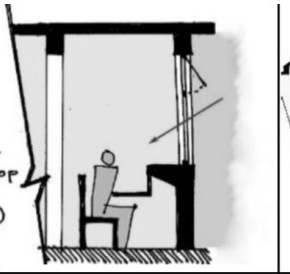
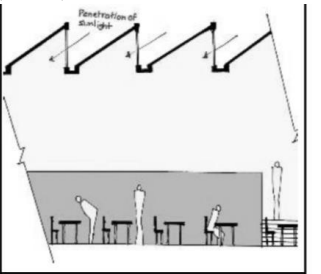
Section			
Visual comfort Perception	Encoraging for reading More concerning space for reading Good light Great ambience Spacious Live Calm Full of daylight	Too bright/bright Well lit up Feel awake Comfortable Unattractive Calm and quiet Undisturbed view Not relaxing Good light for reading	Intersting space Lower light condition Empty Dead atmosphere, Maze Inactive and Gloomy Agitate Feel the volume because of the height and light Spacious
Conclusion	Most comfortable	Less Comfortable	Least Comfortable

Figure 10: Perceptual Spatial Analysis of British council, University of Moratuwa and University of Kalanya Library buildings
(Source: Good Reading Light: Visual Comfort Perception and Daylight Integration in Library Spaces by Perera, N. & Swaris, N. (2017))

Analysis - The Reading Light Test and the Perceptual Spatial Analysis were employed in the study. Subjects were surveyed the user perception through a questionnaire - PERCIFAL: Visual analysis of space, light and colour - which included perceptual questions in a semantic scale. Findings showed that majority were sensitive to strong light and rarely experienced problems with low light. Subjects preferred top lighting strategies and a combination of clerestory and side lighting in library buildings than direct light from windows to gain the controlled daylight. Judgement of Taste in Architectural space depends on strategies adapted for daylight integration.

Case study sample 14

Research - Perception of "Publicness" Of The Public Spaces with Special Reference to Public Parks In Colombo And Sri Jayewardenepura by Bandara, V. Y. J., De Silva,V. & Navarathna , D. B. (2013)

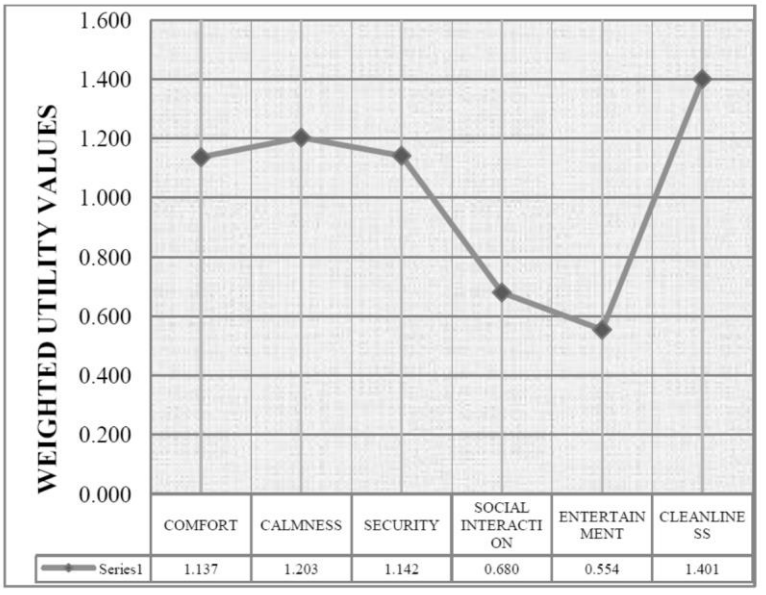


Figure 11: Environment of the public space
(Source: Perception of "Publicness" Of The Public Spaces with Special Reference to Public Parks In Colombo And Sri Jayewardenepura by Bandara, V. Y. J., De Silva,V. & Navarathna ,D. B. (2013))

Analysis - Two research questionnaires were used to measure the publicness of public parks. The first one was to identify the desirable levels or dimensions of each attribute and the second one was to identify the significance level (weight) of each attribute's most desirable level. Subjects preferred cleanliness which received the highest weightage. They preferred environment related attributes such as cleanliness, comfort, calmness and security over social interaction and entertainment. Cleanliness is highlighted in terms of judgement of taste in Architectural space despite security, comfort and tranquility.

3 RESULTS & DISCUSSION

	FACTORS AFFECTING TASTE	**FINDINGS**
Socio-cultural Factors	Social Class	Architectural Taste has a significant relationship with social class. The taste of the dominant class is considered to have more legitimacy than the taste of a lower class
	Religion	Religion and art have a great influence on each other, and both have a significant attachment to consumerist behaviours. Therefore, it is clear that religion has a strong influence on architectural taste.
	Age	Architectural taste varies with age. Considering psychological

		behaviour, Children's and Elderly Peoples' Taste in Architectural spaces are highly varied in visual and functional aspects.
	Sex	The relationship identified between gender and visual spatial elements is significant. The percentage that women expressed regarding identification of individual's taste in architecture with respect to personality and social behaviour is very high.
	Educations	Cultural differences have an influence in understanding desired meanings. Symbols in structures affect aesthetic judgment. Therefore, culture is an important factor contributing to aesthetic judgments.
	Profession/ Occupation	Basic attributes such as roof are the most important attributes in the preferences of laypersons, and the complex attributes: architectural characters are the most important attributes to the connoisseurs/architects. Professions seem to have influences on the degree of legitimate taste.
	Place of Residence	Higher degree of legitimate taste seems to be generally found in urban contexts, where else it is much less in rural areas. This will further vary depending on the occupation/ profession within the specific contexts.
Economic Factors	Financial Status	Financial status will determine many aspects of one's life such as place residence, range of commodities, groups that are associated etc. Hence it will influence the architectural taste.
	Demand	Taste is one of the factors influencing demand than vice versa along with ability to buy. However, a large number of variables are associated with the above two factors.

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS IN BUILT ENVIRONMENT	**FINDINGS**
Openness-Enclosure	Lack of visual privacy and the sense of being controlled by others were related to the hierarchical position of teachers, between students and the dean, which caused tension and diminished their well-being.
Complexity/Visual Richness	Medium complexity created the highest satisfaction among non-architects, whereas neither high nor low complexity was approved which is similar to the complexity assessment by Architects.
Order/ Unity Function	Two principal factors affect visual perceptions of urban settings such as Sense of order and Human scale; function.

	Too much of Complexity is poorly perceived.
Function Colour	Linear proportional correlation between visual aesthetic appeal and expected reading comfort was identified. Irrespective of knowledge on architecture. Colour acts as the primary factor in judgement of Taste.
Nature	Preference ratings of the university spaces with nature poster or actual greenery were comparatively high. Students' preferred university environments that included natural elements than to university environments without greenery.
Scale	Respondents dislike the window size and balcony size and added these physical cues in their mind sketching interview.
Proportions	Preferred proportions of respondents were influenced by the cultural influences and experience irrespective of Golden ratio.
Light	Balanced light is always preferred and low light can be endured, too strong light cannot be tolerated by most users.
Cleanliness	Cleanliness has received the highest weightage followed by calmness, security, and comfort. However, social interaction and entertainment received somewhat lower preference.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study was first to identify socio-cultural and economic factors affecting judgment of architectural taste of built-environment and to investigate their influence on specific parameter in built-environment

with reference to Real Estate Development. It is evident that Architectural taste of general public depends on inter-related outcomes which are generated through the socio-cultural factors and economic factors. Furthermore, Architectural characteristics in built-environment which are designed by an architect too makes an impact on judgment of taste. However, the degree to which the socio-cultural and economic factors and Architectural characteristics in built-environment impact on judgment of architectural taste may vary from person to person. The relationship between the socio-cultural and economic factors and the Architectural characteristics in built-environment can be identified as bilateral.

Financial status is a key in refining the social class and it is one of the basic factors for setting up the demands; which is one of the most important factors in real estate developments. Financial status will determine many aspects of one's life such as place of residence, range of commodities, social class, etc. Hence it will influence the architectural taste. Taste is one of the factors influencing demand and vice versa along with the ability to buy.

The appropriate usage of Openness-Enclosure are important components in formulating taste, while the medium level is preferred against high and low levels of complexity. The sense of Order, Function

and Colour acts as significant simulations and the use of natural elements enhances preferences in respect to taste. The Scale, Proportions, Balanced light in spaces are strongly related taste. The cleanliness of the spaces is positively lined to the judgement of taste.

In-depth analysis of the Architectural taste of a certain group of people is critical in decision making process of Real Estate development projects. Research recommends to explore the relationship and dependency on each factor of socio-cultural aspects and socio-economic aspects in architectural taste in the Real Estate market expansion for user satisfaction. It was found through literature review that the aesthetic taste has been studied several times. But the current study focused on architectural taste with special reference Real Estate Development. Architectural characteristics of Architectural taste are filtered in relation to Real Estate Development such as Openness-Enclosure, Complexity/Visual Richness, Order/Unity, Nature, Scale, Proportion, Colour, Light, Function and Cleanliness. This study recommends to generate implications/strategies related to Architectural characteristics when designing Real Estate projects.

REFERENCES

Askarizad, R 2019, 'Influence of Socio-Cultural Factors on the Formation of Architectural Spaces (Case Study : Historical Residential Houses in Iran)', *Influence of Socio-Cultural Factors on the Formation of Architectural Spaces*, pp. 44–54.

Bandara, VYJ, De Silva, V, & Navarathna, DB 2013, 'Perception of "Publicness" of the Public Spaces with Special Reference To Public Parks in Colombo and Sri Jayewardenapura', *Proceedings of the ICCPP*, 1, 24-48.

Bentinck, SA, van Oel, CJ, & van Dorst, MJ 2020, 'Perception of privacy in a university building: The transparency paradox', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 579–587.

Bhatia, G 1994, *Punjabi Baroque and Other Memories of Architecture*, Penguin Books New Delhi.

Bianco, L 2018, ' Architecture, values and perception: Between rhetoric and reality', *Frontiers of Architectural Research,* vol. 7, pp. 92-99.

Bourdieu, P 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement Of Taste*, Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P 2002. *Masculine Domination*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Bremer, J & Bhuiyan, S 2014, 'Community-led infrastructure development in informal areas in urban Egypt: A case study', *Habitat International*, vol. 44, pp.258-267. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2014.07.004. [03 November 2020].

Bakshi, I 2002, *Chandigarh*. Chandigarh: Chandigarh College of Architecture.

Ching, FD 1979. *Architecture Form Space And Order* (3 ed.). New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons

Corbusier, L 1925, *Vers une architecture. Nouvelle Edition revue et augmentée (Collection de "L'Esprit Nouveau"*.

Creswell, J & Clark, V 2017, '*Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research', SAGE Publications Inc* (3rd ed.).

Daas, Y 2019, 'How Religion Affects the Consumer Behavior How Religion Affects the Consumer Behavior', *Economic Anthropology*, April 2018. vol. 0, no. 24.

Fadaei, S, Iulo, L, & Yoshida, J 2015, 'Architecture: A Missing Piece in Real-estate Studies of Sustainable Houses', *Procedia Engineering*, pp.813-818, Available from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proeng.2015.08.518. [25 October 2020].

Fakere, AA, Folorunso, CO, Fadairo, G, Omole, FK & Arayela, O 2017, 'Effects of Residents' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Housing Satisfaction in Akure, Nigeria' *Journal of Sustainable Technology*, vol. *5*, no.2, pp 15–33.

Fatḥī, Ḥ, 2000, *Architecture for The Poor*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fawcett, W, Ellingham, I, & Platt, S 2008, 'Reconciling the Architectural Preferences of Architects and the Public', *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 40, no. 5, pp.599-618.

Ghasemabad, H & Sharifabad, S 2017, 'Investigation of The Architectural Aesthetics and Its Impact on the Children in the Psychology of the Child', *Architecture Research*, vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 159-167 Available from:http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.j.arch.20170704.04.html#Ref. [20 November 2020].

Ghomeishi, M (2020). 'Aesthetic preferences of laypersons and its relationship with the conceptual properties on building façade design', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, pp. 1–17.

Gijsbers, R & Lichtenberg, J 2014, 'Demand driven selection of adaptable building technologies for flexibility-in-use'. *Smart and Sustainable Built Environment*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp.237–260.

Gjerde, M 2010, 'Visual Aesthetic Perception and Judgement of Urban Streetscapes', *Building a Better World*: *CIB World Congress*, Salford, UK.

Göğebakan, Y 2012, 'Estetik Ve Kentsel Yapilanma Üzerindeki Etkisi', *Journal of Art and Design*, vol. *2*, *no.* 4, pp.73–84.

Gökay, M, & Demir, A 2006, *Farskli Eğitim Seviyelerinde Estetik Beğeni*.

Gopinath, G & Kulkarni, SY 2014, 'The Impact of Socio-Cultural Factors on the Transformation of the Residential Architecture of Kerala', *International Journal of Research*, vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 526–530.

Graham, J & Haidt, J 2010, 'Beyond Beliefs: Religions Bind Individuals Into Moral Communities', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp.140-150. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309353415. [05 November 2020].

Gravetter, F & Forzano, L 2012, *Research Methods for The Behavioral Sciences*, Wadsworth.

Gronow, J, Heikkila, R & Purhonen, S 2016, 'Legitimacy of Taste and "Good" Taste', *Cultural Patterns and Life Stories*, pp. 393–427.

Hesse-Biber, S 2010, *Mixed Methods Research*, Guilford Press, New York.

Holt, D 1998, Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption?, *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp.1-25.

Ilbeigi, M., & Ghomeishi, M. 2017. 'An assessment of Aesthetics in Conceptual Properties and its Relation to Complexity among Architects and Non-Architects in Residential Façade Design in Iran', *Journal of Buildings and Sustainability*, vol. l, no. 2, pp. 50-58

Imani, N & Zafarmandi, S 2017, 'Origins of Taste in Architecture', *Architecture & Urbanism*, vol. 14, no. 53.

Ivanov, P. B. 1995, 'Hierarchical Theory of Aesthetic Perception: Scales in the Visual Arts', *Leonardo Music Journal*, vol. **5**, pp. 49-55.

Jacobsen, T 2006, *Bridging The Arts and Sciences: A Framework For The Psychology Of Aesthetics*, Leonardo, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 155–162.

Jacobsen, T 2010, 'Beauty and the brain: Culture, history and individual differences in aesthetic appreciation", *Journal of Anatomy*, vol. 216, no. 2, pp.184-191.

Jayawardena, RGD 2015, 'Buddhism and Inter-Relationship between Man and Environment', *NCAS Symposium Proceedings 2015*

Jennath, KA, & Nidhish, PJ 2016, 'Aesthetic Judgement and Visual Impact of Architectural Forms: A Study of Library Buildings', *Procedia Technology*, vol. 24, pp. 1808–1818.

Jung, JY, & Badke-schaub, P 2011, 'Comparison between rectangular proportions : Golden ratio versus Root ratio, *Proceedings of the IASDR 2011*, pp. 1-7

Kant, I 1952, *The Critique of Judgement. Translated with Analytical Indexes By James Creed Meredith*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Korsmeyer, CW 1976, 'Hume and the Foundations of Taste', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 201. Available from: https://doi.org/10.2307/430377. [10 November 2020].

Krais, B 2006, 'Gender, Sociological Theory and Bourdieu'S Sociology of Practice', *SAGE Journals*. Available from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0263276406069778.

Kwon, Y 2007, *Taste in Appearance: Self, Cultivated Dispositions, and Cultural Capital*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, pp.68.

Law Insider n.d., *legal definition of Financial status by Law Insider*. Retrieved October 8, 2020. Available from https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/financial-status. [05 November 2020].

Leary, M & Baumeister, R 2000, 'The Nature and Function of Self-Esteem: Sociometer Theory', *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, vol. 32.

Lelhaj, R & Moosavi, M 2015, 'Considering the Effect of Gender on women's Understanding of Architectural Spaces', *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Science,* vol. 3, no.4.

Loewenstein, G, Read, D & Baumeister, R 2003, *Time and Decision: Economic and Psychological Perspectives of Intertemporal Choice*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Lui 2012, *Pierre Bourdieu — Distinction (Part I)*. Available from: https://spacedruiddotcom.wordpress.com/2012/07/21/pierre-bourdieu-distinction-part-i.

McCullough, M & Willoughby, B, 2009, 'Religion, self-regulation, and self-control: Associations, explanations, and implications', *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 135, no. 1, pp. 69-93, Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014213>.

Mead, N, Baumeister, R, Stillman, T, Rawn, C & Vohs, K 2011, 'Social Exclusion Causes People to Spend and Consume Strategically in the Service of Affiliation', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 37, no. 5, pp.902-919. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1086/656667. [05 November 2020].

Nasar, J. 1994, May, 'Urban design aesthetics: The evaluative qualities of building exteriors', *Environment & Behaviour*, no. 26, pp. 377-401.

Nia, HA, & Atun, RA 2016, 'Aesthetic design thinking model for urban environments: A survey based on a review of the literatur'e, *Urban Design International*, no. 21, pp. 195–212.

Oppong, RA & Solomon, AB 2014, 'Theories of Taste and Beauty in Architecture with Some Examples from Asante , Ghana' , International Journal of Business, Humanities and Technology, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 163–173.

Pallasmma, J 2012. *The eyes of the skin architecture and the senses*, Wiley & Sons Ltd.,West Sussex.

Penner, L, Dovidio, J, Piliavin, J & Schroeder, D 2005, 'Prosocial Behavior: Multilevel Perspectives', *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp.365-392, Available from: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070141. [10 November 2020].

Perera, N, & Swaris, N 2017, 'Good Reading Light: Visual Comfort Perception and Daylight Integration in Library Spaces', *Proceedings of the 10th*

International Conference of Faculty of Architecture Research Unit (FARU), vol. 1, pp. 336-348.

Perkins, H, Thorns, D, Winstanley, A & Newton, B 2002, The Study of Home From a Social Scientific Perspective: an Annotated Bibliography, Available from: https://www.academia.edu/23244628/The_Study_of_Home_from_a_Social_Scientific_Perspective_An_Annotated_Bibliography_Second_Edition_.[05 November 2020].

Piatkowska, KK 2012, 'Economy and architecture . The role of architecture in process of building the economic potential of space', *Humanities and Social Sciences Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 549-555.

Peifer, J 2007, 'Religious giving as a response to community', Working Paper,Center for the Study of Economy and Society.

Pugach, C, Leder, H & Graham, D 2017, 'How Stable Are Human Aesthetic Preferences Across the Lifespan?', *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, Available from: https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2017.00289. [05 November 2020].

Ra, E, 2011. *Understanding the Role of Economic, Cultural, and Social Capital and Habitus In Student College Choice: An Investigation of Student, Family, and School Contexts*.

Ratchford, B 2001, 'The Economics of Consumer Knowledge: Table 1', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp.397-411, Available from: https://doi.org/10.1086/319617. [05 November 2020].

Riley, D 2017, 'Bourdieu's Class Theory: The Academic as Revolutionary'. *Catalyst*, 2, pp. 107-136

Rook, D 1985, 'The Ritual Dimension of Consumer Behavior', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 12, no.3, p.251, Available from: https://doi.org/10.1086/208514.

Sanoff, H 1991, *Visual research methods in design*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Rooksby, E & Hillier, J 2005, *Habitus: A Sense of Place Second Edition*, Routledge, New York

Rostami, E, Mousavi SS & Zampieri, 2018, 'Comparative study of the effect of native architecture on planning of pond-based villages (case study: Sarakhiyeh village in the pond of Shadegan)', *Cogent Engineering*, vol. 5, no. 1, Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/23311916.2018.1469084. [30 October 2020].

Scruton, R. 1979, *The Aesthetic of Architecture*, Methuen & Co. LTD, London.

Scruton, R 2009, *Beauty*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Smith, M, & Moorhouse, J 1993, 'Architecture and the Housing Market: Nineteenth Century Row Housing in Boston's South End', *Journal of the*

Society of Architectural Historians, vol 52, no. 2, pp. 159-78, Available from: https://doi.org/10.2307/990783. [13 October 2020]. [13 October 2020].

Sohrab, R & Mallika, B 2018, 'Social class and taste in the context of US cities: Validating Bourdieu's theory of distinction using restaurant reviews', *Proceedings of the 2nd ACM SIGSPATIAL Workshop on Geospatial Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 9. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1145/3282933.3282938. [13 October 2020].

Swartz, D 1998, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, University of Chicago Press.

Tekel, A, Akbarishahabi, L, Yildirim, K, & Bande, B 2016, ,The role of symbolic architecture on aesthetic judgment: A cross-cultural investigation on the perception of African “calabash” figure', *Gazi University Journal of Science*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 525–536.

Throsby, D 1999, 'Cultural Capital', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, vol. 23, no. 1/2, pp.3-12. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1007543313370. [02 December 2020].

Tschumi, B 1994, *Architecture and Disjunction*. MIT Press, London.

Tymkiewicz, J 2019, 'The role of an Architect in Creating the Image of an Elderly-Friendly Sustainable Smart City', *Buildings*, vol. 9, no. 10, Available from: https://doi.org/10.3390/buildings9100223. [05 December 2020].

UKEssays.com. n.d, *Pierre Bourdieu: Taste and Class*, Available from: https://www.ukessays.com/essays/sociology/pierre-bourdieu-taste-class-3207.php>.

Van Den Bogerd, N, Coosje Dijkstra, S, Seidell, JC, & Maas, J 2018, 'Greenery in the university environment: Students’ preferences and perceived restoration likelihood', *PLoS ONE*, vol. 13, no.2, pp. 1–19.

Vigerland, L & Borg, E 2017, 'Cultural Capital in the Economic Field: A Study of Relationships in an Art Market', *Philosophy of Management*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp.169-185. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1007/s40926-017-0061-2. [25 October 2020].

Wang, W & Ishizaki, K 2002, 'Aesthetic Development in Cross-Cultural Contexts: A Study of Art Appreciation in Japan, Taiwan, and the United States', *Studies in Art Education*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp.373. Available from: https://doi.org/10.2307/1320984. [10 October 2020].

Watkin, D 1984, *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement*, Univ of Chicago Press. Available from: https://www.amazon.com/Morality-Architecture-Development-Architectural-Movement/dp/0226874877. [05 October 2020].

Whelan, J & Forrester, JW 1996, *Economic supply and Demand, MIT System Dynamics in Education Project*, 7.

Wicks, R 2007, *Kant on judgement*, London, Routledge.

Wijetunga, N 2015, 'The Notion of Nation: Protagonist Behind the Post-Colonial Elite Domestic Architecture of Ceylon (Sri Lanka)', *Built-Environment Sri Lanka*, vol. 11, no. 2, Available from: https://doi.org/10.4038/besl.v11i2.7607. [30 October 2020].

Saunders WS 1999, *From Taste to Judgment: Multiple Criteria in the Evaluation of Architecture*, Harvard Design Magazine, Available from: http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/7/from-taste-to-judgment-multiple-criteria-in-the-evaluation-of-architecture. [15 October 2020].

Ysseldyk, R, Matheson, K & Anisman, H 2010, 'Religiosity as Identity: Toward an Understanding of Religion From a Social Identity Perspective', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp.60-71. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309349693. [24 November 2020].